CHAPTER –3
DEVELOPMENT AND LEGACY OF THE MAOIST ‘MASS REVOLUTIONARY’ LINE IN INDIA –
A HISTORY OF THE NAGI REDDY LINE AND APPRAISAL OF THE MARXIST LENINIST CENTERS
1. Telengana Armed Struggle

India has had a history of a Communist movement. The Communist Party of India was formed in 1924 in Kanpur. The Party played a great role in the trade Union movement in Maharashtra, especially Mumbai. Predominant Struggles were led of the Mill Workers and red flags fluttering the street became a day to day affair. There was a Makor revolt led of the Adivasis called the Warli Revolt. However the most significant movement led by the Communist Party of India was that in the Telengana Region in Andhra Pradesh. This was popularly known as the Telengana Armed Struggle. The Andhra Pradesh Comrades wrote the historic Andhra thesis where Comrades Devullupali Venkateshwara Rao and P.S Sundarraya played a major role. The path of New Democracy was chalked out differentiating India as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. Here the Andhra Unit of the Communist Party of India opposed the central policies of the All India Party and considered the peasants the main force of the Indian revolution, imitating the Chinese revolutionary Experience. The All India Party led by Ranadive believed that the urban areas would be the Central Struggle areas and were mechanically copying the Russian Revolutionary Experience. They followed Mao’s agrarian revolutionary thesis of Peoples Protracted War where under the leadership of the proletariat the peasants would be the main force and surround the cities from the Countryside. Huge revolutionary base areas were formed. Guerrilla warfare was implemented similar to the Chinese pattern. Thousands of acres of land were re-distributed and revolutionary organs of people’s war were formed. The military actions of the party squads were integrated with the mass movements and based on the people. In all the struggle areas a mass
agrarian revolutionary programme was chalked out. Mass organization of people was formed. The most significant factor was that mass revolutionary Struggle was implemented in contrast to individual terrorism. This was reminiscent of Mao opposing the 14 'Bolsheviks' led by Li Li San.(Trained in Soviet Russia in the Communist Party of China who wished to mechanically imitate the Soviet Experience and advocated urban insurrections.) The Telengana Struggle suffered a political defeat in 1951 because of the revisionist line of the Communist Party of India to participate in the elections. It is significant that the revolutionary mass line of the Telengana Armed struggle emerged before the Chinese Revolution was victorious. The main source of development of Mao Tse Tung thought in India came from the Telengana Armed Struggle. Being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal Country, feudalism is the principal contradiction in India which is not a neo-colony like Latin American Countries. In India we have plain areas, forests big cities and towns and though there is capitalist development, especially after the globalization era the mode of production is principally semi-feudal True India has characteristics different from China and a military line has to be developed unique to its own conditions. The Telengana Experience displayed that if not mechanically copied Mao's line is still relevant to India. The Telengana Armed Struggle is the precursor of the Indian Mass Revolutionary line and since then no mass revolutionary Armed Struggle has been developed.
2. Era of Naxalbari

In 1967 another historic peasants 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. In the village of Naxalbari the peasants' seized land from the Jotedars. (Landlords) However this mass Struggle was later abandoned and took the course of "Annihilation of the Class Enemy" between 1958 to 1962 the West Bengal Kisan Sabha gave a call for the peasants to recapture the benami land. However the Naxalbari Kisan Samiti declared in their conference that the partial struggle for recovery of benami land would not serve the purpose of real land reforms, and hence the peasants should seize the entire produce of the Jotedars land. The Conference gave a call.

- Reap and Store the harvest at your own place and raise the Red Flag.
- Jotedars must establish proof of there ownership before the peasant committee without which any share would be given to them.
- Arm yourself to protect the Crop
- Save your Crop from the Police.

The Struggle became so sharp that 2000 peasants were arrested that year and 700 Criminal Cases were launched. The militant peasants combated the Jotedars and even disarmed their opponents 5,000 armed peasants resisted Congress Gunads and Police and enabled peasants to procure their entire produce. During the 1962 Indo-China Border clash the Maxillary peasants supported Red China disrupting meetings of Ruling Class
Chauvinists blaming Maoist China. In June December 1956 Party Cadres of the Communist party of India in Maxillary from the revolutionary ranks propagated politics of Agrarian Revolution amongst revolutionary Ranks. Joint struggles of tea plantation workers and peasants emerged which had tremendous significance to the mass revolutionary line. (The Unity of workers and peasants is the fundamental foundation for a mass revolutionary movement) This was an ideal contrast to the later turn of events where the mass Maxillary peasant movement was converted to terrorist armed actions of armed squads. This inspired worker of tea plantations to a great extent and a huge struggle erupted of the tea workers and the peasants. The Peasantry was so overwhelmingly boosted by this that in September 1966 stared their struggle for Crop Seizure. Armed workers and peasants harvested paddy and even snatched guns. Displaying rock like resistance they combated the armed police who came forward to seize Crops. Just after the 1967 General Elections, the share croppers of Maxillary gave heroic resistance to the Jotedars various area conferences were staged procuring seizure of Jotedars land. Sixty Incidents of Land Occupation and Forcible harvesting were reported in 274 square miles under Maxillary, Kharibari and Phansidewa police Thanas. On May 7th 1967 a sub-divisional joint conference of Workers and Peasants gave an official call for the confiscation of the Jotedars land and establishment of the armed power of the Workers and peasants. On May 23rd the Naxalbari peasant Struggle began. On May 23rd a clash took place between the police and tribal peasants, in which a policeman was killed. In retaliation the police killed seven women and Children.
The seeds of the movement were laid down. 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.

3. Impact of Tarimal Nagi Reddy

Tarimala Nagi Reddy and Devullapali Venkateshwara Rao led the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. Comrade Nagi Reddy travelled all round the villages of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in Srikakulam. In Srikakulam he played a major role in organizing the peasant tribal, combating the left adventurist line and made a variant attempt to direct the Srikakulam Girijan Movement towards the 'mass revolutionary line.' He organized peasant agitations and was instrumental in giving guidelines to the student movement and the democratic rights movement. The Comrade led a heroic underground life, after being arrested in Madras in 1969. (The main leaders of the A.P.C.C.R were arrested.) His agrarian movement was particularly developed in Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal and East Godavary District and to a small extent in Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. He also guided mass struggles indirectly in Punjab, Bihar and West Bengal. Prominent Martyrs in Andhra Pradesh were Ramalingi Chari, Simhadri Subba Reddy, MohanReddy, Kolli Laxmana Swamy, Meesala Venkata Rao, Manam Rama Rao, Veera Venkayya, Sundaraiah, Santhi Raju, Burada Appa Rao, Tirupati Venjateswaralu and Mandla Subba Reddy and Bathula Venkateswarra. Nagi Reddy's Organisation also played homage to Martyrs of the Srikakulam Movement like Panchadi Krishnamoorthy, Dr. Bhaskar Rao, Tamada Ganapathi, Vempatapu Satyanarayana and many
other hundreds of martyrs. These Comrades followed the pro-Charu Mazumdar section called the Andhra Pradesh Unit of the A.I C.C.R., which later became the C.P.I.M.L). Tarimala Nagi Reddy and Comrade D.V Rao (20th death Anniversary year. Comrade D.V died in July 1984) were the architects of the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India formed in April 1975. Shortly after the formation of the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India in 1975 Comrade Tarimal Nagi Reddy died on July 28th 1976. He played a great role in struggling for the 'proletarian revolutionary line' and wrote a letter to the general Secretary D.V Rao on his faith in his organization. This is a short version of his letter:

"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 judgment and the defeat of the Congress in Gujarat seemed to have pushed all the disgruntled groups into one mainstream. The cabinet showed inner cracks.

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

1. 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 Congresses without an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal programme led to sections of Communist revolutionaries into following the revisionists.

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. 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 liberalised imports on the falacious 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 liberalising 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. The World Bank had insisted on liberalised imports as an incentive to exports.

The Ayub 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.

5. There was great singleness of purpose in the U.C.C.R.I. The adventurism of Charu Mazumdar, the disruptionist of the Chandra Pulla Reddy group, and the class-collaborationist policies of the Jayaprakash group was consistently refuted. The recognition of Charu Mazumdars 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
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 judged. (Whether he actually implemented the revolutionary mass line)
has to assess Nagi Reddy's role in building the agrarian revolutionary movement (particularly in Andhra Pradesh) to assess his actual practice in regards to the revolutionary mass line and 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. There is insufficient evidence that the mass movements Nagi Reddy was leading were heading towards setting up bases of democratic revolutionary power. 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 was led by the Nagi Reddy Followers on October 22nd 1974. 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:

a. 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.

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

c. Annihilation of class enemies leads to the emergence of feelings of hero worship and retard revolutionary initiative.
d. To ignore partial and economic struggles is dogmatism. The working class will have to pass through various phases of struggle.

e. Mass organisations will have to be formed such as peasant, worker's and student organisations.

f. Although the rural areas are the main areas of struggle the movement cannot exclude the mass organisations in urban areas.

g. Individual annihilations do not compromise people's war. The C.P.I.M.L. is too simplistic about it.

h. The C.P.I.M.L. ignores the fact that the People's democratic revolution will occur under the leadership of the proletariat, particularly the industrial working class.
In 1975 Nagi Reddy and D.V Rao’s supporters formed a new Political Centre, the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India.

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 organisation. Significant Cultural programmes were done giving solidarity to rural and urban movements. A big democratic Rights Organisation was formed. 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. 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 protest struggle was developed all over the state involving 20,000 People. After Mao's death in 1976 a two line struggle emerged in China where Mao's line was defeated. Revolutionary Groups began to support Hua Gufeng and attributed the Dengist theory of three 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.

4. Developments within the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Information from Journals 'Muktigami' and 'The Comrade'). A major Crisis had erupted in the U.C.C.R.I.M.L. The main cause was the Dengist influence of the three Worlds Theory where the D.V led Group upheld China as Socialist. Another split took place led by Manam Rama Rao opposing the D.V.Rao Group terming China as Socialist. This group opposed the split by Comrade H.B.S earlier in 1979. The major base in Andhra Pradesh was led by them. The Rytu Coolie Sangham, Democratic Students Organisation and the East Godavri Girijan Sangham was led by them. They also led the Adivasi Sangh in Orissa. In 1988 another split took place in the organization in Andhra Pradesh by a comrade on grounds of disagreeing with the three Worlds Theory... The stand was similar to the Comrade in Punjab who split the organization in 1979 because of disagreement with the three worlds theory.
propounded by C.P.C.leader Deng Xiaoping. In fact this Comrade who led this split in Andhra Pradesh in 1988 for a considerable period held relations with the comrade who initiated the first split in 1979. (From Punjab). This was condemned by the Maman Rama Rao led Group openly in Journals.

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 it’s 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.”

Overall the splits within the U.C.C.R.I.M.L did considerable harm to the All India Revolutionary Movement. To combat the deviations of the Chandra Pulla Reddy Group and the group adhering to the Charu Mazumdar line led
by Comrade Kondapalli Seetaramiah (Became Peoples War Group in 1980) an alternative agrarian revolutionary movement was not built in Andhra Pradesh by the Nagi Reddty Group. In Maharashtra, work was done in trade Union Field. Peasant struggles were not built up in rural areas. 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 the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries section led by Comrade H.B.S was the architect of the the "Front against Repression and Communalism" formed in Punjab in November 1986 to combat the Khalistani and State terrorism.
5. Central Team C.P.I.M.L being formed

The formation of Central Team Group is also of great significance and this organization was formed in December 1977 from comrades from four states who opposed the annihilation line as well as the right deviationist lines of Chandra Pulla Reddy and Satya Narayana Singh. The Central Team principally worked in Punjab. In the earlier period the Central Team defended the formation of the Central Team of the C.P.I.M.L as a must and upheld the eighth central committee. On merging into the 1994 formed Marxist Leninist Centre they agreed that it is a matter that can only be decided at the time of the ultimate formation of the proletarian party. Earlier their comrades waged a struggle against left adventurism within Charu Mazumdar's C.P.I.M.L. Comrades Mahendra Singh, Sunder Navalkar and Darshan Singh Dosanj played a major role in the Central Team group. In Punjab the efforts of Comrade Nidhan Singh who was martyred in 1999 was also of significance. The Surkh Rekha, their mass revolutionary paper played a great role in exposing the secrets of the Khalistani movement and reached the hearts of the revolutionary masses. Today the "mass revolutionary line" (to me this is not conclusive) as claimed by the 1994 formed Marxist Leninist Centre in Punjab has a great deal to owe to the Central Team Group's efforts. The genesis of that line has it's roots in the CT.group and the U.C.C.R.I.M.L led by Harbhajan Sohi. In the 1970's and 1980's the Central Team Group made great efforts to build the Punjab Kisan Union particularly in Jalandhar and Ludhiana Districts.
6. Formation of the new Communist Revolutionary Centre (Factual Information from Journal Comrade)

In 1988 a historic formation took place where The U.C.C.R.I.M.L led by Comrade H. B.S, The 1988 split off U.C.C.R.I.M.L section in Andhra Pradesh (Anti-Manam Rama Rao Group), the C.P.I.M.L led by Chandrasekar, the Revolutionary Communist Party of India led by Takra and the OC.C.P.I.M.L led by Raghubir merged to form a new Communist Revolutionary Centre, the Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (C.C.R.I.) The organization claimed to uphold the U.C.C.R.I.M.L documents of 1977 prepared by Comrade HBS. For a considerable period of time these groups had negotiations with each other, exchanging experiences. A unity line was declared. This stated:

- If there are groups which have similar political lines unity discussions should take place and the groups should merge.

