

Dear Comrades,

The meeting of the Central Committee, which was held at Burdwan, following the conclusion of the debate on and adoption of the ideological draft, reviewed the political-organisational developments inside the Party and took certain decisions. One of these decisions was to address a Party Letter to all party members in Andhra, and the Polit Bureau was directed to draft and forward it to comrades in Andhra.

What is the nature of the problem that our party unit in Andhra Pradesh is faced with and why has it become necessary for the C.C. to address such a letter to the entire membership?

The alternative drafts presented to the Central Plenum by some leading comrades of Andhra, the majority decision of the Andhra Plenum rejecting the C.C.'s draft and the resolution placed before the Central Plenum, the detailed exposition of the political views contained in the alternative drafts by one of the important spokesmen chosen by their votaries, and a series of amendments moved and supported by the majority of delegates from Andhra, make it abundantly clear that the differences with the present political-ideological line of the Party do not confine themselves to one or two individual issues or propositions in the C.C.'s ideological draft, but constitute a fundamental opposition to a whole series of basic questions concerning the Indian revolutionary movement as well as the international communist movement.

The Central Plenum, after a free, frank and thorough discussion, decisively rejected the alternative drafts and the political line propounded in them as totally wrong and basically departing from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. It characterised it as a fully worked out left-adventurist line which stands diametrically opposed to the Party Programme and the political line of our Party.

This, undoubtedly, is a serious political development, and its gravity is all the more heightened because of the fact that this left deviation has come to dominate one of our Party's key strongholds, namely, Andhra, which has occupied a proud place inside the Indian communist movement during the last three decades and more.

Not merely this. Such a fundamental opposition to the political line of our Party, obviously, cannot but have its direct imprint on the party organisation in the state as well as the entire Party in the country. The reports made by the members of the Central Committee from Andhra in the meeting of the C.C. and the one, in particular, presented by Comrade Hanumantha Rao, Secretary of the State Committee, have convinced the C.C. beyond a shadow of doubt that the party unit in Andhra is in the midst of a serious inner-party crisis which, in its turn, has virtually paralysed the functioning of the State Committee and its Secretariat for the last two months and more. The reports also reveal that disruptive tendencies of groupism, factionalism, indiscipline and even open defiance of party forms, at different levels, have come to freely prevail. Instead of sharply reacting against this menace, the C.C. learns that a sort of justification is sought to be given to these evil manifestations by some comrades, who argue that it is, after all, the sharp expression of serious political-ideological divergencies and, hence, need cause no big concern and worry to the Party and C.C. Some comrades even go to the length of maintaining that these sad developments are mainly due to the C.C. and its persistence in upholding its ideological-political line, which according to them, is right-reformist and revisionist, and, hence, they should be treated as a necessary part of the "inner-party struggle" for a correct revolutionary line.

The C.C. views these developments in the Andhra unit as a serious threat to the Party's unity in the state. It decides to do its utmost to defend the unity in the Andhra state unit and assist the erring comrades in overcoming their left-opportunist deviation, and to strictly adhere to the Party's political line

and its organisational discipline. This, in short, is the object of the present Party Letter, and we shall endeavour to point out how on a series of ideological-political issues, several leading comrades in Andhra are swayed into extreme left-sectarian positions, and how they will have to seriously rethink and retrace from these erroneous views.

Let us start from the basic concept of the present epoch, the controversy around this concept and its implications and see how the right-revisionist and left-opportunist distortions express themselves on it.

1. NEW EPOCH

The concept of the new epoch, in short, is nothing but the reassessment of the new alignment of class forces on a global scale in the period following the Soviet victory in the second world war which culminated in the formation of the formidable world socialist camp, comprising one-third of humanity and one-fourth of the earth's surface. This big and fundamental change in the correlation of class forces on an international scale has its immense revolutionary implications and no Marxist-Leninist can work out correct strategy and tactics of revolution without fully grasping the significance of these changes, with all the implications that accompany these changes. Hence the utmost importance of a precise definition of the present epoch and the need to concretise what it exactly signifies in class terms to the world proletariat fighting for its final emancipation from wage slavery.

What is the controversy over this question in the world communist movement? The controversy, in fact, is not so much regarding either the definition of the epoch or about the new radical changes in the world balance of class forces that have come about.

The entire controversy centres round the issue as to how the modern revisionists are distorting the meaning and signifi-

cance of the new epoch, how under cover of the new epoch they seek to negate class contradictions and class struggle, how they attempt to revise the valid Marxist-Leninist propositions applicable to the entire epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale, and as to how the bankrupt and class-collaborationist thesis of so-called peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and peaceful transition is sought to be made into a general line of the world communist movement.

Further, as clearly seen in the case of the Indian revisionists, they extended this right-opportunist thesis to a number of questions connected with revolutions in colonial and economically dependent and newly liberated countries. The repudiation of the concept of proletarian hegemony in the people's democratic revolution, the advocacy of the so-called independent or non-capitalist path of development under the joint hegemony of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the deceptive picturing of the role of socialist aid as though it counteracts the evils of foreign monopoly capital and paves the way to the country's industrial revolution, the defining of the present Indian state as a 'bourgeois state' and by implication, virtually negating the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution, and the advocacy of faith in the parliamentary and peaceful path *in practice*, despite certain demagogic slogans to cheat the gullible, are some of the crude manifestations of modern revisionism.

Our Party Programme decisively rejects one and all of these revisionist distortions of Marxist-Leninist propositions. Our ideological resolution adopted at the Burdwan Central Plenum carries forward the correct programmatic understanding and clarifies the issues connected with the world communist movement. This principled and uncompromising fight against the menace of modern revisionist theories and practice shall have to continue and it is our earnest duty as Marxist-Leninists to carry it to the end.

But, in the name of carrying on the struggle against modern revisionism and the right-opportunist distortion of the meaning

and significance of the new epoch, certain left-sectarian and infantile trends are raising their head. If they are not fought and eliminated promptly, no effective struggle against modern revisionism or the determined defence of Marxism-Leninism is possible.

How do they express in our Party as revealed in the inner-party discussions on our ideological draft?

Some comrades object to the very concept of the new epoch and maintain that there is nothing new from what Lenin had defined in his time, i.e., the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, "the era of social revolution is beginning", etc. They seem to entertain the wrong idea that this whole concept of the new epoch is the 'creation' of the modern revisionists in order to push forward their class-collaborationist theories under its cover. Thus their entire wrath and hatred towards revisionist distortion of the significance of the new epoch is allowed to cloud their revolutionary vision making it difficult for them to perceive the real meaning and content of the new epoch.

These comrades are obviously wrong and the new big class changes in the post-second war period were being noted by Marxist-Leninists, long before the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement. To cite a few: "The end of the second world war brought with it *big changes* in the world situation. The military defeat of the bloc of fascist states, the character of the war of liberation from fascism and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in vanquishing the aggressors, *sharply altered the alignment of forces between the two systems—the socialist and capitalist—in favour of socialism*". (A. Zhdanov, *International Situation*, September 1947—Emphasis added)

"This is the *historic epoch* in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory". "*The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp has surpassed that of the imperialist camp.*" (Mao Tse-tung, December 25, 1947 Emphasis added).

The same is more positively and clearly asserted thus :
“It is a *great new epoch* that we are facing, and its main characteristic is that the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism, that the forces of the awakening people of the world have surpassed those of reaction.” (CPC, *Long Live Leninism*, April 16, 1960—Emphasis added)

Any number of such references to the concept of the new epoch can be cited from the speeches and writings of Marxist-Leninists, and it is totally wrong to dismiss it as the ‘invention’ of the modern revisionists. It is utterly unbecoming of a communist to shun the assessment of new alignment of class forces for fear of the revisionists running away with it and distorting it.

There are some other comrades who, too, are victims of a left deviation. They formally, no doubt, agree with the concept of the new epoch but in practice negate its existence.

