

TELANGANA DOCUMENTS

(The New CC of CPC, which was formed in June, 1950 with Com. Chandra Rajeshwar Rao as the General Secretary has published these documents in Aug, 1950 in two parts and circulated the same among the Party ranks)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

AUGUST, 1950

Introductory Note to Andhra Documents

Comrades,

We are sending herewith two sets of Andhra documents, which the Central Committee has decided to send as Information Documents to the Provincial Committees. Before we go to introduce briefly their content, we would like to make one point clear to you all, i.e. though their content and the lessons drawn in them are basically correct, yet they have written within the formal framework of the "Tactical Line" issued by the old Polit Bureau. Hence the entire bourgeois class was talked of as collaborationist, the entire rich peasant class was placed in the enemy camp and the middle peasant was described as the vacillating ally. Of course it is now evident to you all how the above narrated strategy is wrong and sectarian. The Polit Bureau requests you to read and understand the contents of these documents bearing in mind the latest political correction to our old left-sectarian line and the formulations of the Tactical Line.

Secondly, all these documents were originally written in Telugu and subsequently translated into English for the information of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee. The translation was badly done in a hurry and that too not by experienced and efficient hands at the job. Consequently, a number of grammatical errors, inappropriate words and phrases, and bad construction of sentences. etc., are found in abundance in the English translated copies. The Central Committee has decided to send them as they are, so that they may reach you as soon as possible and immensely help you to understand the new line in the background of the rich practical experience embodied in these documents. Neither the summarisation of these documents nor good retranslation of them could be undertaken by the Central Committee in the circumstances as we find it today. So please take pains to appreciate the contents, even though some times at certain places it may strain your patience to pick up the correct idea so as to fully grasp it.

The first set of the Andhra documents are the two letters that deal directly with the problems facing in the areas of armed guerilla resistance and agrarian revolution in Telangana. These are addressed to the Telangana Party units in two different stages and periods, when the armed struggle faced an extremely critical situation. The first letter is addressed in February 1949 when, in the face of sweeping military offensive of the combined forces of the Indian Union and the Nizam, the party began to reel under the heavy blows of the enemy and different trends of deviation had raised their head- the two most important of them were- one advanced the slogan of "desperate adventurist armed resistance" and the

other for a "total retreat". The Provincial Secretariat had to fight these two deviations. analyse their root, examine the mistakes such as "merging the Party and guerilla squads", "negligence of illegal methods of Party organisations", "ignoring the necessity of separate mass class organisations while building the Andhra Mahasabha" and "violation of guerilla methods of fighting and in their place adapting the tactics of positional warfare", etc., and issued correct positive slogans for the armed struggle and agrarian revolution.

The second letter was issued in the first week of September 1949, when, after the failure of March 9 Railway strike etc., was witnessed, another wave of depression and demoralisation cropped up and the majority of the middle leadership including all "area committees excepting one or so, in Telangana and some leading district committees in Andhra areas, raised all sorts of doubts on the continuation of armed struggle demanding a "call" for retreat. The disorganisation which resulted—some of which was partly inevitable in the fight and some partly resulted because of our mistakes in conducting the struggle—was seized upon by these comrades to press for their line of retreat with all types of ingenious "arguments and reasons". Some of them took the stand arguing that "before the Party and mass organisations are strongly built, armed struggle and agrarian revolution cannot be conducted and so all armed resistance be immediately stopped". Still some more began to quote the passages from Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism" where he had catalogued conditions for starting an insurrection and from that argue that the present conditions in India as a whole are not in line with; and so to continue armed resistance is nothing but "individual terrorism and adventurism". There were others who went to the length of liquidationist stand of the entire past mass revolutionary movement characterising it as only "an anti-Nizam sentimental wave". There were also comrades who quoted passages from the "Tactical Line" trying to prove the armed resistance in Telangana was nothing but "petty bourgeois revolutionism". The P.C. Secretariat had to ward off all these attacks on the Telangana armed struggle and issue positive slogans for the fighting front.

If comrades read these two letters and assimilate the lessons drawn in them, a good number of the same type of mistakes that are likely to be committed in different localities and areas, can be avoided and even if they occur at all, they can be immediately rectified. Infact, it is very necessary that all our leading comrades equip themselves with these rich lessons drawn from Telangana armed agrarian struggle.

Then coming to the second set of Andhra documents, they are four in number, which were issued by the P.C. Secretariat between February, 1949 and February, 1950 mainly dealing with the question of organising militant resistance to the white terror unleashed by the collaborationist Government. In these documents, the problem of linking the agrarian revolution with armed resistance is also discussed. Finally in the circular "New Forms of struggle" the full perspective of armed guerilla resistance is given. These documents reveal to you the inner-party struggle and

different type of vacillations and deviations on the issue of armed resistance, that had cropped up in the "Andhra" part of the Province. This experience is different in character from that of Telangana, because the armed struggle in Telangana was taken up along with (and in some respects after) the issue of the land distribution taken up and in "Andhra" part of it, the revolutionary armed struggle had to go from organising militant and armed resistance against the counter-revolutionary terror to the question of land distribution, etc. Another very important issue discussed in the circular "New Forms of Struggle" is about the armed resistance and the historical background in justification of this form of struggle as the main form of struggle. Comrades who fail to examine this question of new forms of struggle in their correct perspective usually raise all sorts of doubts, which provide grist to the mill of the reformists who are opposing the armed struggle as the main form of struggle for the Indian Revolution today. This document answers a good many questions and restores the correct perspective.

All the limitations pointed out above hold good with these documents too. So comrades have to appreciate the difficulties and make use of the material.

POLIT BUREAU

INTRODUCTION

We are sending the following Party Letter, explaining how armed guerilla war has today become the main form of struggle in the revolutionary movement in Andhra. It is natural for the readers to raise doubts why so much delay occurred in realising to take up this form of struggle and why in the different circulars issued by Andhra PC on the resistance tactics, this full-fledged form was not developed. Here we try to answer these doubts, briefly. It is the Revolutionary Telangana movement that dragged us into the armed guerilla struggle. We were able to carry forward the struggle, evolving the perspective and forms of struggle with the aid of literature dealing with Chinese Revolution.

But when this problem was posed in practice in connection with the movement in the Union Andhra (Madras), we vacillated very much. Andhra PC recognised the serious nature of the bourgeois offensive on the Party which started immediately after Gandhiji's murder and continued upto April. It realised that the time had come when the movement in Andhra area had to be guided in Telangana way. Hence, in the draft prepared by the Andhra. Sectt., at the end of April, 1948 and circulated for discussion among all DCS-this had gone to some taluqs also-the following was written:

The offensive launched by Nehru Government against CPI is a part of the international offensive started by world imperialism. It is an offensive by which it ranges itself against all progressive and democratic forces of the world. To put it bluntly, this offensive is practically nothing but a cruel civil war let loose by the imperial-bourgeois-feudal combine against working class, peasants and other toiling masses. The stage has come wherein day-to-day partial struggle have to be fought

armed or semi-armed. Armed resistance has been forced on to the agenda of Revolution by this offensive of bourgeoisie. Either we resist inch by inch the civil war and offensive let loose against us, by all means at the disposal of the people or allow the bourgeoisie a free hand to crush the forces of Revolution and end in the victory of the counter-revolution.

Keeping all this in view, in areas where we are a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala, Bengal etc. , the time has come to think in terms of guerilla warfare (Chinese way) against the military onslaught of Nehru Government, which is bent upon mercilessly liquidating us. Unless with a clear perspective we plan out methods of resistance, and if we leave it to spontaneity, future history will charge us with the gross betrayal of the Revolution.

The liberation struggle in the form of Telangana is almost a pointer in the possible direction of forming two governments, which in process, must lead to general uprising and capture of power by the people. There are many more territories such as Telangana with a similar social -political-economic and terrain conditions spread throughout the length and breadth of our country. They can and must be utilised as guerilla districts to begin with, which afford ample scope to develop them as resistance bases. For example, in Andhra alone, areas like Royalseema, Telangana border areas like Munagala, Nuzvid, Chintalpudi, and agency belt, where agriculture is primitive and undeveloped, where landlordism is dominant, with poor peasant and wage labour forming overwhelming majority of population, where already there is sufficient stir in the direction of agrarian revolt. Present before us huge reserves of revolutionary potentialities. Backward communications system, topographic and terrain conditions are exceptionally suited for prolonged guerilla battles which will lead to establishment of resistance bases. It is with such a perspective we have to successfully plan out the future course of our revolution. Not to have such clear perspective and allow ourselves to drift into spontaneity is a crime against Revolution. "The era of contempt for perspective must end along with the era of reformism" and a clear cut reorientation and well-defined strategy must open along with the revolutionary perspective. The Chinese liberation struggle offers us a living example from which we have to adopt many invaluable lessons.

But, did the PC, with this understanding, advance forward without vacillating! No. This is proved by the history of our very movement. The reason is firstly, in the Union Andhra, the majority of our PMs were not ready and confident theoretically or politically to advance with the above understanding and plan. They were not ready either mentally or organisationally for this. It is just at this time that the enemy's police and goondas started their furious offensive. The ranks and cadre began to vacillate and get confused. Andhra PC also seeing the vacillations in the cadre and the furious onslaught of the enemy, vacillated. It came to a wrong decision that before we could take up the guerilla struggle, some time was

necessary to prepare the Party ranks and the people and in the interval, new and different forms and general struggle and resistance tactics were to be given. The second reason is, that due to the many severe criticisms levelled against the Andhra PC line, it was forced into the defensive. This aspect is fully discussed in "Goonda attacks- our experience and lessons" and hence we are not dealing about this, any further here.

But, Lenin has said: "Theory lags behind practice". The experience of our revolutionary struggle itself against exposed in all its nakedness, the defects in our struggle tactics. The PC, because of the criticism levelled against its "Guerilla struggle line", hesitantly and gropingly advanced. Today, it definitely asserts and places before our movement the truth that the armed guerilla struggle is the main form of struggle. Till recently, many comrades and many important committees opposed the continuation of armed guerilla struggle in Telangana. They opposed the resistance tactics advanced in Madras Andhra as tactics not based on people's participation and isolated from them. The PC; only in the course of long inner-Party-struggle, against these trends and their arguments advanced by them, could finally and fully take up this line.

The PC appeals to all the Party members, to understand this reality of inner-Party struggle, and to read and understand this Party letter in that background.

Another point to which the PC draws attention is that in this Party letter, we have not discussed the perspective of struggle forms for All-India revolutionary movement. It is neither an easy subject nor do we propose to discuss it here. Just as we, here, in our province, applied our knowledge to our movement and conditions and adopted the armed guerilla warfare as the main form of struggle, if other provinces review their movement and the problems facing their movement and the obstacles they have to overcome and come to a decision then it becomes easy to evolve clearly the perspective for forms of struggle, for All India. We appeal to the cadre, not to enter into dogmatic discussion that without deciding the path of struggle and perspective of struggle-forms for all India revolutionary movement, it would be wrong to decide the path and struggle perspective for Andhra. Whatever the path be for All India, this much can be said that it will not disprove the correctness of the path we have adopted here. The very interests of the Andhra revolutionary movement forced us to adopt these tactics and this path. We are already late and have, as a result, suffered loss to some extent. If we delay even for a moment more, history will not forgive us. "Terror must be met with counter-terror", or else, the enemy liquidates the revolutionary forces with his brutal terror. We can carry out our task, only if we take to armed guerilla struggle, decisively and on a very extensive scale. It is only then that we could take forward the revolutionary struggle, weaken the enemy in a prolonged struggle, delivering blow after blow and finally destroy him and win. This is our revolutionary responsibility to-day.

ANDHRA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

(FEBRUARY, 1950)

Comrades,

Since the last two years assuming the leadership of the oppressed, and poverty stricken heroic Telengana masses you are carrying on the resistance movement. Undaunted steadfastness, courage and great sacrifices which you have displayed is stirring and thrilling the whole Andhra People. Establishment of Panchayat Raj and armed guerilla squads on a wide territory of 2500 villages inhabited by 25,00,000 people, and the implementation of the just and democratic slogan-"land to the tiller"- is the very foundation stone for greater Andhra (Vishal Andhra); to new India, it is a new dawn, and to the oppressed and exploited Indian masses it is a beacon light and ray of hope.

The disintegrating and decomposing old social order, its representatives like the Nizam Nawab, his immediate retinue, the jagirdars, zamindars, deshmukhs and Muktedars and the Indian bourgeoisie (who betraying the Indian freedom movement joined hands with British Imperialism and its bootlickers, the native rulers, and took power in its hands); all such exploiting classes including the State Congress leaders, are struck with terror, by the fire that kindled liberation flame in the hearts of many a million oppressed workers, peasants, and toilers and by the foundations that are being laid down by the gallant sons and daughters of Telangana, like Komariah, Antiah, Yadigiri, Seshagiri Rao, etc., who shed their blood, offered their lives at the altar, for the cause of the oppressed and for a Vishala Andhra. The exploiter classes are also panic stricken by this new dawn which represents the future of India and the end of their medieval era.

Accumulating the discontent the entire people's upsurge of Andhra may burst forth any moment like a volcano. Before this upsurge bursts out and annihilates totally the decaying old social order, all the reactionary evil forces are uniting together. They are also united together to nip in the bud the embryonic form of people's raj and stop the rays of this new sun from being spread and to extinguish the liberation candle kindled in the hearts of the millions of oppressed people. But at the outset agreement was not reached amongst them, regarding their shares, hence the inhuman Nazi Nawab and his followers took to the usual Fascist methods. But Telangana's heroic sons and daughters, workers and peasants did not bend. Not only this, but like wild fire the resistance movement began to embrace entire Telangana and also the Andhra parts in Madras Presidency beyond the borders of the State.

Hitherto, Telangana was gallantly fighting against the Nizam Nawab, but to stab it in the back the Indian bourgeoisie and the Congress leaders, finding no use of keeping quiet, resorted to a direct attack on the Telangana resistance movement by marching the Indian Union military forces into the State on September 13. After a formal resistance for a week the Nizam's forces which were already thoroughly worn out by the attacks of revolutionary Telangana, surrendered before the Indian bourgeois leadership. All the exploiting classes, Jagirdars, Deshmukhs, and the zamindars are uniting amongst themselves and straining every effort to put down

revolutionary Telangana. Choudhury challenged that within two months Telangana resistance movement would be put down, and yet six months have elapsed and the challenge remains a fiasco. Congress leaders, like the mad dogs that bite every man they come across, with their huge military forces in every village, setting up military camps and using the machine gun, are making serious efforts to drench the revolutionary Telangana movement in torrents of blood.

After reaping the high crops which are rendering great assistance for the protection of the guerilla squads, the enemy is hastening with a summer plan of hunting them down in the open maidans with jeep cars and cavalry and is making all efforts to launch its final offensive. Before the enemy launches its final offensive and inflicts effective blows on us, we should make all needful political, military and technical preparations adopting suitable tactics according to the situation. This constitutes the major and primary task of today. If we execute our plans, concentrating all our forces, accomplishment of this task is not impossible.

Telangana's workers, peasants and toilers, who have carried on revolutionary resistance relentlessly against the Nizam and the Razakars for two long years, and who are now facing the inhuman and cruel atrocities of the Indian military forces- their revolutionary energy, steadfastness, courage and boldness is immeasurable, inexhaustable and limitless.

They are waiting for the leadership of our Party. A supreme task has been laid on our shoulders by Telangana's oppressed masses- if we don't fulfil it, history won't forgive us.

The heroic Telangana fighters are putting up stern resistance since last six months against the Indian Union army which is far better equipped with modern weapons than the previous Razakar forces.

Andhra Committee, with full confidence in their success, offers them Red salute.

It is expressing a hopeful wish that they will accomplish the work laid on their shoulders and ensure success. It also extends the revolutionary greetings of the Andhra people of the Indian Union to them.

Regarding the basic changes that are to be brought about in the tactics in accordance with the changed conditions that arose after Hyderabad's integration with India with the military action, Andhra Committee expresses its deep regret for not having given, up to this date, suitable and concrete suggestions excepting a general line.

The main reason was that the Andhra Committee was overwhelmed by the deep rooted, long standing reformism of the past period. Today, coming out from this orbit of reformism and analysing all issues concretely, Andhra Committee is endorsing this letter which contains concrete and important suggestions.

Being away from the front and relying mainly on incomplete reports, to give detailed suggestions for the different areas of the movement, whose stages differ in different places, is really an impossible task.