- If there are groups adhering to the proletarian revolutionary line in practice but have important differences on certain questions of the line, the differences should be resolved through bilateral talks and mutual cooperation.

- With groups which have similarities on important aspects of the line but whose line and practice are affected by the chief deviationist trends of the day, effort must be made to extricate such groups from the hold of the opportunistic trends. At the mass organization level unity can be brought about.

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• To groups who have been totally captured by revisionism, efforts must be made to win over cadres who still are revolutionary. Strong effort must be made to win over cadres from the revisionist left parties.

The major impact of this new formation was felt in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. (In Punjab the Nagi Reddy section led by Harbhajan Sohi was already a major force) Earlier a massive two line struggle confronting the Nagi Reddy Organisation (Muktigami) took place within the Malkangiri Adivasi Sangh in Orissa opposing the imposition of participation in elections whereby a Sangh activist was used as a candidate. In Orissa the grounds for the big revolutionary mass movement led by Malkangiri Adivasi Sangh was laid. Comrade Purshottam Pali's contribution was invaluable. In Andhra Pradesh the Organisation guided the Srikakulam Girijan Sangham which in 1989 staged their 2nd conference. A significant agitation was led opposing the scrapping of Regulation 70 which ensured the Girijan the right to their lands. Here groups with right deviation like the Prajaphanda Group infact supported the scrapping of the act while Peoples War Group stayed away from the agitation. The Sangham also brought out two leaflets of political significance. The first one was addressed to the People's War Group and te 2nd addressed to the broad masses. In the first leaflet they asked the Peoples War Group their attitude towards their mass agitations and how the activities of their armed Squads related to their class Struggles. In the 2nd leaflet they explained the masses why a particular Squad action of the Peoples War Group was senseless against Arika Renjim which had no relation with the Peoples Movement.
Ultimately the 1988 formed Communist Revolutionary Centre (By the organization that split from the Manam Rama led U.C.C.R.I.M.L in Andhra Pradesh) was not able to make a great impact in the state of Andhra Pradesh as it’s major section sided with the erstwhile Group led by Manam Rama Rao (Which in 1992 merged into the C.P.I.M.L Janashakti) One could question why the forces that split away from the Manam Rama Rao led Organisation in 1988 to merge into the 1988 formed centre did not leave the organization earlier in 1979 and join the Harbhajan Sohi section.(the fact that only the Punjab region Organisation Split in 1979 and no other state section of Original NagiReddy group joined the organization of H.B S depicts regional trend))A significant point is also why after the 1988 split the major part of the movement in Andhra Pradesh was unable to back the 1988 formed Communist Revolutionary Centre and still backed the Manam Rama Rao organization.(Later merged into Janashakti Group) One possibility is that an adequate 2 line Struggle was not waged in Andhra Pradesh within the Manam Rama Rao U.C.C.R.I.M.L group in Andhra Pradesh for the 'mass line . The Mass organizations like the Democratic Students Organisation supported the Manam Rama Rao led U.C.C.R.I Group (Muktigami) and never backed the 1988 formed Centre. The 1988 formed Communist Revolutionary Centre was a historical formation and strived to build an all –India Perspective. However in practice they were unable to build an All India Agrarian Revolutionary Movement. Also significant was their inability to stage mass programmees defending Socialism in after the toppling of East European regimes in 1989 and toppling of the U.S.S.R in 1991. In major campaigns to defend Socialism after him toppling of revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and the crashing of
the U.S.S.R, it was inactive to a great extent. Only in Punjab and Orissa and West Bengal (in trade Union Movement) did they have a significant impact. In Bihar there was a region in the Northern parts where a unit of the organisation was formed in the late 1980's. This Unit ultimately joined the Party Unity Group and the whole organization and area of work merged with the Party Unity's (Later the P.W G. and C.P.I Maoist Bihar. (Information from Arjun Prasad Singh) The inability of the 1988 Formed Communist Revolutionary Centre to maintain revolutionary area and build movement in Bihar can be questioned in regards to implementation or building of mass line.

In Punjab (the Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India and the Central Team C.P.I.M.L) the correct political approach of the Revolutionary Groups was significant in combating the Khalistani terror. They formed a special mass front which carried out heroic actions of mass revolutionary resistance particularly in Faridkot and Bhatinda Districts. They never used the mass Front for propagating mutual polemics and mobilized every possible force to combat both forms of terror. The correct relationship between the mass organisation and party was maintained. On the theoretical plane having their origins in the Nagi Reddy line the 1988 formed Centre had greater political clarity than the Central Team Group. In this phase of joint struggle there was also development of the organization of landless peasants. Joint agitations took place between both their peasant fronts which eventually merged in a unity conference in 1992. Overall however to conclude that in the period of the Khalistani Movement the organizations were carrying out the revolutionary mass line (In this chapter when making an appraisal of the Front's resistance against the enemy forces I have used this term specifically
with regards to movements of mass resistance against the Khalistani forces in certain areas) is incorrect. In the overall peoples movement the organisations were unable to build a mass agrarian revolutionary movement as well as a movement in the trade Union and youth fields. In various areas or districts of the State the revolutionary mass movement was weak or not even active (because of weak revolutionary mass movement) and only thus in certain areas of the state were their mass combat forces able to give giving mass revolutionary resistance. (Particularly in Bhatinda, Faridkot and Ludhiana districts) There was strong evidence of carrying out revolutionary mass resistance against Khalistani terrorism but against the State terrorism, although there were strong agitations and protests there were no reported cases of mass actions of revolutionary resistance. That does not deny that the two organisations wrote a historic epoch (No revolutionary groups have displayed such mass resistance countrywide) and gave an exhibition of organizing perhaps the greatest revolutionary resistance of the broad masses by any organization in India since the Telengana Armed Struggle. When the organizations forces staged Mass Revolutionary resistance against the Khalistani Fascist gangs they were perhaps the closest Example of revolutionary mass line in India since the Telengana Armed Struggle.

No revolutionary Organisations in Punjab displayed such sound practice as the two discussed.
it is the era of Imperialism which is the era of 'Leninism' and that even after
the completion of the Chinese Revolution and the Cultural Revolution the term
'Thought of Mao' was used and not 'Maoism'. In 1998 and 1999 the
Organisation carried out election campaigns in Punjab which created a major
impact where the tactics of active political campaign in contrast to Active
Boycott or Participation were implemented. Other groups could hardly make
any effect. The content of the party leaflet encouraged the party ranks and
followers to distribute it wide for mass consumption. The wide range of issues
were explained in simple language. The immediate practical alternative was
projected in the leaflet so that people could easily grasp it's contents. The
focus of the state committees poster was on building the revolutionary
movement, with the agrarian movement as it's axis, as an alternative. The call
by the C.P.I.M.L party Unity for boycott got no response while Groups like the
Janashakti group that polled candidates got no success. The major impact of
the organization has been on the mass struggles of the Malkangiri Adivasi
Sangh in Orissa and the Lok Morcha and Punjab Agricultural Workers Union
in Punjab. Lok Morcha a revolutionary mass democratic Front carried out
historic revolutionary programmes. In West Bengal the organization has
guided revolutionary democratic trade Union Struggles and promoted joint
front agitations on democratic issues uniting forces of both left and right
deviationist trends. They gave emphasis on the linking of trade Union
Struggles of all sections of the workers Union Struggles irrespective of the
political Group leading them. Joint political Struggles were promoted. Eg. A
joint Front was formed opposing the Indian Govt launching Pokhran missile
tests(Opposing the Govt's move to promote war efforts) in 1998. In 1998 after
sufficiently developed to carry out armed Struggle. It explains the meaning of creating revolutionary base areas and military guerilla Zones. A profound contribution of the unity is not making the issue of whether 1969 formation of the C.P.I.M.L was correct or not. (It would be a matter to be decided only when the party was re-organised) Quoting the 1st Issue of their publication, 'Thecomrade', “This Unification brought the Party Question into Sharp Focus. It has not only emphasized the pressing need and crucial significance of the Party Re-Organisation for bringing about a new high tide in the Revolutionary Movement but also projected the line based approach to party re-organization. This highlighted the other facet of the party question, namely the impermissibility of diluting the distinct ideological political identity of the political party. The organisation's insistence on the distinct political identity while seeking to build the party as the leading political core of the revolutionary mass movement of the Indian People, has not only general orientational validity but also particular relevance to the particular situation.” It has also given significant writing on linking the trade Union movement with the agrarian revolutionary Struggle in the villages. It has a sound thesis on the Workers Front where it explains the need to develop an advanced revolutionary core of workers who could propagate revolutionary politics in the villages. There is also a most sound International line demarcating from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and deferring the premature formation of a Communist International from the Russian and Chinese Experience. (Remember Stalin's Comintern was dissolved in 1943 while Mao never called for a Communist International) The Organisation firmly defends the term 'Mao Tse Tung Thought' as against the term 'Maoism'. It explains that
7. Significance of Formation of the 1994 formed Marxist Leninist Revolutionary Centre (10th anniversary year of formation)

A New Marxist Leninist Revolutionary Centre was formed in August 1994 through the merger of the 1988 formed Communist Revolutionary Centre with three other revolutionary Groups (including the Central Team of the C.P.I.M.L) and the organisation claimed to be the one within which principally the proletarian revolutionary line has been built up. After a continuos process of bilateral transactions this unity took place. The organisation states that the proletarian revolutionary trend lies within various Communist Revolutionary groups and that the proletarian revolutionary party has still to be formed. They brought out their basic Documents in 1995 after their Inaugural Conference. This new formation claims that till today since the Telengana Armed Struggle, (led by the Andhra Pradesh Unit of the Communist Party Of India) the line of the organization as well as their earlier constituent units is to closer to Mao's line than any other organization on the theoretical and practical plane. On the International Line and on it's analysis of the agrarian revolutionary Perspective and military line it has outstanding clarity. It displays a distinct Marxist Leninist Assesment Internationally and nationally theoretically. It has a most complete thesis of the relationship of the mass organization with the proletarian party. It explains the distinct identity and the need to function democratically within the mass organization and not impose party politics on the mass organizations. It also explains why theoretically armed Struggle and active boycott of election cannot be carried out in the present circumstances. Its basic Documents explain that today the co-relation between the revolutionary forces with the enemy has not been
the massacre by the Ranbir Sena in Laxmapur Bathe in Bihar on the Dalits a huge joint protest was initiated in Calcutta representing revolutionaries of all trends uniting on the same issue. In Andhra Pradesh similarly it significant trade Union Solidarity movements. In Maharashtra it played an important role in guiding revolutionary mass work. It initiated the formation of revolutionary mass papers and strived to develop the correct practice in the trade Unions as against right opportunist and left sectarian practices. It initiated forming a revolutionary workers solidarity platform to co-ordinate workers struggles. Today there is a lull in the trade Union movement and several sympathizers have been lost to the revolutionary workers movement. Particularly in the struggles of the Airport Workers and the garment workers the organization fought for correct practice stressing on the need of mass democratic preparation and political education. Supporting this trend in the mid 1990's a major joint struggle of Airport workers took place in September 1995. A revolutionary Workers front brought out leaflets and pamphlets explaining the connection between the Imperialist policies of the government with the contract labour system and also the semi-feudal exploitation in the villages. They explained the need for workers Unity and the need for linking the workers struggles and not isolating them. In slum areas work was carried out. In the democratic rights organization front it fought for adopting a struggle based democratic Rights Movement as against Civil Liberties in the Constitution. It stressed on Unity of Revolutionary Organisations on common basis and taking up programmes on the basis of opposing state repression on the oppressed people as a whole and not on a particular Group. This helped joint front programmes Eg on Bihar in
1990, 1998. During the Babri Masjid Riots in 1992-1993 in Mumbai, this trend promoted the creation of mass resistance centres to combat the Communal Fascist attacks on the Muslim Minorities by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and organize their own self-defence. It is noteworthy that one constituent of the 1994 formed Marxist Leninist Centre in Uttar Pradesh encouraged self-defence committees to promote mass anti-communal Resistance. This trend emphasized that it was not sufficient to fight communalism through ordinary mass-sectional organizations, but separate mass platforms had to be formed to promote self-defence. In Mumbai, emphasis was given on the Trade Union Movement to Fight Communalism. It is significant that mass activists following trends of both the Chandra Pulla Reddy Line and the People's War line joined this organization. They supported their mass approach in the Workers Front. One activist from Mumbai attended an election programme in Punjab by the Lok Morcha and thought he never witnessed such revolutionary democratic functioning. Similar views were awarded to the Malkangiri Adivasi Sangh by a team of activists from Mumbai. Even Comrade Sunder Navalkar, in the period of the early 1990's, praised the approach of the organization.

