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The New Year Holds Promise of Still Bigger Victories

—Charu Mazumdar

(December 29, 1969)

THE people of India, exploited by the reactionaries, both foreign and native, have been living for ages under a rule of darkness. No ray of light was there before them to illumine the way by following which they could win their liberation. Driven to exasperation by insufferable misery they have repeatedly risen up in futile bursts of anger and resentment. But ruthless repression by the state apparatus forced them to accept bitter defeat every time. And then, like the crashing of spring thunder, began the Naxalbari struggle in 1967. People all over India listened to the reverberating sound of this peal of thunder and tried to understand its significance and the message it brought to them. The revisionist leadership of the Party had repeatedly asked them to believe that the thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung is unsuitable for India, that armed struggle cannot be waged in India, and that advocating armed struggle leads to the destruction of people's fighting organizations. And then, the people, who were being harangued like this, saw for the first time the application of Mao Tsetung Thought in Naxalbari. This helped them to understand the fact that all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought is not only fully suited for application in India, what is more, it is the only way for the people of India to win their liberation.

The year 1969 has ended. It has been a year of victorious advance of the exploited and oppressed masses of India. It was during this year that the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed, the party that represents the hope of the exploited and oppressed masses of India,

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the party in which they put their trust. They refuse to be dumb victims of oppression any longer. They are relying on Mao Tsetung Thought and have organized their own guerrilla forces in order to retaliate every act of oppression. To kill men has so long been an exclusive privilege of the ruling classes. The exploited and oppressed masses of India have now deprived them of this exclusiveness and become active in avenging every attack of the enemy.

During 1969 the peasant masses of India have won big victories, spread their struggle to extensive areas and thus brought confidence among the masses. They have spread their struggle to almost every State of India, from Assam to Punjab, Andhra and Orissa. In this revolutionary war the masses had to sacrifice the lives of a number of heroes. The death of every hero has, however, served to fan the flames of hatred in the hearts of the oppressed masses, and hundreds of youth have come forward to join the struggle vying with one another to lay down their lives for the cause, and the peasant masses have repeatedly pleaded with the CPI (M-L), the party which is dear to them, to carry on the struggle and not to stop it. This instruction, given by the masses has filled the minds of revolutionary workers with confidence about the inevitability of winning victory and with new energy to march resolutely forward. This, in turn, has enabled more and more masses of peasants to adhere still more firmly to the path of armed struggle, and the struggle has spread to still wider areas.

The lessons of 1969 are : rely on the poor and landless peasants ; educate them in Mao Tsetung Thought ; adhere firmly to the path of armed struggle ; build guerrilla forces and march forward along the path of liquidating the class enemies ; only thus can the hightide of struggle advance irresistibly.

Today, the fighting peasant comrades in every area are studying *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* and trying to apply the same. We must raise the level of such practice

and application and spread the fight against revisionism among the masses. Only thus will the revolutionary hightide become widespread enabling us to spread our struggle wave upon wave.

The year 1970 holds the promise of still bigger victories. We can translate that promise into reality if the members and workers of our Party give prominence to politics, raise their political consciousness, carry on a ruthless struggle against all wrong and revisionist thinking, strengthen their faith in the revolutionary masses and in the Party, undertake to make still more sacrifices to serve the people, and fulfil the task of spreading the flames of revolution to every State of India. Do not forget even for a moment the enormous sufferings of the people of India. You must take upon yourselves the task of ridding them of the sufferings, and the only way to fulfil this task is to make revolution. Study Mao Tsetung Thought and try to apply it creatively ; make war on revisionist thinking, and learn to hate all thinking that over-estimates the strength of the enemy.

Chairman Mao is today the helmsman of world revolution. The brilliance of his correct guidance illuminates also the path along which we must advance. No matter how arduous the struggle is, every revolutionary must be firm today in the conviction that we possess the weapon with which to make the impossible possible, and that victory will certainly be ours.

Long Live the Indian Revolution !

