

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND OUR TASK

Political Resolution of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the C.P.I.(M.L.) (August 1977)

The Andhra Pradesh Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) conveys revolutionary greetings to the oppressed people of India who wreaked revenge against the Indira regime, responsible for fascist dictatorship, by trouncing it in the parliamentary poll.

The defeat of Indira regime is a signal victory for the country's oppressed masses against ruthless fascist repression. It has once more historically confirmed that the people of the land will not put up with despotism at all.

It has given the lie to the blaring propaganda by the Indira Regime that the proclamation of the emergency had done a lot for the country's economic growth, promoted discipline among the people and stepped up production.

Neither the proclamation of the Emergency nor the savage repression by the Indira regime was an instance of the regime's strength and stability. On the contrary, it testified only to Indira's anxiety at the ever-mounting resistance by the oppressed masses and a steady erosion of her leading position even in her own party, as the Andhra Pradesh Committee of the C.P.I.(M.L.) had stated even then. It demonstrated to the whole world that the Indira regime was after all a paper tiger which was trying to put up a brave face.

It once again confirmed the truth of the universal Marxist adage that reactionaries and fascists dictators the world over, not to speak of the Indira regime, are all mere paper tigers.

FRAUDULENT SLOGAN OF "PEACEFUL REVOLUTION"

It cannot be denied that the downfall of the Indira regime is an event of considerable political significance. But it is far from true to describe it as a mighty social upheaval and as a unique peaceful revolution, as some leaders of the Janata Party have been exaggerating to the point of a hyperbole. Whatever might be its political significance, to say that it is a social revolution is sheer fraud, an artful, even crafty, attempt designed to avert the real social revolution by means of breeding illusions in the oppressed people about its actual nature.

Our society continues to be the same as under the Indira regime semi-feudal and semi-colonial. There has not been an iota of change in the relation of production right with the advent of the Janata Party into power. Nor has there been any transformation in the class character of the Government. To claim that the poll victory of the Janata Party is itself a veritable social revolution is deceitful talk, to say the least.

As long as feudalism is not uprooted and as long as complete liberation is not wrested from the yoke of Soviet Social-imperialism and U.S.-imperialism, our society cannot but continue to remain semi-feudal and semi-colonial. Only a people's democratic revolution, with an agrarian revolution as its axle, can transform the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial society into a truly independent people's democratic society. The latter alone can pave the way directly without the need of another revolution, to the establishment of a socialist society in which man will not exploit man.

The objectives before us for the achievements of a people's democratic revolution are:

A) Uprootment of the feudal exploitation of the broad masses of the peasantry.

B) Confiscation of all the landed properties of feudal landlords without any compensation whatever, with the aim of doing away of all feudal property and, on the basis of the policy of "land to the tiller" free distribution of the confiscated lands among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants who constitute more than half of the peasants masses.

C) Increase production by means of technical improvements in agriculture by putting modern scientific knowledge to good use.

D) Ending the plunder of country's wealth by Soviet and U.S. imperialists who are blocking the path of our industrial advancement and robbing of our raw materials at will and thereby establishing a stronghold on our economy so as to loot our country by means of embellishments such as "Subsidy", "Aid", "Loan" and what not. And, towards that end, nationalisation of all imperialist capital invested in whatever forms in our economy also nationalization of monopoly capital and all key industries. Unity with other Third World Countries and retention of the initiative of determining the prices of our raw material exports with ourselves, in order to check imperialist plunder.

E) Industrialization of the country, agriculture being its base, by means of an independent economic policy which in no way leans on Imperialists and utilizes the nation's resources to the fullest.

It is only when these objectives are all translated into reality that:

(1) Our country can emerge out of its all-enveloping impoverished state as feudal exploitation will be ended and as the agricultural labourers as well as poor peasants, who cannot boast of any property other than two arms, will now acquire land

of their own.

(2) There will be a growth in agricultural production what with the abolition of the feudal exploitation and the peasant now evincing keen interest in greater production, having acquired land for himself. There will also be a marked rise in the average income of the peasantry and to that extent, the purchasing power of the rural millions will also improve.

