

## **On the Defectors in Andhra Pradesh\***

### **Resolution Adopted by the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)**

1. The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), having heard the report of the recent developments in the State Party unit of Andhra Pradesh from Comrades P. Sundarayya and M. Basavapunnaiyah, arising out of the open appeal of revolt against the Central Committee and Polit Bureau by Nagi Reddy, D. Venkateswara Rao, Kolla Venkaiah and Pulla Reddy, endorses the steps taken by the two Polit Bureau members on behalf of the P.B. and the C.C.

2. Nagi Reddy and his colleagues in Andhra were given full opportunity to put forth their line before the Central Plenum which with an overwhelming majority of 158 to 22 rejected it as anti-Marxist and adventurist after a thorough discussion; yet they complain of denial of democratic discussion by the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau and seek to justify their factional revolt against the Party and its central leadership. The truth is that they have lost all sense of faith in and loyalty to the Party, its Programme, policy and its entire political line. No Party member who has respect for the democratic verdict of the Party Congress will ask for an open revolt against the C.C. and P.B. the moment a serious difference arises.

3. These defectors wholeheartedly supported and voted for the Party Programme and resolutions adopted at the Seventh Party Congress in 1964; and all other resolutions and

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documents adopted by the Central Committee upto its Madurai Session in 1967. Pulla Reddy in his communication to the Central Committee, dated 8th August 1967, expressing his views on the ideological draft circulated to the State Committees wrote the following:

“Acceptance of the CPC (Communist Party of China) Proposal for a General Line of the International Communist Movement as the common basis for the international Communist movement should not deter our Party from demarcating ourselves from the CPC’s mistakes on any specific issue.

“There have been occasions in the past, when constituents of the international Communist movement, who had accepted the Third International documents as the common basis, differed with one another on particular issues. Similar occasions may arise even if CPC’s General Line is accepted as the common basis.

“CPC’s attitude towards the Indian situation is one such occasion. Today CPC is openly attacking the whole strategy and tactics, our Party Programme.

“We must demarcate ourselves, and demarcate sharply, from the CPC on this question—especially on the character of the Government, estimation of the present situation, participation in the non-Congress Governments: their tactless statements on Naxalbari peasant struggles, etc., and firmly stand on the position of the Party Programme.

“We should firmly reject their interference in the internal affairs of the Party, their senseless name-calling. We must refuse to submit to their pressure tactics to browbeat the Party into acceptance of their line on the Indian situation”.

4. Yet, within a few days after this communication, Pulla Reddy and his colleagues made a total right-about turn and started attacking the Party Programme and the whole political and tactical line of the Party. And in the name of exercising their right of inner-Party democracy and of participating in the discussions on “Ideological Differences in the International Communist Movement”, these people started

organizing secret groups to carry on clandestinely anti-Party factional activities. They slandered the Party leadership and the Party line by getting anti-Party slogans written on the street walls, by distributing anti-Party leaflets, booklets and literature, by attacking the Party in cultural squad performances; in public meetings and in schools organized to propagate their views; by briefing the anti-Party Press about the discussions in Party Committees and utilizing it to propagate their anti-Party viewpoint.

5. The State Secretary seeing the deteriorating inner Party situation tried to remedy it. Twice before the Burdwan Plenum he demanded that all members of the State Committee should observe Party forms. But since the majority of the State Committee members held the same political views as Nagi Reddy, all his efforts to restore Party functioning did not succeed.

The State Secretary and other CCMs from Andhra explained the situation to the Central Committee meeting especially held on April 11 at Burdwan immediately after the Plenum. The Central Committee directed the Polit Bureau to issue an Open Letter to Andhra Party members stressing the urgent necessity of implementing the Central Committee line as decided by the Central Plenum, and calling upon them to reject the anti-Party line of Nagi Reddy and urging them to work among the people and safeguard the unity of the Party. It authorized the P.B. to take all necessary measures against all those who defy discipline and indulge in disruptive activities.

The Polit Bureau members attended the Andhra State Committee meeting specially held in Calcutta on 13th and 14th. None belonging to Nagi Reddy's group either accepted his mistake or came forward to implement the Central Committee line. The Polit Bureau deputed Comrades P. Sundarayya and M. Basavapunnaiyah to go to Andhra and hold a meeting of all leading members to explain the Burdwan Plenum decisions and authorized them to take all necessary steps including disciplinary action to get the Central Committee line implemented.

6. Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy asked their followers to boycott the explanatory meeting, and allowed only certain representatives to attend it. The State Committee issued to the Party ranks the directives given by the P.B. to ensure the implementation of the Party's line. The four vacancies in the State Committee were filled and the Secretariat was expanded to nine so that those who broadly agreed with the Central Committee's political line would be in a bare majority enabling the Committee to implement the Central Committee line.

The P.B. directed that circulation of anti-Party leaflets and literature including that of anti-Party groups like the Naxalbarites should be stopped. Party members and Party Committees were asked to take steps to see that the anti-Party line was not propagated through posters and publications, through cultural squads, through public meetings and through organizing schools and study circles. It emphasized that the State Secretariat and the State Committee must take special care to enforce that Party work was carried on in conformity with the normal Party forms.

It will be seen that while reorganizing the State Committee the P.B. refrained from taking any steps against Nagi Reddy and his group though they have been indulging in factional activities for the last six months. The Polit Bureau gave them another opportunity to mend their ways, and work within the bounds of the Central Plenum decisions and of Party discipline.

7. But Nagi Reddy and his group utilized these two months after the Burdwan Plenum to further intensify their factional anti-Party activities. These four defectors resigned from the State Secretariat. Nagi Reddy held a Press Conference where he declared that their line was opposed to the Central Committee's line and that they would persist in their line and it would not be easy to take disciplinary action against them.

These four had been going round the State holding group meetings of their followers, exhorting them to carry on their

own political line and challenging the State and Central leaderships to take any action against them.

8. In the Andhra Pradesh State Committee' meeting held from June 10 to 13, the State Secretary, Comrade Hanumantha Rao, made a report on the factional activities and anti-Party activities of this group and especially of these four members of the Secretariat and demanded their explanation. These four defended their disruptive activities and demanded that the P.B. Letter to the ranks and the P.B. directives should be withdrawn and they be allowed to propagate their own line and understanding.

The State Committee passed a resolution that these four should make a declaration that they would abide by the Burdwan Plenum decisions, the Polit Bureau's Letter and directives and would ask their followers to do the same so that the State Committee could appeal unanimously to the Party ranks to carry out Party decisions and unify the Party.

These four Secretariat members refused to make such a declaration. Even after this the State Committee, without taking any immediate disciplinary action, only authorized the State Secretariat to take necessary political and organizational measures against Party members and Party committees who continue to defy the Party decisions and persist in disruptive activities.

9. Plotting secretly Nagi Reddy conspired with the printer and publisher of the Party organ, *Janasakti*, to get it transferred to his name.

10. Nagi Reddy held a Press Conference on 15th morning, issued the call for open revolt against the Party, to which the other three defectors including D. Venkateswara Rao, a CCM, were also signatories. Therefore Comrade General Secretary and Comrade M. Basavapunnaiah, authorized by the Central Committee and Polit Bureau to deal with the situation, took steps to expel them from the Party in full accordance with the Party's constitution and rules.

11. These defectors wholeheartedly supported and voted for the Party Programme, and the resolutions adopted at the

Seventh Party Congress in 1964, and all other resolutions and documents adopted by the Central Committee upto its Madurai Session in 1967. They voted for the organizational report, "Fight Against Revisionism", adopted at the Seventh Congress and were a party to the statement that the break with the Dangeite revisionists was forced on the Party after full ten years of patient and prolonged inner-Party discussion, after every avenue was closed to settle the political and ideological dispute within the framework of Party forms, after a full-fledged class collaborationist line had come to be accepted by the revisionist leadership. Yet they try to defend their call for open revolt against the Party within a few weeks after they changed their views about the Party Programme, Party's political line and its ideological basis. They are not embarrassed when massive support is coming for their revolt from the Dangeites and the entire bourgeois Press in the country.

