

To the U.P.F.C.

Comrades,

The short report written by Com. Hukum Singh on the present situation in Ballia, Gazipur and Azamgarh districts, the way in which our comrades there are leading the revolutionary movement forward along the Telengana path, is inspiring. The PB sends its greetings to the P.C. Sectt., Com. Hukum Singh and other comrades on the spot for having built up such a revolutionary movement and urges on them to lead it steadily unswervingly towards the goal amidst the heavy odds which it is at present facing it.

#### Significance of the Movement

This movement is a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the path shown by the Information Bureau, by the Peking Conference and by Comrade Mao and the Chinese Communist Party for the successful carrying out of our national liberation struggle. The significance of your struggle is not only that it is one of the many struggles, but that it is being carried in the main base and citadel of the Congress. The big bourgeoisie and its Congress leadership is making serious efforts to make U.P. and other Hindustani speaking areas as its main base and military recruiting ground, just what the imperialists had done in Punjab, by rousing Hindi chauvinism and Hindu-Muslim communal sentiments etc. It would not be wrong to compare the role of the Hindustani-speaking people in India with that of the Great Russian people in USSR. Your struggle is a sign that the Hindustani-speaking people would defeat the game of the Congress leadership and play their worthy role in the Indian national liberation struggle, just as the Great Russians in USSR, if you properly guard these embryonic struggles from the heavy odds which it is facing at present and extend it, by leading it boldly and unswervingly by through correct guerilla fighting tactics, organisational methods, mass slogans, suited to the situation, with a correct and clear-cut perspective of struggle.

#### P.B. gives only broad lines

The PB is not in a position to give you immediately detailed instructions which you wanted because -

Firstly, the PB is at present fully engaged in chalking out the broad lines of the new tactical line and it will not be finished before the end of this month;

Secondly, it is impossible to give detailed instructions without a detailed and comprehensive report - socio-economic conditions, the burning issues on which the masses could be moved at present, the strength of the mass movement and its organisation, the strength of the Party and the state of its organisation, past revolutionary traditions, enemies' political social and military strength and his tactics, and lastly the terrain conditions i.e. any natural cover for guerilla units like forests and mountains etc. The last-named is important because the guerilla tactics we have to adopt will depend upon terrain conditions, apart from the socio-economic conditions and the level and strength of the mass movement and the Party.

The PB hopes to get the Telengana and Andhra documents on Guerilla Warfare within a week. They will be sent to you as soon as they are received. It will also make arrangements for contacting you for giving detailed guidance and training our comrades in guerilla tactics by the middle of the next month. In the meanwhile broad guiding lines are being given here. Please go through them carefully, get the spirit behind them, study the conditions of the movement there concretely (please refer to what is said above with regard to these) and apply the guiding lines to those conditions and work out detailed tasks. The PB warns you not to take the guiding lines given here mechanically, but to apply them to your conditions.

#### Perspective of the struggle

History has already decided about the perspective of armed struggle for your province. It is not an accident that armed struggle has started in Eastern U.P. (1) It is the most backward and feudal-ridden part of U.P., these socio-economic conditions are most suited for Chinese path. (2) It has the militant past of 1942 incidents. Though we opposed the 1942 Congress struggle as anti-revolutionary, it is not wrong to take into consideration the positive factors of that struggle. We have to remember we have won over a good section of the militant cadre that 1942 struggle threw up in that area. (3) Since after the Party Congress we have been carrying on militant mass struggles and demonstra-

tions - propaganda about Telengana struggle and the first Azamgarh big mass meeting, Agr. labour and poor peasant struggles for land, wages and against zamindars' zulum, Ballia women's conference, recent mammoth mass rally at Kurwa Manikpur where Subhas Mukherjee laid down his life and several were wounded, the subsequent guerilla resistance acts against the zamindars and their agents inspite of fascist repression etc. because of which the movement has reached the stage of armed guerilla warfare like in Telengana, Andhra, Hajong area.

(4) Our leaders of the area are accredited leaders before whom the Congress leaders of the area are like mole hills before mountains. Our Party and the Red Flag have ~~been~~ carved out a place in the hearts of the people.

All the above-mentioned factors together have decided the course of our armed struggle in U.P. Eastern U.P. will have to be our immediate base of our armed struggle and the starting point is the area comprising the districts of Ballia, Gazipur and Azamgarh, from where we have to extend into Western UP, West Behar (please take note of the struggle of the kisans of the Bettia Raj for land in this connection), Central India etc. This does not mean that we will leave our present kisan areas like Aligarh or the working class centres. We will carry on what ever we have on hand and keep the things going. The details of how the T.U. front has to be developed with this new perspective will be given in the PB document on the T.U. front which will be sent to you by the middle of the next month. We might develop small resistance areas in other parts of the province, where there are favourable circumstances. But what we mean is, we will not disperse our organisational strength here and there but concentrate our main organisational strength, energies, other resources in Eastern UP, starting from the present struggle area of Ballia-Gazipur and Azamgarh. The PC Sectt. can succeed in advancing this big struggle only if it works steadfastly with the above perspective.

