

OUR

BASIC DOCUMENTS

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**Supplement**

# **OUR BASIC DOCUMENTS**

**By**

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# INTRODUCTION

Now that many groups, revolutionary or otherwise, have their programmatic documents, there is no need to stress their importance as basic documents. Nor there is a trend which denies the need for them. There was a time when Charu Majumdar with his "left" adventurism rode roughshod over Indian revolutionary movement, with the result that it was disorganised, disrupted and disintegrated to such an extent that uniting revolutionaries in one organisation has become the most difficult task. He claimed authority over Mao Zedong Thought and dubbed persons and groups differing with his views to be revisionist. But his line ended in a failure soon, because it could not provide any guidance to the revolutionary movement. Various sections which had come out of its fold formed their own groups. Most of them are local in nature though a few of them claim to be all India organisations.

Communist revolutionaries belonged to a distinct trend of mass line, which developed gradually, while "left" adventurism as a force was dwindling. Some of them who differed with them were either expelled or came out from the organisational fold of Charu Majumdar by the time he formed his party i.e. CPI (ML). Andhra communist revolutionaries, who formed into a coordination committee to begin with, could not see eye to eye with the Charu's group even from the beginning. Though they too had their share of right and "left" opportunist sections in their ranks, they maintained their separate identity and organisation although with their own line, except for a brief and negligible period.

The Convention of Andhra Communist Revolutionaries held in April, 1969 decided to form the party of an all-India character for which the committee, the Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee (Revolutionaries) (APCCR), had taken necessary steps, political

as well as organisational. The preparation of the Programme, Path and the Constitution was an essential part of this work. I prepared these documents accordingly. The Preliminary Draft Constitution was prepared some time in the month of February 1972. The Draft Programme and Path were released for discussion, as is clear by the Appeal published in this series of documents.

By middle of 1969 we had contacts with individual comrades and units in various States. We decided to hold an all-India Convention and the venue was also fixed. It could not materialise, because of the situation which is explained in the Appeal.

These documents were circulated on behalf of APCCR; there were no changes and no amendments by the committee to the drafts as prepared by me.

While we were negotiating with other groups for uniting in a single organisation, they suggested certain amendments. We had accepted some which were not of a basic nature and rejected the rest. However the differences continued to persist even after merger with those groups. The unity thus achieved could not last long and one section after another broke away from the organisation renouncing the fundamental line contained in these documents. In view of this experience, I do not want to change these Drafts often because they are basic documents.

There is a view which is expressed in this way: No single group or party is correct in advancing a line for Indian Revolution. All were wrong. Therefore let us start afresh working out a correct line. This is not new for us. We had come across it in 1971 itself. Now a good number of groups are advocating this view. It is obvious that they accept that their line or lines were wrong. We also think that their line

or lines were wrong; the point has thus become indisputable and we are all unanimous about it. But they want us to accept that we were also wrong from the beginning just as they were. We don't accept this view of theirs. We say our line is basically correct. It means that there are likely to be shortcomings of a secondary nature. We are removing them and we continue to do so. As such it is not a disputable point so far as we (our organisation) are concerned. With convictions of a communist revolutionary, we are going ahead by implementing it. At the same time, we accept that it is a disputable point between ourselves and other groups, and we are ready to join issues with them on the entire subject. We have started this important work long back and we are going to have it as long as it is necessary.

I have explained the Draft Programme and certain aspects of the tactics in my work "The People's Democratic Revolution in India; An Explanation of the programme."

It is not always necessary to discuss the path necessary to be followed by communist revolutionaries in India, because once we adopt a revolutionary path, the question remains one of tactics to be adopted in a given situation. There was a time when insurrection of working class was supposed to be the real weapon to seize power. There was no controversy on this question till 1948. Ever since the question of People's War has come to the fore and there was a controversy inside the united Communist Party on the subject between 1948-51. When the communist revolutionaries broke away from CPI(M), they were unanimous in accepting People's War as the path for Indian revolution. Both the CPI and CPI(M) were arguing that it

does not apply to our country as it was the case with China and certain other countries. We had to join issues with them to prove that it applies to our country as well and the Path of Indian Revolution (Draft) discussed the course it will take in our country.

Now that the CPI and CPI (M) embraced parliamentary path, the controversy about insurrection VS People's War had become superfluous. But then there were controversies about the application of theory and practice of people's war i. e., armed struggle, and it is discussed in the Path of Indian Revolution (draft).

The Preliminary Draft Constitution of the Party is an outline for a comprehensive document which will be prepared at an appropriate time. It was meant for the Party members and the cadres who should have an idea about the nature of the organisation which we were going to have at that time. I have added notes so that comrades may understand the real significance of important provisions it contains. However more elaboration is needed.

To conclude, I would like the readers to study and understand these basic documents in the background of the time they were written and issued. There have been changes ever since, which do not find place in them, but at the same time they are not of a basic nature. There are a host of controversies on various conclusions which I have drawn in these documents. I had the occasion to join issues with others in the past, and I will continue to do so in future. I hope that a healthy discussion on these documents will help bring the revolutionaries together.

July 13, 1982.

The author.



## AN APPEAL

Dear Comrades,

We are releasing two documents of importance i. e., (1) Draft Programme of Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries), (2) The path of Indian Revolution (Draft), for discussion.

Every one knows that revolutionaries accepting Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao - Tse-Tung as their ideology are split in many groups, some having their own programmes and tactical lines, others having some hazy ideas regarding these fundamental questions. We had no occasion to discuss them, nor we could resolve our differences to any extent.

We are aware of the views of Com. Charu Majumdar's group as expressed in various articles which appeared in Liberation. We had occasion to comment on some of his views in our document "Left Trend in Indian Revolutionaries". This document clarifies our approach towards some of the important problems facing Indian revolution. We are yet to receive and study the documents of various groups of comrades so that we may express our opinions.

When the Communist Party of India (Marxist - Leninist) was formed, it adopted a programme. It had followed a tactical line of its own, which could neither unify its own ranks nor advance the revolutionary movements it was leading. We will have to further review their politics and the practice, so that we can draw correct conclusions.

Comrades are aware that Co-ordination Committee of Andhra Communist Revolutionaries was not affiliated to All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries immediately after its formation. It is only at a later stage that it was affiliated (October, 1968) and it was disaffiliated (February, 1969). We

held a convention in the month of April 1969, at state level, and adopted an "Immediate Programme" in which we incorporated our views regarding a programme and immediate tactics to be adopted to build an agrarian revolutionary movement leading to regular guerilla warfare in the country side. We had adopted another document in the same convention explaining our attitude towards Srikakulam armed struggle. Our present documents are the result of further elaboration and further development of the views expressed in our previous documents.

We have splits and differences in our own ranks. A section of our comrades took the "Immediate Programme" as their guiding line, implemented and developed an agrarian revolutionary movement, but could not organise full scale armed struggle as the leadership of concerned areas was arrested. On the other hand, another section of the comrades, though accepted the "Immediate Programme" in words, had implemented a programme which is different from "Immediate Programme", by going into armed actions without developing agrarian revolutionary movement to the level of armed struggle. The trends reflected in the activities and politics of comrades concerned, were discussed and dealt with in some of our documents, which we hope to send to you in course of time (as and when the English translations are ready). These will help you to know our views on the questions we dealt in those documents. Of late we are noticing right opportunist trend in the garb of "left" phrase - mongering, with its own groups and factions.

In view of this situation, we thought it better to have a comprehensive programme and tactical line, so that the revolutionaries may have clarity regarding strategy and path of Indian revolution, which will guide their day to day work also. While commenting on these documents, we hope comrades will deal with their experiences, which will help us to have a clear



understanding more than anything else. We are aware, that there is already a Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). We are also conscious that revolutionary-proletariat needs only one revolutionary party, not two or more. We assure you, we are also for only one party and we are striving for it. To realise this we need an organisation, a programme and clarity on the Path of Indian revolution. "Our present documents serve the same purpose. When unity is achieved on the basis of these documents all organisations will eventually come together into one organisation. We are confident we will realise the same in shortest possible time.

These documents were prepared by December, 1969 when the majority of the PCI was arrested. They have been further improved and brought upto date.

While preparing these documents, we are guided by Marxism-Leninism Thought of Mao Tse-Tung. While taking into consideration the concrete situation obtaining in our country, we have heavily relied on the experiences of Telangana armed struggle (1946-51) in working out the path. We are of the opinion that the understanding contained in these documents is fundamentally correct, and whatever the experience we gained during this period proves this.