On the one hand, they grossly exaggerate the world revolutionary situation depicting world capitalism to be ‘on the verge of final collapse’ and advocate aggressive tactics of revolution, and on the other, weave out theories that modern revisionism—the outcome of the external pressure of imperialism and the internal influence of the bourgeoisie—has more or less succeeded in ‘peacefully’ transforming several socialist states including the Soviet Union into allies of U.S. imperialism for the division of the world into spheres of influence.

This sectarian school of thought indulges in the glib talk of the existence of a powerful socialist camp, but when defining it, all socialist countries including the USSR which are under the leadership of the modern revisionists are virtually discounted and the People’s Republic of China and Albania are talked of as the only two states constituting the socialist camp at present.

They talk of U.S. imperialism being isolated and encircled by world people’s revolutionary flames and simultaneously advance the thesis of U.S.-Soviet axis for the encirclement and annihilation of People’s China, the only remaining “base of world revolution and liberation”.

If the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist Parties maintains that “it is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society”, the left-sectarians maintain that national liberation movements play the decisive role in the destruction of imperialism and for the final emancipation of mankind.

In the year 1960, when representatives of the world Communist Parties met, there were 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties. Subsequently some more Communist Parties have been formed in the newly liberated countries of Africa and other continents. Some left-sectarians argue that most of these parties have ceased to be Communist Parties by virtue of their being led by the modern revisionists, and consequently, the CPC and some other parties it recognises as Marxist-Leninist, alone remain as the Communist Parties of the world. Thus it is not a powerful world communist movement, with whatever revisionist and dogmatist defects afflicting it, that exists today, but one or two real Communist Parties and some splinter groups in different countries that agree to follow them.

If all the above-mentioned views are pieced together and their class meaning is assessed concretely, the new alignment of class forces that goes into the making of the new epoch simply disappears, and the picture of a totally different alignment of forces on a world scale emerges. The left-sectarians do not realise the line they advocate lands them into such an absurd position, and when the C.C. sharply points it out, they ‘protest’ that their viewpoint is distorted.

This grossly sectarian and clearly subjective understanding of the new epoch and the alignment of class forces that constitutes it run like a red thread in several propositions of theirs on a series of issues connected with the communist movement in India and the world as well. Unless these comrades rectify their erroneous views on this question, they can neither succeed in overcoming the sectarian positions on a series of connected issues nor can they fall in line with the correct political line of the Party.

2. ON THE CHARACTER OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

With the new and changed correlation of class forces in the world arena in favour of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces, the capacity of the imperialists to practise, as they did before the second world war, trickery and deception of conferring nominal and formal independence, while retaining the actual and real political power in their hands, is considerably restricted and weakened. The imperialists, confronted with the formidable socialist camp on the one hand and the world working class movement and the surging tide of worldwide national liberation movements on the other, were compelled to compromise with the bourgeois leaders of the national liberation struggles and concede national independence to scores of colonial countries in the period following the second war. As a matter of fact the imperialists have changed their tactics in the radically changed conditions of the world from the old colonial method of direct, military-political rule over colonies to the indirect methods of economic, political, trade and aid, etc., to perpetuate their colonial plunder, while not hesitating to use direct, military and aggressive methods when faced with popular revolutions threatening the very foundations of foreign monopoly capital in these newly liberated countries.

In the new conditions created as a result of the new radically altered balance of world forces, the national bourgeoisie—both big and non-big—of the newly liberated countries have secured new opportunities, not only to play between the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism for their class advantage but also on the rivalries between different imperialist states; they have found additional opportunities in the newly secured state power to assert their political independence to bargain hard with the imperialists and also to beat down the internal popular revolutionary movements wherever they tend to acquire such sweep and tempo as to threaten their exploiting class rule.

It is precisely this new situation that offered scope for the

emergence of the so-called foreign policy of non-alignment and independence as an important political phenomenon to be taken into account; it is again this fundamentally altered alignment of forces in the international arena that enabled several newly liberated countries, under bourgeois leadership, to conceive the so-called planned industrial development with the 'aid' of both the socialist and the imperialist states; it is this new world situation that forms the background where even some of the smallest newly liberated states under bourgeois leadership are, sometimes, able to stand up against the imperialist pressure and blackmail.

Our Party, during the period 1947-55, did fail to take due note of these big new world changes and, instead, tried to assess the meaning and significance of the newly won national independence of India, in the old frame-work and characterised Indian independence as formal and fake; and rejected the new status of India as of either political independence or national independence, and thus committed a left error.

The right-reformists and revisionists, in the name of the new epoch and under the plea of correcting the then-prevailing sectarian and dogmatic understanding on the issue, have come to the conclusion, that Indian independence is, more or less, complete and real, that what has come to exist in India is a *bourgeois state with a bourgeois government*, and that all that is required to remove the weaknesses, if any, and make it full and complete, is to build an independent economy with the aid of the socialist camp and also by hard bargaining with the imperialist bloc. Thus, by implication, they reduce the stage of our revolution to the socialist stage and consequently, even skip the present democratic or agrarian stage of our revolution which has to complete the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks. But they continue to talk of national democracy under the joint leadership of the bourgeoisie and the working class or under the leadership of all firm anti-imperialist forces to carry out the tasks of the present stage of the Indian revolution.

Further, they draw two other totally false lessons, i. e., that Indian independence could be achieved without violent revolution, and through peaceful means; and that the national bourgeois leadership could secure it contrary to the commonly asserted communist stand that the proletariat alone is destined to lead the successful struggle against imperialism for national independence in the present era.

It is this non-class right-reformist assessment of Indian independence that gave birth to the bankrupt thesis that the internal policy of the Congress government is directed towards the building of independent capitalist economy and a corresponding social structure, and that the foreign policy it is pursuing, is a policy of non-alignment, independence, peace and anti-colonialism, which deserves the support of the proletariat. It is this thesis that ended up in the advocacy of the infamous slogan of united front with the so-called progressive wing of the Congress party and government, against the so-called, 'extreme right reaction' both inside and outside the Congress, which is depicted as the sole danger.

The Programme of our Party decisively rejected both these right and left errors, has concretely and correctly assessed the nature and character of Indian independence in the background of the emergence of the new epoch after the end of the second world war:

"As a result, the country was partitioned into India and Pakistan, and political power was transferred to the leaders of the Congress party on August 15, 1947. Thus ended the political rule of the British in India and a state headed by the Indian big bourgeoisie was established. With this the first stage of the Indian revolution, the stage of general national united front, chiefly directed against foreign imperialist rule, came to an end.

"The British imperialists hoped that despite the transfer of power, they would be able, by their entrenched positions in our economy, to make our independence *formal*. But the course of historical development since then has been dis-

appointing to the imperialists and their hopes were belied." (Party Programme, paras 3 and 4)

But, once again, the left-sectarian trend inside the Party is advocating the thesis of Indian independence being 'formal', 'fake', etc. The difference from the 1948-55 mistake, of course, is that if earlier our national independence was characterised as 'formal' and 'bogus' under the British imperialists, it is now described as 'formal' and 'fake' under the U. S. imperialists; if earlier the sectarian thesis on the issue was sought to be buttressed with the argument that the national bourgeoisie had gone over to imperialism and surrendered before it because of the imminent threat of class revolution at home, the present thesis argues that the ruling big bourgeoisie has been transformed into a comprador bourgeoisie, that the internal class contradictions have become so acute, reaching the stage of 'armed revolution facing armed counter-revolution', that, as a result, the bourgeoisie has finally gone over to imperialism and surrendered national independence; and if the earlier sectarian assessment reduced Indian political independence to a satellite status under the old colonialism of the British imperialists, the new sectarianism seeks to define it as a puppet status under the U. S. imperialists, a neo-colonial state.