3) The material basis for industrial growth will be provided with the abolition of the imperialist exploitation and the improvement of people's purchasing power, and thereby the country will pass from a primarily agricultural into an industrial one.

(4) The ever-mounting unemployment can be stemmed and the pressure on the agricultural sector much beyond its capacity to meet people's needs will come down. Productivity will move up and human labour-power will be properly employed. Consequently even agricultural production will register a marked improvement and the country will achieve plenty and prosperity.

So long as the social objectives mentioned above remain unfulfilled, it can only be a jugglery of words to claim that a social revolution was effected merely by virtue of the electoral defeat of the Indira regime or by virtue of the withdrawal of the emergency proclamation. It is in fact a clever trick, meant to divert the people from the tasks of a real social revolution.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO REALISE THE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION UNDER THE JANATA AEGIS

It is the firm belief of the C.P.I.(M.L.) of Andhra Pradesh that neither by the Janata Party which has led the people in defeating Indira dictatorship in elections nor the Janata government which was formed under the aegis of that party can a people's democratic revolution be achieved in our country.

The constituent parties of the Janata combine and their leaders are in no way strangers to our people. What is new is only the Janata Party. Even a sincere democrat cannot help but conclude from the previous record of those parties and leaders as well as from the class character of the Janata government after the formation of that party, that the fulfilment of the tasks of the people's democratic revolution under the aegis of this government would be a sheer impossibility.

Barring the withdrawal of the Emergency, the basic politico-economic policies of the Janata regime are in no way different from those of its predecessor. Even admitting the presence, in the Janata government, of a few progressive minded elements, this government is as reactionary as the previous one, belonging as it does to the comprador bourgeois bid-landlord classes.

The Janata government's statements about controlling the price-line, eliminating unemployment and giving priority to the development of agriculture might sound very liberal. However, neither this nor any other government can ever translate such statements into fact, unless and until an end is put to imperialist exploitation and independent economic policies are formulated and pursued.

No amount of investment in agriculture by the government will, likewise, be of any real use other than making the big-landlords still bigger, unless and until an end is put to feudalism and feudal exploitative practices, the feudal hold is removed from the land and all land is first confiscated for distribution among agricultural labourers and peasants on the basis of the formula "Land to the tiller". As the official statistical data has itself shown, the entire agricultural investment of the Congress regime after 1947 has only contributed to the explosion in the numbers of agricultural labourers year after year, and that the latter have lost what little they had and so got proletarianized with no property of their own other than their labouring power. More budgetary allocation of huge sums of money for agricultural growth will produce similar results even if they were implemented fully, so long as basic changes aimed at eliminating feudalism root and branch are not contemplated and taken in hand.

Vital anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures directed against the total elimination of the twin-exploitation are conspicuous by their absence in the Janata party's programme or its plans. It is therefore unthinkable under the Janata government, how either the poverty of the people is going to end, or unemployment and under-employment are going to vanish or the purchasing power of the masses will improve so as to facilitate the country's economic growth. Such things are impossible in the present set-up. It will only be a wild goose chase to hope that any government, not to speak of the present Janata government with more plentiful promises only to its credit, can eliminate the poverty of the oppressed millions of our countrymen so long as it does not address itself to the basic tasks mentioned earlier in right earnest.

THE OPPRESSED ALONE CAN MAKE THE REVOLUTION

Any complacency on the part of the oppressed at the defeat of the Indira regime and simultaneously, any illusions regarding the resolution of their problems under Janata rule and about a metamorphosis of the country into a land of prosperity are certain to end up with bitter disappointment. In fact, such illusions have taken hold of their minds to a noticeable degree. They are, however, destined to be dispelled very soon because of the strong impact of the countrywide anti-Indira fascist armed struggle of the agrarian revolution drawing their inspiration from the struggles of the peasantry of Naxalbari and Srikakulam. there is besides, powerful impact of the excellent situation in World Revolution.