In Punjab today the organization (1994 Formed Marxist Leninist Centre) has adopted a mass revolutionary approach and has made the greatest revolutionary progress. (More theoretical and practical progress than any revolutionary Group since the Naxalbari Struggle in 1969) The most significant aspect is maintaining the correct relationship between the mass organization and the political party. A huge movement of landless Agricultural labourers has been built demarcating from deviationist tendencies. A Mass-Based revolutionary democratic Organisation has been built to give solidarity
and sharpen the anti-feudal Struggle which held rallies of historic significance especially during the elections. A revolutionary alternative has been projected through the Party Organisation and the manner of projection (especially as projected by the Rajjeana Campaign and the Election campaign) displays strong theoretical correctness. A trade Union movement has also been built in the towns and major cities giving solidarity with the agrarian struggle which is of great significance. Revolutionary movements of the youth and students are taking place and in many areas village youth have displayed enormous revolutionary enthusiasm. Since the period of the Telengana Armed Struggle there has never been practice so close to Comrade Mao TseTung's mass line as in Punjab. However it is still too early to assess whether Mao's mass revolutionary line is being implemented on the practical plane despite of theoretical clarity. Revolutionary Committees of People's democratic power have yet to be formed and it is too early to say that the movements are heading towards the formation of true people's bases of revolutionary power. One can question the trend of not developing the agrarian struggles in states apart from Orissa and Punjab. The building of the Adivasi Movement in Malkangiri in Orissa has been an outstanding achievement with regards to building the mass line. It must be noted at in Orissa although the Malkangiri Adivasi movement is a major step towards setting up bases of revolutionary power (No conclusive evidence that people's organs of revolutionary democratic power are on their way to being formed) there has been no significant mass revolutionary work in the cities and towns or work. True there have been mass solidarity actions of workers to the Malkangiri Adivasi Struggle during May day by the neighbouring Balimeli dam workers but there
is still not an adequate link of the Adivasi movement (tribal movement) with the Working class so essential to complete the Agrarian revolution. There is also no evidence of the Party Organisation in Orissa projecting the revolutionary Alternative as in Punjab. (Especially during the Elections when only the mass organisation brought out the leaflet) However revolutionary is the mass movement the development of the party organisation is essential. There is also a weakness of the youth movement in Orissa, particularly amongst the Adivasis. After strong ebb in the late 1980’s in West Bengal the mass revolutionary peasant virtually came to a standstill. The inability of organisations to re-organise the peasant movement in the State as well as effectively combat the deviationist trends showed a weakness in implementation of mass line. In Andhra Pradesh a movement representing the mass revolutionary line has not been developed nor in West Bengal. Infact work on the peasant front influenced by the mass line which was so prominent in earlier years is no more prevalent by the organisation in West Bengal. There is insignificant polarization of the mass line trend. The organisation also leads no student movement in both those states which have a strong tradition of revolutionary youth and student movement. The weaknesses of the Organisation (Marxist Leninist Centre formed in 1994) noticed at an All India levels are;

- The organization has not developed democratic Alternative organs of revolutionary power or revolutionary base areas or mass revolutionary armed struggle like the Chinese Communist Party, in the period of armed agrarian revolutionary struggle. (1929-1949) or during the Telengana Armed Struggle in Andhra Pradesh between 1946-1951. In Punjab and in
Orissa there is strong possibility that the agrarian movement may develop into an armed agrarian revolutionary struggle like the Telengana Armed Struggle but there is still insufficient evidence.

- Nor have they got grassroots work in many states. One can question the trend of not developing the agrarian revolutionary struggles in many states. In the 1995 Conference (from reports of the Comrade), delegates attended from Orissa, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Maharashtra, and Uttar Pradesh. Mao Tse Tung stressed on building the rural movements in the countryside as the peasantry is the principal force. (Mao developed concept of encircling the Cities from the rural Areas)

Although theoretically they have an All India Perspective in practice there is significant impact in few states. Only in Punjab and Orissa has peasant struggle been developed. Apart from Punjab revolutionary Movements the organisation has hardly made an impact on the youth sections.

- There is also inadequate criticism of the errors of the Stalinist and Maoist Eras in the erstwhile Soviet Union and China Respectively. True, there is lack of sufficient knowledge but an effort has to be made in both these respects. The terror of the Stalin Era where thousands of innocent party members were executed has not been reviewed nor have the red Guard depredations during the Chinese Cultural Revolution in which Mao’s thought was almost converted to a Koran.

- There is also inadequate study on the question of the Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and how the revolutionary movement can link their struggles with those of the Dalits
• A line has not yet been developed completely taking into account the unique characteristics of India and the different aspects or conditions in the various states in applying Mao Thought. True Mao Tse Tung's military line is correct but the Chinese Experience cannot be copied in toto. This has remarkable significance in analyzing the link of the Indian Countryside with the cities. (Rural areas with urban) and how encirclement can be carried out in Indian Conditions where Imperialism has had a greater effect than on China during the pre-revolution period.

• We have also not seen enough work by the organization to defend International Communist Revolutionary Movements like the movements in Peru, Nepal and Philipines or defending the ideology of Mao Tse Tung Thought through initiating seminars and conferences. There participation in such seminars and programmes initiated by Revolutionary groupshas been negligible. This is noticeable in States like West Bengal.

• There is no significant achievement in any state in leading a revolutionary Trade Union Movement. (Eg. in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh) although there have been protracted efforts to jointly coordinate Working class struggles of different sections in States like West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The organization has not set up alternative revolutionary Trade Union Centres or are not heading towards the building of alternative organs of revolutionary power by the Working class in States of work. In the last few decades the greatest achievement has been that of the Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha in Madhya Pradesh. (Independent from any revolutionary Group) No Marxist – Leninist Organisation has even achieved comparable gain in the working class
sphere as the Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha organized by Shankar Guha Nuyogi. This comrade was assassinated in the year 1991 by Industrialists goons after organizing the mine workers in the C.M.M.S Union and successfully won the implementation of payment of minimum wages and permanency. Now hospitals have been formed as well as workers schools and a revolutionary democratic method of functioning is adopted by the Union.

8. Work of mass fronts depicting mass approach to work from the period of the 1980's-May Day Programme-1989

- Revolutionary Groups in Punjab decided that on May Day besides projecting their political understanding the aspect of Unity and solidarity of the Union forces should be emphasised. The following steps was decided.

- Approach All Communist Revolutionary Groups to issue joint Statements and leaflets, wallposters etc in the name of political organisations to propagate May Day message.

- The editor of their mass political paper should approach other revolutionary democratic papers to publish a joint May Day editorial.

- On the level of Mass Organisations our mass leaders should approach all pro-people Mass Leaders under the influence of other democratic forces. All the participant forces should sought out a minimum common understanding which is to be projected from such platforms

- If in any place joint platforms are not possible, various mass organisations should demonstrate together towards the end of their separate May Day Functions.
Implementation

In one industrial City there were contacts amongst Industrial Workers. At a representative meeting of various mass organisations of industrial workers, democratic Rights Organisation, roadway workers, Textile Workers and Railway Workers, telephone employees, and hospital employees. It was decided that all these organisations would have their separate May Day functions and culminate proceedings with a joint demonstration. Center of Indian Trade Unions, the upper Echelons of the All India Trade Union Congress and the H.M.S backed out. However, the local representatives of those mass organisations wished to join the front.

Before May Day a propaganda programme was launched. A troupe of about fifty workers and some industrial workers performed a march in an industrial Area. On 30th April, a troupe of about hundred workers marched through half a dozen Industrial areas, thirty five to forty workers interspersed a wrestling show. On the 1st May Morning, slogan shouting workers arrived from various industrial areas and assembled at the office. After a brief flag hoisting ceremony the workers marched to the main industrial Area. After preparatory gate meetings in colonies, a group of seventy to eighty Railway workers organized a seventy to eighty torch-light procession. In the joint function eight hundred people, comprising Industrial Workers, railway workers, telephone employees, railway employees, Nepali workers, Women and Students and democratic Rights activists held a rally. The rally passed by the rally held by the C.I.T.U (Trade Union Front of Revisionist C.P.M) Rally. The organisers of that function started giving revolutionary slogans in order to hold up their participants and to prevent them from being won over by the
Revolutionary Democratic Forces. Sensibly, the leaders of the demonstration of revolutionary forces avoided a tussle thus raising a feeling of solidarity with the audience of that function.

In another town as the result of a correct method of work revisionist trade Union leaders were isolated and pressurised to form a solidarity committee of twenty-one organisations. Earlier there had been a major tussle between the mass revolutionary forces and the Revisionists. The Communist revolutionaries had an organisation of electricity workers which gave a call to organise a general solidarity committee in support of the Struggling Doctors. The Revisionists tried to sabotage three meetings involving this struggle. Most of the organisations in the Solidarity committee were attached to the revisionist parties. In the May Day programme, the Union of technical workers of the Electricity board gave a call for joint May Day celebrations. A meeting representing 16 mass organisations was called to finalise the programme. Revisionist leaders intervened in their meeting and reflected their undemocratic approach. They tried to foil all Unity Attempts. Ultimately 2nd May Day platforms emerged—one led by the Communist Revolutionaries and one led by the Revisionists. The revisionists organised programmes to sabotage the Communist Revolutionary Programme. In the tussle the revolutionary forces captured 11 mass organisations from the Revisionists. The May day function of the Revolutionary Forces had a revolutionary influence on the toiling people.

In another town the Communist Party of India had a stronghold. The Communist Party of India member had won three assembly elections from
this constituency. The Communist Party of India also dominated the Trade Union Politics of the Region. However, the Communist revolutionary Organisation distributed a leaflet to all mass Organisations of workers and employees jointly on May Day. Fearing the influence of revolutionary onslaught on the people, they launched a major mobilisation campaign for the first time. Normally, they would never bother to carry out a mobilisation campaign. Competing with the revolutionary organisation for the first time, the Communist Party of India was forced to do so. On the day of the function, the revisionists were not able to attack the revolutionaries. This was because the Communist revolutionaries projected a creditable pro-people image in the ranks of members of mass organisations. A few mass Organisations left the C.P.I. platform and joined the revolutionary ranks! In two small-scale factories, workers were divided. A section of them joined the section of revisionists, and another joined the Communist Revolutionaries. Five mass revolutionary mass papers under the initiative of the Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India published a joint May Day message. This was the first time so many revolutionary papers supporting different lines gave a joint statement. In fact, with the Central Team of the C.P.I.M.L, a joint poster was pasted. The mass paper of the Inquilabi Jantak Leh' issued a special May Day supplement supporting the mass revolutionary line. A joint May Day poster was also issued by 5 different revolutionary Organisations.

All the campaigns proved that there was a pressing need of developing revolutionary Centres of the Working Class which would consistently follow the right trade Union policies and demolish the revisionist trade Union Centres. Although revisionist parties dominate the trade Union movement,
there grip over trade Union activities and ranks is weak. One section of workers remain with the revisionists for petty political gains while the other bigger section belongs there as a result of no alternative revolutionary Centres of the Working Class.