If modern revisionists 'liquidate' imperialism by the magic word of the new epoch, the modern sectarians seek to liquidate the entire significance and political import of the new epoch, virtually reducing it to mean that U. S. neo-colonialism has replaced the old colonialism of the British.

3. THE STAGE OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION:

It is the ABC of Marxism-Leninism that there are not, and cannot be, revolutions without stages. It is, again, the ABC of Marxism that each of these stages of the revolution is distinguished by one contradiction as the principal contra-

diction since "at every stage in the development of a process, there is only one principal contradiction which plays the leading role". (Mao Tse-tung)

Our Party Programme describes the nature of our revolution in the present stage as essentially anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic (Para 96).

Consistent with the stage of the revolution, the principal contradiction is pinpointed as the one between feudal and semi-feudal landlordism and the great mass of the peasantry, or in political terms, between the bourgeois-landlord state and government, led by the big bourgeoisie, defending the landlord order and protecting the foreign monopoly interests, and the entire people interested in the completion of the people's democratic revolution.

The revisionists, on the one hand, characterise the present Indian state and government as a bourgeois state and government and, on the other, define the stage of the revolution as democratic or in their terminology national democratic. If the state power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie as they assert, then, a revolution against that state power cannot but be proletarian, socialist in character. Since they have given up Marxism, these contradictory characterisations do not worry them. Nor do they bother to define which is the principal contradiction in the present stage of the Indian revolution.

The left-sectarians formally accept that the present stage of our revolution is people's democratic or agrarian. But when the question of defining the principal contradiction of this stage of the revolution is undertaken, they passionately argue that the country's sovereignty has been surrendered to U. S. imperialism, that the big bourgeoisie has transformed itself into compradors and lackeys of U.S. imperialism, and thus the contradiction between the nation as a whole on the one hand and the U.S. imperialists and its lackeys on the other has been intensified and assumed the character of the principal contradiction. They do not stop for a while to think that they are arguing in support of the national

liberation stage or the all-in national united front stage of the revolution and against the people's democratic or agrarian stage.

4. *THE INDIAN BIG BOURGEOISIE AND ITS CHARACTER*

The right-reformists and revisionists do not lag behind others in formally denouncing the Indian big bourgeoisie as monopolists and big business who are reactionary and counter-revolutionary. They, too, exclude them in words from the revolutionary front in their class strategy for democratic revolution. Then how does their right-opportunism express itself on the issue? They deliberately hide the fact, first, that the big bourgeoisie is in the leadership of the present Indian state and government, and, second, they deny the fact of their alliance with big landlordism, the alliance for the preservation and perpetuation of their class rule and exploitation through compromise and collaboration with foreign monopoly capital. The revisionists maintain that it is the non-big national bourgeoisie which, in the main, is at the helm of the state and government and its only crime is allowing the big bourgeoisie "to hold powerful influence" and "having strong links" with the landlords. From this opportunist and class-collaborationist thesis comes their bankrupt policy of support to and unity with the Congress party and government, in order to rescue it from the pernicious clutches of the so-called extreme right reaction, represented by the big monopolists and landlords. The latest volte-face of the revisionists and their loud-mouthed denunciations of the Congress government and noisy slogans of anti-Congressism do in no way absolve them from this guilt, because their basic understanding on the class character of the state and government, as formulated in their programme, remains basically the same in spite of their latest modifications at the Patna congress of their party.

How does left-sectarianism express itself on this controversial question? In the past, the left-sectarian view contended that the entire Indian bourgeoisie—big and non-big—had gone over to imperialism under the growing threat of class revolution at home, and that it had become the lackey and stooge of British imperialism. Hence, there was no question of any section of the bourgeoisie having a place in the class strategy of the democratic revolution, and the two stages—democratic and socialist—of the revolution got “intertwined” into one stage since it had to be a revolution against the entire bourgeoisie, big and non-big.

Our Party Programme steers clear of these two deviations, right and left-opportunist in character, and incorporates the correct Marxist-Leninist conclusions on the issue.

But, once again, certain sections inside the Party supported by others from outside the Party, are denouncing the programmatic formulations and are demanding their revision in a thoroughly left-sectarian direction. Of course, it now wears a new garb and plays a new tune. The left-sectarians argue that the Indian big bourgeoisie has been transformed into a comprador bourgeoisie and, consequently, it has become the stooge and lackey of U.S. imperialism; that, since the Indian big bourgeoisie is comprador and serving as the lackey of imperialism, it has no contradictions whatsoever with foreign monopoly capital which need to be taken into account and tactically utilised by the Indian working class in its struggle for the people’s democratic revolution; that the Indian big bourgeoisie and the government dominated by it are neither in a position to utilise the inter-imperialist contradictions, to any extent, nor can they afford to play between the world camps of socialism and imperialism; and finally because of all these developments and, in particular, due to the extremely sharpened class contradictions at home, a shift in the contradictions has come about. The contradiction between the nation as a whole and the U.S. and its comprador lackeys has assumed the role of the principal contradiction and, consequently,

a shift takes place in the stage of our revolution, that is, a shift to the stage of general national united front, when the edge of the revolution is to be chiefly directed against U.S. imperialism with the slogan of ‘national liberation-war’ against U.S. imperialism and its Indian stooges.

5. ON THE ASSESSMENT OF CAPITALIST PATH

The new Indian state and government, under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, embarked upon the so-called five-year plans of development and even gave it the name of building a ‘socialist pattern of society’ in India. Before 1955-56, our Party was denouncing them as plans carried out under the dictates of the imperialists and in league with them. They were described as only “the means of looting the state budget by foreign firms of experts and suppliers, by high-placed bureaucrats in charge and big speculators on the stock exchange.”

Subsequently, in the name of correcting this sectarian, lopsided and negative understanding, the dominant leadership of the then-united CPI, had begun to move in exactly the opposite direction, the direction of right-reformism and revisionism. In course of time, step by step, the revisionists have degenerated into unashamed apologists of the Indian big bourgeoisie and its capitalist path.

The right-revisionists assert that “the national bourgeoisie, having secured state power, set itself the task of putting the country on the path of *independent* capitalist development” (Para 32 of the Rightist Programme). Their programme states, “In pursuance of this general aim the Congress governments have substantially curbed feudal vested interests...”

Thus, neither is the big bourgeoisie found in the leadership of the new state and government, nor has big landlordism any place in the state and government power. ‘National bourgeoisie’ secured power! And took upon its

head the task of independent capitalist building ! And the "national proletariat" under revisionist leadership has to ally with this "national bourgeoisie" to transform it into a 'non-capitalist path' !

The right revisionists assert that "the public sector becomes an instrument of building an independent national economy, of weakening the grip of foreign monopoly capital and, to a certain extent, of Indian monopolies" and the same "public sector goes a long way towards eliminating the legacy of our colonial past." (*Aspects of CPI Programme*, Pages 8-9)

The revisionist programme also views "socialist aid as essential for independent anti-imperialist economic growth, as a crucial force aiding the completion of the national democratic revolution." (*Aspects of CPI Programme*, Pages 9-10 —Emphasis added)

Our Party Programme has resolutely rejected this line as crassest revisionism and also corrected the left-sectarian and dogmatic approach that was current in the early period of 1948-55. Clear, correct and unequivocal formulations are made on one and all the topics connected with the capitalist path of the Indian ruling class.

However, once again, a left-sectarian and dogmatic trend is now raising its head, and is openly challenging the line of the Party Programme on the issue of the capitalist path and its political and economic implications.

The fundamental critique of the capitalist path from the Marxist-Leninist angle is being erroneously understood and interpreted as though no industrial development of any significance is possible or has taken place, that the development of capitalism and capitalist relations in any degree is completely ruled out, and that all that has taken place under the capitalist path is only the increasing dominance of foreign monopoly capital and the strengthening and further consolidation of feudal and semi-feudal land relations. Thus the strategical despising of the capitalist path is being mechanically and dogmatically projected into its tactical evaluation, refusing to take into account the development

of capitalism and capitalist relations under the bourgeois-landlord government.