Imperialism is now in the throes of death, receiving as it does blow after blow the world over. The world socialist

revolution is forging ahead to victory. It has inseparably incorporated within itself all the democratic revolutions which are taking place in backward countries. In the context of such a stage in world revolution, low-keyed as it might now be, the peasantry and all other sections of the exploited and the oppressed, who once commenced the armed struggle, will certainly shed their illusions regarding this section of the ruling classes or that and rally again to carry out the people's democratic revolution, with agrarian revolution as its axle, under the leadership of the working class. The revolutionary masses will certainly realise from their experience in day-to-day struggles that the working class and its vanguard, the C.P.I.(M.L.) can alone provide them consistent leadership until victory is achieved in the people's democratic revolution. It is oppresses and exploited masses, mobilised and organized thus under the leadership of the working class alone can carry out that revolution victoriously.

The C.P.I.(M.L.) of Andhra Pradesh holds that Mao Tse-Tung Thought fully holds good for all backward countries including our own. Both the agrarian and people's democratic revolutions can be victorious only under the hegemony of the working class; that historical stage is now past when the bourgeoisie could lead the democratic revolutions; in those isolated instances where the bourgeoisie is able still to mobilize the peasantry and other revolutionary sections of the people under its own hegemony as a result of the backwardness of the latter, the democratic revolution led by that class is bound to get foiled and disrupted; even in the exceptional instance where the democratic revolution is victorious under bourgeois leadership, the latter cannot complete the tasks of that revolution and on the contrary, submits to this or that imperialist power, thereby taking the country down to a semi-colonial or neo-colonial degradation.

THE MAIN TASK IS TO BUILD A CONSCIOUS MASS POPULAR BASE FOR REVOLUTION, SUSPENDING THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESENT:

That people are the makers of revolution is axiomatic with Marxists. They decide their course in any social revolution according as the ruling class or classes view it. They will not think of armed resistance so long as the ruling classes adopt democratic methods and base their rule on the popular will. Taking up arms is only a means to an end, but not an end in itself. World history hitherto has only shown that this has been the truth. The history of all revolutions shows that people resort to arms only after the ruling classes give up democratic methods, ride roughshod over popular will and let loose terror and violence against the people who had taken to the path of struggle for securing their demands. What happened in our country under the Indira regime was exactly this.

The peasantry took up arms and stepped on to the path of agrarian revolution only when they realized that they could not even safeguard their rights without destroying the government and seizing state power. This realization came only subsequent to the ferocious fascist measures of repression by the Indira regime, which was bent upon breaking the organized power of the peasants by bringing down its armed forces to buttress landlords, illegally evicting peasants to please landlords, savagely suppressing all those who had stood up for their rights and even getting peasant leaders waylaid and killed by landlords. The Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari and Birbhum struggles of the peasantry and the countrywide armed guerrilla actions with their inspiration all proclaim the same truth over and over.

No armed struggle can be victorious unless the people themselves decide to take up arms, even if political parties or groups opt for such a course as popular support will be wanting. It is the revolutionary consciousness and firm resolve of the people that primarily determines its victorious outcome. This too is a lesson of history. It was this awareness which had prompted Karl Marx to write A. Ruge in 1843:

"We do not say to the world: 'Cease struggling – your whole struggle is senseless'. All we do is to provide it with true slogan of struggle. We only show the world what it is actually struggling for, and consciousness is a thing which the world **must** acquire, whether it likes it or not." (Lenin, Collected Writings, Volume-1 pp. 184-185).

Failure in building up an extensive and sufficiently conscious mass base has been among the main reasons for the setback in the decade-long agrarian revolution. So far as our State Committee is concerned, as early as the close of the year 1971 we had noted the need for such a wide base which further the revolution towards victory. We had also resolved to combat the sectarian tendency towards mass organizations and partial struggles which then had been very strong in the Party and, to rally the masses in such organizations openly where possible and secretly where not so possible on account of government repression, to build a wide and solid mass base for the revolution, by organizing and educating the masses in partial struggles on their problems so that they could contribute to the agrarian revolution under the leadership of these associations, thereby promoting their revolutionary consciousness. It was a turning-point in our party's understanding in relation to the endeavour to build such a base as is necessary to carry out the agrarian revolution to successful conclusion.

