

## FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION

"India Mortgaged" was a statement made by Com. Tarimela Nagi Reddy, beloved leader of Communist Revolutionaries, in the court of Additional Sessions Judge, Hyderabad, defending the strategy and tactics of Communist Revolutionaries. Basing on the "Immediate Programme", a basic document adopted by the communist revolutionaries in A.P. to lead the Peoples Democratic Revolution to victory, the Government foisted a conspiracy case on Com TN and other communist revolutionaries and tried to brand the revolutionary programme as a conspiracy. In line with the revolutionary traditions established by the valiant sons and daughters of international and Indian communist movements, in the course of their struggle against the false cases foisted by the exploiting classes, Com. TN and his comrades took it as a revolutionary duty to own and defend the ideology, politics and practices as they had pronounced in the "Immediate Programme". They took the imprisonment, that deprived them close links with the people and revolutionary ranks, as a challenge. They turned the prison into a study room and the court into a forum for revolutionary propaganda. They made a joint statement, "The Programme and Tactics of Communist Revolutionaries" and explained all aspects of the "Immediate Programme". In another separate statement, Com. TN conclusively proved the validity of the "Immediate Programme" by applying to the current economic and political developments with available statistics. Both these statements applied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's Thought to the concrete conditions of India.

Here in this statement, Com. TN exposed the 'grand betrayal' and conspiracy of Indian ruling classes and their representatives which are evident in mortgaging national interests to imperialism and social imperialism. He exposed the real nature of land reforms which are aimed at to maintain status quo and strengthening and modernising the feudal landlord base. He critically analysed various new forms adopted by the imperialism to exploit India after the transfer of power. He explained how the aid given by social imperialism not only acted as a catalyst for increasing the growth of foreign private capital but had also increased the

dependence on the doles thrown by Russia. The conclusion of Com. TN that imperialism and feudalism still dominate the Indian society was proved correct by the events and developments since he first made this statement two decades ago.

The world capitalism is experiencing severe crisis. Recession, inflation, unemployment and starvation has become the order of the day. Imperialism is trying to throw the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the third world countries. This has not only intensified the contradiction between the oppressed nations and Imperialism but also sharpened the contention among various imperialist countries. India has become a happy hunting ground for imperialist sharks, particularly the two super powers. They are employing every economic, political and military means and forms to subjugate India. This situation that prevailed at the time of writing this book has now sharpened and became more evident, thus proving the appraisal of Com. TN as correct.

One of the most important plans adopted by imperialism in its various forms of export of capital is 'aid'. Through this the imperialist countries continue their hold in the former colonial countries. Over the last four decades, the aid has changed its composition. What was started as the grants during the first five year plan was replaced with loans at concessional terms by the end of 1960s. The 1980s witnessed the rise of nonconcessional, commercial lendings which now occupied dominant position. It is now little more than 58 per cent excluding defence debt. As a result, India's external debt rose at galloping rate.

### India's External Debt

(Rs. crores)

	1989	1990	1991	1992
Multilateral	27535	32886	40386	68226
Bilateral	20189	23029	27430	47655
IMF	3696	2572	5132	8935
Export Credit	4069	4167	4553	7374
Commercial Borrowings	12803	15988	19727	35664
NRI Funds	10109	12269	14039	15832
Total Longterm Debt	78401	90911	111267	183725
Shortterm Debt (below 1 year)	6091	9465	11683	15242

## Additional Items :

Short term( less than 6 months)	1695	3472	4976	438
Civilian Rouble Debt	1418	1705	2207	3090
GCA Defence Debt	-	-	-	5634
Rouble Defence Debt	-	-	-	28288
Aggregate Debt	84492	100376	122950	236417

## Key Debt Ratios

	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92
Debt as % of GDP				
Long term	19.8	20.0	21.0	30.0
Total Debt	21.3	22.1	23.2	32.6
Aggregate Debt	-	-	-	44.6
Debt as % of Exports				
Long term	254	229	238	288
Total Debt	274	253	263	312
Aggregate Debt	-	-	-	371
Debt Service Ratio	28.3	24.9	25.2	26.2

Source : EPW, June 5, 1993.