If the right-opportunists and revisionists grossly exaggerate the potentialities of the capitalist path of development and then proceed to weave out theories of so-called 'independent development' and 'industrial revolution' led by the bourgeoisie, the sectarians seek to discover only increasing dependence on imperialism in every new step in the direction of setting up industries, and the strengthening of feudal and semi-feudal land relations, in every step of agrarian reform or in every new technique in the field of agriculture.

If the revisionists indulge in the impermissible talk of "socialist aid as the crucial force aiding the completion of the national democratic revolution", the left-sectarians look upon socialist aid as the main lever through which U. S. capital penetrates into, and dominates over, our national economy.

They characterise Soviet aid as aid intended to buttress the reactionary governments in order to gang them up against the People's Republic of China.

If revisionists sing panegyrics to the public sector in industries and depict it as an instrument to liquidate the grip of foreign capital and to curb native monopoly capital, the sectarians describe the public sector as an instrument to develop subservience to the imperialists as well as native big capital.

The fundamental truth that there is no capitalist path opened before our bourgeoisie under the present epoch is being extended to its absurd limits of negating the actual extent of development of capitalism and capitalist relations in the country ; and finally, this sectarian trend seeks to drag the Party back to the mistaken positions of 1948-55, which the Party has corrected.

6. ON THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN POLICY

The government of India, soon after it took over the reins of the newly liberated state, declared that it would

pursue a policy of friendship, neutrality and independence in its relations with the nations of the world and this has come to be characterised as a policy of non-alignment, peace, independence and anti-colonialism.

The policy of non-alignment, of course, it goes without saying, is in the main, a class policy of the bourgeoisie heading the weak and economically backward countries and states. It enables them, in one degree or other, to play between the two world camps and also on the rivalries between different imperialist states, to their class advantage ; in objective, political terms this trend of non-alignment, in the measure it resists being drawn into the aggressive war-blocs of the imperialists, is anti-imperialist ; and it is incumbent on the forces of socialism and democracy to utilise this trend in the general world anti-imperialist struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, while not for a moment forgetting either the treacherous and opportunist character of the class which adopts this policy, or the tremendous inconsistencies it exhibits when putting this policy into practice.

However, due to the inadequate assessment of this new big political trend and the new world conditions that gave birth to it, our Party, during 1948-55, was characterising the government as one that was essentially carrying the foreign policy of the British imperialists, and as following a foreign policy that was flirting with the USA and facilitating the struggle of aggressors against peace-loving countries. Instead of seeing the dual character of the so-called policy of non-alignment and the dual nature of the class that is operating it, and accordingly adopting a dual tactic towards it we were dogmatically denouncing the non-alignment policy as merely the smokescreen for a policy subservient to the imperialists.

The right-reformist and opportunist trend in our Party adopted a non-class and revisionist interpretation of the concept of the "non-alignment policy". It was elevated to the height of genuine anti-imperialism, peace and anti-colonialism, clean missing the class which operates the said policy. They were

also trying to mechanically copy the tactics of the Communist Parties in power, while echoing what the leaders of the socialist states were saying to the non-aligned governments at the governmental level—and all this in the name of proletarian internationalism and creative Marxism.

Our Party Programme has corrected the earlier sectarian approach and understanding on this issue and also resolutely rejected the revisionist line on the same.

But, once again, a noisy left-sectarian attack on the correct programmatic position of our Party is being launched by some comrades. They demand its revision in a left-adventurist direction.

The present left-opportunist line describes the policy of non-alignment of the Indian government as a myth and a "big hoax and it is becoming a part of the global strategy of U. S. imperialists, an instrument to suppress national liberation struggles," and "an instrument to build an anti-China axis."

The very comrades who hold these views dare not deny that the non-alignment policy of the Government was "progressive, anti-imperialist" between 1954 and 1959, when the slogans of "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai and Hindi-Russi Bhai-Bhai" were rending the skies in India, but it is now denounced as imperialist-inspired because there are marked pro-imperialist stances in the current stage.

It is true, and our Party takes due note that the single biggest factor that has gone to seriously undermine the non-alignment policy of the government since 1959 is the consistent anti-China policy that the government of India has embarked upon. Thereby, the government of India's policy of non-alignment, i. e., not joining either camp, has undergone a shift, since the open hostility and opposition to People's China, a country with 700 million population and a big part of the socialist camp, virtually places the Indian government in a state of undeclared war with one part of the socialist camp. The tall claims of the government leaders that their policy of non-alignment remains intact and unscathed are deceptive in the extreme.

Our Party Programme, after a thorough description of the different phases and facets of the non-alignment policy of the government, correctly concludes "that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies."

But, from this, to conclude, as our sectarians do, that the entire policy of non-alignment is given up, that the relations with the rest of the socialist camp have come under complete rupture, and that the Indian government has aligned itself with the imperialist camp and become a subservient tool of U. S. imperialism, is obviously wrong and factually incorrect.

If, sometimes, the Government of Pakistan takes an independent stand, then it is considered as a measure of its national independence and its assertion !

But, if "sometimes the Indian Government appears to take an independent position, different from that of America," then "such efforts are becoming more and more efforts to cover up its surrender to U. S. imperialism."

With India "surrender to U. S. imperialism is becoming more and more real, while independence of the country is getting more and more formal" !

With Pakistan, the assertion of national independence is becoming more and more real while its alignment with military blocs is simply formal !

The sectarian school of thought, which correctly notes that the bourgeois landlord government of Pakistan that is formally aligned with the imperialist war blocs is able, in the recent period, to take steps in the direction of non-alignment, arrives at a totally incorrect conclusion that the non-alignment policy of the Indian government is given up for good, substituting it with a policy of total surrender and subservience to imperialists.

They do not ask themselves the question as to what are the new changes in the alignment of class forces, both nationally and internationally, that enable the government of

Pakistan to move in the direction of 'non-alignment' from 'alignment' and prevent the Indian government pursuing a policy of non-alignment and take it to alignment with the U. S. war blocs ? They tacitly admit that the correlation of world forces, today, offer enough possibilities for the weak and economically backward states to assert independence, in a measure, and be non-aligned. The main reason the left-sectarians ascribe to the said total 'surrender' of the Indian government is that internal class contradictions in India are extremely accentuated to the point of a threatening class revolution, and it is this that compels the government to completely abandon non-alignment and totally surrender to the imperialists.

This, obviously, is a grossly subjective and sectarian estimation of the situation, which we propose to deal with next.

7. THE CURRENT SITUATION AND ITS ESTIMATION

A correct estimation of the situation alone can enable a Communist Party to evolve a correct tactical line—this, of course, is an established Marxist-Leninist dictum. Lenin emphasised in his own time that "Tactics must be based on sober and strictly objective estimation of all the class forces in a given state—and in neighbouring states, and in all states of the world over—as well as of the experiences of the revolutionary movements" ("Left"-Wing Communism). This truth is repeated over and over again by several Marxist-Leninist leaders, and history shows us that whichever revolutionary party ignored or neglected taking this truth into serious account had come to grief. Our own experience in the long past convincingly confirms the complete truth of this statement.

What was one of the main mistakes that cost us dearly

during the period 1948-51? Besides a number of theoretical and ideological errors with regard to the stage and class strategy of revolution, they were the mistakes of overestimating the depth of the economic crisis, overestimating the political awakening of the classes and masses, the undue reliance on the spontaneous mass upsurge and the evolving of a political-tactical line on that basis—all this did prove immensely harmful to building and advancing the revolutionary movement.