Only subsequently did we begin building mass organizations and conducting partial struggles under their leadership, however restricted their scope was and however low their level. This was done alongside of the continuation of the armed struggle. The Indira' fascist dictatorship could not help in fostering revolutionary consciousness among the people. It therefore began suppressing even partial struggle cruelly. Moreover it subjected even members of Jana Natya Mandali to ruthless repression and crushed its cultural performances. It thwarted the preparations for the Andhra State Youth Conference at Guntur and threw behind bars not only members of its reception committee but also everyone taking part in the preparatory work all over the district of Guntur, thus foiling the conference itself.

Repression reached its climax with the proclamation of the Emergency. Taking its cover, landlords got emboldened to perpetrate more and more acts of brutal violence. Peasants found it hard to defend themselves by democratic methods. We too found it difficult to go on with our efforts to build a conscious mass base for the agrarian revolution, employing similar methods. We therefore decided on the one hand to continue the armed struggle against the government, its agents and landlords in self-defence and, on the other, to strive by all possible ways for the extension of such a base. But it should be mentioned that we failed in achieving that objective, thanks to the fascist repression of the government all around. We have not, however abandoned it, as made abundantly clear by the decisions of the Telangana Regional Conference held at the beginning of the year. They show that we are firmly determined to work ceaselessly for its realization.

Now there is a change in the situation. People have voted out the Indira fascist regime. Janata party is in the saddle. Its pre-poll promises have bred illusions in the people that their problems will all get resolved. Janata party had stated that, if voted to power, it would do away with the emergency, for ever desist from a policy of fascist repression, and bind itself to democratic policies in toto. So has the emergency been revoked and fascist repression relaxed to a certain extent. People strongly expect that the other promises of the ruling party will be fulfilled very soon. It should be admitted that for the present this is a remarkable change in the country's political situation.

Utilising whatever opportunities afforded by this change and employing democratic methods, we should mobilize agricultural labourers, poor peasants, and revolutionary elements of the middle class in order to carry out the agrarian revolution victoriously. This is the immediate task of the working class. We should suspend the armed struggle for the present, taking into due consideration the statements of the Janata party that it would follow democratic methods cent-per-cent and also the trust the people have now been reposing in such statements. Putting the said opportunities to good use, we should strive to realize the objective which has been before us right from 1972, namely the building-up of a broad-mass base and the promotion of revolutionary consciousness so very essential for the victory of the agrarian revolution. Only by so doing can we mobilize the peasant masses for the agrarian revolution and carry it forward successfully.

As long as the Janata government observes democratic methods and desists from repressive measures, the working class and its vanguard, the C.P.I.(M.L.) have to set about stabilizing and advancing the agrarian revolution by organizing the peasantry for partial struggles on their problems by democratic methods and thereby mobilizing them consciously for the agrarian revolution. Only by following such a line can we dispel the false hopes which the peasantry still harbours towards the leadership of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties as well as of the revisionist parties. Having accomplished this we can set up the leadership of the working class over them. Only then can we help the peasantry to realize to the truth that the agrarian and the people's democratic revolution can be led successfully under such leadership alone.

The Janata party government shall have to bear full responsibility if the peasantry will be driven once more to take arms contingent upon any employment of violence, force and repression by the government with the aim of interrupting and suppressing even the democratic efforts for a conscious organization of their class towards an agrarian revolution.

OUR MARCH IS ARDUOUS

Judging from the practice of the Janata government in these few months, it is hard to believe that it will give us a smooth passage in our endeavour to extend a strong and conscious mass base for the agrarian revolution by mobilising the people on a massive scale on democratic lines after suspending the armed struggle for the present. It is equally hard to believe that this government will be committed cent per cent to democratic ways as it has promised to do. The failure on the part of the Janata government so far to effect the release of the members of C.P.I.(M.L.) and other revolutionaries on ever so many excuses, coupled with the unconditional release of political prisoners belonging to the constituents of the Janata party betrays not only a discriminatory attitude but also its own poll promises.

