

The Politics Of Nagi Reddy

—A Journalist

It should not be difficult for one who has gone through the so-called "Immediate Programme" of Nagi Reddy and company adopted at a conference held on April 10, 11 & 12 this year, to know them in their true colours.

A major weakness of the "programme" is that it has entirely ignored the question of destroying the class enemy. Quite understandably Nagi Reddy and company chose not to say anything about annihilating the main class enemies in the villages without which it is impossible to create a liberated area. On the contrary, they advocate measures aimed at protecting the class enemies. For example they say :

✓ —Do not hurt the usurer if he is agreeable to accept "reasonable" rates of interest. By hurting him you merely deprive the helpless peasants of the source of obtaining usurious loans.

—Build 'revolutionary' *panchayats* in the villages, if you must, but do it with a view to **competing** with the official *panchayat* dominated by the landlords.

✓ —It is not practicable now to launch struggles in the irrigated areas in the plains.

To cover up this weakness in their "programme" they had to cook up a new 'theory' for waging people's war. According to this 'theory' **hills and jungles constitute the "key" to and the main area** for waging people's war. And what does this mean? It means that struggles cannot develop at present in vast areas of India. According to this 'theory' therefore, it would be a sheer waste of energy to try to develop struggles in the plains of West Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

It is on basis of this 'new' and demoralising 'theory' of theirs that Nagi Reddy and company have directed their ranks and cadres to—

- go to jungles [not to villages] ;
- carry out and take lessons from "limited guerrilla resistance" in the non-irrigated areas in the plains and then go to jungles.

The "programme" is silent over the police repression on the people that would invariably follow every such "limited guerrilla resistance."

- the fighters in the irrigated areas of the plains are required to go straight to jungles after undergoing some "training". This is because there are to be no struggles in those areas.

And these people, the authors of this most absurd 'jungle theory' dare decry our Party for allegedly getting "isolated from the masses" !

We ask our ranks and cadres to go to the people—the peasants and workers, and not to the jungles. We ask them to stay on among the people after guerrilla actions, and continue revolutionary propaganda among them. We say that only the masses, and the masses alone, can help us get rid of our fears, can provide us with shelters and give advice and information for carrying out further actions, and can increase our confidence and strength. We can be "fish" only when we remain among the people—the "sea". This is what Chairman Mao teaches. This is what has been borne out by the experience of struggle in Srikakulam. The tragic results that invariably follow by pursuing the line so zealously advocated by Nagi Reddy and company can be clearly seen from the pages of Guevara's "Bolivian Diary". And yet—according these wiseacres it is we who are the "followers of Guevara line" !

This 'jungle theory', this theory of keeping away from the masses spring from petty bourgeois ideology. The

petty bourgeois impotency characteristic of Nagi Reddy and company is clearly evident from their **11 basic principles**, which, as they claim, will remain valid till socialism is achieved. These principles include :

- Distribution of the land owned by **big landlords** among the poor and landless peasants. (What about the land owned by non-cultivators, i.e., the usurers and jetedars ? Should that land be left alone ? In that case, how can feudalism be overthrown ?)

—Taking over the foreign capital in industry and banks. (Does it mean that foreign capital in trading etc. would not be touched ? As far as we know, "loans" constitute 80 per cent of foreign investments in our country, and only 20 per cent as 'capital'. The "programme" is silent over these foreign loans.)

Working class: The "programme" states : "The increase in the wages and facilities regarding working hours and other conveniences to the working class will be **implemented**." (How generous of Nagi Reddy and company ! They promise to make available to the workers after revolution **those** "facilities" and "conveniences" which the British imperialists and their successors, the Congress rulers allowed them to have but did not 'implement'. What a bright prospect, indeed, they hold out before the workers !)

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." This stirring call given out by Marx-Lenin-Mao Tsetung aroused the proletariat who made revolutions and shed their own blood to lead the revolution of the oppressed people. In contrast to this, Nagi Reddy and company have now advanced their new slogan : 'all the facilities and concessions hitherto approved by wage-boards, pay commissions etc. will be **implemented** after the revolution' !

All in all, the Reddys seem quite firm about promising things to the petty bourgeoisie. Section 5 of their

"programme" promises the petty bourgeoisie guarantee of service. Further, section 10 promises to **annihilate completely** unemployment among the petty bourgeoisie. Naturally, all these assurances are meant for the **urban petty bourgeoisie**.