#### Premises from which the PB starts

The premises from which the PB is starting are -

- (1) Big mass upsurge of the kisans and agricultural labourers for land, wages etc.
  - (2) The enemy concentrating all its strength - political and military - to wipe out our movement through blood and iron and spreading slanders and lies, his main stress is on the bayonet and rifle. We don't know whether the zamindars have organised goonda gangs. If so, what their strength and how they operate.
  - (3) There is practically no party cells, militants' groups, no regular organised fighting squads, no modern arms, though a beginning is made in that direction.
- We don't know whether there are functioning DCs and other Party Committees or our leaders functioning individually leading the militants.
- (4) We don't know what is the position of the underground Party apparatus and financial resources.
  - (5) The terrain is plain land without natural cover like forests or mountains. There may be small groves of trees which don't offer big protection for our guerilla squads.

#### Broad lines for conducting the struggle and immediate tasks.

The following broad lines and immediate tasks emerge out of the above premises.

(1) The Provincial Sectt. has to draw up an all-sided plan for a protracted and bitter struggle, keeping the above given perspective in view, not attempt spectacular actions with a view to get immediate results.

(2) The Provincial Sectt. to devote more of its time for giving regular and concrete guidance to the struggle, for fulfilling which task it has to conduct its sessions regularly whenever necessity arises.

The PC Secretary Pratul and Hakim Singh to be put in charge of that area. The normal routine of the PC office to be taken over by other Sectt. comrades.

P.C. comrades like Moti, Surendra who know the conditions of the area thoroughly and who have got experience of mass struggles to be sent immediately to the area to be put in the D.Cs to be set up.

(3) We don't know whether the parts in which resistance activity is being

carried on in the three districts is a contiguous area or in separate pocket separated from each other. In order to carry on guerilla resistance successfully we ought to have sufficiently big contiguous areas to manoeuvre and elude the armed forces and escape from being caught by them. Hence we have to see that all the patches are joined up into a big area during the course of the struggle. We have to develop our resistance movement with the above aim.

Starting with now, reorganise the area in such a way that all the contiguous patches or the patches very near each other under a single D.C. Here you need not care for the boundaries of the government administrative districts. We can change the boundaries according to the needs of our resistance movement.

The D.Cs are to consist of three comrades. The comrades allotted by the P.C. Sectt. for the area should be put in these committees.

The D.Cs have to establish their offices in the towns within reach of the movement. It is not necessary that DC office should remain with the boundaries of the "District". It can be in the towns of nearby districts, preferably a town where the comrades are not very well known and where the reactionaries of that particular 'District' do not frequently visit. The offices must be stable if they have to function properly. Moreover there is no safety for the leadership in the villages where the enemy has concentrated. Hence they cannot be established in villages.

The D.C. comrades should normally function through courier system getting regular reports, not themselves going directly roaming about. One at a time can go to the fighting area to give practical guidance, taking all tech. precautions. No addressing of public meetings. They have to move about in complete secrecy preferably with changed appearance. The saving of the key cadre is a very important thing.

(4) Organise the Party members and militants who have shown self-sacrificing and fighting qualities into separate squads of not more than five including the squad leader as Com. Nukum Singh himself has suggested in his report. Be careful about enemy agents entering the squads surreptitiously.

Collect arms, spears, ~~xxx~~ swords, even lathis, if possible guns and rifles and arm the squads. If you can buy some modern weapons cheaply you can buy. But don't run after them and waste your energies and money over it. Remember Mao's teaching that guerilla squads have to depend for their modern arms on the enemy and they will arm themselves with modern weapons during the course of the struggle itself. In the beginning when you have no modern arms at all, you have to adopt such tactics as can enable us to elude the enemy and also get us modern arms. Hence you have to avoid engagements with the armed police and military, concentrate on zamindars, their agents and goondas and get modern arms from them. Thereby our squads will get the necessary fighting experience as well as modern arms, for going to the next phase of engagements with the armed police and military.

Because the terrain is plains without forests and mountains, we have to use people as their substitute. The groves of trees are not only not a cover when the enemy is concentrating his military forces and when our movement is in the early stage, but they will turn out to be graves. Hence we shouldn't use them as the abodes of our squads. They can be used temporarily for a day taking all the tech. precautions when our squad comes for a particular action against a zamindar, his agents etc. The squad members must arrange their permanent abode in a one or two villages or towns nearby where they are not known. There they have to live as agricultural labourers or casual labourers in towns. This will solve much of the financial problem as well as the tech. safety. The squad must be meeting regularly for self-education. They come for any operation planned by the local organiser and go to their abode as soon as the action is over. The squads should NOT wear uniform for the present, so as to be able to mix freely among the ~~people~~ ordinary people. Their safety is in appearing one among people, like fish in water as Com. Mao says. This is what is called using the people as substitute of mountains and forests. This is the experience of Telengana and Andhra. This way we have to carry on for a pretty length of time until the fighting area extends wide and the enemy not in position to concentrate in all over the area at the same time, when we establish liberated areas where the enemy is completely wiped out we establish people's rule. Comrades should remember that we can reach that stage only after a bitter struggle for pretty length of time.