India's external indebtedness has risen from 53.9 billion dollars (Rs 85,500 crore) at the end of March 1989 to 67.58 billion dollars (Rs 1,99,000 crore) at the end of March 1992. ie. at the rate of 4.5 billion dollars a year. This does not include additional items like short term debt below six months and defence debts. Their inclusion rises it to 82.04 billion dollars (Rs 2,44,047 crores).

Eventhough the government claims that India is moderately indebted, it's external debt has assumed alarming proportions. The debt ratios reveals the same. In 1991-92, aggregate debt as percentage of GDP is 44.6 and as percentage of exports is 371. The debt service ratio is around 26.2 per cent. According to World Bank statistics, India's external debt as a percentage of GNP has

more than doubled from 12.6 per cent in 1981-82 to 29.2 per cent in 1991-92 and as percentage of exports from 137 per cent to 294 per cent. The difference between the statistics of IBRD and GOI is due to adoption of newer criteria of debt statistics by GOI at the insistance of IMF.

As a result of the growing debt service burden, the net inflows through debt had declined over years. Net capital transfers under commercial borrowings has turned negative over the last three years. The net transfer on account of external assistance has begun to tapper off and stood at zero in 1992. This only means that GOI is borrowing in order to pay old debt and interest.

As India's dependence on foreign capital grew, the pressure on India to revise her economic policies to suit the needs of foreign private capital also grew. At every such pressure, the Indian ruling classes meekly surrendered before their imperialist masters. Thus the imperialist capital came to occupy commanding heights in the Indian economy as well as political affairs.

The imperialist lending agencies have started to dictate the Indian economic policies, budget making, trade policies, labour policies and even making of laws. Every new policy announced by the P.V. Narasimha Rao's government turned out to be simple xerox copies of what was prescribed in the annual reports of the World Bank. Their surrender is so nauseating that the GOI has started a new series of external debt statistics as directed by the IMF. All these years, some of the components of external debt (like defence debts) were kept secret from the Indian people, while they were all the time freely available to any journalist in the western capitals. Their controlled 'freedom' is for playing treacherous games with the people. Recently when the Finance Minister was in Washington begging the IMF for sanction of Extended Fund Facility, the Finance Ministry officials started talking about the comfortable position of foreign exchange reserves and foregoing of medium-term EFF with all its stiff conditionalities; obviously to create a wrong impression that the GOI has regained its capacity to bargain with the foreign creditor countries, which was totally false.

Contrary to the claims of benefits from liberalisation and globalisation such as making the Indian enterprises internationally competitive, establishing the Indian products abroad, upgradation of technology etc., what actually taking place is the growth of

MNCs to commanding position with little investment and technology from abroad. The Anglo-Dutch Multinational company, Unilever plc, is a striking example in this context.

Unilever's Indian subsidiary, Hindustan Lever Ltd, has grown into a giant despite the erstwhile FERA and MRTPC restrictions. With these restrictions gone now, it is taking over several Indian companies. It has already acquired Tomco, a company belonging to the biggest Indian bourgeoisie, Tatas. Its subsidiary Brooke Bond acquired United Breweries' Kissan Products Ltd and Cadbury's ice cream business including Dollop brand in 1993; It has already acquired Kothari General Foods in 1992; Another Unilever subsidiary, Lipton is planning to merge with Brooke Bond. All this is done without bringing in a single dollar from abroad.

Hindustan Lever bought Tomco with internal resources. Brooke Bond acquired Kothari General Foods through tax savings, as it is sick industry. Unilever merged its two tea companies – Tea Estates India Ltd and Doom Dooma Ltd – into Brooke Bond to raise its existing 40 per cent stake to 51 per cent. Unilever hiked its stake to 51 per cent in Lipton by setting up soluble tea unit in Etah in UP from its profits.