It is not the intention of the Committee to review the problems, i.e. the programme to be executed throughout the State and the programme in the fighting areas on the question of "land distribution" and agricultural workers' demands, etc., and give concrete suggestions. Therefore this letter of the Andhra Committee aims primarily to analyse the present conditions and clarify some important necessary principles to carry forward the armed resistance movement and also to point out detailed suggestions to the extent possible.

Therefore, Andhra Committee hopes that, comrades understanding these principles clearly and estimating the stage of the movement, the tactics of the enemy and the geographical conditions etc., correctly and basing themselves on these principles, will evolve the needful measures, and will carry forward the resistance movement.

It also expects that, the comrades will analyse carefully the changing tactics of the enemy as they take effect and with the help of these principles will effect corresponding changes in methods and shall march ahead.

Before determining the suitable tactics according to the present day conditions it is necessary to note the following things. (1) What are the important changes that have taken place politically after the occupation of Nizam's state by the Indian Union military forces? (2) What changes have resulted in the correlation of forces and the class relationship? (3) What were the defects in our political estimation, tactics and organisational methods as a result of pursuing reformist policy before the Indian Union forces occupied Nizam's State? (4) How far were our tactics adopted after the occupation by Indian Union forces in accordance with the changed situation? (5) To what extent could we upset the enemy's plans with them? (6) What is the strength of enemy forces vis-a-vis our forces? What tactics should be adopted to completely paralyse the enemy forces? Etc.

At first let us analyse the main changes effected in the political field and in class relationships after the entry of the Indian union military. Prior to the entry of the Union military, there were, in the main, three forces operating in the politics of the State: they were:

(1) The Nizam and his followers -jagirdars, deshmukhs (mainly Muslim jagirdars, deshmukhs and Muslim capitalists)

(2) The Hindu capitalists of the State Congress, some Hindu deshmukhs, landlords and rich peasants working under the leadership of the Indian Union.

(3) The conscious oppressed toiling masses working under the leadership of the C.P.; Andhra Mahasabha, and Trade Unions.

Although the Congress leadership, compromising with British imperialism, native rulers of states, took political power and although it is carrying its rule representing all reactionary classes, in Hyderabad State, it is the Nizam along with his followers, Jagirdars, and deshmukhs and relying on British Imperialism and Pakistan that rules as the leader of State reaction.

Though foreign affairs, defence, postal and telegraphic communications, etc. were left to the Indian union Government, yet in reality the Nizam was making all endeavours to maintain Hyderabad as an "independent sovereign state". To put down the people's upsurge, he let loose the military and the Razakar forces.

While the Nizam was pursuing fascist rule, the Congress High Command without maintaining any link with the people, was endeavouring hard to bring round the Nizam by bringing economic pressure, using the political power it had newly secured. But the Nizam got adamant with the support of British Imperialism and Pakistan.

The State people, who had illusions about the Congress were tired of protracted negotiations that were going on between the Congress and the State authorities. As their discontent mounted, they began to incline towards the armed struggle that was being carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha.

Seeing the rapid realisation that was mounting up in the people towards armed struggle, the central Congress leadership got very much frightened. It began the satyagraha movement to cheat the people clinging towards armed-struggle and to bend the Nizam. But all their estimations proved futile. On the other hand, armed struggle spread far and wide with leaps and bounds.

Then Congress leadership seeing their attempts ending futile made another endeavour to divert the people from rallying round the armed struggle. It concluded a standstill agreement with Nizam and stabbed the armed struggle in the back. It joined hands with the Nizam to smash the people's guerilla squads on the borders. It also launched severe repression on the Communist Party and the people's organisations in the Andhra parts of Madras Presidency, which were giving help to their brother people across the border. Even the formal "satyagraha" movement of State Congress also fizzled out.

While Nizam's military and Razakar forces were attacking guerilla squads from the front, Congressmen wearing Gandhi caps, with the help of the Indian Union police were attacking them from behind. Severe propaganda campaign was let loose and the heroic, gallant sons and daughters of Telangana who with a cheerful smile on their lips were laying down their lives in the sacred war of liberation from the oppressive Nizam feudal yoke, were called goondas and bandits.

The armed struggle was forging ahead, overcoming all hurdles inspite of the obstacles laid by the State Congress. By the time of the occupation of the State by the Indian Union forces, armed struggle had already spread to a wide territory of 3000 villages inhabited by 30 lakhs of people. It was still expanding like a wild forest fire. The mere sounds "Bhar-Mar" (muzzle-loaders) were enough to scatter Razakar goondas like deer and make them run for their lives. The Nizam too got cold feet.

The Congress Government of the Indian Union which had already surrendered on the question of sterling balances, realising the gravity of the People's struggle and the fast spreading armed struggle thought that if any more time was lost the movement would go out of control; hence securing the silent consent by British imperialism, at a fine moment on September, 13 they launched the military action. Nizam, whose military forces were already driven to the point of exhaustion, by Telangana's revolution, and seeing no aid forthcoming from Churchill & Co. and Pakistan, surrendered within a week to the Indian Union.

How the rapidly extending revolutionary Telengana movement, was the only effective factor which forced the Indian Union Government to resort to military action can be seen very clearly from the words of Patel, who is reported to have said: "Already two districts have been occupied by the Communists, and had we not entered, the Whole State would have been occupied by them".

What are the major changes that have come in the political field with the police action? Previously the revolutionary movement that was spreading under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha had been now facing two enemies- Congress on the one side, and Nizam Nawab on the other. Both were enemies, but as the Nizam was in power he became the main enemy and hence we entered into direct battle against him. As Congress was not in power as yet, we considered it as the secondary enemy.

As great majority of the people had illusions about the Congress leadership, we only carried on defence against it when it attacked us while avoiding a direct fight with it and properly exposing its reactionary role.

Though both the Congress and Nizam were enemies of the revolutionary movement, yet the methods of struggle directed against them were different for the specific reasons mentioned above; properly speaking, the struggle in that period was a triangular fight.

With the occupation by Indian Union military forces, there remained only two contending forces, the reactionary forces on the one side and the progressive forces on the other.

In the battlefield, on the one side under the leadership of the Indian Union stood Hyderabad State's Hindu bourgeoisie, Hindu jagirdars and deshmukhs and Muslim jagirdars and deshmukhs all united together.

On the opposite side of the battle field stand the working class (along with the agricultural workers), toiling poor and middle peasants, the pauperised middle class intelligentsia, small employees and other oppressed toilers constantly joining the front.

Though the various exploiting classes on the question of their respective share in the political power and in the exploitation of the oppressed masses differ and may fight with each other, yet when the questions of "land to the tiller", just and living wage to the working class and revolutionary Telangana village panchayat rule faced them, they were haunted and terrified by a nightmare. They knew well

that allowing the existence of revolutionary Telangana and the spread of the rays of the flame of liberation, lit by Telangana, means the inevitable extension of the revolutionary path not only to the oppressed masses of other parts of the State, but also beyond its borders, into areas of Krishna and Guntur, the Andhra parts of Madras Presidency. So, they are determined to totally put an end to the revolutionary Telangana struggle without leaving any trace. Accordingly, no sooner had Nizam surrendered to the union forces than the Union military in hundreds and thousands along with the Nizam's military and police fell on Telangana and carried on continuous raids. Cruel fascist atrocities, far exceeding those of the Razakar goonda bands, were let loose on the poor Telangana masses. Intense propaganda was carried on against the heroic sons and daughters of Telangana who had formed their own guerilla squads, and rescued the people from the onslaught of the goonda Razakar gangs, slandering them as bandits, murderers and robbers. Not only this, fearing that the strong supporting areas, Krishna and Guntur and Kurnool may render help to Telangana, they tightened up the brutal repression on these areas also. Revenue and police officials of the above districts and the State, from time to time held joint conferences to suppress the movement with a firm hand in Nalgonda and Warangal on one side and Krishna and Guntur on the other side, and concentrate the military and police forces to unitedly execute the plans.

Under the political circumstances how small we break through the enemy plans, how shall we save the revolutionary Telangana movement and what sort of tactics shall we adopt? Before deciding on the tactics, what important things should we not ignore.

Changes in class Relationships

Changes carried in the class relationship in the areas where armed struggle is being continued after the police action. This constitutes the first change.

Revolutionary agricultural workers and poor peasants never had any illusions that Congress would abolish the zamindari system and give land to the tiller. At first, with the occupation of the union military, people thought that the Razakar atrocities will come to an end and Congress Government will not be so bad as Nizam's.

But the concentration of raids from the very next day after Nizam's surrender by the Union military along with the very same Nizam's military and police forces, that had tortured them and destroyed their homes, raids which by far succeeded the atrocities of Nizam and fascist Razakars' and continuation of the same old Nizam's rule with the same oppressive bureaucratic anti-social officialdom with only slight modifications had burst the illusions of those few who had these in the beginning. These illusion scisted only for a few days.

The agricultural labourers and the poor peasants began to think as to how to defend, "land, fair wage and the village panchayat rule", all the achievements secured through struggle during anti-Nizam period at the cost of heavy sacrifices from the attack of the Union forces.

The question confronting them was how to defend the revolutionary gains of the anti-Nizam struggle period, breaking the sabotative activities of the rich peasants who had joined hands with the landlords and the Union military which was far better equipped with modern weapons. This is the main question before them today.

Agricultural workers and poor peasants in all parts, seeing the treacherous anti-people deeds of rich peasants, in collaboration with landlords, are expressing indignation. But the stage of their movement and their political consciousness differs from area to area.

(1) In Suryapet area, where in the anti-Nizam struggle period class consciousness in the revolutionary classes, i.e. the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, were roused and these classes were mobilised against the compromising rich peasantry and where land distribution was properly executed, the Party has gained strong independent political base.

In these areas, fighting not only against the landlords but also against the rich peasants, they came forward to defend their revolutionary gains.

(2) In Bhongir, Palvancha and Jangaon areas where class consciousness was not created in the revolutionary classes (agricultural workers and poor peasants), agricultural workers' strikes were not conducted and where village Panchayats were kept either in the hands of rich peasants or their stooges and land distribution effected according to their wishes and whims, Party has unstable influence, but no independent base.

(3) In Palaru, Madira and Rayanapadu areas where neither proper distribution of land, and agricultural workers' struggles have taken place nor had serious armed struggle against Nizam continued, class consciousness amongst the agricultural workers and poor peasants is very low. In these areas we can say anti-Nizam struggle had been carried on under the leadership of the rich peasantry.

With the entry of the Union forces the middle peasants thought that the Razakar atrocities would end and they could lead a peaceful life. But the reign of cruel atrocities that is being pursued by the Union military has shattered all their dreams of a peaceful life. Middle peasants are coming under the influence of the propaganda regarding Consambly and the fear that "we cannot fight against the Union Forces" being spread by the rich peasants. They are vacillating between us and the rich peasants. Since they have received land, the problem facing them to-day is how to defend it. As agricultural labourers and poor peasants march ahead fighting against the landlords and rich peasants, middle peasantry will join them.

The vacillation of the middle peasantry is not the same in all parts. In Suryapet area where Party has a strong base in the poor peasants, and agricultural labourers, middle peasants are seeing through the reactionary role of the rich peasants. They are having confidence in the revolutionary forces. In the areas of Bhongir, Jangaon and Palvancha, where the Party has an unstable influence, the middle peasantry is getting influenced by the fear propaganda being carried on by the rich peasants. In Rayampadu and Madhira where the movement was entirely under the rich peasant leadership, the middle peasantry is completely under their influence.

While such is the position of the middle peasantry, as with the occupation of the state by the Union forces, the rich peasants thought that their own Government had been achieved, and hence a fine opportunity had come to loot the toiling masses in collaboration with the landlords. Carried away by the neutral position of the rich peasants, which these are adopting due to the fear of our guerilla squads, we should not have any illusion or good impression about them.

As the Union forces were intensifying their raids the rich peasants, getting courage, began spreading panic and dangerous fear-that "we cannot withstand against the mighty Indian military"- amongst the people and especially in the middle peasants and began sabotaging our resistance movement.

Whenever it was possible to carry the people along with them they directly went for a compromise with the Government. In Suryapet and Nagarkalu where our movement was strong they kept mum. Where our movement had an unstable base as in Bhongir and Jangaon they openly advocated a compromise; and in Rayamapet where their game went unopposed they joined hands with the Indian Union forces from the very beginning and opposed our struggles directly.

This way a class stronger than the landlords joined the enemy camp. Now to expect the rich peasantry to be either on our side or even keep neutral hereafter would be a gross mistake. In the last days of anti-Nizam struggle period wherein democratic revolution was actually forging ahead, rich peasantry took the position of neutrality. Now in the period of their own class Government there is no doubt that they will go against us.

In other parts of the State where our movement is in the elementary stage, in the local fights against feudal lords, rich peasants may be neutral and we may utilise them to the possible extent, but not in the least should it be conceived that they will come with us or be neutral throughout the stage of the democratic revolution. The influence of our revolutionary movement is not only affecting the other parts of Telangana but also the people of the whole State. Therefore the feudal class too for its own defence tries to unite with the rich peasantry. Even if there be any difference on the question of sharing the exploitation of the masses, yet with the beginning of our struggle they solidly unite together against our movement, in spite of their differences.

To the question as to whether we are weakened with the breaking off of the rich peasantry, we should reply, 'No'. Because even in the anti-Nizam struggle period, this class always at every step was obstructing our movement from being led on to the revolutionary path and was a mill-stone round the neck of our armed struggle.

With the breaking off of the rich peasantry from the people's United Front, our struggle took a clear form. The possibility of our masses being led on wrong channels by the rich peasants in the garb of supporters, was no more and the revolutionary class of agricultural workers and poor peasants are able to clearly understand the reactionary role of rich peasants.

They are coming forward against the rich peasants. An opportunity to unite all revolutionary classes, agricultural labourers, poor peasants and the middle peasants in the people's United Front against the feudal, rich peasants and all the exploiting classes has come.

One thing we have to notice is that, with the joining of the rich peasants in the enemy camp, the base of the enemy has widened. In the anti-Nizam struggle period, Nizam and the feudal lords were completely isolated from the people. Not only that, the landlords were in small number but they had no strong economic, and social relations with the people, whereas with the rich peasants the position is not like that. Not only are they in considerable numbers but also through exchange loans, family relations, and physical labour and various other means they have innumerable ties with the oppressed people, mainly with the middle peasants. Hence it is a hard job to isolate them from the people.

Statistics in agriculture collected so far reveal the following strength of the various classes in the rural areas of Telangana:

Rich peasants and feudal landlords....10 to 20%

Middle peasants households.....10 to 15%

Agricultural labourers and poor peasants....70 to 75%

Though the rich peasants break away from the United Front, yet the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants constitute a large majority; if we create the necessary political consciousness in them and evolve tactics in accordance with the present situation and if in this manner the movement is carried on against the rich peasants and the feudal lords, the numerical strength and the influence of the rich peasantry will not come in the way of our progress.

Not only this, as our movement intensifies and consolidates, creating confidence in the middle peasantry, we can carry them ahead along with the revolutionary classes, in our struggle.

The level of the Revolutionary Movement in other parts of the State and all over India.

Before evolving suitable new tactics to carry forward the armed struggle on new lines, we have to take into consideration the level of the revolutionary movement in other parts of the State and all over India.

~~The armed struggle that has been conducted so far against the isolated and deserted Nizam has now to be waged directly against the political and military forces of the Indian Union, after the entry of its forces. We have to face the Indian Union Congress which is so mighty and powerful; hence while deciding the tactics against such an enemy we should carefully note the strength of the different forces and the revolutionary stage and the depth of the upsurge throughout India.~~

Other Parts of Nizam's State

People in this parts too are downtrodden, trampled and driven to desperation, and are leading a wretched life under the oppressive reign of deshmukhs, jagirdars

and the Nizam. The revolutionary movement of Telangana has not only enthused and inspired the bulk of the people in other taluks and districts, but the entire people of the whole State. The influence of our struggle was spreading to the other parts, but our party was completely submerged in the armed struggle which is confined to a few areas only. There was none else to unite and enthuse the oppressed masses in other parts of the State and carry ahead the movement on revolutionary lines. Added to the absence of our leadership and of any one else to lead, the leadership of the State Congress, leaving people to their own fate fled away outside the State to other parts as Vijayawada, Madras and Bombay and dwelling there in big hotels and enjoying luxuries, were just issuing statements after statements in their bourgeois papers and carrying on the anti-Nizam war only on paper.