Hardly two years after this, and even before the ink was dry on our 1948-51 lessons, our Party repeated another such serious mistake. Basing on the electoral defeats of the Congress in 1952 and events following immediately and citing certain data that strengthened our pre-conceived conclusion, the Political Resolution, at Madurai, in 1954, declared: "All these make it unmistakably clear that what we are witnessing today is not merely the maturing of the economic crisis but, along with it, the initial stages of the development of a political crisis" (Madurai Resolution, Page 28). But life and events proved that it was a gross overestimation of the situation.

On the basis of such an estimation of the situation and in the background of that political understanding, our Party had gone into the mid-term election battle of Andhra in 1955. Again, how did we estimate the level of political and class consciousness of the people and the state of their class and mass organisations in Andhra? Life and history proved that we suffered from the mistake of a sectarian overestimation of the situation.

Let us take the latest example of the 1967 general elections. Does not our election review sharply bring out that in a number of states our committees had overestimated the mass strength of the Party, overestimated the degree of revisionist isolation and also grossly overestimated the degree of political consciousness of the people?

One of the sources of the rise and spurt of both the right-opportunist and left-sectarian deviations inside the

communist movement is this monstrous mistake of overestimation of a given situation, leading to political debacles and consequent frustration among the party ranks.

Taking all this into serious account the C. C., in its resolution on "New Situation and Party's Tasks" adopted immediately after the 1967 general elections, attempted to soberly assess and estimate the then-prevailing economic-political situation in the country.

It notes the deepening economic crisis, as an integral part of the world capitalist crisis, and also points out how the capitalist path of development, embarked upon by the big bourgeoisie to extricate the national economy from the chronic crisis it was thrown into by the British colonialists, has itself got into a crisis.

Secondly, it notes the post-election political developments in the country and comes to the conclusion that a political crisis too has set in, and is in its initial stages.

Thirdly, it takes stock of the degree of political consciousness and the state of organisation of the masses and classes, in particular, the working class and the peasantry, and notes: the proletariat "as a class is very poorly organised, and to the extent it is organised in trade unions, the movement suffers from crude economism. Only a very small part of the organised trade union movement in the country is led by the Communist Party while the rest is under the leadership of several petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties. Its class consciousness is at a pitifully low level and its Communist Party is extremely weak and confronted with the menace of revisionism organised in the shape of the right Communist Party. Living and functioning in a country as ours, with a predominantly agrarian population, its unity with the toiling masses, particularly with the peasantry, is not yet forged even in its rudimentary form. We as Marxist-Leninists are quite aware that the entire course of progress and the outcome of the struggle ultimately depends upon the degree of the development of the class consciousness and organisation of the proletariat as a class and its firm alliance with the peasantry. Our Central Commi-

tee has already examined the serious defects of our work in the working class and peasant fronts and discussed the ways and means to overcome them and these conclusions are embodied in two separate documents, now before the Party." (Page 51)

Lastly, the C.C. resolution, while presenting the picture of the new favourable situation that is developing in the country for the proletariat, warns thus: "The deepening economic crisis, no doubt, has now passed to the political sphere and set in motion a political crisis. And yet, it is still in its initial stages, though in the days to come it is bound to get intensified and mature. Any attempt to over-rate or exaggerate the degree of its depth and maturity would lead us to grossly underestimate the immense reserves which they still have on the one hand, and to do everything to disrupt and suppress the popular struggles on the other to perpetuate their exploiting class rule. Such a wrong and oversimplified estimation is fraught with dangers to our Party and other democratic forces since it might land them into erroneous moves, and thus play into the enemy's hands." (*New Situation and Party's Tasks*, Page 50)

It is on the basis of such an assessment of the situation that the C.C. has worked out its political line to head different mass fronts and movements in the country.

The revisionists and their leaders who, for a decade upto now, were singing eulogies to the planned development and steady progress under the Congress regime discovered, in the post-election situation, a golden opportunity for staging a "parliamentary insurrection." They decided to ally with any and every party and accept ministerial posts wherever they were offered to them; they began to acclaim the non-Congress state governments as transitional governments paving the way to their much-talked-of national democratic government; and they got themselves noisily busy for a parliamentary insurrection to topple the central Congress government and establish a non-Congress coalition government—mind you, all this, again, with a score of M.P.s in their group in the Lok Sabha whose total strength exceeds five hundred members. Their day-

dreams went so far as to visualise an immediate possibility of split and class differentiation in the bourgeoisie, when the so-called progressive wing of the Congress would join 'hands with their 'twenty-two' in forming a new coalition government!

If such is the revisionist estimation of the situation and a corresponding tactical line has been worked out, how does the new sectarian standpoint assess the current situation and advocate its own tactical line?

It declares open opposition and hostility to the entire assessment of the current economic-political situation presented by the C.C. in the resolution on "New Situation and Party's Tasks", and roundly denounces it as nothing but a modified version of the revisionist tactical line.

It maintains that the thesis of deepening economic crisis and the setting in of the initial stage of the political crisis is as old as that of the Madurai congress resolution of 1954, and what we are in, at the present stage, is a revolutionary situation, demanding the highest revolutionary forms of struggle and methods of organisation.

It puts forward the thesis that the big-bourgeois-led government stands exposed and isolated amongst the masses as the comprador lackey and stooge of U.S. imperialism, that counter-revolution has placed the bayonet and bullet on the agenda leaving no alternative for the revolution except to meet it with the same weapons, that the masses are tired of and fed up with strikes, demonstrations, petitions and elections and hence they refuse to be mobilised through these 'time-worn' forms of struggle, that the talk of building the class and mass organisations, the building of a strong Communist Party and a powerful united front, etc., is empty prattle as all these are tasks impossible to be fulfilled, unless they are integrated with and carried side by side with the peasant partisan war.

This grossly subjective and left-adventurist school of thought contemptuously rejects the tested Marxist-Leninist yardstick of judging whether a situation is revolutionary or not, and seeks to substitute it with its own dogmatic formulae,

conjured up in its grand seclusion. It does not bother to raise the elementary question and answer as to how the proletariat is organised in any state or the country as a whole, as to what the level of its class and political consciousness is, and what its exact mood is at the present stage; it does not care to ascertain as to what the actual state of the peasantry is, how far it is organised or not, whether the proletariat and its Communist Party has so far succeeded to any appreciable extent in popularising its revolutionary agrarian programme, let alone organising struggles on the widest scale, and at what stage is the much-needed worker-peasant alliance. This sectarian school does not think it necessary to assess the strong and weak points of the Communist Party as it now stands nor deem it as one of the key factors in the matter of decisively influencing a political situation; and, of course, its study and assessment of the class enemy and the forces behind him, is all the more deplorable.

Thus the left-sectarians have, virtually, come to adopt, as Engels puts it, the Blanquist "viewpoint that a relatively small number of resolute, well-organised men would be able, at a given moment, not only to seize the helm of the state, but also by a display of great, ruthless energy, to maintain power until they succeeded in sweeping the mass of the people into the revolution". The only amendment of the sectarians to this Blanquist theory seems to be that if Blanquism conceived of capturing central state power through its method, our 'lefts' conceive of capturing state power, first in one or several rural pockets and finally at the centre. Otherwise the new left-sectarians maintain the same Blanquist theory of repudiating the role of the classes and the masses. The atrocious part of the story is that the left-adventurist school wants to pass all this under the sign-board of Marxism-Leninism, even though there is hardly anything common between the two.