B. West Bengal mass movement guided by Communist Revolutionaries

Although this was the birthplace of Naxalbari today the Communist revolutionary movement is most disorganised in this state. However a polarisation is taking place. The groups adhering to the left sectarian trend have come together, the groups following the rightist trend have come together and the groups following the 'proletarian revolutionary line' have come together. The last mentioned trend is however weak. The comrades of the latter have waged significant struggles in the trade union movement. A few examples are given below;

Kanoria Jute workers struggle

This struggle started since 1993. The struggling workers were led by the Sangrami Shramik Union. The political core leading the struggle was quite small, but still the struggle was sustained for a considerable period. There was for some time a ruthless offensive on the part of the mill management to blackmail the workers. The central trade unions due to their legalistic and economistic de-generation remained paralysed. The demands of the Kanoria workers was the payment of legal dues, the stopping and re-funding of wage cut, meeting the statutory obligations regarding P.F. Gratuity and E.S.I and opposing the retrenchment of 37 workers. Special emphasis was placed on organising the fighting strength of the workers and enhancing the class -
conscious workers. The corresponding tactical line contains such pronounced elements as raising most reasonable, just and winnable demands which cannot be faulted by non-friendly quarters, boosting the confidence of workers through small initial success of victories and preparing them step by step for bigger engagements, building and cementing the confidence of the masses of the union workers and activists in the leading core in the course of struggle; seeking to make up for the inadequate development of the subjective factor through mass mobilisation, and through the creation of the required mass-organisational and political-organisational infrastructure and skilful manoeuvring of non-friendly forces and giving prompt response to any new development.

The other aspect of the struggle pertains to the state of affairs of workers in the jute industry. Thus the corresponding struggle addresses itself to the broader forces who are arrayed against each other in this general fight around the pressing trade union demands in the state. It treats these forces primarily according to their respective general practices rather than their discreet acts. It lays stress on the resolution of common struggle issues at the industry or policy level rather than at the individual plant level. In this connection however the tactical line reflects the awareness of the existing inadequacy of political-organisational strength and unity of the Marxist – Leninist leading core of the worker's movement as well as the inadequacy of the mass – organisational consolidation under this core. However, by clearly projecting to the workers the general perspectives of the struggle and by making the requisite political preparations to launch the wide workers movement this limitation could be overcome.
The first-round victory took place as the result of a successful and massive 'Rail Roko agitation' by the S.S.U. On January 19th, 1994 the C.I.T.U. leadership launched a mass offensive against the S.S.U. The S.S.U. held a parallel rally at Esplanade East. 3,000 workers were mobilised and they gathered support from the peasantry. The Kanoria workers understood that the C.I.T.U. had made false claims. The workers also understood that the central trade unions the disunity within the anti-S.S.U. front. This was displayed by the A.I.T.U.C., the trade union wing of the C.P.I. who supported the S.S.U.

On February 19th, 1994 the mill management tried to cause confusion among the ranks of workers by opening the mill. The S.S.U. explained the tricks the management was trying to play. The masses could now see the game of the management.

On October 1st the workers achieved a victory. After a long struggle the mill was opened and the workers' demands were conceded after 11 months of struggle. They had fought for re-opening of the mill, payment of their legitimate dues, and re-instatement of 37 workers.

Apart from exposing the impotence of established unions the Kanoria struggle exposed the anti-people and anti-working class bias of various institutions. The class-collaborationist line of the established unions was exposed. The Kanoria workers were a significant example of the revolutionary potential of workers when they used their organised strength, devise revolutionary methods of struggle and shed dependence of traditional
methods of struggle. It is an outstanding example to the working class all over the country. What is significant is that the workers were aided by the peasantry and other democratic sections.

In West Bengal workers belonging to various factories have been reacting, wherever a serious leadership is trying to organise the workers under the established political parties. In Indian Iron and Steel out of 16,000 workers, 10,000 have joined an effort to form their own union. In Jessop, the oldest engineering factory in India the workers formed a Yukta Sangram committee, leaving the old unions like C.I.T.U. and A.I.T.U.C. The workers won their demands of immediate payment of all their dues. The leaders of the committee were beaten up by C.P.I.M. goons. In protest a massive rally was launched comprising a rail and rasta roko. 6 of the miscreants were arrested. In Hindwire factory the mill was closed on 27th November 1996, 230 workers being retrenched. In retaliation the Workers organised the Mazdoor Manch "raising the slogan of the immediate opening of the mill. What was remarkable that several workers left the ruling Class I.N.T.U.C Union and the Revisionist C.P.M. C.I.T.U Unions to join the Front. The Manch also gained the support of different factories. In India Jute Mill the permanent workers under the leadership of I.F.T.U started a movement to re-introduce 21 shifts in contrast to the lately enforced 18 shifts. The management was gheraoed. The factory remained closed for 4 months. On 4th March 1997 it was re-opened and 21 shifts were introduced. On 4th May 1997, a C.I.T.U Leader was murdered and the leadership accused the I.F.T.U for this (Indian Federation of Trade Unions-affiliated to C.P.I.M.L New Democracy) The Union office was put on fire. However the workers remained firm calling for elections. A gate
meeting and rally was held on 13th December. The Elections were held on 19th December. 300 Workers acted as volunteers to protect the workers from goondas of ruling class parties. Workers from other factories assisted them. It is significant that workers within reactionary unions are realising their nature and are searching a new leadership. The most important fact is that movements have to be co-ordinated unitedly and struggles should not just be taken up locally. There has to be co-operation amongst various struggling sections. They have to be developed in a co-ordinated manner.

On the peasant front there was a strong movement to re-organise the peasant association to build an agrarian revolutionary movement and fight against the left Adventurist Charu Mazumdar line. Debra, a center of the militant food movement in 1965-1966 along with Gopiballabhpur was a strong base of the peasant movement under the influence of the Naxalbari movement. However due to large scale repression of Communist revolutionaries the movement got disorganised. Due to repeated political organisational weaknesses the attempt to re-organise a peasant association was not successful.

The peasant association had to continuously bear the wrath of the C.P.M gangs. The C.P.M, after coming to power in 1977, progressively aligned themselves with major sections of landlords and the peasants. They also abused their political power to suppress the democratic struggles of the peasantry. Attempts to re-organise the peasant movement cannot be made without politically isolating the C.P.M. Below are some examples.
In Abdalipur Mouza in Debra Thana, with a population of 400, of which more than 50% were adivasis, had some vested lands. However, some peasants backed by the C.P.M. forcibly felled the costly trees on these lands and constructed huts for themselves. Under the peasant Association's guidance, the people held a meeting assembling all the villagers, discussing the problem of the said lands and commonly decide the distribution of the land. The Anchal Pradhan, a local leader of the C.P.M., attempted to misguide the peasants by stating that the land belonged to a trust. However, the peasant's investigated that he lied. Subsequently, the peasants forcibly occupied the lands and the C.P.M. people were made to retreat. It was decided that the land would be distributed equally among all needy peasants. The C.P.M. leaders were furious at this and cut off the water supply to some of the lands of the peasants. The peasants protested against this and demanded a restoration of water supply. The collective struggle of the peasants enabled them to win back their water supply. The C.P.M. activists continued to harass peasants individually imposing a fine of Rs 501 on a Jharkhand supporter, accusing him of abusing someone during the elections, preventing another peasant from harvesting the mustard crop, removing another peasant from his job etc. By strengthening unity amongst themselves and through united struggles and through mutual help they retaliated these unjust, oppressive acts. At Itai village a landlord amassing more than 200 acres of land was harassing the peasants. With the help of the class collaborationist C.P.M the landlord had evicted the rightful tenants from the land. There was a 7 and a half acre tank, known as Gardan Mari tank, in these lands. The landlord collaborating with the C.P.M. attempted to transfer the
Gardan Mari tank in the name of one of the C.P.M. supporters at some price. The C.P.M. people claiming that the tank land was transferred to somebody threatened the peasants with dire consequences if they did not keep of these lands.

The peasants made preparations for an organised offensive to combat this injustice by holding secret meetings in the village carefully planning to occupy the tank, making plans for self-defence. 400 people got mobilised and occupied the tank. They accordingly divided the work. Some peasants cleaned the tank and sowed paddy, others stood guards to major points to protect them from any attacks from the C.P.M. gangs.

After being instigated by the C.P.M. the police force came on the scene. They tried to stop the peasants from cleaning the tank and sowing the paddy. The peasants bravely stood their ground. The next day the peasants marched to the police Station and demanded a negotiation with the landlord for taking ownership of the tank. Ultimately the landlord was compelled to agree. An agreement was made to transfer the tank for a certain agreed amount. Through the collective, organised strength of the majority of the people, 35 needy peasants won the ownership of the land.

The C.P.M. could not tolerate this and attacked the peasants who were celebrating their victory near the tank. Armed gangs of C.P.M. supporters advanced but the peasants again re-organised and thwarted off the C.P.M attacks. The gang members were forced to flee. A huge contingent of peasants gheraoed the C.P.M. mob from all sides. The C.P.M. mob had to simply run for
their lives. In similar fashion in Maratala the poor peasants defended their rights. The poor peasants dwellings were not recorded. The peasant Association held a meeting and an agitational programme was launched. A demonstration of the poor peasants to Maratala was attacked by a C.P.M gang. The peasants retaliated this. The next day a protest rail was again attacked by a C.P.M gang and again the poor peasants counter-attacked. Finally the C.P.M gangs fled.

The above struggles are ideal examples of revolutionary mass line struggles similar to the struggles of the Chinese Peasant Association before armed struggle was formally launched in 1929. These struggles trained the peasantry to organise self-defence against the C.P.M-Landlord combine building a strong Agrarian Revolutionary Movement by strengthening the peasant's Association on the basis of a broad Agrarian Revolutionary Programme. This would combat both deviations of the left and the right association on the basis of a broad agrarian revolutionary programme.

C. Anti Communal Struggle in Bihar

In 1989 during the Bhagalpur riots a campaign depicting the revolutionary mass line against Hindu Communalism and minority Fundamentalism took place. The Hindu revivalist campaign in India had it's roots in the JanSangh and the R.S.S just after independence. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad a communal Hindu Front led by the Bharatiya Janata Party wishing to build a movement for Hindutva carried out a brick worship campaign at Ayodhya. Even the left Front Parties and the Janata Dal allowed this. The Congress which had claims of being secular sent 5 lakh Ramshilas to
villages all over the Country to win votes! Infact they were the source of communalism as in 1986 Rajiv Gandhi entered the Ram Janmabhoomi in Ayodhya (God Ram's birthplace) temple and advocated Ram Rajya. Infact he was the first person to open the doors of the Babri Masjid. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad propogated that the Babri Masjid Mosque should be destroyed and a temple built. Ordinary people were diverted from their socio-political issues like Price Rise. The Riots were a necessary instrument for the Ruling Classes to defend themselves from the people's wrath at their economic conditions. In Bhagalpur hundreds perished in the riots. More than 25,000 people were rendered homeless. The left Parties and the newly elected Janata Dal led no pro-people resistance and infact to win votes let brick worship and communal propoganda take place. There were some heroic mass struggles waged by Communist Revolutionaries.

In Rasaunk in Khagaria District an anti-riot organisation was formed. Plans were made to launch anti-communal demonstrations. A wall writing campaign took place raising the following slogans which were also propogated in various towns and villages.

- All Religious minded people of India are the Children of the same Mother India. That is why in 1857 they fought collectively against the Britishers.
- Fearing the Unity the British created disunion in the Country twice, in 1923 and in 1945 to 1947 - ultimately dividing the Country.
- In 1947 there were 25 crores in the treasury of India, whereas at present the same India has a burden of a loan of 85,000 Crores of Rupees.
• The American and Russian block are inciting riots through the medium of many organisations. The Administration first refused a demonstration. The people went door to door mobilising people for a general assembly. In the harmony meeting 200 people attended consisting of Hindus and Muslims. 12 Speakers spoke and people from both the communities embraced each other. A 21 member Communal Harmony team was formed. The following resolutions were passed.

• The Babri Masjid Controversy should be resolved locally in Ayodhya through some social gathering or court.
• The controversy should not be allowed to be a national controversy.
• No activity should be allowed inciting riots.
• Any Individual caught inciting riots should be punished in a Social Panchayat.
• Any native or foreign money bag, whether he be an exporter of capital, a state Leader, A mullah capitalist, or a landlord, all want to save themselves from the wrath of the masses, to rule and divide the people.

The following slogans were raised

• Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christians are Brethrens.
• Stop the Communal Riots
• Stop converting religious beliefs into riots. Such leaflets prevented riots from taking place.

In Jamalpur in Mungher district similarly people organised anti-communal demonstrations. A brave team of intellectuals were responsible for this. A 'Peace and Harmony committee was formed and a demonstration was
organised. Anti-Communalism posters were put up. These activities prevented riots.

Lastly, when anti-social elements of Godargama planned to massacre the Muslims of Mohinderpur Punarvas in Begusurai district, the Harijan masses openly opposed this under a Comrade and got prepared to fight to death to protect the Muslims. The reactionary forces were forced to flee.