Utilising the Congress volunteers, they have stabbed the revolutionary movement in the back by joining hands with the Nizam as well as the Union Congress police forces and acting as veritable goondas and have failed to show a path of resistance to the people.

Congress not only did not create confidence in the people, in their fighting capacity and unbendable energy, leading the masses against the inhuman Razakar brutalities; it sowed and nursed illusions that Nehru-Patel military is the only remedy, that they only can liberate the people that Congress Government alone can bend down the Nizam and establish people's rule, etc. With the entry of the Union forces, the people were temporarily carried away by these illusions. This factor, the influence of the enemy is standing to-day as a weakness in our revolutionary movement.

But the continuation of the bureaucratic officialdom, with no relief for the people from the same oppressive and exploiting deshmukhs, jagirdars and zamindari rule, on the one side, and the far extending influence of the revolutionary Telangana peasant upsurge, the flashing light of the revolutionary flame that is sweeping with leaps and bounds throughout India and the whole world, on the other, will burst and cast off all these illusions.

If our party does not go to the masses in these areas with courage and confidence and organisationally unite the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, the influence of our armed struggle in Nalgonda and Warangal cannot be extended far and wide to the four corners of the land, and it will also be impossible to strike the enemy from all sides. This should be noted very carefully.

Similarly the conditions existing throughout India have to be noted.

Post war economic crisis which is mounting high with devastating effects in India is a part and parcel of the world economic crisis that is sweeping all over.

Government is exploiting the poor masses immensely through inflation. Prices of the articles are soaring high and as a result the purchasing power of the rupee has been reduced to half. Working class in towns, agricultural labourers, oppressed peasantry, shop employees, teachers and the middle class are being put to heavy

hardships, privations of high magnitude and unspeakable grief. They are being driven to desperation. Their life has become unbearable.

The bourgeois Congress Government is refusing to abolish the feudal zamindari system and to effect the slogan of "land to the poor peasants and agricultural workers", to nationalise the industries and to accept a just living wage for the workers in the cities.

The Government of the exploiting classes which is not providing food and cloth to the people, is not arranging for dwelling houses, is overwhelmed by the deep economic crisis; and is trying to solve it at the expense of the poor toiling masses by thrusting all the burden of the economic crisis on their shoulders.

It is endeavouring hard to rule with the force of repressive manoeuvres, ordinances, and security acts by casting away all the promises it had made at the time of the elections. People, who since last two years were waiting with patience to see what the Congress Government would do, are reaching the limit of exhaustion, disgust and despair; and are coming into the streets demonstrating their determined will to realise their demands. Hundreds of workers' strikes are sweeping all over the country. Agricultural labourers and poor peasants' upsurge is bursting out in all Provinces. Boldly and courageously facing the heavy repression of bourgeois Government, mass movements in Andhra, Kerala and Madras are getting ready to move forward.

It is clear that the country wide day-to-day struggles of the toiling millions and anti-repression political battles are already delivering heavy blows at the enemy, the bourgeois Government. But it must be clearly understood that either to estimate that the present revolutionary upsurge would burst forth into a country wide armed insurrection immediately and thus get our Telangana armed resistance merged with the former or to be demoralised with the idea that only armed struggles in other parts of India would be of help to our Telangana resistance movement and all other peoples' struggles that have not grown to such a high level would give only some formal assistance-both these ideas are incorrect and absurd.

Armed resistance that is being carried on in Telangana represents the highest form of class struggle. It exhausts the enemy and effects its defeat and finally it also enables us to totally annihilate the enemy.

Similarly the mass movements of the workers, peasants and the middle classes that are sweeping the whole country, are economically and politically effecting blows on the enemy and are immensely weakening it. They are wrecking all the plans and tactics of the exploiting classes, who are endeavouring hard to grow big and fill their coffers by shifting the burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. This is the objective situation existing today.

If the Telangana armed resistance is carried on persistently and on the correct tactics, the countrywide mass movement in and outside the state, which has not yet reached the stage of armed struggle, will very soon reach this highest stage. Till

that time, enemy will be able to concentrate all his military forces in Telangana. Hence, keeping this in view, we have to decide the tactics regarding the struggle concerning the armed resistance.

Another historical and significant thing that has to be noticed is that the Telangana armed revolutionary struggle is the leader and symbol of the people's democratic revolution of India. Drowned in deep reformism, our Party did not recognise the profundity of such an historical event till the second Party Congress.

In Andhra the revolutionary gains of Telangana were popularised, but the popularisation was done only in the spirit of expressing sympathy. Telangana revolutionary consciousness was not roused in a proper way, in the hearts of the oppressed.

Taken on the whole, it is for the first time at the Second Party Congress at Calcutta that the revolutionary struggle of Telangana was recognised as the leader of the democratic revolution.

Two or three months prior to the Party Congress, the bourgeois Government let loose fascist repression in all the Provinces, specially in the Andhra Province which was actively supporting Telangana. Fascist raids were carried on in Krishna, Guntur, West Godavari districts including some parts of Kurnool. Before our Party recovered from these blows in those parts, the Indian Union military entered the State.

By the time of the entry of the Indian Union forces we were unable to carry the message of revolutionary Telangana to the oppressed masses all over India. Even to the oppressed working class, peasantry and the middle class that is under the influence of the Communist Party, we failed to carry the Telangana message, we failed to make it a part of their own revolutionary consciousness.

On account of the same reasons we were unable to organise workers' strikes and demonstrations against the Congress Government protesting against its military attacks on Telangana and its cruel fascist atrocities.

Temporarily the enemy was able to isolate the Telangana armed struggle politically. It was able to concentrate its military forces there.

With the entry of the Union forces suitable and necessary tactics had to be formulated, as mentioned above, analysing clearly the conditions, and the revolutionary stage of the movement existing in other parts of the State and the whole of India. Have we done so? We should say-"No". We just brought about some minor changes i.e. the numerical strength of guerilla squads was reduced and only to some extent a few unavoidable changes were brought about in order to facilitate the work of the squads. But on the whole, our entire armed struggle was being led in the same old fashion, i.e. open methods that were in practice in the anti-Nizam struggle period.

In accordance with the great changes that had come in the situation, we did not formulate tactics suitable to the changed conditions, tactics helpful in strengthening the movement politically and organisationally.

Subsequently, in this document, analysing the consequences that befell us as a result of following the same old methods shall elucidate the present situation and clarify the necessary changes in tactics. Before we do this we have also to discuss another thing. It is also necessary to discuss briefly about the consequences that followed from the pursuance of incorrect political, organisational and military tactics in the period of anti-Nizam armed resistance movement.

In that period, the enemy who was directly facing us was completely isolated from the people. As he was isolated and left alone, whatever mistakes we committed did not affect our movement. It went ahead considerably. But the moment when he had to face the well equipped Indian Union military all the defects of our past political, organisational and military tactics, came to the top and did great harm to the resistance movement. In spite of all such heavy losses heroically facing the enemy, offering their lives in the battle field, the Telangana heroes upheld the banner of their revolutionary resistance struggle. For such a great contribution which they have rendered Andhra Committee conveys its revolutionary greetings to them all, Andhra Committee pays its homage to those comrades who faced the gallows.

Formulating the necessary tactics in accordance with the present day situation, we have now to carry forward the movement. Let us first briefly discuss the political, organisational and military tactics of the anti-Nizam struggle period.

In order to find out the political roots, of the incorrect tactics referred to above, and subject them to self-criticism, we have to take into account the various stages of the movement, its political slogans and their practice, in Hyderabad State and discuss them.

We have to review in details and understand the development of the movement in the State regarding the following periods:

The people's war policy period, post-war period of Kadavandi and Aknoor struggles, the period following after the August resolution of the Party in 1946 and the period that followed after the Party's resolution on "Mountbatten Award" after August 15, 1947, and the period of revolutionary policy after the Calcutta Congress.

Till we do this, we wont be able to completely understand the depth of the poisonous influence of our Party's reformist policy, on the revolutionary Telangana movement upto that time. It becomes impossible till then to remould and unite our outlook on the political and organisational tactics, in the light of our revolutionary policy, and to put them in practice.

If we fail to do above, the deeprooted reformism that overwhelmed our Party life in the past period, will not leave us, and will continue to overwhelm and harass us in connection with any movement,

In order to completely get out from the orbit of such a grave danger, to carry on an internal struggle based on strong organisational foundations in the Party, we have to place before comrades an analytical, clear, self-critical picture of the review. Provincial Committee will make efforts to prepare such a review for the

Telangana fighting front. But for the time being let us discuss some of the necessary important incorrect trends that reigned after the Calcutta Party Congress in the Telangana movement. All these incorrect trends were closely with us, since the long past reformist period. We ended in failure in coming out from the orbit of it and to put the movement on the new rails.

What are our Political and Organisational Mistakes?

Firstly, the absence of clear views on the class analysis, having no clear outlook on the role of various classes in the phase of the new democratic revolution. We wrongly estimated the class nature of the satyagraha movement of the Hyderabad State Congress after "August 15, 1947". We conceived every Gandhi cap wearer as a patriot and left untouched the land of the big desh mukhs, owning up to 500 acres. Leaving such a big section of the landlord class, the land distribution programme that was executed became formal and its edge was blunted. Instead of building our revolutionary movement, relying and basing on the revolutionary classes, we relied and based our movement on the alien classes, i.e. the rich peasantry, desh mukhs, landlords and the middle peasantry which is vacillating between the rich peasant and the agricultural labourers. We hesitated and were afraid to mobilise agricultural workers and the poor peasants against the rich peasants and landlords.

With the fear that landlords and rich peasants may go out of the anti-Nizam struggle if we mobilise the agricultural workers and poor peasants against them, on the basis of their demands and yet perplexed, we hesitated to undertake such a task. Hence, we did not build the movement on the basis of the agricultural labourers and poor peasant battles, mobilising them on their genuine demands "land distribution and just wages".

As our movement was build up on the basis of fight against levy, slave labour and prohibition and of anti-Nizam propaganda, rich peasantry assumed the leadership of the movement. So the revolutionary classes who ought to be in the forefront, i.e. the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, froiled behind the rich peasantry. Not only this, we were not having a clear conception of the classes in the villages. Classification of rural population was not done on the basis of the fundamental principles of Leninism.

We considered persons who carried on cultivation without themselves working as rich peasants. Persons who were themselves working and who employed extra labour-we called them middle peasants, we characterised persons employing workers also as poor peasants. It means we characterised landlords as rich peasants, rich peasants as middle peasants, and middle peasants as poor peasants.

Subsequently we understood, albeit unclearly, the defects of the movement on account of this reformist policy to a certain extent, as expressed in not tackling fully the agricultural labourers' problem and the mistakes in the land distribution programme.

We realised that without bringing the agricultural workers and poor peasants to the forefront, the slackness of the movement could not be removed. Meanwhile the new revolutionary policy came into being and gave a clear revolutionary line

on these issues. Though there was still confusion on the issue of the grouping of classes, yet even to the extent of Andhra Committee's partially correct suggestion this issue of the grouping of classes was not implemented.

In Bhongir 20 acres wet land and 100 acres dry land, Mankota 200 acres dry land, Suryapet 10 acres wet land and 100 acres dry; in these areas land distribution programme did not touch the lands below these limits. In Madhira, Khamameth, border taluks, land distribution programme has not been properly carried out at all.

That the movement has to be built up mainly basing on the revolutionary classes, i.e., agricultural labourers, and poor peasants, is an indisputable fact. Non acceptance or the formal acceptance of this truth also amounts to nothing except underestimating the revolutionary energy, and the fighting capacity of the revolutionary classes, viz., the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants.

On the issue of agricultural workers, Andhra Committee's reformist outlook (a wrong conception of putting the demands of the agricultural labourers only to the extent of the employers being able to bear the economic burden, so that the middle peasant may not get frightened, and consequently leave and weaken the anti-Nizam war front) failed to organise the agricultural labour as the spearhead of the democratic front on the basis of their struggle for their basic demands.

Comrades in Suryapet area from the very beginning moving the agricultural workers and poor peasants, and were organising them for struggles but the Andhra Committee's incorrect line to some extent laid an obstacle in their way and obstruct them.

There is another fundamental error of our past reformist understanding. Our teacher and our leader, the great Lenin, in an address to the Communists about the struggle that has to be directed against our enemy, and about the question of alliance with other classes for this struggle, has taught us: Communists in such cases should "march separately and strike together".

It means the revolutionary classes, agricultural workers and poor peasants should be organised in their separate class organisations and in them no position should be given to the rich peasants and the vacillating middle peasants. Not only that, but in the struggle committees also, alien classes and vacillating middle peasants should never be kept in key positions.

Whenever we fight the main enemy in alliance with the rich peasant, we should keep a watchful eye on the latter so that he may not betray us to the enemy and thus stab us in the back in the course of the struggle. This is the principle that should be adopted when the proletariat unites with an alien class to fight the main enemy. This is the revolutionary tactic that Soviet Union adopted in allying with the British and American imperialism while inflicting blows on the German and Japanese fascism.

Then how far did we adopt this revolutionary working class tactic? It should be said, we did not adopt it at all, we threw it aside completely.

Rich peasant in spite of being Congress minded, was forced to go with us only to the extent of facing and resisting the onslaught and atrocities of the deshmukhs and Razakars, because he labours hard and owns a bit of land; but on the question of land distribution and agricultural workers' demands he was opposing.

It is correct in these circumstances to take the rich peasants with us as far as the problem of facing the onslaught and the atrocities of the deshmukhs and Razakars is concerned. But not to see the reactionary role of the rich peasants on the question of land distribution and agricultural workers' demands is something that cannot be excused. That is why we failed to organise the revolutionary classes, agricultural workers and the poor peasants, in their respective class organisations, on the basis of their demands for land distribution and fair wages, for the fight against not only the deshmukhs and landlords but against the rich peasants also.

We thought that Andhra Mahasabha which was functioning as the Democratic Front was enough and that it would fulfil the functions of all other mass organisation. That is why in the Village Panch Committees, we kept the rich peasant as well as the vacillating middle peasant in key positions. In the Panch Committee of 5, one rich peasant and one middle peasant was inevitably included. In certain cases, these constituted the majority in the Panch Committees. Because of the confusion in the definition of classes among peasantry, landlords were also considered as rich peasants and as such in certain cases they too found a place in the Panch Committees; there was no necessity to give a place for rich peasants in every village Panch

Committee. Even where it became necessary to give them a place, then we should have taken care to see that 90% of the seats were filled with agricultural labourers and the poor peasants. In no circumstances should we have allowed the rich peasant or the vacillating middle peasants to occupy key positions. (With the intervention of the Indian army, the role of the rich peasant has changed completely. To day the rich peasant is as much an enemy as the landlord to the People's Democratic Revolution. So, we must not allow them to come anywhere near our village Panch Committees.) The rich peasants from their positions in the village Committees, utilising the vacillations of the middle peasant, were applying brakes to the anti-Nizam struggle. They were sabotaging the land distribution programme and the demands of the agricultural labourers. Our wrong outlook had caused immense harm to our armed struggle.

In all our guerrilla areas, on the whole, the Party has tremendous influence among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants. They responded to the call of the Party, and participated en masse in digging up and destroying the roads, and destroying the mansions and fortresses of deshmukhs, and surrounding and destroying the Razakar centres. With the military intervention, the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants rose, and swept off the rest of the deshmukhs' fortresses and the mansions and Razakar centres. They have killed many of the hated enemy.

But we must not forget one thing. The rich peasant tried to divert this upsurge in their own interests and to some extent succeeded. They utilised their positions in village committees and deprived the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants of the land and cattle in distribution, of all that was due to the latter. They and the middle peasants who were supporting them got the major portion and the rich consolidated their influence among the middle peasants. Except in Suryapet, and that too only to some extent, in all the other areas, because of this reformist conception, we could not fight out these rich peasants and consolidate the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants politically. Thus, though we have tremendous influence among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, we did not base our revolutionary struggle completely on them.

Let us see, how this reformism gets reflected in the organisation of the Party. There was no recruitment of the Party members nor the functioning of the Party cells. We used to estimate approximately, the number of all those who were participating in activities enthusiastically and considered them as Party members. There were no separate organisations for agricultural labourers and for the poor peasants, and still worse, even the Andhra Mahasabha did not have any organisational form. What remained was, area committees, zonal and central organisers, central guerilla squads, and the village punch committees. In short, it was the area committees and the guerilla squads that were functioning in place of Party or mass organisations.