You will get more about the fighting tactics in the Telengana and Andhra documents which will be sent to you shortly. Meanwhile follow the above-mentioned suggestions carefully. Elementary training in the use of arms, field-craft, guerilla

guerilla tactics have to be given to squads.

(5) Apart from guerilla squads you should organise the Party on an illegal basis without which it is impossible to move the masses into action in support of the guerilla warfare and conduct it successfully. You should organise the remaining Party members into cells and militants into groups, each cell not more than five members. If you have sufficient number you can organise the Party members and militants into separate cells. Otherwise in the beginning joint cells have to be organised. The PMs and militants should not disclose their identity.

Local organisers for guiding the cells in mass work have to be appointed. These organisers should move secretly and work through cells. They should not themselves directly work among the masses as of old. Otherwise they will get caught.

The Party must base itself on the parts of the village where the agricultural labour and poor peasants live and carry on its activity.

You have to change the entire style of work i.e. legal functioning into completely illegal functioning.

(6) It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind the significance of mass work while we are ~~xxx~~ carrying on armed resistance. Otherwise the latter will get isolated and the enemy will be able to crush it. It appears from Comrade Hukum Singh's report that the masses can be moved on issues like food problem, land, collective fines etc. We have to move the masses on whichever issue they are ready to move. Don't forget the wage problem. Because of the intense repression the masses might temporarily get terrified and may not move immediately actively on issues in areas where the enemy has concentrated his armed forces. Doesn't matter. You have to go on doing propaganda work on the burning issues continuously alongside with guerilla resistance. The squads and the Party members have to be educated on this point and see that they don't lose heart when they find that the masses are not moving into spontaneous actions as of ~~old~~ old.

The people have to be educated on the new methods of work and convince them of their efficacy for carrying on the movement successfully. They must be told not to lose heart when they don't find leaders before them. They must be educated how this struggle is a long and tortuous one taking examples of China, Malaya, Vietnam, Burma, Telengana, Andhra, Hajang etc. They have to be instructed how to keep secrets from the enemy.

We have to discard our old method of open mass rallies and adopt illegal leafleteering, group meetings etc.

The village cell members and militants have to be with the people, without disclosing their identity as Communists and lead them. This may be immediately not possible because our past legal methods of work but we must work with the above aim and build up strong widespread illegal organisation of the Party.

Illegal action committees which will develop into village ruling bodies in future have to be organised and regularly functioned. Along with that agricultural labour unions and peasant organisations (Kisan Sabhas) have to be built up.

(7) Agitation and propaganda has to be carried on regularly. For that every D.C. has to set up small production unit - Flat-bed cyclostyle machine is convenient and cheap also - should be set up immediately. If possible some more can be set up under local organisers. To start with DCs have to set up production units. Regular leafleteering has to be done. Even if the local organisers are able to move about temporarily due to repression, one leaflet would do a lot to give confidence to the people. We have to put more stress on the leafleteering.

(8) All the above programme can be fulfilled only if you have sufficient money. Immediately the PC Sectt. have to pool up its financial resources to start the thing. After the thing is started you can have as much money as you like. The resources obtained in action must be first taken charge of by the DC and then passed on to the Party Centre created for the whole area.

One last warning. Have no connections with the bandits now. Our movement is not in a position to control them at present. If we dabble with them now, we won't be able to control them and they will bring discredit to the Party, help the enemy to isolate the Party from the masses.

Comrades, the PB hopes that the PC Sectt. will discuss this letter, draw out a plan on this basis for the three districts and give immediate and concrete guidance to the comrades in struggle. It also hopes that it will put ~~its~~ all its energy and develop the struggle boldly and steadily removing all obstacles in the way. Send a detailed report as soon as possible.

P. S:

News has appeared in Hindustan Times dated May 4, 1950 (page 6) that "a compact area of 50 to 60 villages scattered over the jurisdiction of three police stations between Nepal border and Shohratgarh station has become the breeding ground for Communism in the Trans-Rapti area of Basti district" and,

"Communists also have built up cells in 4 or 5 villages lying on the outskirts of the Gorakhpur city....They took up their abode in the villages and instigated the labourers against the farm owners with the result that there was a strike which could be settled only after prolonged negotiations by the owners."

Enemy is showing us a way in his panic, though we are complacent. Two significant things which have not been dealt with in the letter emerge out of the above news clearly:

(1) The point about extension has been left vague saying "Eastern UP will have to be our immediate base of our armed struggle and the starting point is the area comprising the districts of Ballia, Gazipur and Azamgarh from where we have to extend into Western UP....Central India etc." Now we can extend from the above-mentioned districts into Basti and Gorakhpur districts the border of Nepal, reviving our old kisan areas. This way we can reach the mountainous regions also which is very necessary for establishing liberated areas in future. Please note this point.

(2) The point about coordination of the rural armed struggle with the working-class struggle has not been dealt with at all. Here we have already some influence among the Gorakhpur workshop already. It will be very helpful for the armed struggle if we concentrate on the working class in the above-mentioned districts especially the Railway and other transport workers, without liquidating our strong working class bases like Kanpur. This is a suggestion. Please see how far this is practicable.

Revolutionary Greetings,

P.B.