Hindustan Lever is leading the market in detergents and toilet soaps with a turn over of Rs 2036 crore. With the acquisition of Tomco, its turn over soars to Rs 2500 crore and removes a major competitor in the market. Lipton's business consists of edible oils (including the popular brand Dalda), diary products, packed teas, and cattle / poultry / fish feeds. It is planning to expand into bakery products. The business of Brooke Bond consists of packed teas, roasted ground coffee, instant coffee and spices. It acquired market leader in ketchups, Kissan and ice cream giant Cadbury. The would be merged company – Brooke Bond Lipton India – will have a market share of 17 per cent in tea and 6 per cent in coffee. In ketchups, its market share would be 40 per cent and in ice creams it would emerge as market leader once its frozen deserts factory starts functioning. Expansion projects already underway are Rs 25 crore Frozen vegetables, Rs 10 crore noodles factory and Rs 50 crore frozen deserts unit using vegetable oils. With all this, the company would be largest food company in India with a turnover of Rs. 1400 crores a year.

It is not unique to Unilever. All the MNCs after initial

minimum investment, expands their business contingent upon profits earned in India. Suzuki-Maruti expansion programmes are being financed by raising funds in the Indian capital market. At the same time Suzuki is not bringing in any foreign investment despite its insistence on large dividend repatriation. The new model car is being removed of its only Indian touch – the name Maruti – with Zen. Instead of establishing Indian products abroad, MNCs bring in their international brands to stifle any Indian competition. It is clear, as Com. TN noted, that the Indian comprador bourgeoisie is "prepared to surrender to whichever imperialism that gives them a sucker".

In their drive to reach commanding positions, the imperialists are not confined to private sector. Their financial institutions are making a concerted drive to capture the public sector. The World Bank issues every year its so-called studies on various sectors. Some three years back its report blamed the State Electricity Boards for their mismanagement and prescribed privatisation as a remedy. Taking cue from the World Bank report, the GOI repeated the same causes for the power crisis and deregulated the power generation sector. It gave various concessions to foreign companies; it has extended counter guarantees against payment dues from SEBs for power supply; A statutory minimum of 16 per cent rate of return has been assured on the fixed cost as a part of the power tariff, that too in terms of US dollars at the prevailing exchange rate. As if these are not sufficient, the foreign companies are demanding penalty clause in coal linkages and supplies for coal mines and railways. Which the Government seems to have conceded. Consequently the private sector foreign companies signed up for 66 power projects in the country, involving a generation capacity of 28,044 MW and deployment of a massive Rs 83,993 crore. The MNCs involved in these deals include, General Electric, Ib Vally, Enron Power development corporation, Macnally, Siemens, CMS generation, International and Marketing Corporation USA, National Power of UK and Snowy Mountains of Australia.

The terms and conditions that the MNCs are wresting from the government are outrageous. For instance, Enron was permitted to set up a gas based power plant of 1920 MW capacity with a total capital outlay of Rs 7800 crore. This works out to be Rs 40,000 per KW as capital investment. On the other hand, the government

invests Rs 18,000 per KW during 8th plan period. Even if we take a subsequent revision due to inflation by 20 per cent, Rs 25,000 per KW should be an upper bound. Moreover, the Enron plant is a gas based one, which should cost 33 per cent less than a coal based one. It should not exceed Rs 20,000 per KW. At the rate of Rs 40,000 per KW, it is 100 per cent higher. This would be achieved by over-pricing the imported machinery and equipment. With a minimum 16 per cent return guaranteed in dollar terms in the tariff, India would be paying Rs 1248 crores a year as profits of Enron. This means we are paying Rs 32,000 crore as profit in 25 years, which should be the life of the plant, on a real investment of Rs 3900 crore. The absurdity of such an agreement can better be appreciated when a public sector company was allowed to set up this plant after borrowing from international markets. The outgo of the money would be less because the prevailing rate of interest is 8 per cent. Then the outgo would be a mere Rs 312 crore a year with 8 per cent interest on Rs 3900 crores investment. The power sector privatisation has turned out to be a windfall of profits for imperialists. The power the imperialists have in deciding the policies of the Indian government had literally turned electric power into imperialist power.