From such utterly un-Marxian theories of petty bourgeois revolutionism and adventurism, the utilisation of the bourgeois parliament and legislatures by the proletarian party is condemned out of hand as 'parliamentary cretinism'; the utiliza-

tion of the positions in the government at states' level, under conditions where the Party has neither the fear of becoming the camp-follower of other classes and parties nor is in a weak position to be dominated and swamped by alien political parties, is sought to be denounced as 'Millerandism'—proletarian parties allying with imperialist bourgeoisie and joining its government. The tactics of united front and united action with other democratic classes and the parties representing them, is decried as "opportunist alliances", since according to them these parties are not consistently democratic and hence "out and out reactionary"; if our Party declares that it strives to achieve the revolution by peaceful means and pins the responsibility on the ruling classes for forcing violence on the revolution to counter the violence unleashed against it, they say, "it is all breeding revisionist illusions of peaceful transition", and demand that we should declare for violent revolution since it is anyway inevitable under the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship; these comrades pick out stray, scattered and tiny islands of militant peasant and tribal people's struggles in the vast ocean of our country's peasantry and then proceed to make the thesis of a matured agrarian revolution and give armed struggle, people's war, national liberation war and similar other grossly exaggerated and highly bloated slogans of the day; and as a result of this totally un-Marxian outlook, contempt is shown for patient, painstaking and sustained work among the basic revolutionary classes of the proletariat and the peasantry, while directing their appeal to the emotions of the restive petty bourgeois student and youth sections who are yet to be schooled, tempered and trained in Marxism-Leninism and its revolutionary theory and practice.

The gross left-sectarian estimation of the current situation does not stop there. This petty bourgeois revolutionary trend virtually negates the role of the classes and masses, and their unity, organisation and political consciousness in the revolutionary struggle. The ultra-sectarian thesis that this left school of thought expounds, that in the struggle against imperialism united action by the Soviet Union and China is

ruled out since the former is headed by revisionist leaders, is extended and projected into the sphere of building united class and mass movements in India. It is opposed to any united work and action with trade union and kisan organisations which are under the leadership of the revisionists ; and it is also opposed to the forging of any electoral fronts with the revisionist party as well as other non-Congress democratic parties. Thus, the most elementary Marxist-Leninist tactical principles of building class and mass unity in struggle are being discarded under the pseudo-radical slogan of "fighting an uncompromising struggle against the revisionists". This left trend erroneously projects the correct Marxist-Leninist position that there can be no unprincipled unity with revisionism inside the same party to the question of united fronts and united actions with the revisionists to reject these correct Marxist-Leninist tactics.

Thus, the left-opportunist estimation of the current situation and the corresponding tactical line it advocates has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. This grave error of our sectarians, if not immediately corrected, would prove doubly disastrous to the cause of our revolution and, in a sense, more damaging than their equally mistaken views on the programmatic issues, which we pointed out earlier.

8. OPPORTUNIST ERRORS AND THEIR IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS

We have so far examined how on a series of issues connected with the programme, strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution, right-revisionist and left-opportunist mistakes express themselves. As far as the question of right-reformist mistakes, their origin, evolution and culmination in the Indian communist movement are concerned, it is dealt with in detail in the seventh congress report, published under

the title *Fight Against Revisionism*. Further, the resolution on the ideological questions in the international communist movement, adopted at the extended plenary session of the C.C. at Burdwan between April 6 and 12, 1968, makes it abundantly clear as to how the standpoint of the Indian revisionists finds itself in complete agreement with the positions of modern revisionism led by the leadership of the CPSU. Hence, it needs no more elaboration in this letter. But the manner in which the left-sectarian trend manifests today needs examination.

It is quite interesting to note that the Programme and the general political line of our Party, as evolved and adopted at the seventh party congress and pursued since then, did not encounter any opposition from any party unit or any leading comrade at different levels, till the time of releasing the C.C.'s ideological draft for discussion in the middle of August 1967. Not merely there was no opposition, but the Programme and the political line were generally acclaimed by the entire Party as basically correct and resting on sound Marxist-Leninist foundations, steering clear of both right and left mistakes.

Then, how is it that the majority of leading comrades in Andhra Pradesh and a few others from different states now come to consider that our Party Programme is wrong on several crucial questions, that our political line is essentially revisionist and that our resolution on the ideological questions concentrates its main fire against the alleged left-sectarianism instead of right-revisionism, and directs its edge on the left errors of Chinese leaders instead of the modern revisionism of the CPSU leaders.

Evidently there is a big shift in the political-ideological position of these left critics, and it is a shift, sudden, patent and to the extreme left from that of the till-now-accepted standpoint of the Party Programme and the Party's political line. They cannot deny it.

How do they explain the reasons for this shift? They admit that it is principally due to their rethinking which has

begun after the campaign of open denunciation of our Party and its political line as neo-revisionist was let loose by the Chinese press and radio since the middle of the year 1967.

Yes! Rethinking, and rectifying the mistakes if and when any are found, and learning from the fraternal criticism of any brother party is always necessary and welcome. But is it permissible under the plea of rethinking to follow uncritically the denunciatory critique of the Chinese Communist press and radio? Have they, also, not to rethink for themselves as to how a political line they were accepting as basically correct for three years till the middle of the year 1967 is suddenly transformed into a totally wrong one subsequently, and whether they are not now as uncritically and as blindly accepting the Chinese critique as correct as they seem to have done in the case of accepting the Party Programme and its political line till recently? It is for these comrades to seriously ponder over these questions and objectively and self-critically review their stand.

As far as these comrades are concerned they cannot plead that they are kept in darkness regarding our differences with the CPC on specific questions dealing with our Programme and political line. As early as the first quarter of 1964, when the present Programme was in its drafting stage, it was clearly and openly stated in one of our printed and widely circulated documents thus:

“We would also like to bring to your notice that on some of the concrete questions such as the characterisation of the present Indian state, the nature of the present government and its leadership we have some differences and serious reservations with the positions taken by the CPC as well as the CPSU in some of their documents. In drafting our Programme we tried to incorporate our understanding on these questions and excluded all this from this ideological document. It has been our endeavour to be as objective as possible without the fear of being dubbed pro- or anti-CPSU or CPC as our enemies often try to do.” (Introduction to *A Contribution to Ideological Debate*, Page 2)

The attention of the comrades was drawn to the same point, during the pre-congress and seventh congress discussions. And yet, none objected to it and every comrade present had accepted it. The easy acceptance of political positions and still more easy rejection of the same on no sure and tested a ground, we have to observe, does not behove of any serious Communist, let alone leading party cadres.

Coming to the point of our attitude towards the leadership of the CPSU and that of the CPC, contrary to the allegations and accusations of our left critics, our C. C. and Party have made their position absolutely clear.

We hold the leaders of the CPSU responsible for the opening of the flood-gates of modern revisionism in the world communist movement with many of their discredited theories and practices, on a series of issues. We also have announced publicly, that they are responsible for the prevailing disunity and division in the socialist camp and world communist movement.

We are equally clear and categorical about the ideological-political stand of the CPC in this controversy. On all the issues of ideological debate—such as war and peace, peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition, peaceful transition, the issue of Stalin, the so-called party of the people and state of the people concepts, and the principle of independence of Communist Parties and non-interference, the critique of the Chinese Communist Party is essentially correct, and based on the unassailable standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Further, the CPC, by boldly taking up this fight against modern revisionism, led by the leaders of the CPSU, has rendered great service to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, and our Party and its C.C. gratefully acknowledge it and hail it.

However, we cannot accept certain positions of the CPC on some vital issues connected with the world communist movement as well as on the Indian question as either correct or conforming to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. The outright rejection of the principle of unity in action, between different socialist states and the world Communist Parties,

against imperialism, on the ground that some of these socialist states and Communist Parties are under the leadership of the revisionists, according to us, is wrong in principle and harmful in practice. Similarly, while believing in the complete correctness of the unhesitating and sharp exposure of the class collaborationist and revisionist policies of the leaders of the Soviet Union, we cannot subscribe to the erroneous theory of U. S.-Soviet collaboration for the sharing of world hegemony and the perpetuation of world domination.

Lastly, we are firmly convinced that the CPC, in its reading of class relations in India, in its assessment of the current situation and the tactical line worked out on that basis, is completely incorrect and contrary to realities and life. This mistake assumes all the more grievous proportions when it, openly and frontally, interferes in the internal affairs of our Party with a view to imposing its own political line on it.