We hope that these two documents will help the process of unification of Communist revolutionaries all over India.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

Date : February 1972

ANDHRA PRADESH COMMUNIST  
COMMITTEE (Revolutionaries)

Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee (Revolutionaries)

## DRAFT PROGRAMME OF Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries)

1. India with a population of 550 millions is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

2. Towards the end of second World War, when world fascism was defeated by world socialist, democratic and revolutionary forces, led by socialist Soviet Union, our country has witnessed a huge revolutionary upsurge against British imperialism. RIN ratings' revolt, Azad Hind demonstrations, peasants' revolt in Telangana and other parts of the country were only a part of this upsurge. This revolutionary upsurge of our people was part and parcel of the world peoples upsurge against fascism and imperialism; Victorious Chinese revolution, establishment of Peoples Democracies in East European countries, and advance of national liberation movements being part of it. The British rulers saw the writing on the wall, that they were about to be washed away amidst the upsurge. In order to save themselves, they transferred power to the big bourgeoisie and landlords, who

in turn guaranteed the protection of imperialist interests, while suppressing the rising tide of revolution. Though British rulers left India, British monopoly capital remained as ever. Therefore the independence that India had was a formal one and still continues to be so. From 1947 onwards, India continues to be a member of Commonwealth.

The big bourgeoisie and landlords, the new ruling classes, feared revolution so much, that as soon as they came to power, they took all possible steps to drown the revolutionary struggles of Indian people in blood. True to their class interests and the compromise they arrived at with the imperialists, they neither confiscated British monopoly capital, nor abolished landlordism. Thus the new government that was formed in India in 1947 is the government of the big bourgeoisie and landlords, serving and protecting the interests of foreign monopoly capital and native semi-feudalism.

With the transfer of power in 1947, neither the national democratic revolution is consummated nor the major tasks of the revolution completed. What had taken place was a grand betrayal by the new ruling classes. Hence Indian people faced the task of continuing and completing the national democratic revolution.

3. As soon as the big bourgeoisie and landlords came to power, they framed a constitution which guarantees the protection of imperialist, big bourgeoisie and landlord interests, but does not guarantee freedom, livelihood, education etc., to the common man. Though it provides adult franchise, people cannot send their real representatives either to the parliament or to the state legislatures due to the powerful economic grip of the landlords and money-bags, the strong influence of reactionary caste and communal forces. Experience of last twenty years has only proved this.

Though Parliament and legislatures enact legislation, real power of implementing rests with bureaucracy, which is directly connected with ruling classes.

Ruling classes of our country have been telling that people can change the present government and establish their own through ballot box. But experience has proved that ballot box under present constitution can only help the ruling classes, not the people. Therefore people have to look for revolutionary means to abolish present system and set up their own to complete the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution.

4. Immediately after the present ruling classes have come to power, they took steps to abolish princely states for fear of revolution and reorganised and integrated them. Though princely states are no more, princes are there sharing power at various levels in various capacities. Their huge properties, land as well as financial, which have been accumulated as a result of expropriation of people for decades and centuries, were legalised and protected. Thus they shall continue to be biggest landlords and the rich persons of the area they belong to.

5. The so-called abolition of intermediaries and implementation of land reforms have had no effect on land relations. The government's policy of modernisation of agriculture is being implemented in a way so as to make room for foreign finance capital and bureaucratic capital. Introduction of this capital without abolishing feudal and semi-feudal landlordism is strengthening instead of weakening it, including caste structure. A small superstructure of capitalism is being built on the foundations of feudal and semi-feudal landlordism.

Though emergence of class of agricultural labour is an element of capitalism, it by no means denoted that capitalist relations are strong in agriculture. Major part of agricultural labourers are not freemen. They are tied to the land of landlords in so many ways. Chronic indebtedness and nominal wages, forced labour in some form or other, day and night service to the landlord are some of the forms of bondage prevalent in the countryside. The condition of poor peasantry is worse under the circumstances.

6. The fundamental thing in imperialism is export of finance capital. And India continue to be the dumping ground for foreign finance capital. Before second World War India was a colony of British imperialism. In the changed correlation of international forces after the Second World War, India has become centre of all major imperialist powers. American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are the two most important and big powers, who are dominating Indian subcontinent and Indian Ocean. United Kingdom as a former colonial power continues to be an important force to be reckoned with. West German and Japanese imperialists are the latest entrants on the Indian stage. India, being the last biggest country left for imperialists to rob and to exploit, has become the cockpit for inter-imperialist contradictions, especially between American and Soviet social imperialism both for collusion and contention.

Imperialism is exporting finance capital to India in so many forms, chief among them being loans. Foreign capital is financing public

sector, private sector, plans, and government budgets. In short it is controlling all branches of Indian life. New forms of export of capital are being worked out to mask its true nature and deceive the people. Indian ruling classes are one with the imperialists in facilitating this task. Thus India has become the neo-colony especially of American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. Within the frame work of these contradictions one imperialism may come to the principal position at one time, another at another time.

7. Indian big bourgeoisie was in the main comprador of British imperialism in the pre-"transfer of power" days. After the new ruling classes have come to power, it has become the comprador of all the imperialist powers that have entered India.

In alliance with foreign finance capital, it is adopting ever new forms of comprador relations, Collaboration, joint ventures, setting up public sector industries with foreign loans etc., are some of these forms.

The Indian big bourgeoisie, though industrialist, is comprador and bureaucratic capitalist having close links with feudal and semi-feudal landlordism. Its comprador nature is revealed in that, overwhelmingly major part of its industries are dependent on foreign capital, capital equipment, technical know-how, industrial and agricultural raw materials and what not, either wholly or partly.

Within the framework of inter-imperialist contradictions operating in India, big bourgeoisie and land-lordism are having their own contradictions, which are likely to intensify in future in one form or other.

8. Indian big bourgeoisie in collaboration with foreign finance capital is expansionist, and war has become a means for it to achieve its expansionist aims. While India continues to be a dumping ground for foreign finance capital as well as foreign goods, Indian big bourgeoisie in alliance with foreign capital wants new markets other than India. For this purpose it

wants to be heir apparent for British imperialists in continuing unequal treaties with border countries, so that they may be used as markets. It is setting up industries in foreign countries in alliance with foreign imperialists including Soviet social imperialists and their satellites. In a search for markets it has gone to the extent of waging a war on East Pakistan and occupied it.

9. Indian big bourgeoisie in alliance with foreign capital appropriates the major part of the bureaucratic capital provided by budgets. Thus there is a fusion of comprador and bureaucratic capital into one i.e., big bourgeoisie.

The Central and State governments are providing, through their budgets and various other means, interest free loans, loans with low rate of interest, subsidies, tax-Holidays, tax concessions, providing infrastructure for industries, so on and so forth.

A section of landlord class is enjoying bureaucratic capital in the name of modernisation of agriculture. There is a huge army of contractors from Central government to panchayat raj enjoying share in the respective budgets. There are big foreign contractors controlling huge construction works in India.

Public sector industries, running at the cost of taxpayer, often with a loss, are providing their products at comparatively cheap rates to big bourgeoisie. This is another form of appropriation of bureaucratic capital.

These are only some of the forms of looting the budgets. The big bourgeoisie is introducing a number of new and sophisticated ways for this purpose. Tax evasion, possession of black money, and creation of "Private Currency" are some of the known methods.

10. Public sector industries from an important part of industrial complex that exists in India. They are financed partly by foreign loans and the rest by Central and State budgets. These are the industries which provide a low rate of profit if run by private sector. Being basic and



heavy, they are needed by the private sector. The products of the public sector industries are supplied to the private sector at low prices so that they may have a larger margin of profit. It is well known that many of the public sector industries are running at a loss, or with a negligible margin of profit. Some of the undertakings which are making profits are kept at the disposal of foreign and comprador capitalists to run them and take away the profits. On all accounts public sector industries are in the service of foreign and native private sector.

Public sector undertakings are a means to dump foreign finance capital and foreign goods in India. They are the means for foreigners and their counterparts in India to loot the Central and State budgets.

Major part of the capital invested in public sector undertakings is bureaucratic capital, which supplements and strengthens foreign and comprador capital. Particularly there is a fusion of foreign finance capital, comprador capital and bureaucratic capital.

In our country state capitalism developed in the form of public sector undertaking including Railways. It has neither progressive nor anti-imperialist role to play. It has become a source for strengthening foreign and native finance capital.

11. Indian big bourgeoisie, while appropriating all the foreign loans and bureaucratic capital for itself, appeals to national bourgeoisie in the name of self-sufficiency, local market and providing nominal facilities through nationalised banks etc.. It appeals to the peasantry, especially the rich, with the slogan of land reforms. Its national demagoguery appeals to national bourgeoisie while socialist demagoguery appeals to and diverts the working class and petty bourgeoisie. This is how it poses as a champion of national interests which has to be exposed.

12. India is a multinational country. Most of the states are organised on the basis of language. Still there is no genuine unification of

each nationality, nor India is a union of voluntarily unified states. States are neither autonomous nor have the right of self-determination. Centre is all powerful. This situation created more problems than it has solved.

13. The ruling classes have been increasing the defence budget enormously in the name of strengthening the defence of our country against China and Pakistan. Major part of this budget is spent in purchasing arms and equipment from imperialist countries including Soviet Union. Huge amounts of loans are incurred for this purpose whose extent is not known to the public.