The GATT round of negotiations and Dunkel's proposals were stalled for sometime due to differences among the imperialist countries, but now these differences are being ironed out. The imperialist countries, while they have contradictions among themselves over some aspects of the world trading arrangements, are working in concert to pressurise the third world countries to submit to their dictates by signing the Dunkel's proposals. The GATT proposals will so manage world trade as to promote the unhindered operations of MNCs and channelise world economic exchanges to their advantage. It is not a simple adjustment of intellectual property rights, trade and capital flows. The GATT round actually seeks to create conditions which will stifle the national and democratic aspirations of people and perpetuate imperialist exploitation and oppression.

Through the kind of compromise and treacherous deal they had entered into with the British colonialists at the time of the transfer of power, the Indian ruling classes had betrayed the Indian people. They have not only allowed the old colonialists to continue to plunder but had also given every available incentives

for new colonialists to plunder our resources at their will. The Indian comprador bourgeoisie waits at the dining tables of their imperialist masters to pick up the crumbs that fall. True to this nature, the Indian government is moving in a deceptive manner on Dunkel's proposals.

During the years when the Uruguay round has been under way and the Dunkel draft has been in preparation, the Indian government has liberalised its trade policies, export and import policies, and foreign investment procedures as a part of implementing IMF conditionalities. More recently, it has paved the way for the foreign finance to enter into banking and insurance. It has formulated the policy of foreign capital to enter into the hitherto public sector of mining, power generation, road construction and transportation. A draft agricultural policy was in circulation and will soon be adopted; the outlines of which could be seen in the reduction of agricultural and food subsidies and proposals to hike irrigation water tariff rates. In essence, most of the practical measures demanded by the Dunkel draft are being implemented in the name of new economic policy.

Thus, as Com. TN pointed out, "the imperialists adopt every means to preserve colonial exploitation of the people of the former colonies by adopting new forms and new methods. They try to retain, extend and strengthen their hold through various levers of economic control."

Hence the task that "basically foreign capital cannot but be anti-national. It enters underdeveloped countries not to augment but overwhelm and suppress. To rebuild our country into a strong, powerful and healthy nation, there is no other way but that of total expropriation of foreign capital", as noted in this book by Com. TN still, remains to be fulfilled before the Communist Revolutionaries.

In India, feudal relations and practices are prevalent all over. Various forms of tenant farming based on servitude and bondage, bonded labour, loans to agricultural labourer at exorbitant rates on enslaving terms are some of the innumerable feudal practices. The mass of peasants crushed by feudal relations are being ruined.

Eventhough the ruling classes off and on talked about land reforms, they were not at all serious to implement them. The Zamindari abolition act, Tenancy protection laws, scores of land

ceiling legislations – all these measures were mainly adopted to save the rural landlords from the wrath of the peasantry by creating a situation for diverting them from agitation and into believing the promises of the ruling party.

The experience of the last 45 years clearly shows that land ceiling laws had failed to abolish feudalism. Despite these laws, concentration of land in few hands grew; despite tenancy protection laws, 'informal' tenancies abound. Forceful eviction of peasants and tenants is the order of the day. The ineffective 'implementation' of land ceilings laws can be gauged from the following table :