We do not run down Nagi Reddy and company simply because they are so solicitous of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The revolutionary united front definitely includes urban petty bourgeoisie. But the great importance which they attach to the petty bourgeoisie raises one question in our mind: Have they forgotten that unemployment among the petty bourgeoisie can be 'annihilated completely' **only when** the rural poor gets land and the city worker gets jobs, political power is wielded by the workers and peasants, and production is increased?

Such guarantees, biased in favour of the petty bourgeoisie, as Nagi Reddy and company have given, tend to perpetuate the contradiction between the people and the bureaucracy, and between the intelligentsia and the labouring people. To do such things means to reject the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. It springs from such utterly un-Marxist ideas as: 'Let us not bother about contradictions now. Contradictions can be tackled later, after the revolution.' As we know, learning from the experience of the proletariat of one's own country and of other countries, is a major requirement of proletarian internationalism. It is our duty to learn well Mao Tsetung Thought in order to be able to resolve gradually the contradictions among the people **in course of revolution**.

We do not propose to hold out before the urban petty bourgeoisie any false promise of so-called "guarantee of service" to induce them to remain in the cities—which would continue to be the stronghold of reactionary forces till they are finally defeated. On the contrary, we ask them to go to the villages among the people, to live, work and

integrate with them. We ask them to learn from the people in order to be able to teach them. This is how the urban petty bourgeoisie can take part in the revolution and transform themselves. Nagi Reddy and company do not, however, want to change the urban petty bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they try to lull the urban petty bourgeoisie into complacency with false promises like "guarantee of service" and "complete annihilation of unemployment."

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a science. And like all sciences it does not admit of any ambivalence in the use of words or terms. Every word here carries a definite meaning. However, true to their petty bourgeois line of thinking, Nagi Reddy and company do not mind turning Soviet social-imperialism into "Soviet revisionist neo-colonialism," and declaring that a "new people's democratic government," will be established in India after the "new democratic revolution." India's biggest imperialist exploiters are U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. To this their "programme" adds a third name—British imperialism. They have added things to accepted formulations without caring to justify the same. No, we have no desire to make small things look big. But the question is: Are they trying to push a new analysis **different from** that of the CPC? They are free to do that, but should say so openly. [We cannot forget that decrying the CPC comes easy to Nagi and company. One of their leading lights, C. Pulla Reddy, in a letter dated August 8, 1967, addressed to the C.C. of the CPI (M) openly stated that the CPC was 'mistaken' in its analysis of the character of the Indian government, of the Indian situation etc., that the CPC's statements on Naxalbari struggle were "tactless" and accused it of adopting "pressure tactics to browbeat the Party [CPI (M)] into acceptance of their line on the Indian situation." In true revisionist style he stated: "We must demarcate ourselves, and demarcate sharply, from the CPC on this question," meaning the Indian situation. This

letter was published in CPI (M)'s organ *People's Democracy*.]

Nagi and company do not propagate the necessity of creating liberated areas in the countryside by annihilating the class enemy, by depriving the police of their 'eyes' and 'ears,' and by getting rid of the local tyrants. Their programme for the village includes works like : (1) studying land relations ; (2) propagating the importance of the distribution of land ; (3) getting prepared for seizing land **next year**, making lists of lands to be seized, organizing meetings and demonstrations of the rural poor, and preparing them for the coming seizure of land ; (4) collecting information about and making lists of the property belonging to temples ; (5) getting ready for launching struggle for acquiring plots of land to build dwelling houses. This is how Nagi and company are trying to divert the peasant masses from the path of revolutionary armed struggle : on the one hand they keep silent over the great political role the peasants are to play in the Indian revolution, while on the other, they try their hardest to keep the peasant masses bogged in the mire of economism. (Sri Reddy would have been saved all this labour if he could become the Minister for Land and Land Revenue of Andhra. He could then have this "lists" prepared by JLRO's and use the police force as the "volunter force" of his party. That would be right in the tradition of the CPI (M) bosses of West Bengal !)

If the class enemy survives and has the power to come back, how long can the peasants retain the land distributed to him ? He would be dispossessed of the land in no time by the usurer-jotedar. It has happened in West Bengal. Large tracts of land which were seized by the peasants are now found lying fallow.