*Long Live Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to
Chairman Mao !*

Avenge the Murder of the Heroic Martyrs of Srikakulam

Central Organizing Committee, CPI (M-L)'s
Call to Party Members

THE Central Organizing Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), has issued a statement calling upon the members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) to avenge the dastardly murder of our heroic comrades of Srikakulam by annihilating as many class enemies as possible in the countryside. The following is the full text of the statement :

During the later part of November and early December thirteen of our comrades—among them three were women—including such leading comrades of Srikakulam as Comrades Bhaskar Rao, Thamada Ganapathy, Nirmala Krishnamurty, Subbarao Panigrahi and Ramesh Chandra Sahu fell to the enemy's bullets. Heroic guerrilla fighters, all of them fell fighting. They found themselves suddenly surrounded by overwhelmingly superior enemy forces. They did not even think of surrendering to the enemy but fought heroically to their last breath killing as many enemies as they could. Six comrades—Comrades Subbarao Panigrahi, Nirmala Krishnamurty, Saraswati Amma, Ankamma, Ramesh Sahu and Uma Rao—fell into the hands of the enemy. The hateful, crafty enemy cynically asked of them under pain of death an undertaking in writing disowning the Party. The heroic comrades unanimously spurned the enemy's offer—"disown the Party and live"—with scorn and bravely faced the firing squad. Before they fell to the enemy's bullets they shouted slogans like "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!", "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Comrades, while counting the felled trees—our fallen leaders and comrades, we must never lose sight of the

forest of the people. The forest is now aglow with the red of the raging people's revolution. We must not forget that it was the masses who created these heroic leaders, that it is the masses, who, in course of their revolutionary war, are creating every moment many more leaders like our martyred ones. Today, our grief is great, our grief is intense. But, comrades, we must turn this great grief into deep hatred, into burning hatred towards the hated class enemy. Our brave comrades of Andhra have taken the vow to avenge every one of these foul murders. We declare that this is the vow not only of theirs, but of the entire Party. Today, the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) issues this call to the entire Party to annihilate as many of the class enemies in the countryside as possible and thus to avenge the despicable murders of the valiant comrades of Srikakulam. We note with pride that our heroic comrades of Andhra are quickly recovering from the loss and stepping even more quickly into the breach caused by the death of those leading comrades. The losses have failed to weaken their resolve: they are determined to wage on the revolutionary struggle and are actually doing so. This is also the directive of the revolutionary masses, the revolutionary peasants of Srikakulam, to them. It should be borne in mind that at a time when these tragic events took place in Srikakulam, a vast mass upsurge was imminent as a result of the guerrilla war—the guerrilla war to annihilate the class enemy—that our Party guided by Mao Tsetung Thought has started and is leading. We declare that this resolve of the brave comrades and the brave revolutionary masses of Andhra to wage on the revolutionary war is the resolve of the entire Party. Our sorrow is intense but our pride, too, is beyond measure, for our comrades, our heroic martyrs, when faced with the choice, preferred to die rather than to live by disowning the Party.

By sacrificing their own lives our martyr comrades have

shaken us wide awake and made us realize fully the tremendous responsibility one has to shoulder as a member of our Party. Chairman Mao has said: "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!" The death of our martyred comrades made us realize as never before the significance of this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

Zai'wuyi
to be won Comrades, we must learn from our mistakes and try to avoid losses as far as possible in future, and this is what our comrades in Andhra are doing. But in doing this we, like our comrades in Andhra, must not forget that we cannot make revolution without making sacrifices, without a price—the price in this case is the shedding of our blood and the sacrifice of our lives. This is a law of revolution. This is what Chairman Mao has taught us: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices." This is our reply to the doubters and the disrupters, to those who are afraid of struggle and to the revisionists of all hues. It has always happened that taking advantage of the temporary and inevitable losses like ours, these despicable creatures crawl out of their holes and try to raise their heads to spread frustration and preach their poisonous and harmful theory of surrender. Comrades, we must rebuff the class enemy and his lackeys by persisting in the path of annihilating the class enemy through guerrilla warfare, intensifying still further the revolutionary war of the peasant masses, and implementing still more firmly the general line of our Party. This is the only way to rebuff them. "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

Red Salute to the great martyrs of Indian Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

USHER IN THE GREAT 1970'S

—1970 New Year's Day Editorial of the "People's Daily," the Journal "Red Flag" and the "Liberation Army Daily"

THE 1960's is over. The proletariat and other revolutionary people of the world have proudly stepped into the great 1970's with militant strides.

Keeping the whole globe in view and looking ahead into the future, the people of all nationalities in our country are full of excitement, and from the bottom of their hearts they wish Chairman Mao, our great leader and the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, a long, long life!

Early in the 1960's Chairman Mao pointed out with great foresight: "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period."

The history of the 1960's has powerfully testified to this great prediction by Chairman Mao.

The past decade has been a decade in which the enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily, a decade in which Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been engaged in open polemics and fierce struggles with modern revisionism and has won great victories, and a decade which has seen a vigorous development of the great struggle waged by the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and the reactionaries of various countries.