D. Mass Movement in Punjab opposed to Khalistani Movement and State Repression. (Please read Article on Burning Punjab for information on the genesis of the Khalistani Movement in the same Backgrounds section by the same author) These Struggle reports against Khalistani Terror have been compiled from two Issues of the Journal 'The Comrade' as well as back Issues of journals like 'In Defence of Democratic Rights', Surkh Rekha, 'Bleeding Punjab' (A report by the Surkh Rekha and Inqilabi Jantak Leh Journals)

The formation of the anti-repression and anti-communal front in Punjab was an answer to the political State in Punjab ravaged by both State and khalistani terrorism. The front was formed in 1986 to give mass revolutionary resistance to the state and Khalistani terror. Masses had also to be encouraged to organize their own self-defence. All the possible resources had be mobilised to combat the twin terror in Punjab. Several middle sections could be reached through this. A special revolutionary mass resistance programme had to be made. However in the end only the two groups remained. Revolutionary organisations, with defective trends politically behaved with each other as if they were working with revisionist forces. They
used the front as a forum to project their party policies and thus not give the front its due respect as a mass combat force which could draw in all sections of people, irrespective of political ideology into a two pronged struggle against State and Khalistani terror. This caused their departure from the Front. There was also a tendency of those groups to want to use the Front for their class sectional demands as well as use the Front to do joint programmes with political groups. Mass organizations were attached this way to political groups which was a deviationist tendency. Several groups in Punjab soft-pedaled with Khalistani terrorism saying it was a lesser evil. There was a tendency to support the Akali movement from certain Communist Revolutionary sections. These sections supported the Anandpur Sahib resolution where secular demands of the Punjabi people were converted into Sikh demands. (These demands included the release of Jodhpur detenues, sharing of river waters between Punjab and Haryana, transfer of capital from Chandigarh to Amritsar and punishment of the criminals involved in the Delhi Riots. Such sections in the revolutionary camp upheld the movement as a Sikh nationality struggle. This was wrong as the Sikhs were not an oppressed minority like the Kashmiri or Assamese people. The Sikhs were never discriminated in the Armed Forces.)

Groups of young volunteers were created by the front who were ready to bear any risk in the struggle combating the communal terrorists. At several places where the Khalistani terrorists had banned rallies and demonstrations against them, there the front units based on their strength defiantly challenged the ban and held public conferences where they fought against Khalistani terrorism. The Front helped families organize their own self-defence against
the fascists. During Operation Blue star, revolutionary activists Centre, combated Khalistani fundamentalists who tried to grab the land belonging to Hindu families in the name of religious ideology to convert it into a Sikh temple. A demonstration was organized to protest against the fundamentalist elements which was blocked by Khalistani elements. The volunteer squad accompanying the demonstration thwarted the fundamentalist elements. During the Blue Star period the Front organized a public kitchen for the masses, specially for those who were unemployed during the curfew. Just before Blue Star comrades addressed a funeral gathering of two Hindu shopkeepers to instill courage in the masses. Handwritten propaganda was also delivered from roof tops. Khalistani gangs at that time had called for death sentences for people who disobeyed their commands over diet, dress, cultural customs etc. The social reform campaign of the communal fanatics was in full swing and the Khalistanis threatened to ban any protest against them and offenders would be awarded a death sentence.

In March in 1987 the ringleaders of the United Akali Dal and the A.I.S.S.F, in the course of a conference at village Chaina, near Bhagtuana, threatened to assassinate front leader Megh Raj Baghtuana, who was holding meetings against them. Despite these threats Megh Raj, a front organiser, refuted the fascist ideology of the communal terrorists programme. The masses in Bhagtuana responded heroically, organising a demonstration armed with traditional weapons, surrounding the supporters of the Khalistani ideology and material. Those supporters had to beg mercy from the people. Semi-secret mass meetings were organised and a score of volunteers armed with conventional weapons and under-cover illegal firearms
toured the villages to raise funds and to propogate anti-Khalistani material. Nine units of the Front in Goniana, Rampura, Malout, Lambi, Lehra, Kotkapura, Nihalsinghwala, Moga and Jaitu organised a massive armed conference in Jaitu on April 10th. Thousands of people assembled in the conference shouting Slogans "Na Hindu Raaj na Khalistan, Raaj Kare Mazdoor, Kisan. (Neither Hindu Rule or Khalistani rule, we want the rule of Workers and peasants) They were armed with traditional weapons like Lathis, swords, and spears. The village of Jaitu seemed to be staging a festival of the masses. From various towns and villages people approached leaders of the front to hold such programmes at their places. In Bishnandi and Bazakhana, terrorists destroying tombs of the dead were beaten mercilessly by the masses. At Jaitu, an Amrithdari Sikh who tried to forcibly close a cigarette shop was beaten up by the villagers. Similar incidents took place in Kotli, Chaina, Matta, Sedh Singh Wala Villages. With people armed with traditional weapons showing mass defiance such mass resistance reminded people of the heroic resistance and courage of ranks formed from common people during the Great Patriotic War against the Nazi Fascists.

On April 14th a truckload of terrorists armed with naked swords and firearms came to attack the house of Front leader Megh Raj. They were met with a shower of brickbats and stones from the rooftops. The Front workers armed with traditional weapons forced the terrorists to retreat. Khalistanis were literally beaten by the villagers. In the end the police raided the office of the Front in Rampura Phul showing whose side they were on. In spite of repeated threat of the communal terrorists the Front held several demonstrations with numbers varying between 8,000 to 4,000 people.
another part of the village, the terrorists who felt insulted organised an area conference in the village and called Baba Joginder Singh, a Sikh fanatic leader to stage it. A group of young fanatics beat up a shopkeeper on the pretext that he sold beedies. The village people who were trained and prepared beat up these elements. The participants in the Sikh fundamentalist conference retaliated but had to face a severe punishment from the revolutionary masses. On the day of a fundamentalist conference a gang of young fanatics beat up a shopkeeper on the pretext he sold beedies. The village people retaliated, thrashing the gang. This was the first time the communal fanatics faced such a beating in the State. This news spread like wildfire to other parts and greatly inspired the people. The Communal gangs counter attacked but now the rage of the common people flowed like a torrent and they repulsed the communal elements. The villagers organized self-defence played a great role in this. In the same town followers of the Front organised a march with conventional weapons. This inspired 2 Hindu shopkeepers to beat up the communal terrorists who threatened them. The Police tried to ban the demonstration to protect law and order! They showed whose side they were on. In Moga in Bhatinda on July 10th district an 8,000 strong conference was held by the Front. People converged from all over the State like a tornado raising anti-Khalistani and anti-state slogans. The speakers at the rally explained the root causes of the Punjab Problem, the politics of the Front and the role the revolutionary masses had to play in defeating the enemy forces. This conference had historical significance as it was the first state-wide mass resistance in Punjab against the Communal fanatics. Here the creative and revolutionary potential of the masses was
revealed who demonstrated their strength in rising up against the fascist oppressors. On April 9th 1991 Megh Raj Jagpal Singh, Karam Singh, Pappy, Gurjant Singh and nine other Front activists were massacred in Sewevela in Faridkot district. To commemorate their death a statewide protest took place which culminated in a 10,000 strong rally in Sewewala where people assembling from allover the state, armed with traditional weapons as well as raising anti-Khalistan and anti-State slogans were mobilised. A self-defence barricade was made against the Khalistani terrorists and police protection was opposed. Echoes of the revolutionary spirit reverberated in the hearts of the people assembled like a light radiating over them. It appeared like a huge red flame had lit the Sewewala village. The martyrdom of the Sewewala Martyrs wrote a new chapter in the history of the Indian Communist Movement.

All the martyrs were members or followers of the Nagi Reddy Group.

Two years later a commemoration programme was launched which depicted a classic example of mass line. After a considerable study of the political situation it was decided to launch a commemoration programme for the Sewevela martyrs. The Harijan basti region was where the programme was launched. After reaching a general consent of villagers and the residents of the Harijan Basti a secret meeting of 7-8 pro-partymilitants was held. The local mass militants were bitterly critical of the inadequate security arrangements at the time of the massacre, two years previously and felt humiliated but they shared their intense hatred for the Khalistani terrorists. The political activist of the revolutionary group made a self-critical appraisal of their earlier approach which reduced their anger and brought them closer to the revolutionary Group. He pledged that now the masses would be organised
to enable them to receive much stronger self-defence and Front leaders would be far more vigilant of enemies. A list of potential allies and enemies was drawn out. A calculated action programme was chalked out to win over the maximum support of the Harijan Basti.

The survey of the village revealed that Khalistani terror broadly existed over both the landed and landless peasantry. Only a small section of the Landed peasantry sympathised with the Front and even these sections would not openly identify with the Front Programme. The rest of the peasant households remained neutral. The Harijans were unwilling to take the risk again. However, as a result of their social class the Harijans were easy to win over. It was now decided to deploy a plan of work whereby the advanced elements of the youth would be won over followed by the middle and backward layer. This plan proved most fruitful, as a great section of revolutionary youth were won over.

However the Harijan elders were reluctant to join. The Front organised family meetings to combat this obstacle as well as promised greater security plans for them at meetings. Weapons were displayed in the basti for this purpose. The Front giving concrete examples explained what revolutionary resistance to the two pronged Khalistani and State terror was about giving vivid examples of their experience. The class hatred of such families was strengthened by this method. The Harijans were explained how they would be liberated from the tyranny of the rich Sikh Landowners and Pro-Khalistani Sections. During these meetings each participant was allotted a particular duty.
after being assessed. Male members were given duties involving preparations, while women and children were allotted the task of obtaining information about the enemies. In less than two weeks, almost the entire Harijan Basti supported the Front. However, a self-styled leader of the basti as well as Pro-Khalistani elements opposed the programme stating that they would lathi charge the programme. Enraged section of the Youth retaliated trying to give those reactionary elements a sound thrashing but the Front curbed them explaining them to adopt a correct approach.

Khalistani elements mainly belonging to the Jat peasantry continued to threaten this programme through terror methods over villagers. They carried out a campaign of deliberate lies against the Harijans inciting class hatred against the Dalits. The landed peasantry were told by these elements that the Harijans would snatch their lands. They also spread rumours that an attack similar to the one at Sewevala would take place and hundreds would be killed.

Now the Front organisers concentrated on winning over sections of the Jat peasantry. Unfortunately when a group of Harijan youth went on a propaganda campaign the communalised sections of the Jat Peasantry misbehaved and tore up their pamphlets and posters. However the youth kept calm and thus foiled the attempt of these reactionary forces in creating a clash between the Jat peasants and the Harijans. After this incident two contrasting events took place. One section of Harijans were depressed by the aggressive behaviour of the Jats. They wanted to postpone the programme. However another section were outraged and were impatient in holding the programme.
This attitude was predominant in the youth who stated that there was no need to win over the Jat peasantry to hold the programme.

Now all efforts were concentrated on the mobilisation of the Harijan basti. A huge range of family meetings took place. There was now even a great response from women.

After this state-wide preparations were made for the programme—the State Committee of the revolutionary organisation issuing a leaflet explaining the history of the Punjabi masses in combating the communal terror and the State terror. On March 21st a mass meeting of activists was held to pay homage to the Sewewala Martyrs and chalk out plans for the conference on April 9th. A ten member preparation committee was elected which facilitated this propaganda in labour colonies. A shaheedi conference was held on April 4th to pay homage to the heroes where 800 people participated. The families of 2 martyrs of the Sewewala massacre were presented with momentoes.

A massive security programme was launched by the Front. The Harijan masses of the basti played a major role in gathering information about the role of the enemies. The women and children played a major role in this. They made a thorough study of the enemy’s moves, motives and movements. The deployment of adequate and proper weapons was given emphasis. However the emphasis was given on the broad masses asserting their right to self-defence. Trained volunteers were also to play an instrumental role. Two dozen youth of the basti associated themselves as guards, couriers and vigilance keepers as well as spying on the enemy.
A day before the programme security was installed on the roofs of the exterior of the basti. Trained volunteers manned them. Barricades were installed in the lanes and by-lanes to prohibit the entry of suspicious elements. The Barricades were provided cover by armed volunteers positioned on rooftops. All security posts were covered with a special signal system. A network of couriers was organised which raced from one spot to the other exchanging information. All posts had their own commanders and an operational zone operating under a unifying a higher command.