We used to recruit even in the regular guerilla squads all those who just expressed their willingness to enlist. We did not develop their political consciousness. Hence there was no stability in the squads. There was a regular influx and exodus. There were only 50% who continued to remain in the squads for long.

When centre and zonal organisers or squad leaders were chosen, we did not see from what class they came, to what extent they had the working class ideals, to what extent they had overcome their class weaknesses and how far they had got proletarianised. Without looking into these, we promoted to key positions even those who had come from the exploiting classes. That is why, when the critical situation came, some organisers and squad members coming from the exploiting classes betrayed the revolutionary cause and joined the enemy camp or ran away from the field, from the responsible jobs they were entrusted with. Added to this though we have promoted some of those coming from the oppressed classes, we did not make serious efforts to politically develop them further and to promote them to still more important key positions.

Though there were enemy military camps in our area, and though the enemy and their agents continue to live among us, yet we carried on our activities as if we were in liberated areas with no remnants of the enemy. There was no secrecy observed. All the people used to know where the organisers were coming from, where the squads were taking shelter, from where the meals were to come, etc. The enemy agents hiding among the people, used to pass on this information,

immediately, to the enemy military camps. Our organisers, squads were often surrounded by the enemy and used to escape with some losses and at some other times were even completely wiped out.

We did not conduct our activities adopting secret methods, we did not even have any correct conceptions of what guerilla struggle itself was. With this, our methods of struggle, our organisation of guerilla squads, all assumed wrong forms, which were all beyond the level of our movement. What is the level of our movement? What are the guerilla tactics that are appropriate to this level of movement? This we must have understood. The first thing which we must realise, is that we are not fighting in areas which can be called liberated areas completely free of the enemy. There are still enemy's military camps. He is able to raid any place at any time he likes. That is why our areas are still only guerilla areas but not liberated areas. What are the tactics that we must adopt to weaken the enemy step by step and clean him out completely and convert them into liberated areas?

We must work in very small guerilla squads without wearing military dress during day time and live in such a way that the enemy cannot distinguish them from the people. The squads must live in the very neighbourhood of the enemy camps. (There is no necessity for all the people except a very few, to know where the squads live). They must attack the enemy at night suddenly and destroy the enemy, without falling into his hands. Destroy his communications. Thus harass the enemy day in and day out, giving him no rest, destroy his morale. Whenever there is an opportunity, mobilise necessary squads according to a plan and destroy the small, isolated enemy camps. Guerilla fighters after participating in small encounters and actions will get self-confidence and will be able to carry out these guerilla actions. By continuing these tactics, we could have developed our struggle to a very high level and built liberation areas and established People's Government.

But instead of this, we allowed guerilla squads to parade with uniforms even during the day time; and the enemy began to attack us with increasing numbers, we also increased the numbers in our squads. We continued to fight the enemy in actions that lasted for hours and even that during the day time. In order to enlarge the squads, we mobilised all the weapons and all the capable persons, from the villages into these big squads. So with this, the squads were forced to do the political agitation and propaganda and carry on mass activity, and fight the enemy with arms as well. In short we wanted to compete with the enemy, in numbers and in modern weapons; we wanted to defeat the enemy with the same means, which he was using against us. How ridiculous is this! As per this theory, decision was taken to increase the number in squads to 100. But by the time we increased the number of the squads to 30 to 40 all the serious mistakes in these tactics became patent. The Madhira squad increased to 70 to 80. This enabled the enemy to take rest without any fear of harassment. Because of these tactics of ours the enemy could raid and commit atrocities on the people, when he was in small numbers, in those villages taking advantage of the absence of our squads. He was able to attack our big squads and surround them and destroy them when he was in sufficiently large

numbers. Our squads had lost quick mobility to go from one place to another. The enemy used to know in no time where we were staying and where we were going to. The food and shelter for these huge squads could not be arranged. It was because of these tactics that Karimnagar squad including the whole of the district leadership was wiped out. With that blow the guerilla struggle in that district got tremendously weakened. We could not reorganise it up-to-date. The Madhira squad was surrounded by the enemy, but escaped from the danger of being wiped out with some loss only due to the bravery and presence of mind of the squad leader. The most surprising thing was that on this occasion it was the Nizam's forces that launched a guerilla attack on us in the garb of peasants! Some other squads were surrounded but escaped with some loss. This does not mean that we did not inflict any losses on the enemy. What we must see is not a few temporary victories. But if we had continued these tactics, where would have been our guerilla struggle?

The Provincial Committee, seeing these losses, decided that all the squads should be reduced to consist of 11 members, that all the old tactics should be given up and adopt new tactics suited to the level of the movement adopted. But those leading comrades who were in charge of the State movement directly and some local leaders, did not agree with this decision. So though squad members were reduced in other methods there was no important change made. Secrecy was not observed, the wearing of uniform during the day time continued, fighting with enemy face to face for hours, continued as before. Though we escaped complete destruction because of our reduction of number of members in each squad, we still continued to suffer losses. We tried to explain our losses away as due to technical failures such as the negligence of sentry, or because of cowardice of such and such individual etc. We did not go to the root of our defects. We found out a trick to escape the enemy. We called it "mobility". In the morning take tiffin in one village, dinner in another village and the night meal in still another village and sleep in another place. This increased unnecessarily the physical strain on the squads without any success in our objective of escaping the enemy's attention. But then, how did we last in spite of so many mistakes? How could we spread the movement, at least to the extent to which it did? The reply is that Nizam was totally isolated politically from the people.

Comrades, we must see another fact also. If we had not committed this mistakes how much more could we have extended our struggle. To what higher level could we have developed it. How much initiative and resistance we could have shown during the period, after the Indian Union military intervention. We must ask ourselves these questions to realise what severe damage our old tactics cause to our movement.

Two wrong Trends

When such were our political and organisational weaknesses even during anti-Nizam struggle, we were faced after the military intervention with having to fight

Union Government which was politically, military far more strong than the Nizam. During the critical situation, there arose two wrong trends in connection with the question of continuing the armed struggle:

The first was, Desperationist trend.

WE WILL FIGHT TILL DEATH.

COME WHAT MAY

The essence of this argument was: "We must bring about strikes and armed struggles outside the State too so that the enemy cannot concentrate all his forces on Telangana and so as to divert some of his military forces. If not it is impossible for the armed struggle to be continued. But yet, once we have taken up arms, there is no question of laying them down, irrespective of whether the strikes and armed struggle flare up in the rest of the country or not. We have to continue the armed struggle as of old. Even if it is suppressed, at least revolutionary traditions would remain".

The second was the trend of Defeatism

The essence of this is "We could not bring out strike and armed struggles in the rest of India, to divert the enemy forces from being concentrated on Telangana. So it is useless to continue the armed struggle in Telangana. So give it up temporarily and concentrate on day to day people's problems and retreat gradually to the level of the movement outside the State".

As an example of desperationist trend, here is the letter which a comrade addressed to the Provincial Secretariat:

"Here we are holding public meetings in every village exposing the Congress leadership. We are planning to face the Union armies. When we are carrying on here (in the State), armed struggle, there (in Madras Andhra districts), our cadres are offering satyagraha before the police, this, in my opinion is wrong. They are now detaining even village leaders. I think that the time is coming there shortly to start guerilla struggle in all our strong areas. Here as our struggle against the Union armies gets intensified, there you must start wherever you can. We must intensify the agitation in the army and in the police. Please think over it".

Here we must remove certain misconceptions. This comrade is of the opinion that the suggestion given by the Andhra Committee to counteract the atrocities of the police and Congress goondas, in Andhra districts of Madras, is satyagraha. How far this is correct can be seen if one sees the circular addressed:

"If 10 to 15 police come and raid a village, mobilise the masses and teach them a lesson of their life. If they come in hundreds, you should not adopt such resistance. But even when hundreds of police raid, and try to molest women and try to torture any Party member, seize any weapon and kill even one or two police.....If we let the Congress goondas go scot free, these will indulge in murders, rapes and lootings.

They will do excesses before which the Razakars' atrocities would pale into insignificance. So before these vipers could raise their heads, beat them to pulp at every place. Without our Party, crushing them, we cannot resist the military and police raids, we cannot launch a successful counterattack. Whatever sacrifices we have to make in destroying these goondas and spies our Party will not suffer... Even if we have to sacrifice plenty of lives in destroying these goondas and spies, still the balance of revolutionary gains would be in our favour...If the police ask you, women, to come singly, refuse to go. Go in crowds. If anything happens to anyone, let all the others rush to her help. If they abuse, reply to them very sharply. If they try to rape, use chilly powder, kathi peeta (knife used to cut vegetables), or chutney powder to kill him. Seize and pull his testicles. Break his fingers. Bite him wherever you can get at him. Strike at his vital spots with whatever you can get hold of'.

Are all these calls, calls for satyagraha methods? Has Gandhi ever given such suggestion in satyagraha struggle? What this comrade wants are not these methods alone. But he wants, irrespective of whether conditions are ripe or not, to organise regular guerilla squads in Madras Andhra districts as well as to launch immediately guerilla struggle. Just three months before this, this very comrade had written a report on Telangana, stating that since the conditions in Andhra were not suitable for launching guerilla warfare, the armed struggle in Telangana should be given up the moment the Indian armies enter and that we must lie low for the time being. If the conditions were not ripe 3 months earlier how could they become ripe within such a short time, God alone knows. (About this question, we will discuss further later on).

Another important comrade took this argument a step further. He wanted that revolutionary struggle should be launched not only in Andhra but in the whole of India. In the letter he wrote on 27.9.48, he had written thus:

"In Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the armed struggle that is being waged frightens the Indian Government. It wants to destroy Veera Telangana at its very birth. It is making every effort to liquidate us without giving us any time. So this problem should not be approached as to what are the tasks in Telangana alone? All this has to be seen as a part of the reactionaries' plan in the whole of South East Asia. Especially we must have an immediate programme for the whole of the country. This does not mean that we are not going to do anything meanwhile in Telangana. Telangana struggle will be continued. But along with it, in all other provinces in the rest of the Indian Union we must simultaneously carry on the revolutionary struggle. And thus we must prevent them from concentrating in Telangana alone. We must divert their military forces in different directions. This is the line and programme which the Central Committee must give".

In this comrade's outlook people are nothing but blind soldiers. As we transfer armies from one front to another, as we retreat and advance, similarly, he thinks that we can launch strikes and struggles as and when it is necessary.

This argument has very close relations with the arguments of the defeatists: this can be seen from the following. The first comrade who put forth the desperationist argument "Let us fight to death but must continue the armed struggle as before" has written the following in his report of 19.6.48 to the higher committee before the Indian Army entered Telangana.

"If the Indian armies launch upon us (Telangana) severe raids, can we launch armed struggle in the Indian Union and in the State, under the existing conditions? This is the question to be answered. In the rest of Andhra, in all our villages, people are being subjected to fascist raids. Yet there is no possibility of launching armed struggle against the Union army. We do not have enough strength. Before we can go to that stage in the rest of Andhra (Union Andhra) we must purge the cowards from the Party, and strengthen the Party organisation, and especially build close relations with the masses, by building agricultural labour and poor peasant movements. It is difficult to estimate, how quickly we can do this, or how quick the economic crisis would ripen and give us the opportunity of intensifying our struggles, and how quick the path for armed struggle against the Congress fascists can be taken.

"Unlike in all other countries, all other revolutionary struggles, armies and armed police—at least a section of them—have not revolted and not joined us. And when there was no possibility of armed struggle either in Andhra (Union) or in other Provinces of the Indian Union, is it correct to carry on the Armed Struggle with the Little Forces we have in Telangana when the Indian Army enters the state?

"Or are we to lie low strengthening our organisation, and continuing defensive battles, wait for a better opportunity? We want your advice and decision on all these important problems".

"When there is no possibility of launching armed struggle in other provinces of India", this Comrade says that it is impossible to continue armed struggle in Telangana! That is, for this comrade, the basis for armed struggle is not the strength of the revolutionary movement in Telangana, but the movement outside!! The P.C. Secretariat had criticised thrice this wrong trend of this Comrade. Before the entry of the Indian army, this comrade had agreed that his policy of retreat was wrong. But he had not seen the root of his wrong trend; i.e. basing the armed struggle not on the strength of the movement in Telangana but on the strength of the outside movement. This was evident from his letters. First his position was: the movement outside Telangana was not in a position to take up armed struggle. Therefore we must retreat in Telangana too'. Now, his argument is that since we have taken up arms once we cannot lay them down and retreat, so in defence of Telangana movement, guerilla struggle has to be launched outside the State too. In short the essence of this argument is: "We must either conduct Armed Struggle on All India scale or not conduct it any where".

Now let us examine the arguments of the defeatists. Here is the letter dated 5.11.48 of a district committee who expounded this argument clearly:

“To-day direct relations (link) have been established between the movement in the Union Andhra and Telangana. The strength and weaknesses of this movement here, has a direct effect on the struggle in Telangana. So long, the sympathies and support of Union people, direct or indirect, were with the Telangana people in their struggle against the Nizam. But to-day, if we have to fight the Indian Union armies, we will not get the people’s sympathy to that extent from the vast majority of them. The Union government will try to mobilise the majority of the masses behind it and at the present stage of mass democratic struggle, it looks as if the Government will be able to get away its plan. The reason is the Bourgeoisie has got the upper hand. To-day to defend our people’s councils in Telangana with armed struggle, we cannot mobilise the masses outside the state. The movement here does not have this strength. If we keep this in mind, then it becomes evident that Telangana movement has not got that strength to overcome this and go forward. In these conditions we must adopt tactics of orderly retreat to safeguard our gains and gradually prepare ourselves and the people for resistance...Under the present conditions we think that orderly retreat must be our tactics. That is, we must hide our weapons in such a way as not to allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy, the guerilla squads must stop their armed struggle, but get mixed with the people and try to bring the masses to participate in defence of their old gains Mass resistance must be our fighting slogan”.

Some other district comrades have written giving similar suggestions. Some other important comrades had written, without recognising that the illusions that might have been present among the people in fighting areas of Telangana were of a temporary character and that they would be soon shattered. Under-estimating the revolutionary consciousness of Telangana people on the one hand, and showing our organisational weakness on the other, they argued that continuation of armed struggle immediately is not possible. To destroy illusions, they suggested mass resistance. All these are trends that did not realise the level of Telangana struggle.

The District Committee quoted above, wrote that “people are not coming forward for land distribution and mostly they are spectators”. This is entirely wrong. This might have been true to some extent, at the beginning when we started land distribution. But by the time the Union armies entered, the people, especially, the agricultural labour and the poor peasants had come forward and participated not only in land distribution, but in digging up of roads, in destorying desh mukh’s mansions and fortresses, and in-raiding the Nizam’s police and Razakar centre. In certain weak areas, people might be afraid. But on the whole, in the whole of fighting area, this is not true. About this, we have written already in detail.

The second mistake this Committee makes is this; “that because the people of other areas have not got strength to take up arms in defence of the armed struggle of another area, it becomes impossible for the people of that area too, to continue the armed struggle”. This way of argument is absolutely wrong. The level of people’s movement on all India scale will not be of the same level. It will be very uneven. When in Telangana armed struggle is being waged, in another place, we may be

arguing before an adjudication tribunal and exposing the Government. In to-day's conditions, when the economic crisis is so severe, when the bourgeoisie cannot solve one single small problem, even though in the rest of the country it may not be possible to wage militant struggles, there is every possibility of continuing the armed struggle in Telangana. If we take into consideration the level of the movement, in the neighbouring areas, basing ourselves on the level of the movement there, we will carry forward the revolutionary struggle by adopting tactics suited to each, from adjudications courts to armed struggle. This is the way, today to carry on People's democratic revolution. Failure to realise this, leads this committee to this wrong line. In spite of certain organisational weaknesses if we adopt new tactics of armed struggle suited to the new conditions we can defend our armed struggle from the enemy attack and take it forward. The Telangana revolutionary movement has got this much strength. (It will be dealt with in detail later).

Though the methods which these two trends suggest, are different, yet they start from the same foundation. Both arise from the failure of not basing our tactics and plan of action, on the strength of Telangana revolutionary movement, but basing it instead on the strength of movement outside the State. The first advocates continuation of the armed struggle with no important changes in tactics suited to the new conditions, and leaving the result to fate! The second advocates the laying down of arms. We have carried on revolutionary armed struggle, so many heroes have laid their lives, the heroic struggle has been carried on by Telangana people so doggedly, all this is not merely in order to leave behind a few revolutionary traditions, but in order to establish the democratic Government of toilers. It is for laying down arms at the first moment that we faced a critical situation and not for laying at the feet of the enemy, to be hacked to pieces, Veera Telangana that is built with the blood of hundreds of heroes and on the unlimited sacrifices and devotions and struggle of millions of oppressed masses!