In the past decade, under new conditions, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the broad masses

of the people has swept the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. The national liberation movement has advanced in surging tides. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations have grown daily in the course of struggle. Capitalism is irretrievably on the decline while socialism thrives with irresistible force. The great socialist China towers like a giant in the East. Albania, the beacon of socialism in Europe, shines ever more brightly. The heroic Vietnamese people with their iron fists have badly battered U.S. imperialism. The great truth **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** set forth by Chairman Mao has been inspiring the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their armed struggle on an ever broader scale. The dyke of the colonial system of imperialism has been falling off one part after another. The raging flames of revolution have already engulfed the "heartlands" of imperialism. The financial and monetary crises shaking the West and the ever deteriorating and deepening economic crises have landed capitalist economy in a still more hopeless state. The old world is tottering with volcanoes erupting and crowns falling to the ground one after another. Nowhere on the globe can imperialism find a "tranquil oasis" any more.

Not long after it had climbed to the position of the overlord of world capitalism after World War II, U. S. imperialism tumbled down from its zenith. It has engaged in arms expansion and war preparations, committed aggression and built military bases everywhere, putting so many nooses round its own neck, which are being tightened by the people of the world. In the United States which claims to be the "richest" country in the world, tens of millions of people are increasingly suffering from poverty and hunger. The reactionary U.S. rulers are sitting on thorns in the face of the struggle waged by the proletariat and the masses of the people of the United States against

monopoly capital and the Afro-American struggle against violent repression. None of the masters of the White House has found a panacea to save U.S. imperialism from its decline. The Wall Street bosses, who boastfully described the twentieth century as "the American century", now helplessly lament that the United States has entered its "difficult years." The rapid decline of U.S. imperialism strikingly demonstrates that the capitalist system is already in the grip of a new and most acute general crisis.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique—the centre of modern revisionism—is heading for total bankruptcy at an accelerated tempo. Khrushchov the clown, who swaggered like a conquering hero not long ago, is now a heap of dirt beneath the contempt of mankind. His successors Brezhnev and company are faring even worse and their conditions deteriorating year after year; they are saddled with crises both at home and abroad. They are enforcing fascist dictatorship at home and carrying out aggression and expansion abroad. This has completely revealed their features as social-imperialists and aroused the mounting opposition of the people in the Soviet Union and other countries. The emergence of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is but an episode in the course of imperialism heading for total collapse. It can avert neither the downfall of the entire imperialist system nor its own destruction. In the final analysis, the so-called "Brezhnev doctrine" is nothing but a variation of moribund neo-colonialism.

In contrast with the plight of the declining and enfeebled imperialism and social-imperialism, socialist China under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao has become even more consolidated, prosperous, powerful and vigorous. Chairman Mao has personally led our Party in unfolding, together with the Marxist-Leninists of the world, the great polemics against modern revisionism, and this has prepared conditions for even greater victories of the world proletarian revolution ideologically,

theoretically and politically. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has shattered the dreams of the imperialists and revisionists for the restoration of capitalism in China and opened up, in the history of the international communist movement, a bright road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The great Mao Tsetung Thought has been disseminated among the 700 million people on an unprecedented scale. The far-reaching historic influence of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is more and more manifest. Our great socialist motherland has become a powerful political force of our time in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism; it has become the most reliable friend of the proletariat of all countries and of all oppressed people and nations as well as the hope of the world revolution.

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history. Through the great upheaval, great division and great reorganization in the 1960's, the revolutionary forces of the world have grown and the alignment of classes has become clear. The new development of the fundamental contradictions of the world will inevitably continue to give rise to revolution. The 1970's will be years in which the storms of the people's revolution will rise still more vigorously throughout the world, years in which the collapse of imperialism will be hastened in the midst of countless contradictions, and will be important years in which the revolutionary forces of the world will wage fierce battles against the counter-revolutionary forces which are struggling desperately. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism can never escape their doom no matter how they collude with each other and contend for spheres of influence, no matter how many schemes and tricks they resort to and what kind of wars of aggression they launch. They will not last long.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **China ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity.** Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, our great Party, great people, great country and great army can surely fulfil the glorious mission assigned us by history and will never fail to live up to the hope placed on us by the people of the world. In the new year, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country should rally still more closely around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, arm themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought still better and use Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking of "heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland," "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" to push forward and examine the struggle-criticism-transformation movement. They should guard against arrogance and rashness and fulfil still better and faster the fighting tasks set forth by the Ninth National Congress of the Party.