### Progress of Land Distribution

	Total Land	Land in holdings larger than 50 acres	Surplus Land		
			Declared	Possession	Distri buted
Andhra					
Pradesh	3,39,61,350	44,27,825	10,09,323	4,42,766	3,17,583
Gujarat	2,49,99,095	23,43,165	1,63,572	69,846	12,045
Himachal Pradesh	23,27,150	2,29,465	1,13,971	1,12,635	3,345
Rajasthan	5,08,51,375	181,11,980	2,60,533	2,32,517	1,32,185
West Bengal	1,26,54,077	4,90,267	1,62,767	1,12,818	62,460
Bihar	2,87,00,132	24,20,382	2,48,000	-	1,49,000

In Andhra Pradesh, only 22 per cent of the land in holdings larger than 50 acres was declared surplus and only 7 per cent was distributed. The respective figures for other states : West Bengal 33 and 12 per cent ; Gujarat 7 and 0.5 per cent ; Himachal Pradesh 49 and 1.5 per cent ; Rajasthan 1.4 and 0.7 per cent and Bihar 10 and 6 per cent.

These figures will speak for themselves. The fact that no single state has distributed more than 10 per cent of the land that can be declared surplus by implementing any one of the various

land reform laws, will clearly show the real nature of these laws. These are official figures and there is no need to mention that these are incomplete and misleading. Infact, these laws have not induced any significant change in the existing feudal land relations. According to Reserve Bank of India survey, "the poorest 10 percent of rural households owned only 0.1 per cent of the agricultural land, while the richest 10 per cent owned more than half of the total assets".

While the land reforms were a hoax, the government is striving to maintain and strengthen the status quo in the existing feudal land relations. In the name of land consolidation acts and prevention of land fragmentation acts, it is strengthening existing land relations.

On the other hand, a section of the land lords and their leaders are vociferously demanding removal of land ceiling laws. They argue that land ceilings impede growth by preventing farmers from increasing the scale of their operations to levels comparable to what exists in some imperialist countries and also constrain the development of food processing and other agro-industries by preventing companies from developing large captive farms. This argument is false and aimed at perpetuating the hold of foreign and Indian monopolies on the land.

The argument that land ceilings impede the expansion of food processing and agro-industries is wrong. Despite laws, several hundred acres of land was made captive farms for big foreign monopolies in aquaculture. eg : Chilika and Pulikot lakes on the east coast. The Anglo-American MNC, ITC, worked out medium term arrangements with oil seed farmers, which stops short of buying thier land, but keeps them virtually as its captive producers. Secondly, land ceilings have not come in the way of individual farmers to develop large commercial farms. Individual farmers after pooling their land are using it for commercial exploitation as is happening in the case of brakish water as well as fresh water culture of fish and prawns. Infact, several hundred acres of prime agricultural land is being transformed into aquaculture farms in Godavari and Krishna delta system, the rice bowl of AP. The entire argument against the land ceilings is designed to divert the people's attention from these sinister developments, that is, unhindered penetration of imperialist capital into the agricultural sector.

Every concrete step taken by the government has strengthened the feudal landlord base in the country. Com. TN explained how the community development project started in early 1950s has strengthened the landlord base and how cooperative credit has become a handmaid for the diversification of activities of the rural rich. He also explained how the green revolution strategy will facilitate the penetration of imperialist capital into rural side and subjugates Indian agriculture to the imperialist plunder. He observed that the Indian government took the path of gradual transformation of landlord latifundia into capitalist agriculture, with all its plans to supply seeds, fertilisers, mechanisation, extensive funneling of bureaucratic funds under the watchful eyes of imperialist capital. The recent World Bank prescriptions for agricultural sector and Dunkel draft proposals, which are being implemented assiduously, are logical extension of the policy of transforming feudal latifundia into capitalist economy. This extremely slow evolution "condemns the peasants into decades of most horrowing expropriation and bondage" (Lenin). This implies the preservation of serfdom and bondage, the least development of productive forces and infinitely greater exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of peasantry. Precisely because of this slow evolution, the country is experiencing an exruciating pain – pauperisation of peasants, growth of concentration of land, growth of landless agricultural labour, ever strengthening hold of imperialism in agriculture, growing attacks of upper castes over the lower castes, unheard of severe repressive measures against peasants and revolutionaries to save the landlords from the righteous, retaliatory anger of the peasants – all are symptoms of this growing disease. Therefore, as Com. TN pointed out, "our task is to oppose it by supporting the fighting peasantry for the total revolutionary liquidation of feudalism".