Is it not strange, in the face of these factors, that our left critics, instead of sharply reacting to the unwarranted and hostile attack, launched by the Chinese press and radio against our Party and its political line, atrociously assert that our Party with its ideological-political line is directing its main fire against the Chinese Party?

This strange behaviour can be explained only by the fact that our left-sectarians are carried away by the CPC and its great contribution in the fight against revisionism, to the point of losing their objective and independent thinking that they clean miss to note certain of its left mistakes. And in fact what our Party considers as some left errors of the CPC in the course of its struggle against modern revisionism, our lefts have come to consider these very mistakes as the heart and soul of the Chinese contribution in the fight against revisionism. If, for a long time, in the past the cult of the CPSU was fostered on the ground that it was infallible, now, the new-sectarian trend is attempting to preach the infallibility of the CPC with all the harmful consequences that accompany such a creed.

If the Indian revisionists, on the one hand, proclaim from

the house-tops that every non-Congress government that provides them with a ministerial post is a 'transitional government' on the road to the so-called 'national democracy' of their invention, the sectarians, on the other, simply echo the Chinese denunciation of the Kerala and Bengal U.F. governments as Congress-blessed reactionary governments, more reactionary than the Congress governments.

If the revisionists are indulging in the infantile talk of parliamentary insurrection basing on a few scores of left and democratic MPs in a house of five hundred, with hardly ten to fifteen per cent of the electorate to back them, the sectarians rejoice in repeating the stories of non-existent rural armed insurrections in scores of places in India.

If the revisionists define the present Indian state as a bourgeois democratic state, the sectarians seek to correct them by describing it as a neo-colonial state.

If the revisionists hate the People's Republic of China, denounce the CPC as 'Trotskyite' and anti-Communist, and heartily desire its exclusion from the socialist camp and world communist movement, the sectarians, with a vengeance, reply to them that there now exists a U.S.-Soviet axis for world hegemony and domination under the evil leadership of the revisionist leaders of the CPSU, that the Soviet Union and other socialist states following it hence have no place in the socialist camp, and a global strategy to fight this U.S.-Soviet axis is the dire need of the hour for world proletarian revolution.

If the revisionists believe in the theory of one world liberating centre (the Soviet Union) and one party hegemony (the CPSU), notwithstanding some other revisionist theories of 'polycentrism', the sectarians fondly imagine and fanatically advocate the thesis of People's China assuming the role of the 'world liberation mission' and the CPC acquiring the 'leading role' of the world communist movement. But the CPC itself, in its polemics against the Soviet leadership, quotes approvingly the resolution of the Communist International in 1943 dissolving the Comintern: "the solution of the problems

of the labour movement of each country through the medium of some international centre would meet with insuperable obstacles." The CPC, then, declares, "in the present international communist movement, the question of who has the right to lead whom simply does not arise."

If the revisionists have come to consider that the CPSU has acquired the god-given right of grossly interfering in the internal affairs of other brother parties, of course, in the name of defending Marxism-Leninism of its own definition, the sectarians argue that such a 'right' has now descended upon the CPC, since, according to them, it, alone, is the exclusive repository of Marxism-Leninism, with a historic duty and a mission to chalk out the political lines for one and all the C.P.s in the world.

But the CPC itself in its "Polemic on the General Line", refuting the CPSU's charge against it of seizing the leadership to the international communist movement had said :

"However, we must tell the leaders of the CPSU that the international communist movement is not some feudal clique. Whether large or small, whether new or old, and whether in or out of power, all fraternal parties are independent and equal. No meeting of fraternal parties and no agreement unanimously adopted by them has ever stipulated that there are superior and subordinate parties, one party which leads and other parties which are led, a party which is a father and parties which are sons, or that the leaders of the CPSU are the supreme rulers over other fraternal parties."

After tracing the history of this question in the international proletarian revolutionary movement the CPC said, "The question confronting all communists and the entire international communist movement today is not who is the leader over whom" and concludes :

"In the present international communist movement, the question of who has the right to lead whom simply does not arise. Fraternal parties should be independent and completely equal, and at the same time they should be united."

Both the right-revisionists and left-sectarians compete

with each other in their attempt to create some sort of church-like centres of Marxism-Leninism with their own high priests to preside and give divine, unerring and final decisions reducing the science of Marxism-Leninism, virtually, to the status of a mediaeval 'faith'. The correct Marxist-Leninist concept of Communist Parties learning from each other, from mistakes and achievements, of collectively thinking and commonly imbibing the lessons and of each party correctly applying the theory to its own concrete conditions is sought to be substituted with the dangerous concept of 'ordering parties' and 'obeying detachments'. It is better to remember always the following from the CPC'S General Line :

"If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad, and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle ;

"Then such a party is absolutely incapable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat."

The grossly subjective and left-infantile attacks on the party's ideological and political line emanate from the fact that some of our comrades, in their immense hatred of revisionism and innate urge for militant struggle against the exploiters' rule, have lost their Marxist-Leninist bearing and slipped into petty-bourgeois revolutionism. The tardy progress of the revolutionary movement in the country, the frustration caused in the face of long years of bourgeois-landlord misrule, and the ocean of petty bourgeoisie that surrounds the poorly organised and politically backward working class movement of our country, offer fertile ground

for the flourishing of these alien trends. Above all, the long-neglected Marxist-Leninist schooling and tempering of cadres, through theoretical and practical training, in the once united Communist Party of India, has left its evil legacy to our Party, and we need not feel shy of admitting how weak and vulnerable we are in this regard, and what stupendous difficulties we face in overcoming it.

The interesting part of the story is that both these opportunist deviations seek to cover up their mistakes by wearing the mantle of Marxism-Leninism, while attacking the correct positions of our Central Committee as 'centrism' or 'neutralism'. This attack on the correct class line, sometimes, also assumes a funny form, i. e., the revisionists maligning it as essentially left-sectarian and dogmatic and the left-opportunists slandering it as essentially revisionist and 'neo-revisionist'; and the common feature of both is to spurn the very correct Marxian concept of fighting on two fronts, the right and left-opportunist errors, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, while its respective adherents parade as self-annointed knights and crusaders of demolishing the menace of modern revisionism or modern dogmatism. Both the wrong trends pretend to take inspiration from the great Lenin and his immortal teachings in the fight against revisionism and left-sectarianism, but in actual practice the revisionists practise the trick of citing passages after passages from his famous work of "*Left-Wing Communism*" and the like and to scrupulously avoid mentioning anything from his voluminous and rich contributions in the relentless fight against revisionism and its chieftains of the Second International, whereas the left-sectarian school quotes profusely from Lenin's scathing attacks on right-reformism and revisionism and meticulously avoids mentioning anything from his merciless exposure of dogmatism and left-adventurism. Lenin, by both the schools, is presented not as the great Marxist revolutionary who fought on two fronts, sparing neither, but only as an uncompromising fighter either against revisionism or sectarianism! Add to all this, the Indian revisionists, to defend their position, heavily rely

on the modern revisionism of the leaders of the CPSU, and try to exploit the great prestige built around the CPSU, Soviet Union and all its might, accumulated over half a century under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin; on the other hand, the sectarian trend that is rising in our Party, in the recent period, is attempting in a big way to defend its sectarian theories and actions by heavily drawing upon the prestige of another big Party leading another mighty socialist state, i. e., the Chinese Communist Party, the prestige of which is doubly enhanced amongst the world revolutionary ranks because of its sharp exposure and bold fight against modern revisionism led by the leaders of the CPSU. In short, if Marxism-Leninism for the Indian revisionists has come to virtually mean the uncritical acceptance of CPSU as the infallible guide to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, for our sectarians, the uncritical acceptance of every proposition and step of the CPC and unquestioned loyalty to it have come to mean the hall-mark of Marxism-Leninism.