On the day of the programme, entry was entitled only by identity passes. A Harijan Dharamshala staged the programme. Slogans such as "Down with Khalistani and Stae terrorism" and "Long Live the Sewewala Martyrs" were painted on the boundary walls of the building. The ground was decorated with red flags and a bed of red sand. Amidst flower petals name plates of martyrs were placed. A community kitchen served cooked and sweet packed rice to the participants. From the home village of martyred comrade Megh Raj Baghtuana, a contingent of 70 men, women and children carrying red flags and escorted by girl volunteer reached Sewewala. The women participants numbered more than 150 in the conference. By 12 o'clock, 3,000 people had arrived, more than 2/3 from the agricultural labourers, industrial labourers, electricity workers and other working sections. Leaders Amolak Singh and Jaspal Jassi addressed the gathering. At 12.30 the Family members of the martyrs came on stage. Amolak explained people the anti-people nature of the Khalistani terrorists and the State. He explained how the Jat peasantry (Middle Sections of the peasantry) had fallen victim to the Khalistani poisonous propaganda.
2.05 was the exact time of the attack on the Sewewala Martyrs two years previously. At that time perhaps one of the most emotional scenes in the history of the Communist movement in India. The winning over of the Harijan peasantry was a great achievement but the inability to influence the Jat Peasantry was a major setback. The front issued an ordinary appeal to the Jat Peasantry. The front projected its pro-people policies and explained that the Khalistani elements were only trying to poison their minds with lies and false propaganda regarding the Front. It was explained that such elements were trying to wedge the gap between the Jat peasantry and the Harijan labourers. However as these programmes took place, reports took place about the movements of suspected terrorists. This became a major threat and security was strengthened. The Front persuaded supporters to contribute a day's labour in donation. While the harvesting was taking place, a bunch of suspected elements were tracked. A red alert was issued. At night such elements were observed near a Harijan basti. An attack was anticipated and the volunteers resorted to firing to thwart the suspected elements. Again there was a totally contrasting reaction between the Jats and the Harijans. The landed Jat peasantry took it as an attack on the Harijans against them as a provocation while the Harijan peasantry defended the firing of the volunteers. The latter were now more confident of repulsing attacks by class enemies. The great achievement of the martyrs conference was that a most favourable situation was turned into a favourable situation reminiscent of the Vietcong who heroically defeated the American forces in the Vietnam war. The campaign also effectively answered the question of the mass revolutionary line over the line of squad actions. An earlier supporter of Squad actions.
stated "What we achieved here can not be achieved by a squad action." Another Student leader stated" Mass revolutionary line is invincible and armed squad action cannot substitute it". A volunteer Student Group stated"We have gained a valuable experience in the mass revolutionary line." The polemics the Communist Revolutionary Organisation applied in the building up and holding of the conference was comparable in correctness to the polemics of Comrade Mao before the Chinese revolution. The policy of learning from the masses and then educating them and learning correct ideas from the masses was meticulously applied.

The revolutionary mass line was an education to the Communist movement worldwide. These were the salient features.

- Irrespective of political ideology people would be mobilised against the twin onslaught of Khalistan and State terror. The Front never attached class sectional mass organizations to the front or used it to project party politics.
- Maintaining a clear-cut programme to resist the Khalistani fascist attacks as well as state terror on the masses to enable the masses to form self-defence combat forces. A programme was chalked out studying the strength of the Khalistani fascists and the capability of the Front in resisting them. Similarly programmes were taken against police terror.
- Making the people involved and the center of all activity through organizing self-defence and never substituting the role of the masses. Some groups launched Armed Squad actions. The front answered this with democratic mass revolutionary resistance. Mass preparation was made for all
programmes. In fact through their involvement the people learned a lesson in fighting the enemy and their own capacity in self-defence against reactionary forces. Planning and political preparation was emphasized.

- No form of soft-peddling with the Khalistani forces like some groups and giving equal emphasis to opposing state terror. The Front leaders refused to accept the armed licences of the Indian State.

E. In Rajeana in Punjab the ‘Naxalbari martyrs commemoration committee’ staged a martyrs’ commemoration conference on November 12th, 1994.

In Rajeana, in Punjab the Naxalbari martyrs commemoration committee staged a martyrs’ commemoration conference on November 12th, 1994 commemorating Comrade Bant Singh Rajeana, a martyr of the Naxalite Movement in 1972. A committee was formed for this purpose. This was called the committee for commemorating the martyrs of Naxalbari.

The committee took 2 things into consideration. The first was that the content of the platform should be easily understood by the common people. The second was that no controversial point should be raised in the platform. No mutual criticisms should be launched from this platform. It should not be a forum for debating mutual polemics. The maximum revolutionary forces should be launched around it. It was not in the agenda to pass judgement on a particular organisation. It was decided that all the martyrs would be treated at an equal level and no discrimination would be launched as regards to a particular group. They would all be treated as Naxalbari martyrs. There were groups in Punjab which took correct positions on certain
questions of the line while took a right opportunist position on other questions. The C.P.I.M.L.Janashakti was an example of this. It was decided that even if a revolutionary group was affected by the chief opportunist trends of the day they and their group would not be discriminated against. Tributes would be paid to all as martyrs to the revolutionary movement.

However, problems were caused by the R.C.C.I.M.L and the C.P.I.M.L. Party Unity. The former raised the controversial topic of the 3 world theory, formation of C.P.I.M.L. and land to the tiller. The Party Unity group decided that C.P.I.M.L. Janashakti should be treated as a genuine communist revolutionary organisation. And its Punjab unit should be invited to form the committee. The Janashakti group had lost several of their leaders to the Khalistani terrorists. However, their line was affected by right opportunist positions. Thus these two groups left the platform. A strong mobilisation campaign was undertaken for the conference. Small group meetings of revolutionary activists were held for those who were prepared to carry out the campaign. The comrade decided that the method of propaganda must be understood by the people. The language used must be easily understood by the workers and peasants. Differentiated propaganda was done for different sections. The politics of Naxalbari was to be connected to the basic interests of different sections. The workers and employees were told that the message of Naxalbari was to fight against narrow, sectional interests and to integrate workers and employees mass movements with the revolutionary movement and that the workers should help the peasantry get organised to build an agrarian revolution. Different propaganda was done with the peasantry. To the landless labourers it was propagated that Naxalbari was the name for the
confiscation of the land, property and implements of the landlords and their
distribution amongst the landless labourers. It is also the name for bringing
bonded labour to the end as well as feudal exploitation. To the landed
peasantry it was propagated that they were bent on bringing to an end the
present social and economic system which supports the monopoly of land by
the landlords and exploitation of peasants in the form of land rent and
usury. They would also confiscate the capital and property in India of all the
Indian imperialists and comrades.

The Akali leaders attempting to trick the common people instilled fear
amongst the masses that the common people would be arrested if they
supported the Communist revolutionaries. For two weeks an intensive combat
took place between the ranks of the Communist Revolutionaries and the
leaders and Ruling Class supporters. The campaigning team explained their
politics with great patience and persuasion, reminiscent of comrades of
Mao's Red Army in explaining people the relationship between their day to
day lives and politics. In a village called Rhode the masses redressed their
grievances to the campaigning team whereby during the period of Khalistani
terrorism, sixty people were either executed by the terrorists and the
police. They explained how they were threatened by the terrorists blaming the
relatives of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who extorted lakhs of Rupees as
Ransom money and funded Khalistani leaders living in bungalows.

In the Rajjeana area small group meetings were held as well as big
public meetings and rallies. The masses participated most enthusiastically
contributing Rs 30,000.
The Commemorating committee decided that if the State declared a ban on the conference they would not cancel their preparations towards it. In fact they would resist the police parties and assert their democratic Right to assemble. Sit-Ins and roadblock-traffic could also be struggle forms. Protest demonstrations may be organised near the police blockades. To some extent, the committee felt such demonstrations would serve the purpose of the Conference.

The final conference was the biggest ever gathering that took place in Punjab for 25 years among the revolutionary forces. 10,000 people were mobilised. In this conference the real meaning of Naxalbari was explained. Earlier it was understood that Naxalbari meant armed actions of squads. Many people came to understand for the 1st time that it was a mass-based political movement. A separate programme was made for landless peasants and a separate programme was made for the landed peasantry. The need for a correct agrarian revolutionary programme was explained. The people's attitude to the revolutionary movement was greatly changed by this. Here are some examples.

A resolution highlighting the sacrifice, heritage and path of the martyrs was passed. This included

- To draw a clear-cut demarcation from the parliamentary path and to expose the hypocritical nature of those who propogated it as well as the bankruptcy of that ideology towards the liberation path.
- To give a call to People's liberation.
• To highlight the importance of building the Agrarian revolutionary movement as well as the revolutionary United Front.

• To highlight the democratic right of the people to build revolutionary mass resistance.

• To explain the Indian people the connection between their struggles and those of Imperialist and third-world countries as well as building solidarity movements to revolutionary struggles all over the world particularly the revolutionary armed struggle in Peru.

• The significance of organisational and political self-preparedness for self-defence against counter革命ary violence based on the recent experience they faced in Punjab.

• Commemorating the Martyrs and explaining the necessity of building a single Communist revolutionary organisation.

"We had been mistaking Naxalbari people as a terror. Now we know they are very much for their welfare. Such comments were made by landless labourers and peasants. A leader of a group of 8 to 10 migrant labourers said "We had been observing for a full 9 years whether anybody exists in Punjab or not. Now we know that they are very much here. Had we known of their presence earlier we would have created doomsday in the factories."

A major reason for the success of the conference was the method of mobilisation. People were introduced politics to their level of understanding and could relate the politics of Naxalbari to the problems they faced in their day to day lives. This reminded one of the mass line followed by the Chinese Red Army in the pre-revolutionary period. The Red Army's primary objective
was to arm and educate the masses and the strength of the enemy was always critically evaluated. Before holding conferences Mao insisted that the masses were properly educated and that adequate preparations were made to combat an enemy attack.

In March 1996 the Lok Morcha was formed. This was formed as there was a need of a mass democratic revolutionary platform. The people's movement needed such a mass political front to guide them on a revolutionary road. A revolutionary alternative could be projected from this platform to combat ruling-class politics. An intensive mass mobilisation was done all over Punjab thoroughly explaining all sections of people the programme. A four page leaflet was circulated all over Punjab. A 4 member committee was appointed to explain people the political objectives and the need for a mass-political platform. The committee held preparatory meetings and discussions in dozens of villages, industrial localities etc. On February 1996 a draft manifesto was issued and circulated amongst its supporters for intensive deliberation. Explanation-cum-discussions were held on these drafts. The meetings elected delegates to participate in the founding convention in Selbrah on March 10th 1996. In the convention 90 delegates attended. After long deliberations a draft manifesto and constitution was made. A 9 member state organising committee was made. It was decided that a shaheedi conference would be held on March 31st commemorating the martyrs who laid their lives for India's freedom.

The leaders of the Morcha subsequently engaged themselves in a propaganda programme for the final convention. The convention was to take
place in Selbrah. However their propaganda was almost disrupted by another organisation, the Lok Sangram Morcha. This organisation propagated against the Lok Morcha. However, people opposed their disruptionist role and ultimately they had to admit their mistake. The Lok Morcha refuted the disruptionists' programme effectively and the people agreed.

The Lok Morcha effectively carried out propaganda for the conference. Different types of leaflets were prepared for different sections of the people. A leaflet highlighting the main points of the Lok Morcha manifesto was distributed. A special leaflet was published for the spinning mill workers in Bhatinda. A 'Jhanda' march was organised to organise industrial workers. The Shaheedi conference (martyrdom) was a great success. 12,000 people attended it. People could see the need for the Morcha in bringing about a radical change in their daily lives. All sections of the people participated. The majority of people came from the industrial and rural labour and the peasantry. The objectives of the Lok Morcha are:

"The Morcha will wage struggle for the political struggle of gaining real independence. It will wage relentless struggle against imperialist forces as well as against internal pro-imperialist forces and anti-national forces. It will wage struggle for democratisation in all walks of life and for establishing a genuine democracy. It will wage struggle for attaining the twin objective of putting an end to the domination of foreign imperialist powers and their local accomplice, the big bourgeoisie over the Indian economy and the dominance of landlords in agriculture so as to abolish socio-economic backwardness. The Lok Morcha would organise programmes in order to educate and organise the
masses. It will strive to build a strong revolutionary democratic movement. It will also strive to lead and lend support to other struggling sections to realise their demands. The Lok Morcha will utilise forms of propaganda, organisation and struggle that ensure the representation of the will of the people, result in their active participation in propaganda, organisation and struggle activities and enhance their capabilities of self organisation and leadership."