The growing number of violent attacks on dalit people that we are witnessing today cannot be dismissed as unrelated to class struggle. Some of the problems in rural India of today arise from the fact that semi-feudal relations, which have long back become outdated still persists due to lopsided economic development. One of them, the traditional system of caste, under which poor peasants and labouring class mainly belonging to lower castes tied to landlords, still persists.

Those people belonging to the upper castes, who previously lived on tributes and taxes from the producing and serving castes

as feudal rentiers, maintained their social and economic domination under the British rule. Their rule in the society was further strengthened after the big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes took over power from the British imperialism. The cooperatives, bank loans, fertilisers and other economic benefits which the rich classes belonging to the upper castes received, along with establishment of panchayats, samitis and zilla parishads, which gave them a direct link with the administration, strengthened them not only economically but also politically.

On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the lower-caste people remained at the bottom of the society as landless and semi-landless. Eventhough certain changes did take place in society, these were mainly within the frame work of the caste system of the feudal structure, instead of breaking the caste system. Forms may have changed but fundamentally caste remains the same.

The reason for this is that, during all these years, there was no fundamental change in the character of the Indian economy which remains semi-feudal and semi-colonial. Even the increased commodity production with unequal distribution of wealth led to further intensification of caste institutions.

Therefore, as Com. TN observed, "if the class character of the revolt of the exploited sometimes expresses itself in certain castes, and if the suppression of the downtrodden exploited classes takes the character of a brutal war against certain castes, it in no way obscures the basic character of class struggle".

Com. TN explained in an exhaustive, thorough-going and simple way the complexities of political economy. But his work was not confined to the economic analysis only. He dealt all the problems that are confronting the Indian revolution.

As an outstanding leader of Communist revolutionaries, who adopted Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought as his world outlook, Com. TN applied the basic theoretical understanding of contemporary Indian society to the concrete political and economic developments.

Com. TN explained how the Indian big bourgeoisie betrayed national struggle at a time when the Indian peoples movement for national liberation was at its height and was developing into an "explosive force to sweep away the hundred year old imperialism and age old feudal serfdom". Com. TN made it clear that "for any

Marxist, such a betrayal by the bourgeoisie is no surprise "because the Marxists are guided by Lenin's teaching that in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions the bourgeoisie are incapable of gaining and do not want a decisive victory of democratic revolution, will come to a "wretched deal" and "inevitably turn towards counter revolution". At the same time, he also noted that the Indian bourgeoisie which happened to be the leader of national struggle could impose its despicable compromise and act of betrayal because of its "Links with imperialism and feudalism" and "due to the weakness and failure of the working class Party to gain its Leadership". It was in this background, Com. TN noted, "the Indian people, who had taken anti-imperialist posture of the national leadership of the Indian bourgeoisie as genuine, were betrayed".

Com. TN explained at length how, the Indian big bourgeoisie is of comprador nature, how this comprador bourgeoisie was nurtured by the imperialists and has been and continues to be serving them. Refuting the neo revisionist attempt to attribute some amount of national character to Indian big bourgeoisie on the plea that it is "more developed", Com. TN asserted that "Just smallness or bigness of imperialism (for example the Portuguese or the British) does not change the basic character of imperialism, simply because the Indian bourgeoisie is more developed than any other bourgeoisie in Asia does not by itself preclude itself being a comprador bourgeoisie". Noting that the imperialists adopted ever new tactics as required by the historical conditions as well as concrete conditions of a given country to nurture and develop the class of comprador bourgeoisie and this has resulted in the emergence of comprador bourgeoisie class in various countries with different shades and forms of its own, Com. TN asserted, "Whatever are the different shades and form of comprador bourgeoisie class, the basic characteristics are the same".