At present, the mass movement of struggle-criticism-transformation is deepening on all fronts. The proletarian policies put forward by Chairman Mao are being further carried out in an all-round way. New things of the proletariat with boundless vitality are emerging everywhere. We should integrate the great mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. We should firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines as the key link, and carry out the fundamental task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in all the units at the basic level. We should continue to unfold revolutionary mass criticism to eliminate the remaining poisonous influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi. In the ideological and

cultural fields, we should hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and continue to wipe out the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; in the political field, we should do a good job of purifying the class ranks according to the Party's policies and strengthen the dictatorship over the handful of counter-revolutionary forces; and in the economic field, we should consolidate and develop the socialist economic base and, in a planned way, deal blows at the corrosive and sabotaging activities of the bourgeoisie. We should carry on the revolution in education, scientific research, literature and art, the press, public health and other fields perseveringly and in a deep-going way to achieve new successes and gain new experience.

During the Ninth Party Congress Chairman Mao pointed out time and again: **"It is imperative to grasp typical cases well."** **"As regards the entire work it is necessary first to grasp well one-third of it."** We must resolutely carry out this extremely important instruction of Chairman Mao's, make overall plans and actively and carefully fulfil all tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation by stages and in groups and in a deep-going and meticulous way.

On the basis of purifying the class ranks it is necessary to grasp firmly the work of Party consolidation and building. Using Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to build our Party is the basic guarantee for developing the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and a matter of vital and far-reaching importance to the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the process of Party consolidation and building, we must give first place to the ideological consolidation of the Party, conscientiously study the new Party Constitution, conscientiously educate the Party members and the activists who ask to join the Party in the theory of

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NOTES

AS WE GREET THE NEW YEAR

One more year is over—an unforgettable year, a year of epoch-making events.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China had blasted the hopes of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries all over the world, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in that mighty base of world revolution, unleashed the creative energy of the 700 million people of China in a manner the like of which the world has never seen before, and influenced directly the struggles of the revolutionary peoples throughout the world. On the crest of this great victory came the Ninth National Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China in April, 1969. It was, as Chairman Mao declared, a Congress of unity, a Congress of victory—victory not only for the great Chinese people but for the peoples of the entire world. Revolutionary armed struggle forged swiftly ahead in Thailand, Laos, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, India, Palestine and various other countries of the world. Bitter class struggles raged in the very heartlands of imperialism—North America, France, Italy etc. Both imperialism and social-imperialism are getting enmeshed in ever sharper contradictions which spell their doom.

The year Nineteen Hundred Sixty-Nine also witnessed the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The Party emerged out of the flames of the revolutionary armed peasant struggles which were being led by communist revolutionaries in Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri and which represented the first attempts at integrating Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution. With

the formation of the Party a wave of hope and enthusiasm swept large parts of the country and the armed peasant struggles guided by the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the Party made a swift advance. Guerrilla struggles developed from one end of the country to another—in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Orissa and Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. The fight against the concrete manifestations of revisionism—revisionist ideas and practices which hamper the onward march of the Indian revolution—grew intenser. Though this struggle against revisionism will be a protracted one, it has already won significant victories. Chairman Mao's ideas, as they are being increasingly grasped by our party cadres and peasant revolutionaries, are turning into a material force that will soon cause an inconceivably bigger upsurge of revolutionary struggles in this country. During the year that has just ended, the entire Party and revolutionary workers and peasants have been better armed than before with Mao Tsetung Thought without which the Indian revolution cannot attain victory, without which no revolution anywhere on earth can succeed. And they are determined more than ever before to raise the level of their study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher.

On the other hand, political stability, which the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and their Indian lackeys are vainly striving after, has now become a thing of the past. All the ruling parties present a picture of disintegration. Faced with an ever deepening economic crisis, they can hardly deceive the people any longer however much they may try to do so. And this process of disintegration is being hastened by the armed peasant struggle led by the CPI (M-L). The year Nineteen Hundred Sixty-Nine witnessed the intense dog-fight that shattered and split the Congress Party which has been the main instrument for carrying out the policies of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries. When this instrument was

getting blunted, when its capacity to hoodwink the people was declining, the ruling classes set up the so-called United Front led by the revisionists of different varieties as a political alternative to the Congress Party. The revisionists—both the Dange and Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu cliques, the last political reserve of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries and the Trojan horse within the camp of the people—were pressed into service to do the same dirty work as the Congress had been doing, the work of deceiving the people and suppressing their struggles in order to serve the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, the Indian big bourgeoisie and feudal lords. About three years ago, when the so-called United Front set up governments in Kerala and West Bengal, much hope was reposed on it by all the imperialists and reactionaries. The revisionists, the most treacherous enemies of the people, were wild with glee. It was sought to be represented as the shape of things to come—in other States and at the centre. Namboodiripad himself wrote: "I may now claim one of the biggest achievements of our pre-election alliance and the post-election coalition government is that we have shown that it is possible for the various non-Congress parties to come together and establish a relatively *stable alliance on which a stable coalition Government can be built.*"