There are ordinance factories run by the government which are nothing but assembling plants. There are foreign-owned, especially British, defence industries which still supply major part of defence requirements. Of late some collaborationist defence industries including those of Soviet Union have come into existence. They are mostly assembling plants, wherein technical know-how is the absolute monopoly of the foreign collaborationist power and all sophisticated machinery is imported from the concerned foreign countries.

Thus India, true to its neo-colonial nature, is totally dependent on major imperialist countries for its defence also.

The number of army personnel is being increased enormously. This army is used to suppress popular movements, especially workers, peasants and national movements. It is being used to carry out expansionist policy. It is being sent to foreign countries to suppress popular movements. Thus Indian army continues to be a mercenary army.

14. There is no basis to characterise India's foreign policy as non-aligned and peaceful. It is in fact an alignment with American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, against China. India has waged three aggressive wars against China and Pakistan during the last one decade. Indian ruling classes are preparing for war with China, as a part of imperialist and

social imperialist plan of encirclement. Our people are opposed to such a war and to being an appendage to this or that imperialist camp. They are interested in being independent, peaceful, anti-imperialist, anti-social imperialist and friendly with neighbours. This calls for India joining with anti-imperialist front of the world.

15. There is a fine revolutionary situation in India. Indian economy, being semi-colonial and semi-feudal, is in a chronic crisis getting intensified due to growing world capitalist crisis. And the world capitalism wants to throw its burdens on semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. There is a political crisis in which ruling classes are divided in one form or other. Serious differences have come to the horizon between Centre and States, between one state and another state. There are divisions among the ruling as well as opposition parties. There are the indications of growing political crisis and growing contradictions among the ruling classes.

There is a crisis in production, industrial as well as agricultural. The average rate of growth is negligible. Major part of the industries are running below the installed capacity to avert crisis.

Whatever the industrialisation that has taken place in India is unevenly divided in various states creating its own problems.

India has become neither a welfare-state nor a socialist state, with the five year plans, as the ruling classes claim. On the other hand India has become more dependent and a neo-colonial country. These plans have boosted up the strength of the foreign finance capital in India and strengthened the big bourgeoisie and feudal landlordism. These are the dying social forces which are being given a breathing time in these plans. Not a single basic problem of Indian semi-colonial and semi-feudal society is solved, neither can it be solved with the help of these plans.

16. Prices are soaring. Life of working class, lower middle classes, peasantry and the agricu-

ltural labourer has become more miserable than ever. Corruption is rampant everywhere, more so with higher echelons of the society. In fact corruption has become a way of life which is being encouraged by the ruling classes and also by increasing foreign loans.

17. Working class in our country is in a deplorable situation. Growing unemployment, rationalisation, retrenchment, cut in the real wages, lockouts have become the order of the day. Trade union rights are curbed. A trade union bureaucracy and a labour aristocracy have developed from the working class movements which is the basis of class collaboration and revisionism in India. Ruling classes are trying to divert the working class movement with national chauvinistic slogans to which they are often becoming victims. Revisionists and neo-revisionists have become social chauvinists and are collaborating with ruling classes in times of war and crisis. There is a political, communal and cast divisions in the working class.

18. Students and youth are facing unemployment. There is no scientific educational system which can serve the needs of society. Instead the old imperialist educational system, which can only serve to produce clerks and teachers is continuing. Technical and research institutions have been made appendages to foreign institutions. The technically skilled produced by these institutions are facing unemployment. There is a "brain drain" to foreign countries. Medium of instruction through mother tongue at college level is still a controversial subject.

Middle classes are victims of unemployment, uneven service conditions and low salaries. Agricultural labourers and artisans are also facing serious unemployment. Thus unemployment has become national, covering rural as well as urban population.

19. Our youth, students, middle classes are victims of obscene western culture which is a reflection of decaying capitalist society. In the name of Indian culture, a movement for revivalism is going on. While retaining and absorbing what is scientific in western culture, we have to develop an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal

culture from out of Indian culture, which has to be protected to the extent it serves the needs of the society.

20. This is the state of affairs obtaining in India of today. People do not want this to continue for ever. They want an alternative which can only be an establishment of People's Democratic State by replacing the present state through revolutionary means.

Ruling classes, in order to come out of the crisis and save themselves, are taking desperate and deceptive steps like nationalisation of banks and constitutional amendments. These measures can in no way solve the pressing problems people are facing. The crisis is so deep that they cannot save themselves. They are bound to be swept away by the revolutionary tide of our people.

It should be clear that our aim is to establish socialism in our country and then pass on to Communism. But the concrete conditions obtaining in India i. e. India being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, necessitate that we should first complete People's Democratic Revolution and then go over to building socialist society. And we strive for this.

In order to achieve People's Democratic Revolution and establish a state of People's Democracy, we should form a united front of all revolutionary classes i. e., workers, peasants including rich peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of working class. Alliance of working class and peasantry should be the basis of this united front. The People's Democratic State shall be the dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. This dictatorship will be exercised over imperialism, big bourgeoisie and landlordism. There will be democracy for all revolutionary classes who will enjoy the fruits of revolution.

In view of this we put forward the following programme before the people of our country to be implemented by the People's Democratic State.

## 21. IN THE FIELD OF STATE STRUCTURE

It will be the task of the People's Democratic Revolution to break up the present state machinery completely and build up one to serve the needs of revolution.

- Supreme power to the people.
- Electorate should have the right to recall the elected representatives when they forfeit their confidence.
- There should be a single chamber at state as well as Union level.
- Fundamental rights should be guaranteed to the people.
- All unequal treaties with foreign imperialist and social imperialist powers should be abrogated.
- All the unequal treaties with the neighbours to be abrogated. Independence of Sikkim should be recognised.
- Right of self-determination to nations living in India will be guaranteed. Indian Union will be a voluntary union of national states.

## 22. IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRIALISATION

India cannot be industrialised completely as long as foreign finance capital, comprador and bureaucratic capital exists, as long as landlordism and feudal exploitation continue. Therefore People's Democratic State will confiscate all foreign finance capital in the forms of loans or investments in industries, banks, insurance etc.

- Cancel all foreign loans.
- Confiscate all capital and industries of big bourgeoisie which is in alliance with foreign finance capital.
- Give protection to the industries of national bourgeoisie.
- Eradicate unemployment of the working class and middle classes. Ameliorate their working conditions.

## 23. IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE

People's Democratic State will complete the agrarian revolution by abolishing landlordism and all feudal survivals by confiscation of the land of landlords and distributing such land to poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

- Distribution of cattle and agricultural implements.
- Providing necessary help to carry on cultivation.
- Abolition of usury.
- Elimination of foreign capital in agriculture.

## 24. ON CULTURAL FRONT

In order to develop a truly peoples democratic culture, People's Democratic State will take steps to eliminate pro-imperialist and pro-feudal aspects of culture while retaining what is scientific.

- recognising all languages to be national and equal in all respects.
- Fundamental change in the educational system to suit the needs of people's democratic society. Mother tongue to be medium of instruction at all levels.
- Right of self-determination to nations living in India will be guaranteed. Indian Union will be a voluntary union of national states.

## 25. IN THE FIELD OF DEFENCE

In the course of People's Democratic Revolution People's Army will be developed. People's Democratic State will take steps:

- To abolish mercenary army and police and replace with People's Army and People's Militia who will defend Indian borders from imperialist and social imperialist attacks, protect people's interests against counter revolutionaries.

- to be self reliant in arms and equipment.

## 26. FOREIGN POLICY

People's Democratic State of India will be one among anti-imperialist democratic states of the world,

- to support national liberation struggles throughout the world.
- to oppose encirclement of China by imperialists and social imperialists and their military bases all over the world and strive for peace.

Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries) puts forward this Programme before our countrymen. It is of firm opinion that implementation of this Programme alone emancipates our people from the yoke of imperialism, big bourgeoisie, and landlordism. In order to carry out this Programme, Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries) should be armed with Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao-Tse Tung. It should carry out an ideological struggle against all shades of revisionism and "left" adventurism. It should be a party of criticism and self-criticism and should be composed of fighting cadres. It should be able to lead the united front. While utilising all necessary forms of struggle, party should be able to conduct armed struggle as the main form of struggle.

By implementing the above programme, people of India will be liberated from imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, big bourgeoisie and landlordism and People's Democratic India will take its place among socialist and free nations. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao-Tse Tung, our people will march from success to success and finally achieve their aim.

# PATH OF INDIAN REVOLUTION (DRAFT)

1. India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, where the state represents big bourgeoisie and landlords who protect and serve the interests of imperialism and social imperialism. American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are the two big powers who are dominating and exploiting India, and turned it into their neo colony. Its countryside, where eighty percent of population is living, is being dominated and oppressed by feudal and semi-feudal landlords. Our country is ruled by a constitution which gives an elected parliament and legislatures with adult franchise. But then it is only a semblance of democracy. Powers of ruling classes to suspend the constitution and to detain persons without trial make the democracy a mockery. Content of the constitution is autocracy though cloaked in democracy, whose social foundation is semi-colonial and semi-feudal. A people's democratic revolution alone can change the present set-up fundamentally.