Nagi and company propose to seize the land, animals and farm implements of "big" landlords (their "programme" does not say how this 'bigness' is to be judged) and

distribute the same among the poor people. Do they expect these landlords not to call in the police ? And when the police comes these landlords and other reactionaries would help in every way to get the fighters arrested. How then is it possible to seize and distribute land when the landlords and other reactionaries are allowed to move about freely doing mischief ? Moreover, setbacks are likely to demoralise a section of the peasantry, or, as is happening in West Bengal, one group of land-hungry peasants is set against another by the revisionist and reformist parties of the UF and while party funds continue to swell the poor people are made to shed their blood in fratricidal strife. 37

Nagi and company's "programme" talks of liberated areas, land distribution etc., but carefully avoids mentioning the overriding importance of annihilating the class enemy. It is evident, therefore, that they are using these words only to deceive the people. Their "programme" may be able to bring peasants to attend meetings or take part in demonstrations, but is absolutely incapable of unleashing the revolutionary initiative of the masses.

This weakness in their "programme" forces them to say ridiculous things like :

—The Girijans should be given the right to **sell freely** and the government purchasing-bodies should be abolished. (They seem to forget that after 1898 no one was able to sell "freely". To give that right now to the Girijans is to force them into the arms of the rapacious traders.)

—The people should, **on their own**, begin **revolutionary work** to abolish the *muthabhari* system (a tyrannical feudal system.) [Comment is unnecessary.]

Nagi Reddy leads those who are deeply concerned about mass organizations and bitterly curse Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the CPI (M-L) for being 'indifferent to mass organizations'. Nagi and company propose in their "programme" to build mass organizations on a 'new line'. The old method of subscriptions and receipt books is given

up. They would now admit only those **who raise their hands**. Where people are afraid to do so owing to repression, they would recruit members by making a **door to door approach** (see p. 11 of their "programme"). Those who have read Comrade Charu Mazumdar's article "On Some Current Political and Organizational Problems" (*Liberation*, July 1969) will at once realize how correct CPI (M-L)'s standpoint is and how mistaken the Reddys are.

Nagi and company have also criticized our Party in respect of 'work in the cities'. And what is their "active and revolutionary" programme for 'work in the cities'? They say :

- the cities are also important ;
- the help of the workers ~~are~~ needed ;
- attention must be given to the students ;
- the city people should be prepared to run their affairs when the time comes for finally seizing the cities from the countryside though it is only a distant perspective now...etc.

These are only empty talks and nothing else.

Nagi and company's "revolutionary programme" was prepared in Andhra but does not mention the historic Telangana peasant struggle, nor even the current militant nationalist struggle going on there. Their whole energy is consumed in preparing an outline for the struggle of the toddy-tappers of Telangana—a struggle that is yet to be launched! They refer to the Srikakulam struggle saying that it had reached the stage of armed struggle. But who led this struggle to this stage, which Party has been giving leadership to this struggle? Nagi and company say nothing about this.

The "programme" produced so hastily by Nagi and company is a revisionist, confusing and cowardly document. More, it is cunning and deceptive. The Dange clique and the CPI (M) revisionists have almost completely lost their hold on the masses in Andhra, while the Srikakulam

struggle has spread to 7 districts of the State. Large contingents of troops have been deployed to stamp out this raging fire of revolutionary struggle. But now-a-days, revolutionary struggles cannot be suppressed by White terror alone. Counter-revolution desperately needs disruption within the revolutionary ranks without which it cannot succeed. That is why counter-revolutionaries relied so heavily on the Dange clique and the CPI (M) revisionists, and now, when these renegades have been reduced to virtual impotency, counter-revolutionaries are relying on the Nagi Reddy and company.

The swift advance of revolution quickly unmasks the hidden traitors. Nagi Reddy and company will also be exposed fully before long. They hope to mislead and confuse the revolutionary and fighting cadres with their so-called "immediate programme". But their hopes will be dashed and their counter-revolutionary tricks will be exposed.

For them time is running out. And they seem apprehensive about it. The announcement of the formation of the CPI (M-L) would have cost them many, if not most, of their cadres and followers. So, in their desperate anxiety to forestall this, they came out with this wretched document on April 25, that is, six days before the announcement was made on May 1, of the formation of the CPI (M-L). How anxious they were, becomes evident from the fact that in their document published on April 25, they instruct their cadres to step up the struggle against contractors by "the end of April"! And yet you dare call us "adventurists"!