9. THE RIGHT AND LEFT OPPORTUNIST TRENDS AND THEIR ORGANISATIONAL MANIFESTATIONS

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 has very correctly pinpointed how the revisionists reject "the Leninist principles of party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society." We are quite familiar with our Indian revisionists, how they do not care to respect either democracy or centralism inside the party, utilise either the aspect of democracy or the aspect of centralism only in the measure that suits their revisionist political line, and in the bargain make a mockery of the principle of democratic centralism, sticking to offices like

leaches, no matter even if the majority in the Party is pronouncedly opposed to their leadership.

The sectarians and left-adventurists in their turn, as seen in the case of the Naxalbari leaders and others who are wedded to the Naxalbari political-ideological line, also, make the Leninist organisational principle of democratic centralism, the first casualty in their inner-party struggle.

They demand the right of revolt against the party line and also simultaneously the right of party membership, and if opposed, they non-chalantly ask the question, "did we not do the same while breaking with the revisionists"? Thereby, they clean forget and ignore the fact that such a revolt took place after ten full years of intense inner-party struggle for a correct political line, after the Dangeite leadership closed the doors of deciding the dispute through inner-party discussion and by democratic means, and after the majority of the members in the Party found no alternative except to revolt and break if the Party and the revolutionary working class movement were to be defended and safeguarded.

They justify their revolt against the C.C. and the accepted party line, at the very first appearance of their differences with it, without either caring for the opinion of the overwhelming majority of party members, or to the decisions of the duly-elected C.C. which is to function as the highest authority between two congresses.

They seek to reverse the political line of the Party and substitute it with an alternative line, which is neither born out of experience nor an outcome of reviewing the implementation of the accepted political line, but one broadcast by Peking radio and circulated by the Chinese press.

They defy party forms and norms and in turn accuse the C.C. of not adhering to forms and norms, not because the C.C. was not acting within the strict confines of the party's constitution, but because the exercising of C.C.'s rights would curtail their right of taking liberties with the party organisation and party's political line.

They threaten the Party with a split, and to cover it up

spread the unfounded gossip that the C.C. is out to resolve political-ideological differences through disciplinary measures.

They arrogantly defend their open breach of loyalty to the Party Programme and the party's constitution which they have solemnly pledged, and in turn demand the C.C. and Party to be loyal to the CPC and its political line, which we have neither pledged nor can ever pledge. Communists, all over the world, are known to be loyal only to Marxism-Leninism, and to the party programme and constitution worked out by the concerned party of the country in accordance with its Marxist-Leninist understanding. Strangely enough, the sectarian view that confronts our Party, today, advocates the same discredited theory of "father party and son party", a theory sought to be practised by the Khrushchovites and roundly denounced by the Chinese Communist Party and all the Marxist-Leninists of the world as one of atrocious and disruptive character.

Has all this anything in common with Marxism-Leninism, its organisational principles and proletarian internationalism? Absolutely there is nothing in common. And yet, it is sad to see that a good section of our comrades in Andhra Pradesh who have for years loyally served the Party and its cause, have fallen victims to such an infantile left-opportunist line, both in matters of politics and organisation.

Comrades, the Polit Bureau is addressing this letter to our party members in Andhra Pradesh at a crucial turn of events in the life of our Party. The P.B. hopes that every party member and, in particular, every leading comrade in Andhra Pradesh, would rise to the occasion, overcoming every manifestation of subjectivism, and earnestly endeavour to appreciate the spirit in which this letter is drafted and understand its contents.

The first nucleus of the Communist Party in Andhra Pradesh was set up in 1933-34, and it is by now full thirtyfive years since then. During the long and chequered history in this period, it has earned a proud place in the hearts

of the toiling millions of Andhra Pradesh, through its services and sacrifices in the cause of our common people. Its sustained work and diverse activity among the worker and peasant masses, the leadership given to the democratic demands of forming the separate state of Andhra and Visal Andhra, and above all, the historic Telengana peasant armed revolt it had heroically led against the mediaeval and oppressive regime of the Nizam of Hyderabad, have acquired for the Party big prestige and a national status in the political life of Andhra Pradesh as well as in our country. This was proved beyond a shadow of doubt, when the people in their millions rallied round our Party's banner during the first general elections in the year 1952 and in the short period immediately following it.

However, the fact remains that the communist movement in Andhra, as it stands at the present stage, is not yet able to firmly base itself either on a strong and organised working class movement or a powerful and solid agrarian revolutionary movement. The bourgeois-landlord classes through their political party, i.e., the Indian National Congress, utilising the state and governmental power they secured, were able to capitalise on the democratic gains more than us, the democratic gains achieved mainly by our Party's active participation and contribution. Thus, in the struggle that our Party, as a working class party, is locked with the bourgeois-landlord classes during the last one-and-a-half decades we were thrown on the defensive, and our advance has been very tardy, halting and has been even reversed, in some respects. For this state of affairs, apart from the temporary and short-lived political advantages our class enemies could secure for reasons beyond our control, the ascendancy of the right-reformist outlook and practice in the Andhra Pradesh party unit, which subsequently led to serious revisionist disruption and split in the party and people's movements under its leadership, has its disastrous contribution, and in no way it can be minimised.

Our party unit in Andhra is called upon to concretely assess the class realities obtaining in the state at present, to

correctly estimate the political situation and the alignment of class forces, and to devise ways and means to overcome the existing shortcomings. Our Party's existence and activities are confined to seven to eight districts out of a total of twenty in the state, and, also, to some taluks and pockets in these seven to eight districts. It is evident that without widening and extending the democratic movement to ever-wider areas and sections of people, the task of defending or taking the movement to higher levels in the few strong pockets where the movement is strong and on which the class enemies are concentrating their attacks, becomes doubly difficult. The class enemies, as experience tells us, are out to squeeze us out of the existing pockets, and to achieve their objective, they are constantly resorting to violent and provocative actions against our Party and thus seek to draw us out into unequal class battles in which they hope to destroy us. How to tack, manoeuvre, and mark time in order to meet the enemies' offensive in a more advantageous situation to us is a difficult job to be tackled by our State Committee. But in no case we should be helplessly dragged into a position of accepting battle on their terms to oblige our class enemies.

The present phase we are now passing through, the deepening economic crisis and the growing political crisis, do certainly offer us greater opportunities of overcoming the lags and shortcomings in our movement in a comparatively shorter period of time, provided we do not lose our balance in the face of provocative violence and the calculated offensive of the bourgeois-landlord classes and their government.

What is required to fully utilise the possibilities inherent in the developing economic-political situation is a strong, united and disciplined Communist Party. As Lenin put it, "in its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation", and the Communist Party alone is that highest organisation. The enemy, having tasted the fruits and reaped the benefits of disruption of the Party and the movement caused by the revisionist betrayal, is once again anxiously looking for another round of disunity and disruption from

left-opportunist mistakes, and he is not hiding his evil intention and glee over it. In such a situation, to allow any more weakening of our Party, its unity, discipline and cohesion, is nothing short of playing into our enemies' hands and causing damage to the cause we all cherish, and for which we have so far given all our best.

The Polit Bureau appeals to all party members and units in Andhra Pradesh to rise to the occasion, to accept the decisions of the central plenum and to loyally and truthfully implement them, and to defend the unity and discipline of the Party, a party that is built over decades of struggles and great sacrifices.

No quarter should be given to the subversive and disruptive slogans of the Naxalbari leaders who staged an open revolt against the Party and openly and shamelessly advocate the subversion of the CPI(M) wherever it is possible and disruption where such subversion is stalled. Such a conspiracy for building a factional party within the Party should be scotched. Every honest party member will have to be doubly vigilant against this undermining tactic of the "ultras" parading under the garb of uncompromising revolutionaries.

No party member should tolerate any tendency to overtly or covertly challenge and defy the accepted party line, the decisions of the Burdwan plenum, the norms and forms of our party organisation and its basic principle of democratic centralism.