The Janata party is on the one hand magnifying Indira government's defeat as a unique social revolution and as a stupendous victory for Democracy against Dictatorship and, on the other, it is continuing to keep in prison members of C.P.I.(M.L.) and other revolutionaries who were second to none in fighting the self same fascist dictatorship courageously and selflessly, with no thought even for their lives. This is not only absurd in the extreme but it also shows that Janata party, like all other bourgeois parties, consigns its promises to the dust-bin with little or no compunction. It is also an early indication of the shape of things to come, showing that it will not lag behind other bourgeoisie parties in such matters. It might well set up a number of road blocks in the march of democratic forms at a latter date. Despite all this, the C.P.I.(M.L.) will have to work patiently to prepare the people for the victory of the agrarian revolution, making utmost use of each and every opportunity for the realization of its objective.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

1) The armed struggle should be suspended for the present and the downtrodden masses of our people should be mobilized on a massive scale so that a broad and a conscious mass base might be built for taking the agrarian revolution forward to victory. Efforts should be directed to replace the bourgeois and petty bourgeois as well as revisionist leadership with its attendant false consciousness in the minds of the peasantry, with working class leadership and socialist consciousness.

2) Intensive propaganda should be carried on among the exploited and the oppressed, clearly and intelligibly, about the

need for people's democratic revolution and the objective it has to achieve, and more particularly, the programme of agrarian revolution which is like axle to the above. The difference between the present and the post-revolutionary state of things should be brought home to every family of agricultural labourers and poor peasants, in the context of the actual land relations of each village. The movements revolutionary literature and culture should be geared to that propaganda campaign with the aim of mobilizing all the exploited people for the making of the revolution.

3) All those mass organizations which had suffered set-backs during the emergency should be revived. Planned and dedicated efforts should be directed to strengthening the agrarian revolution by drawing all the exploited people into class organizations, leading them in practical struggles. Systematic efforts should be made to extend the operation of mass organizations to newer areas, not to speak of the older ones.

4) The mass organizations should be so built up as to victoriously prosecute the agrarian revolution as part of the people's democratic revolution, besides resolving the day-to-day economic problems. They should serve as media of a revolutionary consciousness among the oppressed. Special efforts should be directed to transform the Trade Unions from what they are today – mere agencies for the resolution of immediate economic problems – under the leadership of the revisionist and government parties, into revolutionary organizations which can assume leadership of the oppressed peasantry in bringing about a victorious agrarian and people's democratic revolution.

5) The peasant revolution which was born in Naxalbari struggle is now ten years old. Children who were ten years of age at that time are now in their twenties. Special efforts should be made to integrate this new generation with the revolution by kindling and promoting revolutionary political consciousness in them. Failure in such efforts would entail our irreparable damage to the revolution. These youth should therefore be drawn into Youth and Student Associations, and through them into the current of the people's democratic revolution itself.

6) We should mount a campaign among the people, especially in towns and cities, to concretely expose the Soviet and U.S. imperialist plunder of our country. Their mutual contention for a monopolistic hegemony in the world market, reducing backward countries such as our as their pawns in that process and leading the world to a global conflict in the end should be laid bare. Such of the policies of the government as might contribute to that catastrophe should be opposed. It is regrettable that the real character of Soviet social-imperialism has not yet been appreciated by a preponderant majority of our working class. This constitutes a grave threat to the prospects of the Indian democratic revolution. We should, therefore, concentrate our efforts on thoroughly unmasking it and showing it for what it really is – imperialist in nature.

7) The C.P.I.(M.L.) confined only to a few areas in A.P. at present, should be extended to the rest of the State. Party organisation should be expanded in the matter of both numbers and areas, with cadres steeled in people's struggles.

8) Units of Jana Natya Mandali (a revolutionary cultural organization emerged in pre-emergency period only -Tr.) should be set up wherever possible and they should be developed as powerful media of revolutionary propaganda.

9) The political level of party members and sympathisers should be raised and towards that end, they should be given regular grounding in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Any number of militants will be forthcoming at the time of building up mass organisations on a big scale. They should all be developed politically. Special efforts should be made to improving the political-ideological level of the party from bottom upwards.

10) Mao Tse-tung's writings and similar other writings of importance should be rendered into Telugu in order to raise the political-ideological level as well as the organizational ability of party members and sympathisers.

11) All organizations, which have Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as their guide line, should be drawn into and consolidated in a single body. A principled and sincere effort should be made to realize this objective, even though such efforts had met with reverses in the past.

Date: 8th Aug. '77.

***COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (M.L)
ANDHRA PRADESH STATE COMMITTEE***