The success of the Jyoti-Ajoy-Biswanath-led 'United Front' in West Bengal at the mid-term poll in 1969 was hailed by the imperialists and reactionaries as a magnificent victory. In its leading editorial of February 11, the *Jugantar* wrote: "Those in the palace in Delhi, whose sleep is disturbed from time to time by the events in West Bengal, may now feel relieved of their anxieties." And in its issue of February 28, the *Statesman* editorially expressed its faith in the revisionist scab Jyoti Basu: "Industrial and business circles, which have reasons to feel apprehensive, may be reassured by the indications that the United Front will do

its best to improve production and avoid work stoppages. Mr Jyoti Basu, who since the elections has publicly reiterated this objective twice, has again told our correspondent that 'excesses as in 1967 will not be tolerated.'

• And on February 14 the London *Times* greeted this victory with the observation that the success of the Communists could provide a more stable government to West Bengal. It added: "...it does not follow that this revolutionary party elected to power in a revolutionary state will plunge into revolutionary policies. The example of the communists in Kerala is not one of extremism. In Calcutta the C.P.L.(M) may find caution the best guide if it is to produce results" —satisfactory to the imperialists and their lackeys.

•• The *Economic Times* of Bombay was more explicit: "Over the years, Indian industrialists have acquired a great deal of finesse and sophistry in dealing with Communist Governments and politicians whose ideology disfavors private sector. For example, consider the relations with the Kerala Chief Minister, Mr Namboodiripad. As soon as his party swept into power in 1968-69, a leading industrialist rushed to Ernakulam to cultivate him. The cordiality of their relationship has continued ever since...In the case of the U.F. in West Bengal also, there has been a sea-change in the approach of the Communist leaders since 1967...The industrialists this time seized the initiative and met the U.F. leaders on the morrow of their victory and assured them of their support and co-operation. This ✓ evidently found some response...A practical compromise for a workable relationship is now in sight. Neither the British businessman nor the Indians now have any fears of being hunted out of West Bengal." (Leading editorial entitled "Dialogue with U.F.", April 27, '69). In the same editorial the *Economic Times* allotted certain tasks to Jyoti Basu: "What the U.F. Government will have to do is to enforce a certain amount of discipline on the militant

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Absorb Fresh Blood From the Proletariat

—An Important Question in Party Consolidation

Editorial of "Hongqi," No. 4, 1968

THE great proletarian cultural revolution is an open Party consolidation movement carried out on an unprecedented scale by revolutionary methods. In scope and depth, in profundity of ideological criticism and repudiation and in thoroughness of organizational consolidation, it far surpasses any previous Party consolidation movement launched since liberation. This is a great struggle being waged by the proletarian revolutionaries of China who uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to smash the revisionist faction within the Party. This is a great struggle in which the broadest revolutionary masses all over the country, acting in response to Chairman Mao's call, expose and repudiate China's Khrushchov and the rest of the handful of renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist roaders and other counter-revolutionaries who wormed their way into the Party. This is a decisive battle between the two lines—the line of upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat and the line of attempting to restore capitalism. This is a song of triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which resounds through the skies.

The tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and have strengthened leadership by the Party, and, in the course of struggle-criticism-transformation in all fields of the superstructure, are uniting all the masses that can be united and firmly establishing the all-embracing rule of the proletariat over the small number of bourgeois elements. The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and

with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader has become the sole leading centre of the whole Party. Now our Party is purer, stronger and more united.

The valuable experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution tells us that building, consolidating and developing the Party during the period of socialism are inseparable from the fundamental question—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Departure from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship makes it impossible to have a correct line on Party building. Proceeding precisely from the falsehood of a “state of the whole people” which betrays the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has negated class struggle, suppressed the labouring masses, changed the nature of the Party founded by Lenin and made it degenerate into a so-called “party of the entire people,” that is, a revisionist, fascist party. The essence of the sinister book on “self-cultivation” written by China’s Khrushchov is, likewise, a betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a betrayal of scientific socialism. The sort of “self-cultivation” he advocated aims at protecting the bourgeois reactionaries who sneaked into the Party, stifling the vigorous proletarian revolutionary spirit of the members of the Communist Party and abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to prepare “docile tools” for their plot to restore capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has upheld, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has solved the question of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He points out that the struggle between the two classes and the two roads under the dictatorship of the proletariat continues for a long time, that the main danger of capitalist restoration comes from the handful of Party capitalist roaders who reflect the interests of the