The methods adopted after police action and their bad consequences

Of the two above mentioned incorrect tendencies, the result of putting into practice the former tendency, i.e. the desperationist tendency, was the non-pursuance of new suitable tactics in accordance with the new conditions that followed with the entry of the Indian Union military. The very same old tactics that belonged to the old anti-Nizam struggle period were pursued.

What are the new changes brought about with the entry of the Indian Union forces? How have we failed to adopt new political organisational tactics in accordance with these changes?

We realised that rich peasants who form 15 to 20% of the village population would join the enemy camp. But to run all the Party activities, guerilla and party apparatus on secret lines, no practicable organisational methods were adopted. We did not put into operation even those tasks that were undertaken. We did not realise the danger even in practice.

As a result, the old hidden enemies in the villages, the newly turned enemies and the Congress agents, easily came to know the whereabouts of our Party members and guerilla squad members, with the help of the rich peasants.

Our movement and activities were then and there exposed to the enemy. Before our programme was put into operation, enemy was able to inflict an attack and hunt after us. Links with the people were getting blown up. We were being forced to evolve new links every time, Party cadre too sustained a great loss.

We correctly estimated the great effect of the influence of the rich peasants, who were going to join the Congress, on the middle peasants, who constitute 10 to 20% in the villages. But in order to drive away rich peasants far from the middle peasants and in order to put an end to their resistance power, we did not in practice undertake to build up partial struggles and organisation of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants on the problems of wages and debts, so to attain agricultural labourers' and poor peasants' leadership.

In villages through open meetings, general exposure regarding the motives behind the entry of the Indian Union forces was carried on. But local struggles, anti-Congress demonstrations, and anti-repression mobilisation etc., so as to expose through them the note of betrayal of the rich peasants was not carried on.

As a result the rich peasants carrying on anti-struggle propaganda, were able to make the people yield for a compromise. They were able to get back the landlords' cattle and agricultural implements, thereby destroying some of the achievements attained through armed struggle.

In the anti-Nizam struggle period many a rich peasant entered into the village panchayat committees. Though adequate representation was given to the toiling classes, most of them from these classes who were in the Committees were under the influence of rich peasants and landlords. As all these people were inclined towards the Congress, instead of organising and mobilising the people in the anti-Congress struggles they were retarding the people backwards. Some of them went to the extent of effecting our arrests and some to surrender. Some youths that had come from the upper classes i.e. rich peasants and landlords had been promoted to key positions in the Party and the guerilla squads. Some of them following the entry of the Indian Union forces joined the enemy camp and the remaining either got demoralised owing to the enemy attacks or surrendered. As repression intensified, the movement towards this direction continued.

It had become impossible in practice to recruit the class conscious elements into the Party, as per PC's decision, so long as the old people held the same positions.

Owing to the presence of the vacillating elements, it had become impossible to move the people into struggles. As these elements get demoralised without turning out any work, the links with the masses were cut off.

Even after the entry of the Indian Union forces, no changes in the organisation of the guerilla squads had been brought about. As the enemy forces were equipped

with modern weapons and good discipline, a warning to be careful and not to resort to hasty attacks as had been carried on against Nizam-Razakar groups was given out of fear.

Later, with arrest of two squads in November in the Suryapet taluk, and seeing that the squad members and organisers were getting demoralised, the strength of the squad was reduced to 9 and 11. They also sent some suggestions regarding technical precautions. While the enemy was establishing camps in the villages, no programme was given, tactics were not worked out and reorganisation of the squads was not done, so as to enable our squads to inflict non-stop attacks on the enemy and exhaust him.

As a result when the enemy raised camps in the villages, he was able to drive us away. Our squads could not understand what was our programme, with the result that either the squads scattered, surrendered or got annihilated.

This way no major changes were made in the programme given after the police action. Only a few suggestions were given to escape from the attacks that were being carried on by the enemy at that time. Only a new form was given to the old programme and tactics that were being followed in the period of anti-Nizam struggle. As a result the squads, Party and village committees, receiving a serious blow ceased contact with the masses.

On account of pursuing the above mentioned incorrect tactics, and organisational methods, a fine opportunity was given to the enemy to inflict a heavy blow on our revolutionary movement by carrying on unchecked raids using thousands of military and police forces depending on the support of the rich peasants and landlords. Though from the next day of its entry into Hyderabad State, enemy had started raids, yet for two and a half months, continuous raids were not carried out. In these two and a half months, the enemy was building up necessary political and military manoeuvres in the background in order to put an end to our revolutionary movement.

But we rolled on the very same rails without considering afresh our plans and tactics. Not knowing what to do when then the enemy actually began series of continuous raids on the villages, we scattered hither and thither like birds.

Had we utilised that priceless respite and if we were ready with our new tactics, we would have been able to raise the revolutionary struggles to new heights and thus would have escaped from the enemy with few losses. Our movement would not have been shattered as at present. As a result, came the harmful consequences of our mistakes. Today the enemy with initiative is able to launch an attack on us. We are driven to the position of mere defence. In hundreds and thousands, the Indian union forces, police and the Congress-Razakars, setting up camps in every village are able to carry on raids. Lakhs of leaflets are being distributed from aeroplanes.

Landlords and rich peasants even in our strong centres as Suryapet, are rendering help without fear to the military to hunt down squads and to arrest our leaders. Leaders and the members of guerilla squads that are caught are being shot down then and there. Raping of women, looting valuable articles, smashing down houses, and cruel atrocities on the masses are freely continued by them every day. The Party apparatus and the guerilla organisation that was not strongly united with revolutionary principles and not well equipped with iron discipline have been drowned in confusion. Some local leaders have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Some guerilla squad leaders and organisers perished in the battlefield. In the very early days some organisers that came from the well-to-do classes joined the enemy camp. Some squads unable to safeguard their very foundations fell into the hands of the enemy.

Only the main leadership and some important squads are left behind today. The organisational methods necessary in order to carry out lightning attacks on enemy forces and to maintain good morale in the masses by creating political consciousness are absent. As a result, our squads were scattered hither and thither and at best could engage in self defence.

The news is reaching us that being unable to withstand enemy attack, and with the encouragement from the rich peasants and middle peasants, people are inclining towards a compromise and also that the people are afraid to provide food and shelter to our guerilla squads.

Even in this great demoralising atmosphere the ray of hope, is that though people are put to severe difficulties of high magnitude, yet they don't say a word against the Party. Against the enemy their indignation has increased owing to the great troubles they are subjected to by the enemy. They are able to see clearly as to who are their enemies. They view that only because of the huge strength and the armed might of the enemy, our movement is hit hard, otherwise it would not be so. Temporarily they are bowing their heads before this storm of repression but their self-confidence has not been shaken. They take pride that they put up stubborn and strong resistance for two years against the Nizam and for six months against the Indian Union forces. They have got faith in their own capacities. They have a strong hope that there is bright future for us. They have immense love and confidence in their leaders and guerilla squads. They greatly admire the courageous and bold deeds. The only words that they want to acquaint our comrade with is: "Enemy with enormous might was able to inflict a blow on us but it is temporary. The enemy cannot remain in thousands here for ever. Future belongs to us. When good days dawn, we shall launch a mighty offensive and put an end to the enemy. Meanwhile without getting trapped by the enemy, you better remain safe. This is what we request you".

There can hardly be any other example to illustrate as to what great care the people take for the defence of their leaders who have won their love, good will and confidence.

Enemy Plan:

What are the plans of the enemy to smash up our revolutionary movement?

1) "Telangana armed resistance movement" meant haunting nightmare to the bourgeoisie. Hence before this discontentment bursts forth into a mighty wave of struggles against the Congress Government, in other parts of the State and throughout India, before it breaks out into a great and dreadful oceanic upsurge and sweeps it off from the very bottom of its roots, the bourgeoisie want to put an end to the resistance movement of heroic Telangana and without leaving any trace.

2) Smash at the very heart of the revolutionary movement, i.e. leaders and the guerilla squads, in the summer season by setting up military camps in every village with the necessary armed forces.

3) "Intensive repression on the people" and thus break the morale of the people on the one side and on the other spread illusions about Consambley and bogus agricultural reforms amongst the people specially the middle peasants, thereby split the oppressed masses and destroy the achievements, land to the tiller, just wage and people's raj that were attained during the anti-Nizam struggle. With the support of the rich peasantry, to reinstate deshmukhs in the villages after forcible reappropriation of the land, the wresting of which had constituted the very basis of the people's democratic revolution, with the support of the rich peasantry.

4) To carry on poisonous propaganda that the heroic Telangana guerillas are bandits, murderers and robbers and thus hide the great revolutionary achievements from other peoples, to try to break the links of our resistance movement with outside people's struggles and thus isolate us.

How to safeguard the Telangana revolutionary movement by shattering the enemy plans? As a result of the hard blow struck by the enemy our forces have scattered. Can we, under these circumstances continue the armed struggle? Or shall we for the present wind up the armed struggle temporarily and build the movement on day-to-day people's problems and plan to restart the armed struggle only when strikes and struggles burst out throughout India and other parts of the State?

It is these questions that confront us to-day. Enemy has got the upper hand from the military point of view. Even under these circumstances, temporary winding up of armed resistance means nothing but the underestimation of the consciousness of Telangana masses, and of the severe intensification of the economic crisis that has overwhelmed the whole world capitalist system. It also means the underestimation of the stage of the people's movement in other parts of the State and throughout India. It means the continuation of the demoralisation tendency which has been clarified earlier.

It amounts to the tendency for over estimation of the strength of the Indian bourgeoisie and crowning the enemy with victory with our own hands.

Revolutionary Movement

If, setting right the defects of the armed struggle, the whole Party, the squads and the peoples organisation, are organised entirely on secret lines, mobilising the entire masses for the defence of the revolutionary achievements attained so far, the continuation of the people's resistance on one side and of the armed struggle with new guerilla tactics on the other shall be possible. Not only is the safeguarding of our revolutionary movement possible, we can also extend it to other parts of the State to the parts bordering the State, specially to the strong bordering Telugu districts.

If the people in other parts of the State and all over India have to be mobilised in support of revolutionary Telangana, then what we have to do is not lay down our arms and wait till they start strikes and struggles, but continue the armed resistance. We should spread throughout the four corners of India, the rays of light of the flames lit by the innumerable patriots who laid down their lives on the battle front. We should uphold this torch of hope so that in that light the oppressed masses who are getting ready for strikes and struggles in other parts of the State and throughout India may march forward. And only by upholding this torch of Freedom and hope, we can inspire and enthuse them.

Henceforth what we have to remember is that we should mainly base our armed struggle on the strength of Telangana's oppressed masses. The armed struggle which will be continued by us in the present circumstances, mainly relying on the strength of the guerilla war, will inspire and enthuse the oppressed masses in other parts of the State and throughout India. Such a possibility exists. Every demonstration they stage, every strike and struggle they launch, however small it may be renders help and strengthens the armed resistance movement of Telangana. We should not forget this.

For the continuation of the armed struggle what we should first keep in sight is the preparedness of the oppressed masses which, under the present circumstances, means, that the middle peasants who are expressing sympathy today may not immediately actively support our armed struggle; but as the workers and poor peasants who constitute a great majority (70%) carry out successful resistance against the enemy attack, they will also come forward to defend the past achievements.

Then what is the position of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants? Are at least these people in a position to strengthen the armed resistance?

The first thing we have to notice is that the stage of the Telangana movement has reached its highest pitch. They have waged armed struggle for the two and a half years against the Nizam Razakar forces and the Indian Union forces and the Congress goonda gangs. They withstood stubbornly against the enemy atrocities, viz., burning of houses, rapings, lootings, lathi beatings, to the extent of shooting at sight and whatever cruel atrocities the enemy could carry out. Today in the Telangana battlefield death has become a very common thing. They have established village

panchayat governments, the embryonic forms of the people's democratic government, the objective that was set up by the Calcutta Party Congress. Destroying the autocratic powers of the deshmukhs and jagirdars and smashing down their huge forts, the symbols of age-old slavery, they have distributed ten lakhs acres of land amongst themselves. The peasants who have tasted the fruits of struggle, viz., land and the village panchayat rule for a year- to think that they will accept the same age-old slavery is also to think that they will not come forward to defend the revolutionary achievements i.e. land, just wage and the village people's government, which they have achieved by shedding their blood; this means the underestimation of the level of consciousness of the Telangana people and no realisation of their revolutionary psychology. Even today the critical news is reaching of the agricultural workers' battles in Patwela taluka (Nevalagrana) and Khammameth (our weak areas) What have we to understand from these?

While the Indian Union forces were getting ready to strike a blow at us, had we organised the Party and the guerilla squads on new lines, suited to the existing conditons and continued the armed struggle, our armed resistance movement would not have received such a big blow today.

Even today the agricultural labourers and poor peasants are quite ready to defend such revolutionary achievements as land, wage and abolition of slavery- While continuing ceaseless attacks on the enemy by the guerilla squads, if suitable plans are laid before the people regarding putting up resistance against the enemy by themselves, people are quite prepared to put them into practice.

Even in these critical circumstances when the enemy has the upper hand what the people say is, "because of the concentration of military in thousands the enemy is able to inflict blows on us, otherwise he could not. Dont be trapped by them, be safe, when good days dawn, in an all out big offensive we will put him down". Self-confidence that the future belongs to us is not shaken in the least. Tenants are watching for the moment when the Party begins reorganising the guerilla squads and inflicts series of attacks on the enemy: They are expressing great hurry "to defend the achievements attained through the armed struggle". Today the foremost task that lies on our heads is the great responsibility to show them the way.

Then what is the situation facing us in other parts of the State? Are the conditions of the people in any way better than in our areas? No. Throughout the Nizam's State, jagirdars and deshmukhs are looting, sucking the blood and turning the people into mere skeletons. As in our parts, the masses in these parts too are subjected to intense exploitation. But then there was none left to organise the people in those parts of the State. Had the organisation of the people in these parts existed we could have conducted armed struggle throughout the State. That is why they eagerly awaited the entry of the Indian Union forces: With the entry of the Indian Union forces, they had illusions that they would be liberated, that Nizam and his followers would perish and that they could lead a peaceful life. But not a single thing has turned out to be as they had expected.

The same age-long bloodsucking, oppressing Nizam, Jagirdars, desh mukhs, Marwari moneylenders and the bureaucratic officialdom continues. With this a great discontentment is raging against the Congress Government. All the illusions which they are sowing are getting melted like camphor. Illusions are vanishing with the same speed as they were created in the Union military.

Indian bourgeoisie which entered into a new friendship with the Nizam, jagirdars and desh mukhs, did not solve even a single basic problem facing the people today. It did not root out the Nizam, a long standing desire of the people of Andhras, Maharashtra and Karnataka, and did not establish greater Andhra, united Maharashtra, and united Karnataka. The present autocratic rule was not thrown out, and a people's government not set up. It did not abolish zamindari system effecting land to the tiller. It has not implemented living wage to the agricultural labourers, and the working class and just pay for the middle classes and has not granted any other facilities either.

The present game of Consambly, bogus agricultural reforms and labour committees cannot deceive the people. By merely taking over the jagir administrations neither the unity of Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak peoples is achieved nor land to the tiller, just wages and just salaries are effected.

In reality, if their motive behind this game is observed, it is clear that it is all meant for the reorganisation of the state apparatus to put down the growing people's upsurge, and defend the Nizam and jagirdars who could not stand against the tide of the mass upsurge.

The programme of distribution of land of the Telangana armed struggle and the village panchayat committees have greatly influenced the other parts of the State, especially the other 6 Telugu districts. Workers, peasants and agricultural labourers in other parts of the State are coming forward in order to attain their demands.

The struggles of Hyderabad municipal workers, R.T.D. workers and the railway workers represent a pointer to the great people's upsurge that is going to burst forth throughout the State. There is no other alter-native left to the Government except curbing it with inhuman force with the military might. Local struggles that are being built up in other parts of the State, can very soon be developed into an armed struggle. Such possibilities are there.