Com. TN explained how the Indian big bourgeoisie after the transfer of power allowed the foreign finance capital to exploit the country. He also explained how the Indian big bourgeoisie allied itself with feudal landlords and helped them to intensify feudal exploitation along with the growing capitalist relations and as a result Indian big bourgeoisie along with feudal landlord class became counter-revolutionary. He made it clear that the Peoples' Democratic Revolution can succeed only under the Leadership of the proletariat.

Com. TN clearly showed that the accomplishment of the tasks of the Peoples' Democratic Revolution is directly linked to the question of state power. He explained how the big bourgeoisie in alliance with \_\_\_\_\_ and feudalism held the state power, how it adopts all kinds of deceptive practices with revolutionary phrase mongering to hoodwink the people, how it enters into coalition even with revisionist 'progressives' to cover up its dictatorship and the mask of democracy, and how it, shaken to its core by revolutionary action of the people, unleashes a reign of terror. He declared that only through revolutionary civil war can the revolutionary classes be able to capture state power, this civil war will take the form of peoples war path and there is no common point between it and the parliamentary path of revisionists.

Com. TN's profound analysis conclusively proved that the objective conditions are excellent and are growing in favour of the revolution. He showed how the subjective conditions necessary for the success of revolution does not arise automatically, how the socialist consciousness does not arise automatically from the workers struggles, how it has to be imparted from outside by the party of working class. He warned that so long as the Communist party failed to impart the political consciousness among the toiling masses, the subjective conditions necessary for an armed revolution to be led by working class will never be created.

Com. TN expressed his profound conviction that the purposeful debate among the revolutionaries for the principled evaluation of successes and failures on the basis of experiences of revolutions the world over, and on the basis of our struggles, will certainly unite the revolutionary forces in the country.

Com. TN did not confine to expressing his conviction, but also strived hard in his lifetime to realise the unity of revolutionaries. He played a leading role in APCCR and in the process of formation of UCCRI (ML), programme and path of Indian revolution and in defending them from right and left deviations. He played a decisive role in the formation of UCCRI (ML), one of the seven CR organisations that merged into one and emerged themselves as CPI(ML)-Janashakthi in May, 1992.

His purposeful life was full of struggles against the right and left opportunisms. His exemplary behaviour of giving prime importance to ideological and political discussions amidst slanders

and heavy odds, is a source of inspiration for the communist revolutionaries.

After his demise, Indian revolutionary movement had faced many odds. The people and revolutionaries faced brutal repression. At the same time, the ruling classes declared the war of "reforms" against the revolutionary programme. On the other hand, the left adventurism had weakened the revolutionary movement. While fighting the left adventurism and keeping the revolutionary movement on right tracks, right opportunism raised its ugly head and the international revisionism started a fresh attack on Marxism-Leninism. Sometimes these odds led to serious splits among the revolutionaries. The revisionists and reactionary forces are jubilant over these developments. But every revolution advances through a series of successes and defeats. The communist revolutionaries will unite on the basis of correct revolutionary Path and Programme and Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought as their guiding ideology. They are destined to lead the Indian Peoples' Democratic Revolution to the victory.

Com. TN's immense confidence in the victory of revolution, his complete commitment to build revolutionary movement, his flexible conduct while firmly adhering to principles, and his inexhaustive patience in dealing with cadres are all exemplary to communist revolutionaries. His entire life was dedicated to the cause of Indian revolution. The communist revolutionaries will march ahead in fulfilling the tasks of Indian revolution for which Com. TN dedicated and laid his life. It is the real homage that the communist revolutionaries could pay to him. We will always cherish his memory as a guiding force.

*October 15, 1993.*

*P. Jaswantha Rao*