12. Further, these factional intriguers have the temerity to slander the Central Plenum as a nominated body and denounce the two biggest delegations from Kerala and West Bengal in particular, as "merely nominated delegations". The utter dishonesty behind this bankrupt allegation can be seen from the fact that since the announcement of the Plenum by the Central Committee in the middle of August 1967, no Party member or unit complained, at any stage, regarding the manner and method of constituting it and every State unit had fully participated in it.

Under the Party constitution it is the State Committees that choose the representatives from the State to the Central Plenum, after the Central Committee fixes up the quota of delegations from the States.

It was the State Conference of Kerala unit that, after endorsing the C.C. Ideological Draft by overwhelming majority, unanimously authorized the newly elected State Committee to choose the Kerala delegation. It was the State Committee of West Bengal, after a discussion in which more than 11,000 out of 16,000 Party members participated and

after Plenums of District Committees held and endorsed the Ideological Draft, selected unanimously the Bengal delegation to the Central Plenum. It is utter political-ideological bankruptcy on the part of these defectors now to cling to the totally false charges of denial of democracy, dictatorial methods, etc., after their anti-Party and Left-adventurist political line was utterly defeated in the inner-Party debate.

13. The open Press statement of the four defectors calling on Party members to "rise in revolt" against the P.B. and C.C. leadership makes a demagogic demand for a Party Congress sound dishonest in the mouth of those who have displayed scorn and disrespect for the democratic decisions of the Burdwan Plenum. They are fully aware of the decision of C.C, as early as April 1967, that the Party Congress would be convened in the latter part of 1968 and that the ideological discussion should be completed and the document finalized long before it. They agreed with this decision then, but only after the Madurai draft was released to the Party ranks they raised the demand for the Party Congress to finalize the ideological document, this was rejected by an overwhelming majority both in the C.C. and Central Plenum.

14. The defectors, the P.B. is fully aware, are relying on the moods and sentiments of frustrated Party members and impatient petty bourgeois youth in Andhra and other places, a frustration caused by stagnant mass and class movements and shallow Marxist-Leninist understanding, all a legacy of the long reformist past. The political ideological line, advocated by them, does doggedly refuse to orientate either to the working class of the country or the toiling peasant masses, and only tunes itself to the frustrated petty bourgeoisie, and hence to a petty bourgeois revolutionism which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. A persistent refusal to undertake sustained and patient mass work and building of the mass and class organizations, denial of the need of a well-knit and ideologically equipped Communist Party, and craze for cheap borrowing of parallels and looking for short-cuts

dominate these people. It will not be long before the momentary response which these petty-bourgeois revolutionaries get in certain circles today disappears, exposing their disruptive and dissipative role.

15. The P.B. does not deem it necessary to deal, in this statement, with the political ideological questions, on which the renegades take their stand, as they are dealt at length in the printed and published documents such as Burdwan decisions and Andhra Letter. The political line they advocate and organizational methods they adopt have nothing in common with Marxism Leninism, it is an out-and-out anti-Party, Left-infantile and putschist line. Tolerance of these trends and unity with them in a Communist Party spells ruin for the cause of the proletarian revolution and its future.

16. The Plenum by a very big majority rejected the amateurish line of Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy. But they would not indicate that they would carry out the line adopted by the majority. This is the minimum that is expected of every Party member. Without this no Marxist-Leninist Party can function.

The Party is a fighting organization requiring utmost discipline in its ranks to face the attacks of the class enemy. The principle of minority submitting to the majority, the principle of directing Party work from a centre, the principle of democratic centralism— form the organizational foundations of the Party. Revisionists from the Right and Left always direct fire on these basic principles, in the name of democracy. In reality, they repudiate the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and seek to turn the Party into a club of individuals engaged in a permanent debate. It is not accidental that after repudiating Marxism Leninism politically, Nagi Reddy & Co. should openly repudiate Leninist organizational principles and call for disruption of the Party because the majority refused to accept their reactionary line.

17. The P.B. wishes to draw the attention of all Party members and class-conscious workers to the fact that our class enemies are gloating over this Left adventurist

disruption, and the revisionist Communist Party is concentrating its filthiest attacks and fire on our Party, at this juncture.

18. The Polit Bureau appeals to all Party units in the country and to every loyal and honest Party member to rise to the occasion to defend the Party and its political line and repulse all attacks— whether they come from Left-adventurism or Right opportunism.