bourgeoisie, and that it is essential to enforce all-round dictatorship of the proletariat not only in the political field but also in the ideological and cultural fields. Starting from firm faith in the overwhelming majority of the people and, first of all, the overwhelming majority of the workers, peasants and soldiers, Chairman Mao personally initiated and is leading the first great proletarian cultural revolution. He lets Communists, together with the revolutionary masses, “face the world and brave the storm” in the great tempest of the turbulent and extremely complicated revolutionary mass movement, expose the capitalist roaders, ferret out the counter-revolutionaries, criticize and repudiate revisionism and bourgeois ideas, take a correct attitude towards the masses and, in different forms of struggle, learn to distinguish and handle correctly the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has greatly raised the communist consciousness of the masses of Communist Party members, clearly indicated the direction for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, swept away the bureaucratic airs corrupting the revolutionary will, and brought about closer ties between the Party and the working masses. As a result, the Left, that is, the genuine proletarian revolutionaries, has been found and tempered, the wavering middle-of-the-roaders educated, and the Rightists, that is, the bourgeois reactionaries serving imperialism and the Kuomintang, isolated and exposed. Only by implementing this proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao’s and carrying out a party consolidation movement of a mass character, not a movement behind closed doors, can we guarantee that the leadership of the Party organizations at all levels is truly in the hands of those Communist Party members who are loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung’s thought and to Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary

line; only in this way can the Party always maintain its character as the vanguard of the proletariat, lead the masses forward and fulfil the glorious historical task set by the dictatorship of the proletariat, the task of completely eliminating the bourgeoisie (the last exploiting class in the history of mankind), eliminating class differences and realizing communism.

A question that demands attention in the present work of Party consolidation is the question of absorbing fresh blood from the proletariat.

Talking about Party consolidation, Chairman Mao has said: "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour."

The vivid analogy by Chairman Mao embodies profound dialectics. Chairman Mao teaches us to look at the proletarian revolutionary Party as an organization developing through the process of metabolism of the revolution, and not as a static and immutable organization.

"Eliminating waste matter" means resolutely expelling from the Party the proven renegades, enemy agents, all counter-revolutionaries, obdurate capitalist roaders, alien class elements and degenerated elements. As for apathetic persons whose revolutionary will has declined, they should be advised to leave the Party.

"Absorbing fresh blood" consists of two inter-related tasks: Taking into the Party a number of outstanding rebels, primarily advanced elements from among the industrial workers, and selecting outstanding Communist Party members for leading posts in the Party organizations at all levels.

Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a number of rebel fighters with proletarian consciousness have emerged from among the revolutionary masses, primarily among the labouring masses, the workers, peasants and soldiers. They have these characteristics: a high level of consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, a keen sense of class struggle, boldness in stepping to the forefront of the struggle in defence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and, especially, firmness in opposing revisionism. These are very valuable revolutionary qualities. They also have shortcomings, but these can be overcome through education.

One comrade worker at the Shanghai No. 1 Valve Works, who has applied for Party membership, said: "The Party organization should admit into its ranks those rebel fighters who are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, firmly carry out the battle orders of the proletarian headquarters and press boldly forward as the vanguard in the class struggle and in the struggle for production. In applying for Party membership, comrade rebels must proceed from a correct motive and have the correct aim: they rise in rebellion during the great proletarian cultural revolution to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line (and not for any personal aim); after the seizure of power, they must do a good job in exercising power for the proletariat (and not for self-interest); they must always conscientiously study, firmly carry out, vigorously disseminate and courageously defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, consciously **fight self, repudiate revisionism** and develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat (and must not pride themselves on being 'veteran rebels' and become conceited or stop half way in making revolution); and they must have close ties with the masses, act as their humble pupils and serve the people heart and soul (and must not act as high and mighty officials or divorce themselves from the masses)."

How well said this is! It reflects the demands which the awakened working class makes on its vanguard. The Party should actively absorb such fresh blood as meets these demands and has proletarian revolutionary vigour. Comrades who apply for Party membership, as well as comrades who have already been admitted into the Party, should make these demands on themselves and should be able to stand the test of storms of any magnitude in the future.