This has been pointed out in our Programme.

Then what is the path of Indian Revolution?

This is a fundamental question discussed time and again in the past and at present. Revisionists (CPI) and neo-revisionists (CPM) have their own paths, which are parliamentary, though the latter claim to follow the path of insurrection with partisan war playing an important role. This again becomes parliamentary path since, in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like ours, path of insurrection which is applicable to capitalist countries, cannot be applicable. Revolutionary communists all over India, are following the path of People's War, which was traversed by Chinese revolution and is being traversed by many colonial and semi-colonial countries.

It is our fundamental task to apply the theory of people's war to the concrete practice

of Indian revolution. This alone guarantees its victory.

2. Before we go in to the question of application, certain wrong theories are to be refuted, which are in the main advanced by neo-revisionists. They argue that since there are fundamental differences between pre-liberation China and present-day India, the path of people's war cannot be applied to India. This is untenable.

Every country has its own specific features, and India is no exception to this. This does not mean that a path which led the Chinese revolution to success does not apply to Indian revolution, both countries being semi-colonial and semi-feudal. Due to specific features obtaining in India, path of people's war may undergo certain changes in form, but content remains the same. What forms it takes in earlier and later stages, advance of revolution can alone decide. For the present we have to take into consideration the experiences of armed struggles that took place in India till now, Telangana armed struggle being the most important ones, and work out earlier forms, basing on the theory and practice of people's war. There is no other solution to the problem.

3. They say that India is more industrially developed at present than pre-liberation China. They mention one of Stalin's formulations that India (Pre-transfer of power days) was industrially more developed than other colonies. They extend this formulation to the present-day India and come to the conclusion that path of people's war does not apply to India. It is a fact that Stalin said so, but he never said that India ceased to be colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal before and after transfer of power. Stalin stressed about the feature of industrialisation to point out the revolutionary role of the proletariat of India. In spite of present level of industrialisation there is a domination of imperialism, social imperialism and semi-feudal

set up. It is true that there is a degree of difference in the level of industrialisation of pre-liberation China and present-day India. This itself does not change the character of India from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country to capitalistically developed country.

4. They say that there is a Parliamentary system in India, whereas pre-liberation China had none. It is a fact that there is a skeleton and semblance of parliamentary system which is in vogue in India today. It is also a fact that it has no bourgeois democratic foundation just as that of western countries. The foundation of Indian Parliamentary system is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. In accordance with this Indian constitution is out and out autocratic, Government having wide powers for suspending the constitution and detention without trial. There is a huge standing army, and armed reserves of various hues to suppress democratic mass and revolutionary movements. This makes it incumbent on the part of revolutionaries to work as if they are carrying on their activities in an autocratic country. Legality is meant to those who are in fundamental agreement with Government policies, and who accept parliamentary path.

5. They argue that the Chinese Communist Party had 40,000 strong army when it broke with Kuomintang, whereas we have none. This is what Stalin and Mao often called "armed revolution facing armed counter-revolution in China". It is a fact that there is no such thing in India excepting that some armed struggles took place in the past and some are taking place today. This does not mean that Indian revolution cannot be armed nor that people's army cannot be created. In the specific conditions obtaining in India, people's army has to be created from out of the armed struggles taking place in various parts of our country. At the present stage of the revolution an agrarian revolutionary movement, with an agrarian revolutionary programme, should be the basis of the armed struggle. Experience has shown that when the agrarian revolutionary movement reaches the stage of land distribution peasantry takes to arms to defend and advance

the revolution. This will be the proper time to arm people i.e., arming the revolution.

6. They argue that China had a friendly rear in Soviet Union, from where Chinese Communist Party had necessary help, whereas India has none. It is a fact that India has insurmountable difficulties in not having such rear. India has a mountainous border with sparse or no population. Mass movement is weak on the borders. The ruling classes have concentrated huge armies for the ostensible purpose of defence. It is also a fact that some of the countries where liberation struggles are going on are having such friendly rears. Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma and some African countries being to such category.

This does not and should not mean that without a friendly rear, no people's war is possible. There are countries which won national liberation struggles without a friendly rear. Cuba and Algeria can be cited as examples.

Every revolution has its own advantages and disadvantages. Marxist-Leninists will always try to utilise advantages and overcome disadvantages by working out correct strategy and tactics. Indian revolution will be won basically by Indian people alone, while the proletariat leading the revolution will always take advantage of national and international situation. This is fundamental in a revolutionary mass line, and the path of people's war is based on this line. Revisionism and neo-revisionism has been basing itself on this or that international situation and never took up the fundamental position that it is Indian people that make Indian revolution. This we reject as departure from fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

We hold that our revolution is not one to be imposed. It is the Indian people under the leadership of revolutionary proletariat who will win the revolution with their own internal strength. Every revolution had its own international support and Indian revolution will have the same being in a more advantageous position.

Indian revolution has its own advantages and disadvantages. Path of people's war alone can overcome disadvantages, utilise the advantages, and lead the revolution to a success.

7. They argue that in China, there was not much of a transport and communication system, where as India has one, wellknit and spread all over the country. No doubt this is a disadvantage to a certain extent. This disadvantage may delay setting up of liberated areas. But it will not come in the way of building agrarian revolutionary movement and starting armed struggle. In India, armed struggle in the form of guerilla warfare has to go on for a long time to come, so that it may spread to various parts of the country. Transport and communication system will not come in the way of fulfilment of this task. On the other hand working class centres, which are within the reach of areas of armed struggle, will be used for strengthening and advancing armed struggle.

There are vast areas especially of girijans (tribal) which are untouched by transport and communication system. Even if they have one, it is meagre and ineffective. People living in these areas are suffering from severe type of oppression and are restless. These people can be organised and prepared for armed struggle. Topography and lack of communication system will give added advantage for the armed struggle.

We have seen how the above arguments are wrong and unfounded. They are the result of departure from fundamental premises of Marxism-Leninism that every revolution has its own advantages and disadvantages, and it is the people who make the revolution. Obviously we reject these arguments as revisionist.

8. On the other hand there are advantages in view of the national and international situation in India. We are starting armed struggle in an epoch when world imperialism has reached its last stages of its-existence. Soviet social imperialism, though stepped into the shoes of western imperialism, has its own con-

traditions, and is bound to collapse in no time. Peoples Republic of China is advancing with one success after another. National liberation movements and revolutionary movements in a number of countries are advancing. This favourable situation has its own impact on our country.

Level of our people's revolutionary consciousness is growing fast under the impact of international situation and growing revolutionary situation. Vietnam, a small and weak country which has been fighting the world's biggest imperialism successfully for the past 25 years, proves conclusively that the people's war is the only correct path for a big country like India. Our people are looking for an alternative to the present regime. Given the correct lead, they are ready to proceed with the alternative path of armed struggle.

Experiences of people's war in China are within the reach of Indian revolutionaries. The same is the case with Vietnam and other experiences also. China, as a centre of world revolution is of immense help to our revolution. Indian revolutionaries must study these experiences diligently, in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao-Tse Tung, and apply them to the concrete practice of Indian revolution.

9. These are the main advantages, factors which should place us in a position of strength and confidence to build revolutionary movement to start armed struggle to lead and develop it into higher stages. Hesitancy and pessimism are impermissible for revolutionaries.

At the same time we should bear in mind that ruling classes had a breathing time after the "transfer of power", thanks to the betrayal of of the Indian revolution by the revisionists. The ruling classes had time enough to replenish their forces, disrupt the revolutionary movement and corrupt the vocal section of the population by the so-called parliamentary and Panchayat Raj system. We should not underestimate the fact that the ruling classes are armed to the teeth. Revolutionary ranks are not united, while some of them are still away



from mass line and indulging in 'left' phrasemongering. These are the disadvantages resulting from a delayed revolution in India. Revolutionaries should take note of them in working out their tactics.

Once we stick to the mass line, it is not difficult for us to overcome all these disadvantages to develop a revolutionary movement, to start and lead the armed struggle.

10. We should analyse experiences of armed struggle in Telangana (1946-51), draw correct lessons and utilise them for building up an agrarian revolutionary movement and developing armed struggle. It was a struggle conducted on the basis of an agrarian revolutionary movement with an agrarian revolutionary programme, in which the land distribution was main. It was at the stage of land distribution people took to arms and revolution advanced. In spite of the mistakes committed during the struggle, in spite of the betrayal by the leadership, the revolutionary movement and armed struggle is rich with experiences. Without drawing correct lessons from them, revolutionaries are likely to commit right and 'left' opportunist mistakes in future. The experiences of the last 3 years have only proved this.

We should also analyse the revolutionary agrarian struggles of the past and the present, revolutionary armed struggles of Naxalbari and Srikakulam, those that took place in various parts of India, armed or otherwise and draw correct lessons. This is the only way to advance revolutionary movement and develop armed struggle in India.

11. The basic pre-condition for the victory of Indian revolution is the forging the alliance of proletariat and peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat. This can be realised firstly in the form of ideological and organisational leadership i.e., organising a communist party armed with Marxism Leninism-Thought of Mao-Tse Tung, and leading Indian revolution.