What are the conditions existing throughout India? Today world capitalism is gripped in an economic crisis of high magnitude. It is waging a life and death struggle. In these conditions, the Indian bourgeoisie has surrendered to British imperialism and entered into a collaboration with its agents, the native rulers, zamindars and landlords. As in the Nizam's state, being unable to withstand big mass upsurge, it is resorting to ruthless repression, so also in India it has not solved even a single people's problem. Illusions that were created with the "August freedom" are vanishing and the people are coming forward for strikes and struggles. Even though the governmental repression looms large from without and its agents,

the Socialist leaders, are creating disruption from within. While workers are getting ready and are coming forward for strikes. Postal workers have served a strike notice, dock workers of Calcutta and Bombay went on strike, Madras motor workers also went on strike and textile and jute workers are getting ready for strikes. Even the middle class intelligentsia and employees are coming forward. Forty thousand school teachers in U.P. went on strike for 35 days. In East Bengal the Tebhaga movement has already started. Before this mass upsurge bursts forth the Indian bourgeoisie is in great hurry to erase out the "Revolutionary liberation flame" of Telangana which is casting its light far and wide throughout India and is awakening the oppressed. Severe repression that is being let loose on the revolutionary Telangana movement denotes the weakness and not the strength of the enemy.

Today the base of the Indian bourgeoisie is very narrow. If blows are struck whenever possible it is not impossible to overthrow its power. For it, Nizam's State constitutes the weakest link. There are two reasons for it. The first one is the great indignation of the people throughout the State against the Nizam, jagirdars, and deshmukhs, and the great discontentment that followed the collaboration of the Indian bourgeoisie with them; and second is the path that the Telangana armed resistance is showing to the masses throughout the State. Hence by continuing the armed resistance movement on new lines and defending the revolutionary Telangana movement from being crushed at the hands of the enemy, it becomes easy to lead the great mass upsurge that is embracing the entire State on to the revolutionary path shown by Telangana. This constitutes the revolutionary task that has to be accomplished towards Indian democracy in Hyderabad State. Though favourable circumstances to such an extent exist in the whole State, yet does the Party possess the capacity to continue the armed struggle at least in our areas though today we do not possess the capacity to divert the mass upsurge of the entire State on to the revolutionary path, shown by Telangana? The only answer is "Yes".

Though some leaders, local organisers and squads have fallen into the hands of the enemy and some have been carried away by the atmosphere of demoralisation and in spite of the fact that some have joined the enemy betraying the people, yet even today a leadership remains which has in the past conducted armed struggle. There are hundreds of organisers, hundreds of guerilla fighters and thousands of youth ready to take up arms, and to support the armed struggle; lakhs of people are there. If these leaders, organisers and guerilla fighters, are saved from being caught by the enemy, and are politically well trained, continuation of the armed guerilla fight becomes possible. Not only in Telangana but even in Mahratwada the mobilisation of the mass for land and just wage, and their struggle becomes possible. We should create immediate necessary arrangements for this.

Then, what is our programme to smash the enemy plans? (regarding tasks of the whole State, a special political resolution will be sent)

1) Safeguard our leaders, organisers and squads from being caught by the enemy, reorganise the Party and the guerilla squads entirely on secret lines through imparting training on the new tactics that has to be conducted; and continue the armed struggle.

2) On one side through continuous intense propaganda exposing the enemy's Consembly game and the bogus reforms, shatter the illusions created by them; and on the other side through the mobilisation of agricultural workers and poor peasants on the defence of land and just agricultural wages, conduct people's resistance against the Indian Union forces, Landlords and rich peasants and through these struggles bring the middle peasants into the revolutionary battles.

3) Popularise the achievements attained in the revolutionary Telangana movement, amongst the broad masses of other parts of the State and throughout India; and through their strikes and struggles that shall be carried on for the sake of their demands and the strikes and struggles that shall be conducted in sympathy with the Telangana revolutionary movement, adding strength to the Telangana armed struggle, link up Telangana's revolutionary movement with the Indian people's movement.

New Armed Resistance Methods

In order to execute the above plan, what new guerilla tactics, people's resistance methods and organisational methods should be adopted?

Party should be organised entirely on secret lines and carry on its activities. Party is the main weapon for the accomplishment of revolution. When Party possesses a strong organisation like a steel fort that can withstand against the enemy attacks revolution can come to a victorious end without a stop. From this point of view let us see whether we are in possession of such an excellent Party organisation to carry on the armed resistance movement.

During the anti-Nizam struggle period, Party was not having any organisational form at all, there were no cells, and all the youths who worked enthusiastically and expressed initiative, were treated as Party members. The only forms that remained were the area committees, area organisers and the central guerilla squads. Andhra Mahasabha too had no form whatsoever. No enrolment of members was done, and the whole village people were considered as its members. Agricultural workers' organisations, local volunteer brigades and women's organisations were not formed.

However elections to the village panchayat committees used to be held.

Another grave mistake we committed in that we promoted the youth coming from the exploiting classes (landlords and rich peasants), without looking as to which classes they came from and without testing them in fights, to key positions and made them organisers and leaders of guerilla squads. We placed them in the key positions in the village panchayat committees. We only looked to their initiative, reading and expressing capacities, but we did not note whether they came into our Party merely with a humanitarian outlook or accepting the objective of the working class, that is Socialism. We never used to look into primary things such as whether

they have discarded all their alien class habits i.e. individuality, commanding others, and love towards their private property, etc., and reduced themselves to the stand point of a common worker and a poor peasant. That is why being unable to discard their alien class habits, they either formed factional groups or were carried away by the demoralisation. Not only this, with the entry of the Indian Union forces, some in order to safeguard their class interests, and some unable to stand the sharpened class struggle betrayed the Party and the people and joined the enemy camp. So a great harm to the Party resulted. In addition to it, the militants who came from the agricultural labourers and poor peasants were not given political education and not promoted to key positions.

Looking at these organisational defects, Andhra Committee took a decision to enrol into the Party those who possess revolutionary efficiency, to create cells and function them, and also a decision to establish and function local organisations by enrolling members for Andhra Mahasabha and to set up general agricultural worker committees and to organise volunteer corps and children's leagues. Effort to build Party organisation was made and cells were also formed. But with the entry of the Indian Union forces all our plans were upset.

With it the organisation of the Party and the mass organisation had to be started from A.B.C. On account of the betrayal of some of the organisers, squad leaders and squad members, and on account of some falling prey to shootings and arrests, area committee organisers were left isolated without contact with each other in many places and squads were split and scattered. The meagre organisation that is left is also in great confusion.

Under these circumstances, the prime task before us is that all vacillating comrades and enemy agents amongst our organisers, squad leaders, village panchayat committees and the squads should be driven out unhesitatingly. The Party and the squads should be completely rebuilt on the basis of revolutionary principles. Due to this purge our numerical strength may be reduced but it does not matter. If we begin the work with strong militant revolutionaries who will not turn back in any situation, very soon a healthy Party organisational set up can be brought into being.

Henceforth at the very outset, all those who are inefficient, should be removed from the Party, and those who are afraid of their lives, those who are not having strong confidence in the Party Policy and its programme and those who do not merge with the toilers but only exercise command over them, and those who have immoral habits detrimental to the Party should be removed from the key positions of all our organisations.

Area committees should be formed with 3 members and regional committees with not more than 5 members. Party cells and committees should be built up by recruiting into the Party those that have the following qualifications. Cells to be formed with not more than seven members. All cell secretaries shall form the village Party committee and function.

Those who are efficient and come from agricultural workers and poor peasants should be put in the village committees and regional committees including the area committees, although they may be illiterate but otherwise efficient.

Eligibilities to Party Membership

1) Party objectives and its programme should be understood and accepted by them. i.e. They should agree, in direct form, with the decided programme in our "guerilla areas".

2) Iron discipline based on democratic centralism together with consciousness should be enforced. It means, in cell or committee discussion one should place his opinion without any hesitation (fear). He should be a participant in taking decisions and in the execution of the higher committee's decisions and the majority decisions. He should regularly participate in the Party activities. Cell secrets should never be revealed outside.

3) For the sake of the Party he should be ready to sacrifice everything including his life, if necessary.

4) "Moral life" i.e. only those habits which shall not come in the way of the Party's prestige should be possessed. In the present system of society no sound economic foundations exist to build up an ideal life; therefore normal drinking and Sexual lapses which do not amount to debauchery and cannot be looked upon as so grave, cannot fall in the list of "ineligibilities" for the Party membership. There is no place in the Party for habitual drunkards and debauchees. If the above referred bad habits exist only within certain bounds, and otherwise there are other qualities that are needed for Party membership are present, they can be taken into the Party.

Note: Those who come from agricultural workers and poor peasants cannot express clearly the Party objective and programme, yet if other qualities are present, in them, they should be taken into the Party. We should explain to them Party constitution, Party Thesis and its programme in the state.

Before being taken into the party, party constitution and party pledge should be read by everyone in the party cells. Before taking into the Party those who come from the exploiting classes or before promoting them to higher ranks, it should be observed in struggles whether all their bad class habits have been eradicated or not.

PARTY ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE RUN ON SECRET LINES

Function the Party Secretly

Comrades,

As you are accustomed to work openly and as you receive the support of the majority of the toilers, in various ways, it may look surprising to you when you are told that none others should come to know the names of the Party members, that cell meetings should be conducted secretly; that the organisers should dwell

secretely and only when necessary should you conduct open meetings and that the squads should work secretly. You may put the question, 'What is this, secrecy with the enemy or with the people?'

You may also ask as to how you can maintain secrecy with the people and yet merge with the people. Today, the conditions are such that if we want to work without being known to the enemy, we should be known only to the concerned Party members and this is what is meant by secret functioning. You are aware of the fact that we had to suffer heavy losses because of not functioning secretly from the early days of the anti-Nizam struggle period.

Comrades, today the situation is very grave. Rich peasants are having a number of economic and social relationships with the common people and they have joined the enemy camp and are making serious efforts to crush our revolutionary movement. Military camps have been posted in every village and our organisers and squads are being hunted out. In this state of difficult conditions, not to carry out our work secretly is nothing but inviting the enemy to drown in blood the revolutionary movement built at the cost of hundreds of warriors of revolution.

When all the people know about our whereabouts, how can you prevent the rich peasants from coming to know of them and how can you prevent him from revealing them to the military.

You may reply that if we teach one or two such fellows a good lesson they will draw the necessary conclusions from it.

But will it be sufficient to kill one or two in the present grave period when military has been posted in every village?

After the establishment and consolidation of our power and after the military camps are erased out, the rich peasant may keep mum owing to fear. But if we begin the programme of teaching lessons to them, we have to totally put an end to the rich peasantry. Is this possible now?

Hence our main task today is to save the Party leadership and squads through illegal methods and work but not to root out the rich peasantry as a whole now.

Our activities should be carried on secretly and the enemy should not come to know our secrets. We shall put an end to those who consider it their duty to inform our secrets to the enemy. Except the concerned important Party member and people, no other Party members and people should come to know about our organisational and tech matters. This should be the guiding principle in our functioning.

As the revolutionary movement, withstanding the enemy attacks, develops bringing about rift between the middle peasants and the rich peasants, driving away the rich peasant and bringing the middle peasants nearer to our movement, and as we smash up the military camps in the villages and extend our areas, we can pursue open methods, gradually reducing the secret methods of work.

The following principles should be borne in mind and in accordance with them, the secret activities of the Party should be carried on.

(a) The organisers should never move at day time except on some absolutely necessary occasions. Whenever they go out at night they should take proper defence precautions. Whenever they have to visit any village, the conditions of that village and the safe routes should be known beforehand and the plans should be decided before they set out. People of the village should not come to know either before or after the organiser's visit to the village. The organiser should take care that his host does not reveal his arrival to others in the village.

People should not come to know about the visit of the organiser. They should not gather round him or rush to his place as before.

Now, it is impossible for the organiser to know the conditions of the village by himself without the help of the Party Cells or village committees.

Through the party cells and village committees, organisers should know the conditions of the village in detail and take decisions after discussing them, and note them down in writing. He should develop Party cells and village committees and see that they themselves solve the problems of the village independently.

Whenever it is necessary to mobilise the village masses, just on the eve of his departure with proper watch around the village, he should address them and move to the other village. Except the concerned persons none else should come to know about the village to which he is shifting. These gatherings should be held at places where agricultural labourers and poor peasants dwell. Landlords and rich peasants generally should not be allowed, and those who are slightly suspected should not be allowed.

It is not safe to stay in the villages at day time, because when the enemy raids the village and gathers all of them at one place he can easily spot out the organiser. We cannot even escape through crops. Moreover in these summer days the enemy can easily find out from a higher place when we attempt to escape through the fields because of the open landscape and can catch us easily. Hence we should wear the usual clothes of the villagers, merge with their life and stay outside the villages. Just like fish in water we have to swim in the ocean of the masses. Either food should be brought to that place carefully or other necessary arrangements should be made. None else should come to know about it. When we are within the reach of the enemy gun it is futile to attempt to run away, because it will provide an opportunity to the enemy to suspect the comrade as Party leader.

It is neither necessary not desirable here to explain as to how to merge with the people and as to how to take our own care. On these matters you are having a good experience. Every organiser should keep along with him an efficient and trustworthy courier and carry on the jobs. It will be impossible to maintain secrecy if we continue our present methods.

Organisers should Note!

At the end of the reports that are being sent by the organisers at present, original names are being written, names of the villages and individuals are being mentioned. If these fall into the enemy hands they can easily come to know as to

who is who. That is why all the correspondence should be carried on with code names. The names of the villages which are used for exclusive purposes should be avoided. It is also essential to use the code names of the villages which the organisers are visiting so that even when the letters fall into the enemy hands he can't come to know any particular and the people will be saved to some extent from repression. Many of the comrades coming from the exploiting classes are being arrested when they visit their houses. In the present period, when grim class battles are being waged to put an end to the exploiting classes, to expect love from kith and kin, parents and relatives means that we are not yet understanding the class nature of our revolutionary struggle. As far as wife and children are concerned, we should go to them with proper care only when they break relations with their families and agree to come with us. But when they refuse to agree to this one alternative alone is left to us and that is we have to break all our relations with them. Not only this, even for money, clothes and better comforts we should not have any connections with them.

It should be noted by all of us that comrades coming from the exploiting classes shall be able to stick to our revolutionary Party only by ceasing all sorts of relationship with their families.

The Secret Method of Functioning Cells And Committees

It may not surprise you very much when organisers are asked to live secretly but it will surprise you when you are asked to conduct cell and Party committee meetings in the villages secretly.

You may ask us how to prevent the people from knowing the names of the Party members. To see that the enemy may not spot out our comrades it is necessary and also possible to see that the people do not know the names of our Party members excepting the names of leading important comrades.

It is also possible to confuse the enemy because a great number of youths and working people will come to the forefront when 70% of the village supports us and they will be considered as Party members by the enemy. This way our PMs can merge with the masses and it becomes impossible for the enemy to spot out the Party members from the people. Even if some of our Party comrades are caught many of them will be saved. Hence we should take great care to see that the names of the newly recruited comrades may not leak out to the people. You are aware of the dangers we are facing on account of the exposure of the names of our party organisers and squad members. The necessity of keeping at least the names of new recruited comrades secret is being greatly felt when the question of village squads is coming before us.

Courier System

Improper way of courier system prevails in our areas. There are no regular fixed couriers to carry news from one area committee to the other and to exchange information. As a result comrades are using whoever is found at the spot as couriers. As such couriers do not know the particulars, they are reaching the given place only with great difficulty and are enquiring from many people and getting arrested.

This is extremely harmful. Names of the organisers are being leaked out to the people first and then to the enemy. We have to put a stop to this. A fixed regular courier should be used. We have to give him the necessary training and equip him. Proper places should be fixed where letters, leaflets and literature can be kept. The concerned couriers should go and bring the things. That is to say, these places should become mediums of exchange. The owners of the places should be well instructed as to how they should maintain secrecy. The couriers should wear the usual dress of the common people and go along the routes as normal travellers.

For fixing couriers carrying Party documents and organisational reports, their previous history should be known and they should be bold and be able to withstand torture.

We have to take the necessary precautions when couriers do not turn up at the given timings.

The Changes That Have to be Brought About in the Methods of Guerilla Struggle

Owing to the pressure of unavoidable circumstances our squads reduced their strength but they still continue the armed struggle in the same old way.

Moving about at day time in their usual dress, prolonged pitched battles with the enemy at day time (in the sense of guerilla tactics) getting food at day time from villages, the couriers reaching the place of guerilla squads enquiring from various persons on the route, and other such harmful methods are still being continued by our guerilla squads in the same old way.

Though harm was caused because of these methods even during the anti-Nizam struggle period, yet the Nizam was unable to annihilate our squads as he was completely isolated from the people.