During the period of socialist revolution, attention must be paid to Party building among the workers and to developing revolutionary vigour. This has been Chairman Mao's consistent thinking. As long ago as in March 1949, in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that in our work in the cities, **"We must whole-heartedly rely on the working class, unite with the rest of the labouring masses, win over the intellectuals."** In June 1950, in his report *Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation in China* made at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao again pointed out clearly, **"attention must be paid to drawing politically-conscious workers into the Party systematically, expanding the percentage of workers in the Party organization."** In July 1957, in the article *The Situation in the Summer of 1957*, Chairman Mao again pointed out: **"A Communist must be full of vigour, he must have a strong revolutionary will, he must defy all difficulties and overcome them with an unyielding will, he must get rid of individualism, departmental egoism, absolute equalitarianism and liberalism, otherwise he is not a Communist in the real sense."** In 1967, at the time when decisive victory had been won in the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out: **"The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization**

capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." China's Khrushchov and company, this handful of class enemies who wormed their way into the leading bodies of the Party, were utterly opposed to this proletarian line of Chairman Mao's on Party building. Instead of relying on the working class, they relied on the bourgeoisie (and bourgeois intellectuals). Instead of paying attention to admitting advanced elements of the proletariat into the Party, they provided protection for renegades to the proletariat, scabs, enemy agents and counter-revolutionaries and resorted to every means to help them sneak into the Party and usurp leading positions. Instead of raising the proletarian class consciousness of the workers and the activists who applied for Party membership, they tried to instil into them the most corrupt and the darkest bourgeois reactionary ideology. The "six theories" advocated by China's Khrushchov are the revisionist rubbish he used to corrupt the masses of workers and the Party. They are: the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," the theory of "docile tools," the theory that "the masses are backward," the theory of "entering the Party in order to be an official," the theory of "inner-Party peace" and the theory of "merging private and public interests" (that is "losing a little to gain much"). The core of the "six theories" consists of the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and the theory of "docile tools." The former negates the dictatorship of the proletariat and is designed to stifle the Party's proletarian revolutionary spirit and so cause the proletarian revolutionary Party to degenerate. The latter negates the necessity of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and is designed to stifle the proletarian revolutionary spirit of the Communist Party members and so cause them to degenerate. The reason some Party members took the wrong stand for a time in the early stage of the great

cultural revolution is that they were under the evil influence of the "six theories" of China's Khrushchov. We must conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on Party building, seriously study Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his theory on the nature of the Party and its tasks, thoroughly eliminate the poison of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on Party building pushed by China's Khrushchov and thoroughly repudiate the reactionary points of view mentioned above. And at the same time, we must make conscientious efforts to do a good job in purifying the class ranks and ferret out the extremely few counter-revolutionaries lurking among the masses in various places including factories, shops, people's communes, Party, government and mass organizations, schools and colleges, and urban communities. This will provide a reliable ideological and organizational foundation for admitting new Party members.

In order to do a good job in admitting new Party members in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is also necessary to have a new leading body which is a revolutionary three-in-one combination and resolutely carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Those comrades who are good at creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, truly devote themselves to proletarian revolution and are really full of vigour, should be selected for leading posts in the Party organizations, and a unified leadership should be formed gradually.

Oppose the restoration of the old. It is impossible to do a good job in admitting new Party members in any place where the leading body is composed entirely of former personnel, has not drawn in fresh blood from the proletariat, has no revolutionary three-in-one combination or has only a nominal but not revolutionary three-in-one combination. Such leading bodies cannot maintain close

ties with the revolutionary masses. It is, therefore, very possible that they would admit into the Party some "middle-of-the-roaders" or "good old chaps." It is even possible that they would let some bad elements, whose words do not tally with their deeds, and careerists sneak into the Party while excluding comrades who dare to make frontal attacks on the class enemies and persevere in principled struggle. Those places with the tendency to restore the old often form two centres because of their lack of unity on the principled basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The work in such places is often lifeless, flashy but without substance, and stagnant and destitute of progress. They smell strongly of being "independent kingdoms." In such places new proletarian forces should be drawn in, the manifestations of the theory of "many centres" should be overcome, the leading bodies should be revolutionized through the mass movement of struggle-criticism-transformation and by fully carrying out the mass line; and a revolutionary core which resolutely carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line should be formed gradually in the course of struggle.

Some comrades have committed errors but have conscientiously corrected them and are taking an active part in the work. They are different from those who persist in their errors or lie down on the job. They have discarded their wrong ideas and wrong style of work, and achieved a fairly deep understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They have been reinvigorated by the new spirit of the proletariat that they have acquired from the revolutionary masses. We should support and unite with such cadres and work with them. The errors they committed should be turned into lessons for everybody to bear in mind.