Secondly, hegemony of the proletariat should be established by practical leadership.

This can be and should be done by organising economic and political struggles in defence of peasant revolutionary struggles and armed struggles. This is one form of practical leadership. Advanced elements of working class should go to the villages and help the peasantry in organising the struggles, especially armed struggle. This is another form of practical leadership. Proletariat should organise itself in such a way that they should be able to help directly the armed struggle that is going on in rural areas. This is one more form of practical leadership.

Indian towns, cities, and working class centres are centres for counter-revolution as well. There is a heavy concentration of armed forces, and in times of struggles there is virtually a white terror. This phenomenon is going to become a normal feature of Indian political life. Experiences of West Bengal confirm only this. In such conditions how to realise this practical leadership is a problem to be studied further, in the light of the experiences that we gained, that we are gaining, and international experiences. Whatever the form it may take, we have to fulfil the fundamental task of establishing the hegemony of the proletariat, basing on the alliance of proletariat and peasantry.

12. In view of this, we can see the importance of work among working class, students and other revolutionary classes in cities and towns. Partial struggles have a revolutionary role to play as they draw backward sections into the struggles where they learn their first political lessons. Such backward sections are spread over in every town and city.

We should conduct political struggles basing on advanced sections of the working class. In the present revolutionary situation, these struggles play a decisive role in unleashing agrarian revolutionary struggles and armed struggles in the countryside. Therefore we should seize all opportunities for leading such struggles. The same is the case with the student and other revolutionary classes.

In India, parties of ruling class and so-called opposition parties are advocating national and

social chavinism. A section of working class and petty bourgeoisie are victims to it. Therefore we can move these classes into revolutionary politics only when we fight against chavinism and reformist politics.

It is sheer 'left' adventurism to neglect or overlook work in the cities i.e., work among the working class, students, middle class and other revolutionary classes, thinking that there is no political work except that of armed struggle in the countryside. In the same way it is harmful to underestimate the role of partial struggles. It is equally harmful to conduct these struggles in a reformist way, without bringing them into revolutionary politics. In all cases revolutionary politicalisation is the supreme task of the party when we work among them.

13. There is revolutionary situation in our country with growing economic and political crisis and armed struggle is the main form of struggle during this period. This means that there are other secondary forms of struggles, which the people have to adopt while armed struggle is going on. In order to start an armed struggle in the countryside it is necessary to build agrarian revolutionary movement first, which can be done only on the basis of an agrarian revolutionary programme with the objective of the people's war. For this purpose necessary forms of struggle, both legal and revolutionary, have to be adopted before the revolutionary movement reaches the stage of armed struggle. Hence the basic importance of agrarian revolutionary movement in relation to armed struggle. From then onwards other forms of struggle become necessary as secondary, and they have to be combined with the armed struggle. It is sheer 'left' adventurism to equate the main form of struggle i.e., armed struggle, to the only form of struggle by ignoring the task of building up the agrarian revolutionary movement, and combination of other necessary forms of struggle with armed struggle. It is also right opportunism, to limit the mass movement to legal forms and preliminary revolutionary forms, without raising it to the higher level i.e., armed struggle, wherever possible.

India is a vast country with uneven economic development as well as uneven development of mass movement. This calls for different forms of struggle not only in one place, but in different places also, according to the level and requirement of the movement. To implement mass line, we should take into account the consciousness of the masses and adopt suitable forms of struggle. All these forms of struggle are subordinated to the requirements of and preparation for people's war. If we adopt this correct attitude, we can build agrarian revolutionary mass movement in a short period and go over to armed struggle.

In towns we concentrate our attention in building a revolutionary working class and student movement. We adopt all necessary forms of struggle for this purpose. It should be noted that we start armed struggle first in the countryside, and after liberating countryside alone, we go over to cities and towns to liberate them. This is the fundamental point in theory and practice of people's war.

14. How to organise armed struggle in rural areas ?

Bourgeois revolutionary democrats and petty bourgeois revolutionaries can also organise the armed struggles during the struggle for national and bourgeois democratic revolutions. But they cannot be called armed struggles based on Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao Tse-Tung.

Our conception of armed struggle is based on Marxism-Leninism - Thought of Mao Tse-Tung. This can only be a people's armed struggle. Building up a people's army and carrying on a people's war is inseparably connected with people's armed struggle. It has an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal programme as an immediate programme and abolition of capitalism as an ultimate programme. It is led by revolutionary communists, who form into a proletarian party. All these specific features are fundamental points as far as we are concerned. There can be no dispute on these questions. Hence we reject all those conceptions of armed struggle which are not based on above fundamental premises.

At present we are in the stage of agrarian revolution. In order to successfully carry out this revolution, we have to build agrarian revolutionary movement. Aimed struggle will be the main form of struggle at an appropriate level of the movement. Any underestimation of the role of the agrarian revolutionary movement will deprive the people, their own armed struggle, who cannot face the state apparatus without their organised strength. Hence all theories which underestimate or ignore the role of agrarian revolutionary movement are either 'left' adventurist or right opportunist. Hence we reject them.

There must be an agrarian revolutionary programme to build an agrarian revolutionary movement. Though semi-feudal relations are common to all parts of India, the forms and extent of feudal exploitation, land concentration, land relations differ from state to state, and from one part to another part of the state. State units must be able to work out their agrarian revolutionary programmes taking their specific features into consideration. The 'Immediate Programme' of Andhra revolutionary communists is one such programme. There is an all-pervading agrarian crisis in India. With the help of a revolutionary programme we can build a revolutionary movement in the countryside. Without a programme, there cannot be a revolutionary movement nor a people's armed struggle.

When once the programme is decided, it is necessary to set up an organisation which can implement the programme. A formal organisation can never serve this purpose. While revolutionaries carry on work wherever they are, it is necessary to select a group of villages in a sufficiently vast area, preferably with similar problems, to build a revolutionary movement. Our activities in one or two villages cannot lead to a broad based revolutionary movement because of the limited number of the population. On the other hand, a revolutionary movement in a group of villages extended into a considerable area will be a match to fight the state apparatus, especially the armed forces. Therefore it is the duty of the revolutionaries to build a pea-

sant revolutionary movement wider in scope and extent. There are pressing issues apart from the land distribution for the people in all parts and a programme should be worked out. This will help the revolutionaries to contact, to mobilise, and to organise the masses into an initial stage of the movement. If correctly and properly conducted, these movements will reach the level of land distribution.

In the course of organising an agrarian revolutionary movement, people and revolutionaries shall have to face the repression of the state and the landlords. The form and intensity may vary from issue to issue, and will depend on the sweep of the mass upsurge and the militancy of the mass action. Therefore it is necessary that the party, mass and volunteers organisations are developed and functioned so that the movement may be defended and advanced to a higher level inspite of the repression. An secret organisation is to be set up, by all means to meet the situation.

In India, agrarian crisis is so deep that, if correctly organised and led, poor peasantry and agricultural labourers will be ready for land distribution. There might be some time-lag, between one area and another for the movement to reach the level of land distribution, depending upon the form and extent of feudal relations. Therefore it is necessary for the revolutionaries to work with the immediate aim of raising the movement to the level of land distribution in a process required by local conditions.

All controversy about partial and political struggles is irrelevant and diversionist, as far as agrarian struggles are concerned. All the agrarian struggles short of land distribution, though seem to us to be partial, are revolutionary and political in the sense that they are militant, well-organised and their immediate aim is land distribution. Even the agricultural labour struggles are of anti-landlord nature since these struggles are directed against worst conditions of semi-slavery. Distribution of land of the landlords is the most revolutionary task during the stage of People's Democratic Revolution. Once the poor

peasantry and agricultural labourers become ready for distribution of land of the landlords, it means that they have the required level of revolutionary consciousness to carryout and complete the revolution. It is to be noted that the peasantry ought to be educated in revolutionary politics i. e., politics of seizure of power constantly and at all levels of the struggles.

Armed struggle in the form of guerilla warfare should begin, when the agrarian revolutionary movement reached the level of land distribution. This is the stage of the movement wherein peasantry develops revolutionary consciousness and organisation to be able to participate in the guerilla warfare. This is the time when the peasantry sets up its local organs of power. There will be armed clashes in the entire stages of the movement in one form or another, but they are of a defensive nature and they do not take the form of a regular guerilla warfare. Such armed clashes should not be confused with regular guerilla warfare.

A people's armed struggle can and should be developed wherever there are people, whether in plains or in forest and mountainous areas. Therefore it is wrong to say that we should not develop an agrarian revolutionary movement leading to land distribution and armed struggle in plains. It should be developed by all means wherever it is possible and peasantry and agricultural labourers are ready. At the same time, our objective in starting an armed struggle is to set up liberated base areas. Though it is possible and necessary to set up liberated areas even in plains, forest and mountainous regions are more suitable in the earlier stages of the armed struggle. This is because there the administration is weak, exploitation of the people is intense and their problems are acute. As there are little or no communications, a sustained armed resistance can be put up leading to setting up the liberated bases against the armed forces of the state, taking advantage of above factors including topography. Therefore revolutionaries should give special consideration to this aspect of the problem.