But if the same methods are pursued in these days, the plan of the enemy will succeed.

Today the task on our shoulders is to carry forward the armed struggle while safeguarding our guerilla squads-the very heart of the armed struggle- and the leadership that has attained good experience and been equipped with good training.

The present task that we have to accomplish is to safeguard the flame that has been lit by the valiant Telangana heroes by shedding their blood in our revolutionary movement-and-enable the masses in other parts of the State and all over India to take the revolutionary path shown by Telangana.

To fulfill it a comprehensive plan has to be drawn up for the continuance of the long term struggle. In order to end it in success the old methods of struggle have to be completely changed.

The provincial committee made serious efforts to set right the primary defects in the methods of struggle that existed even during the period of anti-Nizam struggle. But it has only succeeded in reducing the strength of the squads, and could not bring about any primary changes.

Now all the evil consequences of our defects have come to the top very clearly.

In order to give effect to the new guerilla methods, a complete change is required regarding the wrong conception of struggle that existed hitherto.

Some persons may argue that there is no meaning in working amongst the people without their knowledge when the guerilla struggle itself is based upon the support of the masses.

They may also argue as to how it would be called a guerilla squad when the members do not move about in military dress, with arms on their shoulders, making a demonstration of the weapons, and also how a squad could work without at least ten members.

Such Publicity is not necessary and it is rather harmful for all the people to come to know of these whereabouts. It is enough if details concerning the incident are known only to the persons concerned.

It is not necessary for the guerilla squads to wear good clothes and move about with rifles on their shoulders. It is also not necessary that the number of squads should be either 10 or 15 to 20. According to the necessity the strength of the guerilla squad may vary from 3 to 11.

Guerilla activities should be conducted mainly basing on the stage of the movement geographical factors and the strength of the enemy forces. By this you may hasten to conclude that what we are dealing so far is not with guerilla squads and guerilla struggle but sabotage squads and sabotage activities. Such an assertion is completely wrong. This argument, that, as the guerilla struggle is dependent on the support of the people, they should know everything about the guerilla activities is equivalent to saying that, as our Party, is a mass Party, masses should know every organisational and tech affair of the Party.

Let us now examine what Com. Mao, the great expert in guerilla war strategy, has said. In this connection you are warned of one thing.

In his book on guerilla war, Mao has also dealt about battalions and divisions which consist of hundreds and thousands. Reading Mao's view on these big divisions and battalions you may hasten to argue as to why we are objecting even to guerilla squads of 15 or 20. When Mao is talking of big divisions, comrades while reading his book on "guerilla warfare" should not forget that Mao has applied the principles of guerilla struggle to the conditions then existing in the phase of anti-Japanese struggle in 1943. While studying his book we should bear in mind these two important factors. The first was that except Chiang brothers and a few handful of national traitors, none else joined the enemy, i.e. Japan. Only the support of these handful of traitors was with Japan but the whole nation was waging war against it. The second was that there were two parts of anti-Jap struggle: one was the positional and mobile war of Communists, and Chiang's regular forces and the other was in addition to the regular forces, communist led guerilla war conducted as auxiliary to the main regular forces.

It is absurd to copy and apply word for word what Mao has said in his book without regard to the elementary stage of the movement which we are in today and which we are leading in the period of civil war between working class and the capitalists and in a restricted territory.

Just as Mao has skillfully applied the basic principles of guerilla struggle to the conditions then existing in the phase of anti-Japanese struggle, we have to apply them in the conditions facing us today. It is not the intention of this letter to deal in details either all the principles of guerilla war or to review the old methods of our struggle. But this work will be done afterwards basing on the help of the valuable experience which you have gained in the struggle. Moreover it is also necessary to acquaint our fellow fighters in other parts with our immensely valuable rich experience.

In this letter, we are dealing with the principles of guerilla war only to the extent necessary so as to enable you to pursue the new methods discarding the old.

Mao, dealing with the principles of guerilla warfare, said, "The tactics of the guerilla struggle should be based on the following principles: initiative, ability, planning and attack...directive complied with" (Aspects of Anti-Jap struggle, p.4).

In another place, referring to the nature of guerilla warfare, Mao writes "When engaged in guerilla warfare these units are like flies biting at a giant now here and now there, wearing him down so that he is forced to admit that they are detestable, formidable, and even unmanageable demons. When these tiny creatures grow up into a giant, the former giant will not mere feel weakened but would be confronted with fatal dangers".

The substance of these principles of guerilla warfare is as follows:-

1) Guerilla struggle should be based on the support of the people. Majority of the people in a given place should either directly or indirectly support and render help to the guerilla struggle.

2) The principles of the guerilla war should be applied to the existing conditions at a given place; and, in accordance with the topography, and the strength of the enemy forces and the guerilla forces, the organisational methods of the guerilla struggle should be determined.

3) In every guerilla struggle sudden attacks should be inflicted and all the necessary arrangements should be made previously to escape in case of finding it impossible to destroy the enemy. Every small mistake in doing this, will cause great harm. So we should be very careful. This way we have to hunt down the enemy and weaken him by inflicting immeasurable attacks, and drive him to despair.

Such is the substance of the principles of the guerilla war.

Now let us see how to apply them to the conditions confronting us.

Today in our villages, landlords and rich peasants constitute 10 to 20% of the population. They have a number of economic and social ties with the poor peasants

especially the middle peasants. Basing on the support of these landlords and rich peasants, enemy is endeavouring hard to put an end to our guerilla squads.

Today, situation is altogether different from which it was before. Rich peasants have joined the enemy and are trying to hand over the squads to the military. In addition to it, these are summer days. Neither a crop nor a bush is there to give us shelter. Everywhere the land is barren. In such grave critical circumstances, if we pursue the same old methods as in the anti-Nizam struggle period, and move openly at day time with good dress and arms hanging on our shoulders and if the food is brought to our places at day time, and if the couriers go along the villages enquiring where the squads have gone, imagine what would happen!

Is it not a fact that even in the Razakar period, when Nizam was completely isolated military forces in hundreds and thousands used to encircle our squads with the slightest leakage of our news by a traitor?

Is it not in the same way that the Karimnagar and Premkunta Ramreddy squads were completely smashed away? Is it not in that very period that such a big Madhira squad of 70 had to narrowly escape with a fatal wound?

If such open methods have caused such high degree of losses, in the Razakar days, when enemy was politically and militarily weak, how much greater and higher will be the losses now when the enemy, the Indian Union, is stronger than the previous enemy?

They can very easily know about our strength and the foundations of our organisation. The enemy forces are well equipped with discipline and modern weapons. They can much more easily encircle our squads.

Reports are reaching that the Indian Police and the Congress Razakars in the dress of the common people are endeavouring hard to encircle our squads and it has also been reported that they are coming to us in female dress so as to catch our organisers.

During the anti-Nizam struggle the Rajakars also once came in the dress of peasants and tried to deceive us.

The present methods we are pursuing will be of great harm to us. Like the regular army battalions we are parading openly at day time with good dress and military pomp. The enemy is using tactics of the people's guerillas where as the people's defence squads are using the enemy's tactics forgetting their own. This is indeed not surprising that we have forgotten to master our tactics.

As the M.S.P. and S.A.P. are not well versed militarily but are masters at beating innocent people and burning the houses, they easily fled away like the previous Razakars when our guerilla squads attacked them. That is why they were withdrawn. But it is very difficult to escape once we fall in the trap of the military which is very well equipped with modern weapons and is well trained.

If we pursue the same old methods, we will not be able to stand at all, our very existence will be at stake. We will be murdering with our own hands the revolutionary Telangana built at the cost of hundreds of lives.

Hence our main task today is not to fall in the trap of the enemy and try to escape. We should see that we may not fall into their hands and should take the necessary precautions for it and forge ahead with armed resistance.

Despite all these precautions we might fall in the hands of the enemy. At such times, we should put up a bold fight against the enemy and as many as possible should try to escape. Of course, we may lose lives. On such occasions, slightest hesitation will cause great harm to the whole squad. It will be smashed down. We are aware of the fate of Com.C.P.Venkat Reddi's squad.

What are the methods we should adopt in order to save the armed guerilla struggle from the enemy and to carry it forward? In order to prevent the enemy from knowing the strength and the basis of the guerilla squads's organisation, in order to prevent the rich peasant from knowing about our matters, about our work, we should reveal these only to the concerned persons and not to each and every one as now.

We should not move openly at day time with good dress, now except on certain occasions when it is found absolutely necessary.

Even at night we should move carefully without the knowledge of others. Whatever things we need should be brought by the concerned persons carefully at nights only. Even food should not come to us at day time.

In order to live as mentioned above, the strength of the squads should be very small. Even 9 is harmful as such a big number cannot easily merge with the masses at day time and apart from this, supply of food and providing other facilities becomes absolutely impossible. That is why the strength of the squads should not exceed five. But then you may ask as to how to combat with the enemy with such a small number. Some comrades are also saying that it is impossible now for the squads with the existing low level of consciousness to combat the enemy in small numbers. But they are forgetting the fact that the guerilla struggle is based on the strong morale of each member. If this chief element is absent, it is impossible to conduct guerilla struggle. It is wrong to underestimate the level of the Telangana guerillas who are heroically fighting since last two years. If we train them in the method of fighting with small numbers, it is very easy for them to learn. It is also incorrect to say that guerilla struggle cannot be conducted with small numbers. If the lightning attack methods are practised, the small-squads can put up a fight with the enemy effectively. Even very small squads of 3,4,5 and 6 can exhaust the enemy by inflicting blows and smartly escape before he raises his gun, causing losses to him.

This way with a careful plan, a number of squads can unitedly launch a attack and inflict effective blows on the enemy. But in the present circumstances we have to concentrate on series of small scale attacks and exhaust the enemy.

In order to make lightning attacks, we have to completely discard the old methods and the implementation of the methods of the enemy i.e. fieldcraft (protection by nature) as it is impossible to defeat him with his own methods.

One or two examples will suffice to show how we are pursuing the methods of the enemy. We are trying to encircle the enemy and stick to pitched battles as the enemy does. It is futile to wage pitched battles with the enemy when the enemy is well equipped with modern weapons, for they can easily defend themselves and not allow us to reach near them. We should suddenly attack when they are in unprepared mood. If the chance is missed we should escape like lightning in no time.

Second example: As the enemy attacks us hiding behind small sand mounds and fences we are copying the same. The enemy is in greater number and therefore if we adopt the same methods as he with his greater number, our fate is unimaginable. The hiding soldiers can prevent us from moving by showering bullets on us from various directions and thus completely put an end to us.

Sand mounds and field fences do not serve our purpose of attacking the enemy when they are in a greater number. Bush of trees, high crops and hillocks and streams render great assistance to us in attacking the enemy when they are in great numbers and in escaping easily if the chance is missed. It is very harmful to combat the enemy in open maidans.

Hence it should be noted that whenever a guerilla squad attacks the enemy or 3 or 4 squads encircle the enemy, pitched battles should never be waged. When the enemy is unawares we should suddenly attack. If the chance is missed we should escape like lightning. As we plan with care to attack the enemy, we should with more care plan for escape. Planning is the most essential thing to be borne in mind.

Discarding the old methods of resistance, if our squads in small numbers inflict a series of sudden attacks on the enemy, while pursuing the new guerilla tactics, the truth of the saying "large number of tiny flies can kill the giant" can be realised.

Comrades! You are acquainted with the old defects of our struggle and the correct basic principles. Understand them thoroughly, apply them along with your experience, to the political and topographical conditions of your areas and march ahead. The following suggestions are being given to help you:-

1. (a) The strength of a central squad should not exceed 5 and not below 3. In the forests and mountains wherever the level of consciousness of the masses is high the strength of the squad can be increased to 7.
In Suryapet area where the level of consciousness of the masses is high but forests and hills are absent, the number of the squad can go upto five.
In such areas as Rayanapet and Palru where the people's movement is weak, the number of the squad should not exceed three.
- (b) All the underground and suspected persons should be mercilessly removed from the central squads. All vacillators should be removed from leadership and strong elements to be placed there. We should see that only such leaders are elected who possess good qualities, i.e., strong morale, unshakeable will at the time of attacks, on the enemy, and they should not exercise bureaucratic power over other members of the squad but must patiently explain.

Every squad should possess one or two modern weapons.

2. (a) Excepting on important occasions these squads should never move during day time.

(b) They should not wear good clothes but wear people's dress and merge with the people. All of them should not group at one place. They can be at different places but very near each other.

(c) They should not move with arms hanging on their shoulders.

Arms should be placed in a safe place nearby so that they can immediately pick them up whenever need arises.

(d) In these summer days where neither crops nor a tree can provide cover and in such critical days when the enemy is carrying on series of raids, it is neither advisable nor good to stay in the villages; you should live in the outskirts of the villages merging with the people. Necessity will teach you how to live thus. Reports are already received that many of our squads on their own initiative saved themselves from enemy by adopting such life.

There is no necessity to explain to you as to how to merge with the masses, for it is not necessary to teach a fish how to swim.

(e) At one place the enemy saw our sentry watching from a high place. The enemy immediately suspected and raided that place. Hence the rule must be observed that the sentry should keep himself engaged in some work as though he is one of the people and thus keep counter-watch. He should see that the attention of the people may not be drawn towards him.

(f) Don't run when in close quarters of enemy gun; and try to merge with the people. But when there is no way of escape, kill as many of the enemy as possible and then only allow yourselves to be killed.

(g) Party comrades should get all our food and other requirements to our dwelling places at night only. If it becomes absolutely necessary to bring food at day time, it should be carried in such a way that no one else may suspect that food is being carried. If they are unable to bring food, hunger should be quenched with some other substitutes.

(h) Good safe places should be fixed so that literature, leaflets, and correspondence can be kept. The fixed courier of the squad should go to that place, pick them up and hand over to this squad. If the squads have to shift to any other place before the arrival of the courier, some alternative place should be fixed so that the courier can safely meet the squad, without having to enquire from passers by about the squad as it is being done today.

(i) It is absolutely necessary to see that none else except the concerned should know about bringing food and other requirements. It is also very essential not to take rest at day time at known places and to avoid the enemy from knowing the existence of the squad.

3) VILLAGE GUERILLA SQUADS should be organised in every village.

There are stalwart youth in every village who are ready to offer themselves for the accomplishment of the Party jobs. They should be at their fields at day time and at nights should go out for squad work.

Efficient and strong persons among them should be picked up and squads of not more than 5 should be formed. None else in the village should come to know them as members of the village squad. They have to carry out their squad work at night time very carefully without letting it be known to others and at day time should be at their fields as usual.

All the other enthusiastic youth of the village should be recruited into the volunteer corps. The village guerilla squads possess shot guns, country loading guns, spears and swords.

One doubt has to be cleared in this connection. Some of us have the impression that except rifle no other weapon serves the purpose. We should note that even today some of the Chinese guerilla squads are having spears and ordinary guns. If correct guerilla methods are adopted properly, good many losses can be inflicted on the enemy while using these primitive weapons. It is on account of the defects in the methods of our guerilla squads today that these weapons are not rendering any effective help.

These weapons may not be useful in waging pitched battles against the enemy. But they can render effective help in inflicting losses in the enemy if we carry on lightning attacks secretly and disappear smartly before the enemy raises his gun.

In order to wear down the enemy by setting up central and local guerilla squads, we have to use all weapons from the tommy gun to the ordinary sword. But if we only depend upon tommy gun and the rifle it will result in reduction of the number of squads and thereby weaken our strength.

The village squads should work under the guidance of the general organiser. The main programme of these squads is destruction of the local enemy, sabotage activity and rendering of assistance to the central guerilla squads whenever it is necessary, etc.

4) PROGRAMME OF THE CENTRAL GUERILLA SQUADS.

The programme of the central squad should begin with sun set. The slogan of the guerillas is: "While the enemy rules in the daytime, the guerillas rule at night". Is it not necessary now, as before, to put on half pants and shirts. One lengthy khaki shirt will suffice. Dhoti should be tied up in such a way that the shirt may cover the dhoti. Another small dhoti should be tied round the waist, so that after day break it becomes easy to roll up our arms in the shirt, keep them safe and merge with the people moving as usual. Moreover, "dhotis" should be coloured by constantly dipping in water so as to easily mix with the people and to give better cover at nights.

Another thing that should also be borne in mind is that they should not crop the hair as then they can be easily suspected. So a small pig tail (pilke-juttu) should be kept. Bangles round biceps should be worn.