Prominent campaigns of the Lok Morcha. Since its inception the Lok Morcha has carried out significant political campaigns. An example is their campaign in the elections.

In 1999 during the general elections in August they carried out a major election campaign. A separate Poster was made for the party propaganda and a separate one for the Lok Morcha propaganda. The campaign was a great success. Great emphasis was placed on not imposing the party politics on the mass organisations. The mass platforms must not be used by the party. It was important that people would easily understand the contents of the leaflet. More than 150 villages were covered in the election propaganda. The leaflets were jointly issued by the Lok Morcha and the Punjab Khet Mazdoor Union. The revolutionary democratic front of electricity workers joined the campaign at some places. The Moulder and steel workers union, too carried out a campaign but they did not join the Lok Morcha. This was because the workers of the union did not have enough political consciousness. There level of political content did not match that of the Lok Morcha. This was an important decision as otherwise the campaign would have had a superficial effect. This was a good example of correct revolutionary practice.
The groups who tried to impose boycott of elections on the people as well as those who participated in them made a very superficial impact. The boycott slogan was meaningless as people hadn’t reached that level of political consciousness. However the response to the campaign of the and the Lok Morcha was tremendous. The content of the leaflet encouraged the party ranks and followers to distribute it wide for mass consumption. The wide range of issues were explained in simple language. The immediate practical alternative was projected in the leaflet so that people could easily grasp its contents. The focus of the state committees poster was on building the revolutionary movement, with the agrarian movement as its axis, as an alternative to parliamentary path. Below are some examples of the people’s response.

In one mass gathering after the leader of the Morcha spoke some persons came to the stage. They said to the Morcha leader “Brother, all your points are worth lakhs of rupees, they are worth safeguarding by encasing in a box. But show us the door to which we have to bow our heads.”

In Ropar district the villager’s gheraoed the Morcha activists mistaking them for politicians. But when the people heard the politics of the Morcha they said “What you have written tells the truth. It is 100% correct. In Bhatinda the contingent of agricultural workers and peasants confronted the parliamentary candidate of the Akali Dal under the leadership of the Morcha in some places people asked activists of the Morcha to stand for elections. However this reflected the low consciousness of the people.
In Muktsar district there was an incident where a poor women peasant showed her bravery by confidently sitting near the Akali women leader, a relative of the Badal family, who was sitting on the cot of a landless labour family. She refused to move when she was asked to do so by the police replying "If we people cannot sit besides you, then how are we equal to you as you claim and are you entitled to our votes?"

Similarly, in Ludhiana a women Akali candidate embraced a landless woman labourer. The labourer resisted the politician saying "How are we equal to each other?"

The reason for the success of the programme was the methods adopted by the Lok Morcha. Various conferences were held to educate the people. Effective planning was done and discussions were held among the people. The people were shown the relation of their problems with the campaign. Education was given to activists how to carry out the campaign. A single state level gathering was not called out instead campaigns took place in various districts and villages of the state. Special attention was given to consciousness based mobilisation. The propaganda among masses and the propaganda amongst advanced layers of mass organisations was differentiated.

The Lok Morcha has been an excellent forum to give solidarity to and sharpen the anti-feudal revolutionary peasant struggles. They have also developed a suitable language form which is easily readable to the broad masses and the style of writing in their literature relates concretely to the broad
masses enabling them to relate the material to their day to day struggles. The struggle of Agricultural labourers has been significantly sharpened because of the work of the Lok Morcha.

The struggle of the revolutionary trend within the Bharatiya Kisan Union (Ekta) led significant struggles. The heroic resistance offered by the peasantry in Jethuke to police repression will never be forgotten. It was like a volcano erupting. Protesting for just demands like getting electricity transformers replaced, against a hike in bus fares, protesting re-paying of bank loans, implementation of a trolley service, a huge series of struggles had erupted. At Jethuke the Union was protesting against the arrest of leaders. They combated the police by forming an impregnable barricade impossible for the enemy to penetrate. The peasants emerged like many streams flowing into river. Contingents of 10 to 50 people were organized who drove the police out of the village lanes. Two innocent peasants were killed by the police in False Encounters. The police covered this by not allowing peasants to assemble at the cremation ground. Now a huge series of struggles were launched demanding a judicial inquiry into the killings. A big ceremony was held in commemoration of the peasants. Speakers from the B.K.U. Ekta condemned the State police firing and demanded the arrest of the guilty and compensation for the families of the victims. Protests were held not only in Bhatinda, but in Ludhiana, Nakodar, Banga, Kadian, Mansa, Saunke, Singhewala, Ramdas, etc. On February 29th, 2000, a rally was organized by the B.K.U. Ekta protesting against the injustice perpetrated. The supporters of the Union on their way to the rally in different directions were organized into 12 detachments comprising 200-500 men and women.
Another significant protest with regard to the mass agrarian line was the struggle led by the correct trend within the Bharatiya Kisan Union Ekta protesting against extortion of loans from peasants, forced re-payments and peasant suicides due to being cheated by moneylenders. A famous struggle was held protesting the unjust death of a farmer Mithoo Singh who was cheated by a commission agent Ashok Kumar. The Union has led several heroic struggles confronting and getting Commission agents to the book that cheated farmers into borrowing loans and also demanded huge loan re-payments on interest.

A popular peasant’s march was staged at Mour Mandi in the case of Mithhoo Singh and later a well-planned conference was held in Maiser Khanna where the peasants heroically resisted the attempts of the police to sabotage the conference. Police forces were deployed at two ends of the village to block participants from participating in the conference but the peasants reminiscent of an army breaking an impregnable barricade or a fort broke through the police defence. Earlier, for the Conference the peasants had set up village barricades at the outer openings of many village streets like an army defending a fort. Later massive rallies were held in protest in Bhatinda District. Sixty vehicles carrying about 1700 to 2000 people swarmed the villages like bees. A week later a massive state-wide rally was held in Chandigarh, the Capital City, protesting the police attack. Through protracted struggles several commission agents were forced to repay the amount that they cheated that particular peasant. The Correct trend played the major role in leading the peasant masses on their burning issues. The do-or-die spirit of the peasantry was tapped. The ranks of the Union were taught from this
experience that the correct trend was to fight against usury while the wrong trend was to abandon the struggle. The political preparation of the peasantry in this regard was of great significance.

The Punjab Agricultural Labourers Union in Balahar Vinju gave a vivid lesson on the correct policy of agrarian resistance. At first meetings and rallies were staged protesting the auction of 18 acres of government land. Through protracted struggle the Union made the peasants understand the tricks played by the ruling class Congress Party politicians and the ruling class collaborationist nature of the police. The Harijan community at a Union meeting decided to fight for the land. They went to the field and hoisted the Red Union Flag and also made arrangements for the protection of the flag as well as made long run preparations for the struggle. Continuous protracted struggles were staged at the police stations demanding Union leader Tarsem's release. When the Union was refused permission to stage a joint Unity convention on August 11th, it held its conference secretly. 500 peasants participated. Only when demonstration had reached the district courts did the police come to know of the convention. This displayed tactical skill.

At a later stage the political maturity of the Union was shown through its method of struggle depending on mass mobilization and mass resistance in contrast to legal redress. Heroically in Balahar Vinju the peasants resisted the Congress-I leaders who formed a clique with the district authorities and the Sarpanch of the village. The Union held a conference which was banned by the authorities in Balahar Vinju, in Sewewala. The police attempted to thwart the conference, but at one checkpost the Harijan community combated
the police force present to such an extent that they had to vacate their post.
Later an innocent young activist was detained. 150 villagers gheraoed the
police jeep in which the boy was detained and procured his release.

However the most significant struggle took place on 15th July, where
200 enraged men and women from the Harijan community emerged like a
gushing torrent to hold a vociferous demonstration in the district courts of
Bhatinda. Their hearts seemed to be burning like a red flame. A memorandum
was given to the district authorities. The revolutionary mass line of the Union
as depicted by the struggle could not only defeat the conspiracy of the
Congress-I leaders but build a movement in surrounding areas.

F. The functioning of the Malkangari Adivasi Sangh is a classic example
of revolutionary democratic functioning

This organisation had it's birth in the Manaskhunda Jungle belt where
forest official arrested tribals for settling forest lands.In retaliation the 'Jan Pal
Sangh' was formed which organized a 10,000 strong protest. The Sangh was
re-organised in 1989. The Adivasis were constantly encouraged in
participating in the decisions of the organisation and their was continuous
regularization of people’s committees. Adivasis were asked to prepare there
own leaflets and drafts, leaflets would only be printed after approval of the
committee. Historic struggles were carried out and the Sangh also held 2
conferences.A charter of demands was made for the Sangh which would be
discussed in the village committees, the demands relating to the sopecific
instances relating to the local area. The Sangh organized classes for their own
cadre to enable them to understand the charter of demands, the manifesto, the
past history of the Koraput region, and it's struggles, the history of social
development and the role of state in society, the nature of the present Indian
society, and finally the ultimate weapon in building up the revolutionary
democratic organ representing their power in building a democratic state.
Every year the charter of demands was changed according to the situation. All
the struggles led by the Sangh had features of a genuine mass character
where the masses were self-educated in their own abilities in carrying out
revolutionary change. In the early phase te Sangh led debt-cancellation
struggles, against the Janata Dal regime's declaration of cancellation of rural
debts. The Sangh gheraoed banks like the Panchvatoi Grameen
bank enforcing loan repayments. Land-grab movements were organized in
Pada Magazine village where forest officials seized 150 acres of land
purchased by the tribals and the tribals under the Sangh re-captured their
land. In May-June 1991 500 acres of tribal land was re-captured by Adivasis in
5 villages of Pandharipani Panchayat. In Tapu, the Sangh occupied
landlords' land which was captured through usury and liquor selling 30 years
ago (Mukudpalli, Bejing and Jamuguda). The Sangh went on to fight major
struggles against the forest department at Birlakanpur Panchayat where the
government had seized 500 acres of tribal land. A heroic land struggle was
also held in Chawlamendhi Panchayat where the forest department garabbed
200 acres of Dalit's land. After broad based mobilisation a huge rally was held
in the village and the land was re-occupied. The Sangh also fought against
false arrests of tribals in criminal cases. 50% of the Sangh's cadres were
arrested and booked in various cases. Heroic self-defence was carried out in
Doraguda - Gunthawada against attacks of contractors as well as Paplut
Panchayat. Squads of a revolutionary Group function in the same area of a major revolutionary Group and the activities of a Sangh are a major lesson in the contrast of the mass revolutionary line to that of Squad actions. The Sangh has held 2 conferences. The struggles of the Padmagiri-Pandripani opposing the combine of forest contractors, politicians and administration, and the struggle against the Hamco mining project and the Adivasis Struggles for their rights over Bamboo are a testimony to this. In Padmagiri, a death-defying struggle was staged against the anti-people actions and manoeuvres as well as the criminal loot of forest assets and intimidatory attacks by the forest-contractor-police administration combine of the area. The Struggles main significance was the

- Right to security of Land
- Right to control over forest assets.

The peasant masses were converted from an unorganized force to a major force able to carry out organized self defence in opposition to the enemy combine. It was the equivalent of a stream converting itself into a torrent. Mass resistance has been built against the felling and transportation of trees through a major protracted struggle staged against the notorious G. Subhash Chandra Bose, a forest Contractor who became a smuggler and connived with the police in felling trees and depriving the Adivasis of the Tulenguda region of their livelihood. Various rallies were held at the collector's office and the Adivasis strength outpowered the forces of the Contractor and his henchmen. In the Tulenguda-Kanjoli pocket and the Rangamatiguda-Podarapalli pocket there were great examples of the Adivasis unitedly
opposing felling of trees and setting up people's checkpoints at different points in Tulenguda and Padmagiri as well as asserting their rights. In Podarapalli the villagers were so determined that when they felt their demands were being side-tracked, fiercely reacted. Finally on January 28th and 29th the Contractor's final attempt at thwarting the Adivasis (re-capturing right to fell the trees) was foiled by the resolute resistance of the Adivasis. 2,500 Adivasis rallied with traditional weapons against the tyrant who came with 50 armed goondas. The Sangh contingent deployed bows and arrows to overpower the might of the Contractor's forces. Ultimately the enemy had to flee in jeeps! That day the Adivasis wrote a chapter in their struggle against oppression. It has fought for immediate, partial demands as well as political demands. It has instilled in the tribals that through their struggles and through the medium of their mass organisations, they can become the alternative centres of power and authority. The Sangh has also shown the importance of assistance from the class allies, particularly the working class. The Sangh has shown that people when organised can govern their own affairs and collectively assert their authority. The tribals were thought to place faith only in their own organised strength. An important activity to achieve this end has been the steadfast exposure of all the ruling class institutions and propaganda. The Sangh has also been an effective answer to the Left Sectarian line of the People's War Group Squads who though function with the utmost sincerity and best intentions, do not take the path of involving the people and forming genuine organisations with a genuine mass character.