Our people are facing acute problems in all branches of life, in all parts of the country. There is no paradise for them in any part. Therefore revolutionaries should develop a revolutionary pattern of work wherever they are. They must be able to organise people into struggles in one form or other. This is the only way to guide our people on the path of revolutionary struggles leading to armed struggle.

When once armed struggle starts, revolutionaries should lead it with all the firmness and determination at their command. Working class, students, and other revolutionary classes should be mobilised in support of the struggle in whatever form it is possible. In view of the heavy concentration of the armed forces of the ruling classes, it should be conducted in such a way that it is sustained for long till people in other areas join it and new areas of armed struggle are created.

15. Set up guerilla zones throughout the country.

Though our objective of starting armed struggle is to set up liberated base areas, the present correlative of forces in India is such that it is not possible to achieve this aim here and now. Even to achieve this aim at a later date, it is necessary to create areas of armed struggle throughout the country. For the present and for a long time to come, they will be guerilla zones in the military sense of the term. With the extension of such areas of armed struggle it becomes highly impossible for the ruling classes to concentrate their armed might in one area. During this process there arises a favourable situation, wherein, revolutionaries will be able to wrest initiative from the ruling classes, and advance towards setting up of liberated base areas. Changes of a basic nature in the national and international situation may also lead to—wards quicker development of liberated base areas.

16. How are the liberated base areas to be formed?

We have to fight battles of armed struggle in guerrilla zones for a long time to come. Guerrilla forces, skilled and tempered in these battles, grow in number as well as in experiences. In the course of these battles there arises a situation, wherein, guerrilla forces are able to defeat the armed forces of the ruling classes. This is the time when a part of the guerrilla forces are turned into regular people's army. The people of the area are mobilised in toto, to help the people's armed forces in inflicting defeat after defeat to the enemy's armed forces and thus wiping them out. This is how a liberated base area comes into being. It is constantly extended into adjoining regions covering a vast area and a sufficient number of population with necessary resources for people's sustenance.

It is possible to set up liberated base areas in plains as well as deltaic areas where there are wellknit communication lines, at an advanced stage of the armed struggle. In the same way towns adjoining the base areas are liberated first and then the rest of the cities. Thus the whole country will be liberated.

17. Then how is the people's army created ?

Our revolution is directed against imperialism, landlordism and big bourgeoisie. All those who work for this revolution can join people's army. Huge number of militants especially from poor peasants and agricultural labourers come forward during agrarian revolutionary struggles. They must be assimilated first as people's militia, then guerrilla squad members and then as soldiers in people's army.

Students who join the revolutionary ranks must also join the people's army. They should work among masses for some time to integrate themselves with the masses.

Working class militants, victimised, re-enchanted or those who voluntarily join, should form part of the people's army. This is necessary in order to give it a working class orientation. This is one of the pre-requisites of practical leadership of working class to the revolution.

It is always necessary that all these militants serve in people's militia first. Normally guerrilla squads are developed from among the members of the people's militia. When guerrilla warfare reaches a higher level and conditions are created for setting up liberated base areas, people's army units are formed and developed. This is the process of formation of people's army.

People's army is the army of the proletariat. It should consist of class conscious elements and be led by the advanced guard of the same. In short the party has to lead the people's army at all levels. They should be educated in Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao-Tse Tung and principles of people's war. Learning from the experiences of battle field, they will be invincible force in course of time. This applies to guerrilla squads and people's militia as well.

18. Ours is a protracted people's war. Armed struggle in the form of guerrilla warfare will be continued for a long time to come. When revolution advances, and guerrilla warfare is spread throughout the country, people's army will adopt the form of mobile warfare. All the military principles Com.Mao enunciated in his military writings are applicable to our armed struggle in all its forms i. e., guerrilla warfare, mobile warfare and positional warfare. It is the duty of the party and military leadership to master these principles and be able to apply in a given political and military situation.

19. United Front : In order to win the revolution, all the revolutionary classes - proletariat, peasantry including rich peasantry, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie - should form a United Front under the leadership of the proletariat on the basis of alliance of working class and peasantry. This must be a united front of armed struggle. While revisionists ignore armed struggle and form united fronts for parliamentary elections and formation of ministries, 'left' adventurists ignore united front and argue that through armed struggle alone revolution succeeds. Both are wrong.

The united front should be formed and developed out of struggles, partial, political as well as armed, during the agrarian revolution

This development is consistent with the political line the party has been following.

Communist parties in India have their own constitutions from the very beginning. Earlier constitutions were drafted basing on the model provided by comintern.

It is the political line that decides everything. And correct political line alone is capable of taking the party along the right path. Next to the correct political line, a correct organisational line is necessary. A correct military line is of supreme importance in times of armed struggle.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, our present draft constitution has a significance of its own. It is a means to carry out our revolutionary programme and revolutionary tactical line. Herein lies the strength of the document. We are confident that it will serve the basic needs of the revolutionary party organisation.

We cannot break away from the past, simply because we severed our connections with neo-revisionist party. Old habits and old line of thinking which are connected with a wrong line, die hard. Therefore they are likely to reappear in new forms in new conditions. An ideological struggle is needed to do away with the dead weight of the past. It will not disappear automatically.

Our party needs ideological programmatic, and organisational consolidation. We have

just started our work. We have to work on all these fronts simultaneously without giving up one in preference to the other. Hence the importance of the organisational work.

Form of organisation changes according to form of struggle which the people adopt. We have set out for an agrarian revolutionary movement in rural areas, a revolutionary working class, student and youth movement in urban areas. Obviously party and mass organisations have to take corresponding forms. The party will be an active, fighting organisation which will be capable in protecting itself from the onslaughts of the ruling classes. The mass organisations will be legal and militant. A revolutionary line and a formal organisation cannot go together. In areas where the agrarian revolutionary movement reaches the stage of armed struggle, the party and mass organisations are further revolutionised as the people's consciousness reaches higher and higher levels, and problems of people's armed struggle need such transformation. All this needs a correct organisational line in organisational work.

Therefore we think it necessary to go into the past, review it and draw correct lessons. This is the only way to remove the deadweight of the past. Mere repetition of organisational principles does not lead us anywhere. We have to integrate them with our practice so as to build a revolutionary party.

Let us take up this task in right earnest manner.

## Preliminary Draft Constitution of Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries)

(NOTE:-- This is and will continue to be a draft. It will become a full fledged constitution only when it is discussed by units all over India, and is adopted by a representative meeting i.e., a conference, or a congress, of delegates from various states. A party of all India nature presupposes existence of its functioning units in

more than one state. In the same way, Andhra Unit, for that matter other state units, when formed, will be the units of respective states for the present, till an all India organisation is formed. Andhra unit will function strictly according to this constitution and so will other units when formed. Revolutionary communists

and national liberation as well i. e., during the entire course of revolution, when every class and individual is tested whether he is for revolution or not. Those who support the revolution will join the united front. The rest will go in the counter-revolutionary camp excepting those who prefer to keep themselves neutral. Every revolution has its neutral sections, in accordance with the role they play in a given society.

20. In order that the revolution succeeds, a revolutionary party must be organised. It must be a party capable of applying Marxism - Leninism - Thought of Mao - Tse Tung to the concrete practice of Indian revolution. It should be organised on the basis of democratic centralism, criticism and self - criticism. It should have fighting cadres. Party members are to be recruited from among the active candidates, tested in revolutionary work during a fixed period of candidature. Party must be able to co - ordinate legal and illegal work while developing revolutionary movement and conducting armed struggles.

Revolutionary communists create, develop and strengthen mass organisations in order to

raise the level of consciousness and organised strength of the masses. For this purpose they work in the non - party mass organisations. Whenever the mass movement reaches an advanced stage, either the mass organisation has to transform into a revolutionary mass organisation or a new revolutionary organisation has to be developed.

There are revolutionaries organised into groups or remaining as individuals all over the country. Acceptance of Marxism - Leninism - Thought of Mao - Tse - Tung is common to them all. It is necessary that all genuine revolutionaries, who are for integrating revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice by applying it to the concrete practice of Indian revolution, should come together in one single party organisation, after going through a process of a principled ideological struggle to the extent it is necessary.

A party armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism - Leninism - Thought of Mao - Tse - Tung - alone can lead the Indian revolution to a successful end. Therefore it is necessary that all efforts are concentrated towards this direction to build such a party, a revolutionary movement leading to armed struggle and to develop armed struggle. \*\*\*



# Preliminary Draft Constitution of Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries)

## INTRODUCTION

Now that we have a political and tactical line in the draft programme and the path, we are having a draft constitution for our party. All of us know that once a political line is decided 'organisation decides everything'. Our organisation is based on the revolutionary principles, enunciated and tested in practice by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. There is an organisational thesis of third congress of

Comintern (1921) drafted under the guidance of Lenin. It has been an international guiding line, so far as party organisation is concerned.