Responsibilities of The Central Guerilla Squads

As soon as the sun sets, the guerilla squads should gather around enemy camps, and selecting a suitable moment either a sentry or a sepoy should be finished off. This way a terrible fright should be created in the military fellows for coming out at night from their camps. The programme of destroying the enemy camp as a whole should not be taken up. In this connection it should be noticed that the enemy will try to encircle us by hiding in the surroundings. Hence, always keeping a watch over the enemy, necessary care should be taken.

1) The enemy jeep car and lorries should be attacked from hide outs and damage caused to them as much as possible.

2) Enemy property and telegraph communications should be sabotaged.

3) We are very much lagging behind in carrying on propaganda in the military which is very essential. Most of the military men come from agricultural labourers and poor peasants. For the sake of the belly they have joined the military. Political propaganda in the military helps us very much. So in Hindi and Urdu, news of strikes and struggles taking place all over India and the world should be announced microphone standing behind the flow of the air but without appearing before them. The news about their own province will serve the purpose best. It should be explained to them touchingly how the Congress Governments are treating the people and how the people are fighting back facing all hardships and sufferings. An appeal should be made to them to refuse to fire or fire in the air when forced, and to behave as human beings. Arrangements should also be made to distribute leaflets amongst them.

4) The hide-outs in the hills and forests that are helpful to our guerilla struggle should be consolidated and strengthened as defence centres. In summer and in difficult circumstances some central squads may be shifted to these safe places. But the open maidans should never be left completely otherwise the enemy will concentrate there and launch attack on us. The squads should inflict series of attacks in open maidan so as to prevent the enemy from touching our centres and to exhaust him completely.

5) The destruction of the enemy should be carried out very carefully. Only those who consider it their duty to hand us over to the enemy should be finished off mercilessly. But wide propaganda should be done amongst them that we would not touch those who don't reveal anything about the guerilla squads to the enemy. In case of agricultural labourers and poor peasants who are under enemy's influence we should be very careful. They should be severely warned before hand. If they do not give up their treacherous programme they should be finished off. In cases where a danger befalls our squads, the persons responsible for it should be finished off without warning them. Afterwards the people should be explained the causes.

6) It should be noted that the desmukhs who are being reinstated with the support of the Government should be immediately finished off. They should be rooted out with whatever sacrifices required. Allowing their reinstatement means an end of our movement.

7) In the background of the present situation all our guerilla activities should be carried in the light of defending the past revolutionary achievements and the implemented slogans of "Land to the tiller" and "Village panchayats". Wherever the people are robbed of their lands at the point of threat and repression, our squads should concentrate on these places and break the nefarious attempts of the exploiters.

8) It is learnt that the enemy is even using aeroplanes to locate the place of our squads, so we should be careful. If the squads live as mentioned above, enemy cannot know where we stay. If at all any plane appears when we are in dress we should immediately run and hide in the bushes and change the dress.

9) Political leadership should be separated from military leadership, otherwise neither the political propaganda can be conveniently carried out nor the squads can inflict effective blow on the enemy whenever an opportunity arises. Separation helps much to facilitate both.

5) Leaders should be Safeguarded as the Apple of Our Eye

Whether it is the political leadership or the military leadership, both are very important. They should be safeguarded very carefully because leaders cannot be trained either in a few days or few months. They possess good experience of the movement. Most of the leadership has been arrested. Losing any more of the leadership means great harm to our movement. So they should take great care.

Area committee members should not participate in the raids for the above reasons. Apart from this many comrades have come up from the toiling classes in the revolutionary struggle. Giving them the necessary political training they should be trained up as leaders.

Area organisers and commanders should not participate in the guerilla battles excepting on some important occasions. As far as possible they should remain behind to plan and direct the operations.

All the above mentioned important leaders should carefully follow the technical rules. Their places should not be known to anybody. Throught efficient and able couriers they should keep contact with other committees and members. If the couriers do not come back at the appointed time they have to take the necessary precautions.

People's Problems, Their Organisation and the Village Panchayats

Guerilla struggle is entirely based on the support of the people. Directly or indirectly the people should help it. Only then can it terminate in success. So the people should be organised and mobilised on their own problems, in order to prepare them for the defence of achievements gained by our revolutionary movement. Strike struggles and resistance to Indian Union forces should be organised.

1. Land distribution is the basic foundation for building our revolutionary movement in Telangana (Party circular will come later on many mistakes made in tackling this question). But the enemy is endeavouring hard to destroy our movement. The main intention of our enemy, the Indian Union, is to reinstate the landlords and deshmukhs forcibly taking over the land from the people, and smashing down the guerilla squads. Slightest success of their intentions means great harm to the very foundation stone of our movement. Workers and peasants who have tasted the new life and the land distribution slogan will gird up their loins and come forward to defend their gains so far achieved. They will be ready for any sacrifice. So you should not wait till another circular comes on the land distribution. Wherever possible confiscate and distribute the lands of the deshmukhs and landlords.

2. You should also not wait till the circular comes on the agricultural workers. In accordance with the previous circulars carry on the work, conduct strike battles for the increment of wages, reduction of working hours and leave, etc. They will serve as a good weapon to smash the influence of the rich peasants over the agricultural workers and poor peasants.

3) Debt problem is very severe in our areas. On the strength of the loans advanced by the merchants, the poverty stricken people are being isolated from the toilers and from such sections agents of the rich are somehow creeping into the village committees and are breaking our movement from within. To illustrate it there are several such examples. So a watchful eye over them is essential. As for the rate of interest it should be seen that it does not exceed the rate fixed by the village panchayat. Protest strikes and social boycott should be organised against increased rate of interest and against attempts to withhold advancing loans to the needy.

4) The cruel measures of the Indian Union forces that are being implemented to break the morale of the masses should be strongly resisted, otherwise the force of repression will continue like an unbridled horse.

The slightest expression of cowardice on our part at the time of raids will facilitate the enemy in carrying on repression. Not only this, the landlords and rich peasants will be able to hold on to their power and influence with the help of some of the poor and middle peasants, assuring them security from military raids. On such occasions if we run away rich peasants and landlords will be able to safeguard their positions. So it is better for the people that we remain in the villages and gather whatever weapons we can.

A touching appeal should be made to the soldiers saying, "You too come from the poor folks like us, hence do not resort to such mad actions, as they will not bring any good either to you or to your families". No sooner they raise their guns to shoot, the people should escape into by-lanes and hurl stones and brick bats at them.

Women should never be alone at the time of raids. They should stand together with men and defend their honour.

This way if every village rises up and puts up stern resistance, imagine how much military the enemy would require? They won't be able to raid often. Enemy should be weakened with such resistance and our revolutionary movement saved.

Enemy classes should be warned that the military or any other force cannot touch one hair of ours. As soon as the raids are over they should be taught good lessons, and demonstrations and meetings should be held to strengthen the morale of the masses.

At the time of raids village leaders should guide the people from behind through the Party members without falling into the hands of the enemy.

When it is known that the enemy is coming in great numbers, people should run away to the fields and hillocks and hide behind the bushes. If enemy pursues they should resist with whatever in hand. It should be seen that grain and other valuable material may not fall in the enemy's hands.

3. Refuse to pay all kinds of taxes.

4. Mass organisations are absolutely essential to mobilise the masses, otherwise it is impossible to mobilise the people to play their part in the revolutionary movement. So various kinds of mass organisations are needed. Andhra Mahasabha, village panchayats, volunteer squads and agricultural workers unions should function and their functions shall be decided after discussing and analysing the conditions.

Andhra Mahasabha and village Panchayat Committees

It has been decided that Andhra Mahasabha should be functioned as a People's Democratic Front of all the revolutionary forces that are participating in the democratic revolution; and village panchayat committees should be separated from Andhra Mahasabha and elected on the basis of adult franchise- leaving aside the deshmukhs and landlords- since they act as instruments of the village government. As these are days of severe resistance, and our rule has not yet been established, this separation may look unnatural and cause disgust.

But since the Andhra Mahasabha is going to capture power, at present, the panchayat committee should be the executive body of the Andhra Mahasabha and non members of the Andhra Mahasabha shall not have the right to elect it.

During the anti-Nizam struggle we have given positions to non-Andhra Mahasabha members and to landlords and rich peasants. But today as the rich peasantry has joined the enemy camp as a class, they cannot have any chance to join the Andhra Mahasabha. If there are any individuals who agree with our policy they can be accommodated. Those who agree with the policy of Andhra Mahasabha and give an assurance to implement its programme can be accommodated in the Andhra Mahasabha. But in no case should elements from the enemy classes be offered any seat in the Panchayat Committee.

Agricultural labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants who agree with the policy of Andhra Mahasabha can easily join it. In their meetings alone the Panchayat

Committees should be elected. At places where middle peasants come along with us, one seat can be offered to them. At places where they don't come no seat can be offered to them. As village panchayat committees are instruments of struggles, persons with gossip tendencies amongst them cannot have any seat on it; fighting persons alone are eligible for election.

But then crops up the question that they are elected committees. But, in any case, rich peasants and their agents cannot have any position in the Panchayat Committee.

If there are any left on it at present they should be removed in accordance with the verdict of the people, as they are elected by them. Organisers of their own accord cannot remove them, without exposing them before the people and obtaining their consent for the dismissal. Otherwise they will cheat the masses and create a split in our ranks.

Poor people should be explained how the rich peasants have joined the enemy, and laying bare the disruptive role of the enemy and their agents, they should be necked out from the committees.

2. Agricultural workers should be organised in their own separate class organisation. Then it becomes possible for them to play their prominent role.

3. Youths coming from the agricultural workers should be recruited in the volunteer squads and defence training should be given to them.

Political Propaganda And Consambly

It is not only the military weapon that is being used against us, political weapon is also being used and that is "Consambly". Congress leaders in order to divert the attention of the masses from pursuing the revolutionary path are endeavouring hard to divert the attention of the masses towards Consambly. For all problems, the enemy is putting up Consambly as its solution. We should not underestimate the effect of its influence. There is a possibility of the middle peasant being gripped with the Consambly propaganda. That is why we should be very vigilant. We should lay bare the hoax and game of the Consambly before the masses. It should be brought out clearly before masses as to how a conspiracy is being forged to create illusions amongst the people, by advocating the immediate summoning of the Consambly so as to divert their attention from the revolutionary path, while the Consambly can neither solve the problem of land to the tiller, just living wage to the worker nor any other problem of the people.

Along with it, propaganda regarding the activities of the guerilla squads regarding strikes and peoples struggles that are being carried out throughout the State and all over India, and the achievements of the revolutionary forces the world over, should be carried out in their gatherings in order to create self confidence and strengthen their morale. It should be realised that political propaganda is as much important as the rifle for the defence of our revolutionary movement.

Every organiser of units and village panchayat committees should try to get Andhra Prabha and Andhra Patrika apart from our Party papers and carry on propaganda linking up with its news.

The Tactics of Guerilla Struggle Should Be Applied Concretely To Various Parts

Comrades, the level of our revolutionary movement is not uniform, it varies from place to place. In addition, the topographic conditions too are different. In some parts there are forests and hills and in some other parts there are no such natural resources to help. Linking up topographic conditions with the level of consciousness and the stage of the movement and taking into consideration both of them, our guerilla areas can be divided into three sectors:

1) The parts in which our movement has gained strong bases in the revolutionary classes, i.e. agricultural labourers and poor peasants. In these places, "Land distribution" and demands of the agricultural workers etc., were attained by waging struggles against the landlords and also the rich peasants, apart from the mighty struggle against Nizam- Suryapet area and Rekalu areas in the Nalgonda district come under this category.

2) The parts in which masses greatly participated and "land distribution" was carried on a large scale; but no systematic battles of the agricultural workers were waged against the rich peasants. In these parts though there is great influence amongst the poor peasants and agricultural workers yet the movement has not gone deep into them and no stable base has been created amongst them. Bhongir, Mankoda, Huzzurnagar and Palvancha, etc., come under this category.

3) In these parts neither the anti-Nizam struggle nor land distribution was carried out satisfactorily. In these parts not only the movement is very weak amongst the poor peasants and agricultural workers, but guerilla struggle and land distribution programme were not properly given effect to.

The responsible comrades of the above referred three areas should respectively work out the new tactics of guerilla struggle applied concretely to the conditions of their places and carry ahead the revolutionary movement.

Minimum Principles of Secrecy that are to be Observed Strictly by the Party Members And the People

If the new principles of secrecy of the guerilla struggle have to be put into practice, Party members and the people should at least observe some minimum rules of secrecy. They should be explained and should be made to realise the necessity of observing these rules of secrecy.

1. They should give up gossiping and chattering. If any body sees the organiser or the squad he should not reveal it to others.

2. Those who carry food or any other thing to the squads and organisers should do their jobs in such a way that no one else comes to know the job he is doing.

3. In the presence of the enemies and their agents people of one village should not talk to the party comrades of the other villages.

4. They should always keep a watchful eye over the enemy circles and give information about their activities to the village members.

5. No one should ask comrades who come to him about anything else than what he is strictly concerned with, and no one should make any attempt to know more.

6. Enemy agents and swines may come to the villages and enquire about particular comrades through some deceptive talk. They should not therefore tell anything to persons whom they do not know.

A Warning!

Comrades, before ending this document we have to warn you about one thing. So far our movement rolled on old rails. We have now to put it on new rails. But it is a hard job and we have to face very many difficulties. The guerilla struggle may temporarily slacken but you should not get disgusted. Enemy raids have been intensified. We did not change our tactics following the police action. After four months enemy has now intensified its attacks. We are in the middle of an ocean of repression and in these critical circumstances we have to change our policy and methods of struggle. Indeed it is a stupendous task! Any way we have to accomplish it. This has become absolutely necessary to safeguard our movement.

In this Government, only the basic and primary principles of the new guerilla methods are dealt with. Digest them thoroughly, analyse the conditions of your respective places and apply these principles to them.

With this and learning from your practice, solve the problems facing you with self initiative and march ahead.

Conclusion

Comrades! You have assumed the leadership of the heroic revolutionary Telangana masses, established village panchayat in 2500 villages with a population of 25 lakhs after destroying the Nizam and the Razakars forces. Since last four months you are heroically fighting against the onslaught of the Indian Union forces and the Congress Razakars and are defending your revolutionary achievements through sacrificing number of lives.

Today the Congress leadership is concentrating all its military might and is raising military camps in every village. It is making hard efforts to crush our movement by drowning it in streams of blood.

The attacks of the Indian bourgeoisie on revolutionary heroic Telangana does not signify its strength, but its weakness. It is writhing hard in the grip of the capitalist crisis that is intensifying every day. Indian masses are facing acute problems of bread, cloth and unemployment, which the bourgeoisie is not able to solve.

It is getting panicky seeing the mighty workers' strikes, kisan and student struggles and the sweeping tide of great people's upsurge.

It is terribly afraid of even these small scale battles because they may very soon link up and turn into a gigantic mass wave of upsurge which will root it out and its power.

Not only this, world capitalism is on its death bed. Under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the people all over the world are making hard efforts to drive world capitalist system into its death pit. A big mighty strike wave of the working class is bursting throughout the world.

In Western countries, France, Italy and Germany mighty working class strikes are taking place. In the East, the powerful revolutionary upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is sweeping off the age-long deep rooted exploiting oppressive imperialism. The fate of the Western imperialist powers is also being shared by their agents Chiang, etc.

The Congress Government is deeply panic stricken at the rising tide of revolutionary upsurge that is sweeping off the exploiting classes in China, Indonesia, Indochina, Burma and Malaya and is very much frightened of its entry into India crossing the Himalaya mountains.

That is why it is concentrating all its might and falling on Telangana to annihilate it before the Indian masses take to the revolutionary path shown by the heroic people of Telangana. The Indian masses have heard the bugle of the war of liberation blown by heroic Telangana and have awakened. They have seen the revolutionary flame lit by Telangana. They are hastening to clutch the revolutionary banner upheld by Telangana. Carry forward the armed struggle firmly. None can crush down the valiant, gallant new Telangana born out of the great sacrifices of the oppressed, and built up with the blood and flesh of a great many toiling youth and washed by the torrential tears of Telangana mothers.

Final victory is ours! Reorganise the Party entirely on secret lines! Safeguard the squads and its members as the apple of your eye! Impart guerilla training to all the toiling youth! Exhaust and destroy enemy with new guerilla tactics! Mobilise the oppressed masses and defend the land and village raj! Unmask the game of consambly and never allow your mind to waver! Forge the democratic front of all toilers and oppressed and end the power of the exploiters!