The Malkangiri Adivasi Sangh's Struggle has become a textbook for a comrade on how to implement mass agrarian revolutionary struggle. The
Sangh has not only recaptured land for the Adivasis but has also organized heroic self-defence. The Sangh always made a sound tactical assessment of the Enemy's strength. The greatest struggle waged by the Sangh was the Padmagiri-Pandrapani Struggle against the onslaught of the contractors, politicians and administration. The Adivasis waged death-defying resistance against the criminal looting of forest assets. The forest contractors, politicians and administration formed a joint team in denying the Adivasis their forest assets. The struggle involved the Adivasis right to security of land and right to control their forest assets. A contractor Subhash Chandra Bose with the collaboration of the local politicians and the administration was carrying out mass felling of trees. The Sangh had to devise adequate methods of winning the confidence of the people. The Sangh team walked for days raising revolutionary slogans. At first the masses failed to respond out of fear, but after protracted campaigning they were eventually won over. One youth who was won over by the Sangh played an instrumental role in mobilizing the tribal villagers. Villagers now came onto the stage with traditional weapons and volunteers were sent to other surrounding villages. Heroically the villager's detachment resisted the might of the contractor's army, assembled in a truck. The Adivasi team blocked the road. What was significant here was the winning over of Adivasi labourers who were a part of the contractors' Army. It was explained to these sections that they were oppressed Adivasis and were fighting on the wrong side. This heroic struggle instilled a sense of confidence which spread to other districts of the State who took up extensive propaganda and mobilization work. The story of the peoples' heroic deeds had spread far and wide. The struggle gave the Sangh activists renewed courage and gave
realization to cadres and militants that their numerical organized strength can not only contain the enemy forces but defeat them.

Later in Padmagiri 6 to 8 self-sufficient Sangh cadre emerged capable of leading struggles. In Tulengudu-Kanjoli pocket, the Adivasis of all villages opposed fresh felling and on their own initiative set up 2 or 3 defence checkposts. In Rangamatiguda-Podarappali pocket the people's development was even greater. Collectively, they discussed with 6 Koya tenants from whom the contractor purchased trees and launched an agreement with them. A series of all-round repression and attacks were launched by the Enemy forces. These met with heroic resistance from the Adivasis. Art Rangamatiguda on January 16th, at the time of spot verification, the contractor's men broke all limits. The masses clustered in large numbers, armed with traditional weapons, resisting the attempts to negotiate a settlement with the contractor. The people beat up a Congress politician Burda, an Agent of the contractor. The womenfolk' gheraed the collector, the fury of the people was like a fire burning and the officials were forced to flee. Burda retaliated with the armed might of the police. The police went to the extent of taking the Sangh leaders into custody. All the democratic mass revolutionary leaders of the Sangh were arrested. To protest the arrests, on 17th January the Sangh members armed with traditional weapons encircled a police Camp at Padmagiri Panchayat blowing their horns. The people took hold of 12 policemen and locked them in a room of the Panchayat's Office in retaliation. On the 20th and 21st, 500 people encircled the contractor's trucks with traditional arms, pooled dry wood around the tyres of trucks and warned the contractor that unless the trucks were unloaded, the villagers would burn
them up. (Earlier on the 19th the contractor gave the Tulenguda peasants respective passbooks, stating that he had deposited Rs 2.60 Lakhs in their name, which was the price of the earlier felled trees. On January 20th-21st he brought 7 trucks and loaded them with timber at the site.)

On the 22nd and 23rd the people gathered at the Sangh office and after discussing with the available Sangh cadre, made a route march in batches of 50's covering the entire 50 to 60 Km., in a determined bid to fight back. Everyday scores of Adivasis were visiting the arrested leaders at the Malkangiri Jail. They even proposed to break the jail but the arrested leaders persuaded the militants not to resort to any such actions. However on January 28th-29th the Adivasis wrote an epic. The contractor deployed his full forces to overthrow the Adivasis. He arrested 3 Sangh cadre and captured 10 truckloads of timber. When the word reached the villagers, 2500 people protested with traditional weapons. The Sangh cadre demanded the release of the captured people. Ultimately the Sangh cadre was forced to resort to bows and arrows. The contractor's forces escaped in jeeps. The people caught hold of 5 of the contractors' men and took them into hostage. During the entire period of the enemy's all round attack, the democratic revolutionary mass leaders were in jail while the main Sangh cadre went underground. However the people's mass revolutionary resistance held the enemy forces at bay. The Sangh cadre's vigilance preparedness was instrumental in this. Eventually on February 2nd the democratic revolutionary mass leaders were released. The correct tactical and democratic approach of the Sangh had great relevance. Against such a mighty oppressor, through upholding a democratic approach of relying on the mood and direct action of
the people at various places. Significantly the Sangh did not raise the issue of
the criminal felling of forest trees at first. At first it had to deal with the fear
psychosis instilled in the people. The Sangh was thus left with the task of
explaining different aspects of the fraud created by the enemy so that people
would begin to understand the issues at hand and express their discrepancies
and desires in respect to them. The Sangh negotiated these problems by
taking up the forest issue from the perspective of the Adivasi's immediate
grievances and on the other hand leading from the Front the people's
blockade of the transport of timber by the contractor.

At this stage of the revolutionary movement it is not suitable to adopt the
tactics of active boycott or to participate in the elections. To propogate 'Active
Boycott', parallel organs of people's power have to be set up. Today people's
polkitical consciousness is not adequate and they have to be encouraged to
form their own democratic institutions of peoples' power. For participation in
elections there has to be an adequate organizational structure and
development in the organisation of the Party of the Proletariat.

The best example of this is that of the election campaigns in Punjab in
1997, 1998 and 1999. The 1997 Lok Morch election rally in Moga and the
1997 and 1998 election campaigns projected the revolutionary alternative in a
most effective way. Here the politics of active political campaign was depicted
in contrast to participation and boycott. People were educated in the need for
enhancing their own class struggles and forming their own revolutionary
democratic mass organization representing their striking power. The
reactionary ruling class politics was explained. The effect it had on the
Revolutionary masses was like a red flame lighting the villages and towns or a
prairie fire being lit. In Andhra Pradesh led some significant solidarity trade Union movements were led in Bobbili upholding the correct trends. After the false encounter of three P.W.G encounters in 1999 the workers were organised in a strong anti-repression demonstration. This was an example of a mass protest. Earlier in the same region workers were mobilised in a massive solidarity protest against the Nellimarla Jute Mill workers firing where on January 28th 1995 police fired on a massive protest. Here (in Nellimarla) there was a strong workers movement led by the C.P.I.M.L towards New Democracy which was however vitiated by wrong rightist trends. The Indian Federation of Trade Unions (Trade Union Front of New Democracy Group) launched an anti-police firing campaign but failed to launch a protracted solidarity campaign taking the issue as state repression. This was due to such groups considering their electoral prospects (Rightist trend in revolutionary Camp) or such a joint campaign affecting their tactical line. In contrast in Bobbili the Workers Revolutionary Council politically educated the workers against state repression and a leaflet was distributed explaining the impact of the Nellimarla firing on the movement as a whole and the connection this repression had with the day to day lives and problems of the masses. The 3 handbills brought out by the Bobbili Workers Union were based on building the political orientation of workers struggle dealing with the problem as one of the working calls movement as a whole. These leaflets served to heighten class consciousness distinct from the leaflets distributed by those of the Indian Federation of Trade Unions. (led by the New Democracy Group) These leaflets explained the need of a massive solidarity effort. On January 2nd 1994 the Rice Mill Workers Union, The Masonry Women Workers Union, and the
Jute Mill Workers of Bobbili held a joint demonstration. The leaflets of the Workers Revolutionary Council in Bobbili made a significant impact on the workers of Nellimarla, Vizianaram and Vijayawada districts.

G. In West Bengal workers belonging to various factories have been reacting, wherever a serious leadership is trying to organise the workers under the established political parties.

In Indian Iron and Steel out of 16,000 workers, 10,000 have joined an effort to form their own union. In Jessop, the oldest engineering factory in India the workers formed a Yukta Sangram committee, leaving the old unions like C.I.T.U. and A.I.T.U.C. The workers won their demands of immediate payment of all their dues. The leaders of the committee were beaten up by C.P.I.M. followers. In protest a massive rally was launched comprising a rail and rasta roko. 6 of the miscreants were arrested. In Hindwire factory the mill was closed on 27th November 1996, 230 workers being retrenched. In retaliation the Workers organised the Mazdoor Manch "raising the slogan of the immediate opening of the mill. What was remarkable that several workers left the ruling Class I.N.T.U.C Union and the Revisionist C.P.M. C.I.T.U Unions to join the Front. The Manch also gained the support of different factories. In India Jute Mill the permanent workers under the leadership of I.F.T.U started a movement to re-introduce 21 shifts in contrast to the lately enforced 18 shifts. The management was gheraoed. The factory remained closed for 4 months. On 4th March 1997 it was re-opened and 21 shifts were introduced. On 4th May 1997, a C.I.T.U Leader was murdered and the leadership accused the I.F.T.U for this (Indian Federation of Trade Unions-affiliated to C.P.I.M.L New Democracy) The Union office was put on
fire. However the workers remained firm calling for elections. A gate meeting and rally was held on 13th December. The Elections were held on 19th December. 300 Workers acted as volunteers to protect the workers from goons of Ruling Class Parties. Workers from other factories assisted them.

It is significant that workers within reactionary unions are realising their nature and are searching a new leadership. The most important fact is that movements have to be co-ordinated unitedly and struggles should not just be taken up locally. There has to be co-operation amongst various struggling sections. They have to be developed in a co-ordinated manner.

H. Mass Organisation – Party relations

The political Party can only raise the politics compatible with the majority of members of the mass organization. Mass Organisations must be given their own identity. It is essential that party forces do not convert such forums into mere fronts. Only when the majority of members in a mass organization can identify themselves with the politics of a political group can a mass organization function as a Front Organisation.

The relationship of a mass organization and a party in the revolutionary movement is like the relationship of a wheel to an axle or the brain to the heart. In a human body if either the brain or the heart fails, life will come to an end. The party is like a heart in the human body pumping blood which travels all around the human body. The blood is the equivalent of the mass organization (links to the various parts of the body) and the parts are like the
masses. The mass organizations are the blood traveling to all parts of the body.

In recent years the best examples of correct relationship of the Party with the mass organizations with the party have been those of the Lok Morcha, Punjab Dehati Majdoor Union, the correct trend within the Bharatiya Kisan Union Ekta and the Malkangiri Adivasi Sangh. During the 1999 Punjab election campaign the revolutionary party, the political organization (1994 formed Centre) introduced a separate handbill for the party cadre to educate them. Separate handbills were printed for advanced sections and separate handbills for mass sections. Within mass organizations only the level of politics compatible with the political understanding of the masses was introduced and for this reason the Mould and Steel Workers Union introduced a handbill of lower political content which reached out to broad sections of less politically conscious workers. The Electricity Workers, with more advanced political consciousness, formed a Revolutionary Workers Front, a forum with more advanced political consciousness. To enhance the peasant struggle particularly of the landless agricultural labourers the Lok Morcha played a significant role. It has devised a language form which is very readable to the masses in it's literature and helped link their revolutionary partial struggles with the political perspective.

Within the B.K.U. (Ekta) the revolutionary trend has fought against imposing the party policies on the mass organizations. This facilitated the major campaigns, protesting globalisation policies, G.A.T.T., etc., protesting
peasant suicides, defying police barriers, etc. Maintaining the mass organisation's independence played a great role in that.

The Revolutionary Group work leading the Malkangiri Adivasi Sangh ensured that the party politics would never be imposed on the mass organisations. Idioms for the common Adivasis were introduced where politics was introduced in ways the tribals could understand them. Indian folk tale figures were made equivalents of figures in revolutionary struggle. An animal folk tale was narrated to explain imperialism. Handbills were only introduced after the acceptance of the committees. Political resolutions of the Sangh would only be passed with the approval of the committee. Democratic discussion and persuasion was an essential feature in the Sangh's method of work. Activity was regularized. People were encouraged to take up programmes on their own initiative. Mass organization members were made to draft their own leaflets and programmes. Special Charter of Demands was made on every May Day which was distributed on a mass scale. The significance of each demand was discussed in each village committee.