How far we in India have followed the revolutionary principles of party organisation is yet to be reviewed, and conclusions drawn. At this stage, we can safely say that ever since 1952 party organisation has been parliamentary.



need not wait till the constitution is ratified by an all India or state representative meeting. They have to function as an organisation to implement draft programme and path. Therefore this draft constitution comes into force simultaneously with the draft programme and the path of Indian Revolution draft.)

## 1. Preamble.

The proletariat of India should emancipate itself from the yoke of capital. The objective of struggle for emancipation is to end all class rule, and establish a communist society.

The proletariat seeks to establish the communist society in two stages. In the first stage, it completes the people's democratic revolution by overthrowing imperialism, landlordism and collaborating bourgeoisie, and establish the dictatorship of people's democracy. In the second stage, it completes the socialist revolution by abolishing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of proletariat.

The proletariat fulfills these historic tasks under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao Tse-tung of which proletarian internationalism forms a part and parcel.

To carry out the tasks facing Indian revolution in its various stages, the proletariat needs a party of its own, a revolutionary party, which can integrate the most advanced revolutionary theory, i.e., Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao Tse-tung with revolutionary practice. Hence the Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries).

## 2. Membership

Any person, man or woman, can become a party member, if he or she (1) attains the age of 18. (2) accepts Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao Tse-tung. (3) becomes member of one of its organisations. (4) undergoes a period of candidature necessary for class orientation in outlook and practice. (5) works for the party and helps it to the best of his or her ability, but compulsorily under the discipline of party in general and of the unit in particular. (6) accepts the draft programme of

Communist Party of India (Revolutionaries), the path of Indian revolution (draft) and the preliminary draft constitution.

(Note: Young persons below the age of 18, should not be made into fullfledged members. They may be treated as candidates with separate units if necessary. Upon attaining 18 years, the person concerned can be given fullfledged membership if other qualifications are satisfied)

## 3. Rights and Duties

Party members have rights as well as responsibilities. There no rights without responsibilities and no responsibilities without rights. It is the primary unit which decides the membership of a given person upon the recommendation of two full members and the next higher committees approves it. Both the units are responsible for the decision of the membership.

The rights of party members are: He or she can (1) express his or her opinions on party policies and activities. (2) Participate in inner party discussions. (3) elect and be elected to any place in the party according to the constitution. (4) be heard before any disciplinary action is taken. (5) make proposals for the party work which he or she has to do or intends to do.

The duties of party members are: He or she (1) must master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Thought of Mao Tse tung and learn to integrate theory with practice. (2) must be truthful, honest and dutiful towards party and its affairs. (3) must defend the party line. (4) to work for revolution in accordance with the decision of appropriate committee. (5) should practice criticism and self-criticism.

It will be the bounded duty of the leading party committees to see that the rights and duties of the party members are correctly observed and carried out.

## 4. Democratic Centralism

The structure of the party is based on the principles of democratic centralism. Party

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needs democracy as well as centralism to work out and implement its mass line. Following are the main points :

(1) All party organs are elected periodically. party's plenary meetings, conferences, congress will be held at regular intervals. (2) Primary unit will be direct connecting link between the party and people. (3) Reporting will be regular from one unit to the next higher unit and to the next lower unit. (4) Opinions of the people and primary and other lower units will be carefully studied, assimilated and will be used to improve and formulate party policies. (5) Party line will be implemented under the centralised guidance of higher committees. (6) Once decisions are arrived at, minority will implement majority decisions : lower committees will implement higher committee's decisions.

(Note : In conditions of repression and white terror party congresses and conferences should be as wider as possible. Higher units will organise meetings of wider character, keeping in view the repression in the given time. While suppression of inner-party democracy results in isolation of the party from the people, lack of central authority leads to anarchism. Both democracy and centralism are interconnected and any stress on one, deprives the party the capacity to formulate and implement mass line.

Our objective is to create the correct leadership, political, organisational, as well as military in times of armed struggle. A correct political leadership can be evolved on the basis of democracy inside the party and a correct political line can be implemented only on the basis of centralism. A wrong leadership with a wrong line can function on the basis of democracy, only when it can mobilise considerable section of rank and file in its favour. When it cannot do so, it resorts to centralism without democracy, with its harmful consequences. Unlike this, democratic centralism is an organisational principle is absolutely essential to develop correct leadership, to enforce the will of the party, to develop striking power of the party and the peo-

ple against the enemy, during the entire course of revolution and after i.e., during preparatory periods, during the period of advancing revolution and during the period of dictatorship of the people's democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party's mass political line is supreme and it should be carried out. All considerations should be subordinated to this. Criticism and self-criticism should be based on this. Factionalism is incompatible with mass line).

## 5. Inner-Party Discussions.

The objective of the inner party discussion is to correct, improve and make necessary changes within the frame work of party's fundamental line. Opening and conclusion of inner-party discussion should lead to realisation of this objective. Considerations of formal democracy and authoritarian rejection of any inner-party struggle leads to derailment of party line.

1) Any party member and any unit can demand clarification, discussion and improvement to the various aspects of party line.

2) The central committee should study in all its aspects the issues involved in such demands. The committee should be able to decide whether an inner party discussion is to be opened or not. When opened, the discussion should be conducted in an orderly way i.e., the issues under discussion should be formulated clearly and discussion organised. After a thorough and systematic discussion, it should be summed up. All questions coming out of discussions should be answered. Corrections and improvements if necessary should be made. Necessary measures should be taken to incorporate them, if any, into the party line.

(Note : Now that the draft programme, path and constitution are released for discussion, all problems pertaining to Indian revolution will come up during discussion. The discussions on these documents will and should be carried on the above lines. When once this discussion is closed, future discussions should also be condu-

cted on the said lines. However, issues other than mentioned in above drafts, practical as well as theoretical, are likely to come up. The committee will deal with such issues in a manner as is necessary.

There are issues of an all India nature which need discussion on the basis of all India experience. This does not mean that state units cannot take decisions on such issues, pending final decision by an all India body when formed. This applies to all issues facing the revolutionary movement.

Now that the draft programme, the path of Indian revolution (draft) and the draft constitution are with the comrades and units, they should carry on the discussions while strictly implementing them. To say that they will participate in the discussions but do not implement the line, is to breed anarchy which our party should not permit. Now that we have a firm line and an organisation, we have to go to the people with the line through the organisation).

## 6. Party Discipline

1. Party members and units must observe discipline at all costs. Strict implementation of party's political, organisational and military line is indispensable for one and all.

2. Party units will take decisions in accordance with party line. No decision should go against the party's accepted line.

3. Violation of party line and party decisions is incompatible with the iron discipline of the party. Acceptance in words and violation in deeds is the worst opportunism and this should be fought out. All party members should be truthful, observe revolutionary morals, revolutionary conduct and revolutionary honesty to be able to serve the masses and the cause of revolution.

4) Discipline is voluntary. When, once a person demands party membership, it implies that he or she accepts party discipline voluntarily. Consciousness of the party membership includes the consciousness of discipline. Party

membership will not be given without acceptance of party discipline.

5) Once the party discipline is violated, the disciplinary proceedings are started. Appropriate party committees will take disciplinary action leading to warning, suspension from party membership and such other forms as the committee desires. Expulsion from the party is the highest punishment in the party.

(Note : Ours was an amorphous and skeleton organisation, almost entirely inherited from neo-revisionism. Continuous division into groups is reducing its numerical strength. We are yet to build a new organisation from what is left with us. This organisation must have a revolutionary foundation with an iron discipline. It needs a strenuous ideological and organisational work. Remnants of revisionist methods of work are still strong. Inactivity, gossiping, individual functioning, liberalism, non-seriousness, lack of revolutionary vigilance and such other views are deep-rooted in the outlook, practice and the methods of work of comrades. Constant efforts are needed to eliminate these anti-party vices.

Leading committees must step up discipline here and now. Now that we have a comprehensive line, there is no reason why discipline cannot be observed. Hence all existing units must enforce discipline. Individuals not accustomed for a disciplined way of functioning should be disciplined, by persuasion and correction.

A disciplined party organisation with a mass line, however small it may be, possesses a higher striking power, than a big, amorphous organisation with no mass line. Therefore it should be our endeavour to develop a party of discipline under any circumstances).

## 7. Components of Party Organisation.

Following are the committees at various levels: (1) Central committee, Central Control Commission and Polit bureau. (2) State Committee and Secretariat. (3) Intermediary committees: (i) Regional Committees and secret-

ariat. (ii) District Committees or Area Committees and their secretariats. (iii) Taluk committees or Zonal committees. (iv) City and town committees. (4) Primary units: cells.

(NOTE: This is the broad structure. If conditions in states demand a different structure it can be considered. But this is a broad and flexible structure which can fit in with all possible conditions and levels of the movement. The size of the committee is to be determined in accordance with conditions of repression and requirements of the movements. Too small a committee tends to develop subjectivism. It should be wider enough to be able to provide correct leadership to the party.

The committees must be composed of active cadres. Inactive elements are the source of inefficiency and demoralisation even though they happen to be sincere. They must be left out after a fair and frank discussion before the committees are formed. In the existing committees, they must be replaced with active cadres.

Revolutionary politics should be given prime consideration in fixing up the composition of the committees. Non-political, politically weak and inactive elements often serve as a source of strength for opportunist politics and practices. Hence political education of the cadres assumes importance, as one of the ways to strengthen the party.

The committees are entitled to take all decisions of political, organisational and military nature, in relation to the revolutionary movement in their jurisdiction, subject to the general line of the party and decisions of the higher committees on specific issues. Higher committees have powers to correct the lower committees in case they go wrong. Every committee should check up the work of its members as well as that of lower units.

All committees will have elected secretaries as leaders. Central Committee will have a general secretary. All elections of the committees and office bearers should be approved by the next higher committee).

## 8. Central Organs of the Party

The following are the central organs of the party: (a) Party Congress (b) Central Committee (c) Polit Bureau (d) Central Commission. (a) Party Congress: The party congress will meet once in three years. The central committee will decide the number of delegates to the congress according to the membership including candidates. The delegates representing the candidates will have voice but no vote.

There will be a political-organisational report of the Central Committee, which will be discussed and adopted. Resolutions of policy and formal nature can be adopted. Amendments to the party constitution, if any, will be discussed and adopted. Reports of Central Control Commission will be discussed and adopted.

The Central Committee, and Central Control Commission will be elected by the party congress. (Note: Central Committee reports in general and report to the Congress in particular should contain the experiences of the party on the implementation of the party line from previous Party Congress to the current one, and a broad explanation of the future policies to be decided by the Congress.

There are two types of resolutions. Though all of them are political in nature some are serious and reflect party policies and others are of a formal nature. Both should be distinguished and the former resolutions should be given serious thought. A precise resolution is more helpful to the party than one containing numerous details of current events. It should be born in mind that the purpose of these resolutions is to act upon but not to simply to express one's own opinion.

In fixing up the number and nature of the composition of the Central Committee, we should consider the illegal conditions, political maturity and necessary representation to the revolutionary movements existing in various parts of the country. Though much depends on the growth of mass revolutionary movement, we should take constant care to see that Central Committee consists of the right persons.

We cannot have too many committees in the existing conditions of repression. Apart from the Central Committee, a Central Control Commission which can also look after the work of audit commission is enough. Having too many committees of a non-functioning nature does not add to the strength of the organisation. On the other hand, they have a demoralising influence on the party).

(b) Central Committee : Central Committee is the supreme authority of the party between two party Congresses while Congress is the supreme body of the party.

The Central Committee will sit in session periodically to review its activities and political situation of the country, and workout tasks emanating from it. It will take necessary organisational steps to ensure proper functioning of the state committees and local committees. It will formulate its political and organisational policies within the framework of the party programme, path and constitution. It will organise inner-party discussions if and when necessary. It will seek for changes in the policies it is adopting from the Congress, if there is any such contingency.

The Central Control Commission members will be ex-officio members of the Central Committee; all of them will be ex-officio delegates of the central committee. All of them will be ex-officio delegates to the party congress.

There will be conferences and extended plenums of the central committee. The decisions arrived at the latter should be ratified by the Central Committee before their implementation.

(c) Polit Bureau : The Polit Bureau will be elected by the Central Committee and will be responsible for the party work, taking political-organisational decisions, implementing the C.C. line etc. It will be a permanent central body, in charge of party headquarters.

(d) Central Control Commission : Central Control Commission is a body to look after the discipline inside the party. It should go into appeals and take appropriate action. It should audit accounts of the C.C.

(NOTE: These provisions are sketchy. They will be improved upon by the time when all India body is formed. We are to go into the experiences of the previous Central Committees to further improve the provisions. Important among them are : if there are differences of a fundamental nature inside the party, are they to be reflected in the Central Committee? Whether the C.C. can implement new policies before they are adopted by the Party Congress? and such other questions are to be answered. These questions assume importance in view of the differences existing among the revolutionaries. We would like to dwell upon this subject later).

## 9. State Primary And Intermediary Organs.

There will be a state committee for every state. There will be a primary committee for every village or a ward in the town or a city. There will be intermediary committees for districts or areas, taluks or zones, as the case may be.

These committees will be elected in respective conferences of delegates elected on the basis of membership. The committees will exercise their authority within their jurisdiction. They are entitled to take all political and organisational decisions necessary to conduct their affairs. Lower committees shall not take decisions which are within the jurisdiction of the higher committees, or their neighbouring counterparts. In such cases, issues should be referred to the higher committees, and their decisions implemented.

The conferences are held before the party congress. Conferences can also be held with the permission of the higher committee, when there is a need for it. Such Conferences will discuss and adopt the political-organisational report, elect a new committee and delegates to a higher party conference or party congress as the case may be.

(Note: There being no Central Committee nor an all India centre at present, state committees assume certain extra importance than us-

ual. Once a wrong line is adopted and implemented or a mistake is committed by a state committee there is no higher committee which can correct it. This makes it necessary to seek the remedy elsewhere.

For this, the state committees should be more self-critical and receptive to the criticism. The committees should be composed of comrades who have conviction on the line they are adopting. Repression and frequent arrests do dislocate whatever party organisation is existing. Yet the reorganised committees should be such that they are convinced of the correctness of the line they are following. We cannot adopt normal procedure which is adopted when there is a central committee and the party organisation is functioning normally. All steps that are necessary for correct implementation of fundamental line of the party, and unification on its basis are needed.

No authoritarian attitude should be permitted by any one or groups to upset the party mechanism or fundamental line followed by the party. Taking advantage of the chaotic situation among revolutionaries, the opportunist elements are mobilising them behind their groups. While carrying on ideological struggle against the wrong line the groups are following, we must be able to convince all genuine revolutionaries of the correctness of our line.

There is more than one state committee of revolutionaries in a number of states and some are in the form of organising committees. Unification of revolutionaries presupposes unification of all genuine revolutionaries in one state, and all state units into one all India organisation. This is a process we should expedite. The steps we take should go a long way in this direction. Besides wrong lines, individual and group interests hamper the process of unification.

We strictly observe all party forms. We know that these forms are not devoid of content. We observe party forms to implement party's fundamental line so as to unify the party and advance the revolution. Hence our concept of forms includes content. Comrades

must use forms to implement party line, but not to hinder it, nor to disorganise it.

In many states we may have to start our work with a state organising committee unless there is already a functioning one. Such committees should organise lower units while implementing the party line. In the process of development of the party, we may reach a stage, not long after, when we will be able to organise a representative meeting, in which a provincial committee can come into existence through election. This needs a good amount of spade work for some time.

The same is the case with district, areas and lower units. It is not necessary that we organise intermediary units on the basis of administrative boundaries. Taking the mass movement and party organisation into account the state committee can organise area and zonal committees so that the leadership can pay more attention and carry out concentrated work. This type of organisation will be more business like and efficient. Otherwise there again develops a formal organisation with no practical revolutionary work. This again takes us the old rut.

Our primary unit is a cell. It should be formed in a village or a ward, in the town or city. When more than one cell begin to function, a village or ward committee or some other intermediate committee should be formed. A cell should consist of 3 to 5 members. When there are more than 5 members in a place, two cells can be organised.

A proper coordination, contacting and reporting should be developed between higher and lower units and between one member and the centre of the unit. This ensures democracy. No loose membership be allowed inside the party. A person, as soon as he becomes a candidate, should join one or other primary party organisation. All tendencies which oppose such a step, are individualistic and originate from petty bourgeois class nature. They should be fought and eliminated.

State level contacts between various state committees and state organising committees

are to be developed. Mutual exchange of documents, Comments, exchange of opinions will certainly bring them together, facilitating the process of unification of revolutionaries).

#### 10. Party Members in Mass Organisations.

Party members in mass organisations will form themselves into a fraction at each level and work under the guidance of the appropriate level of party committee.

All fractions must carry out the decisions of their concerned party committee implicitly.

A fraction can elect a committee to look after the day to day work of the fraction.

A fraction cannot take the place of the party committee, in an area where the concerned mass organisation functions, unless higher committee constitutes and empowers it to carry on the party work.

(Note: In the conditions of repression, party members working in the mass organisations must not expose themselves to authorities. We are working in mass organisations other than our own and we won't create an organisation for ourselves just like the other political parties unless it is absolutely necessary. This applies to all mass organisations working in towns, cities and rural areas. There are certain exceptions in rural areas, where poor peasants and agricultural labourers are divided and where they have to be united in an agrarian revolutionary movement. The present revisionist and neo-revisionist peasant and agricultural labour organisations will not serve the purpose. Hence a combined mass organisation for these two sections of the rural population is necessary. It will be under the guidance of appropriate party committee. There is a scope for fraction work in this organisation also. We have to further analyse the experience we gain from this work). \*\*

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