Oppose conservatism. There are people who are always trying to find fault with every new thing arising from the revolutionary mass movements; their complaint is that this is no good and that is no good either.

They invariably use conventional criteria and old habits to obstruct the establishment of the revolutionary new order.

In some places there is conservatism in regard to the activists applying for Party membership. There are cases where fine comrades who are of good class origin and are good ideologically have been kept out of the Party for five or six years, although they have applied many times. Such things should be corrected.

Blind faith in elections is also a form of conservative thinking.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: **"Who is it that gives us our power? It is the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the labouring masses comprising over 90 per cent of the population. We represent the proletariat and the masses and have overthrown the enemies of the people, and therefore the people support us. Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party."** This most important instruction of Chairman Mao's penetratingly points out the mass basis of the mighty power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticizes and repudiates the formalism of having blind faith in elections, and gives the basic orientation for building the Party and revolutionary committees.

The revolutionary committee is the most representative revolutionary organ of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the liberation. But it is established not by elections but by relying directly upon action by the broad revolutionary masses. The revolutionary committees of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, have about 4,000 members; about half are representatives of the revolutionary masses, and the overwhelming majority are representatives of the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. These 4,000 or so comrades were tested and tempered in the revolutionary storms and were selected as a result of repeated

arguments, deliberations, consultations and examinations. The cadres are discussed and examined by the revolutionary masses and approved of by the leadership, and besides there are always partial replacements or adjustments. When a revolutionary committee is set up, the number of people attending the celebration rally ranges from over a hundred thousand to hundreds of thousands. Everyone knows about it and is overjoyed. Has any Party committee or government council or people's congress in any part of the country in the past ever had such a mass basis? Has any one of them gained the understanding of and received supervision by the revolutionary masses to such an extent? What decides the nature of a leading organ is the line it carries out and the class interests it reflects, not the form it takes. Democracy has class character. The revolutionary organ of power—including its revolutionary cadres, old and new, from various fields of work—which is created in the revolutionary movement by following a thoroughgoing mass line, conforms better to proletarian democracy and democratic centralism, and reflects the interests of the proletariat and the working people in a much more deep-going way than those organs of power produced in the past only by means of elections. This experience should also be drawn upon in regard to Party life.

Engels said: **"A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is."** The process of revolution is the process of getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. The establishment of the provincial, municipal and autonomous-regional revolutionary committees under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, has proclaimed the recapture by the proletariat of all the power which was usurped by China's Khrushchov and his agents in various localities, and has proclaimed their loss of all posts in the Party and government, finance and culture. This is self-evident and has long been an objective fact. The great proletarian cultural revolution long ago swept China's Khrushchov,

this renegade, traitor and scab, on to the garbage heap of history. He was long ago deprived by the revolution of all power and positions both within the Party and outside it.

Getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh in the ranks of revolutionary cadres is a constant process accompanying the continuous development of the revolution. Whether or not a cadre can stand firmly and consistently on the proletarian revolutionary line must be tested in protracted class struggle. This is also true of the cadres who have just begun to work. Such new cadres must take particular care not to separate themselves from the working people. Nevertheless, we must not be afraid of using cadres boldly on the ground that they might make mistakes. The labouring masses promote them to leading posts and will also constantly educate and help them and, when necessary, will dismiss them.

We must expel counter-revolutionaries and exploiting-class elements from the Party; admit into the Party outstanding proletarian revolutionary rebels; select to leading Party organs at all levels those Communist Party members who faithfully carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and are full of vigour; rely closely on the revolutionary masses; send cadres to do manual work regularly so that they can work at both higher and lower levels, both serve as "officials" and remain one of the common people, and make this a regular system. In this way, we will be able to carry out in an all-round way Chairman Mao's instruction: **Get rid of the stale and take in the fresh** and be able to smash all types of counter-attacks and last-ditch struggles by revisionism. Under the leadership of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party—the vanguard of the proletariat of China—will lead the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the country with even greater vigour in defeating all reactionaries both at home and abroad, systematically dig out the roots of revisionism and victoriously accomplish the great historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

—(From *Peking Review*, No. 43, 1968)

Pay Attention to Methods of Work

THERE has been a remarkable and swift development of the situation throughout the country since the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

In response to our great leader Chairman Mao's great call "**Unite to win still greater victories**," the people of all nationalities in the country have rallied even more closely around the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. In order to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mass movement for struggle-criticism-transformation is developing in a deep-going way and the socialist revolutionary emulation drive is surging forward vigorously. A new upsurge in socialist revolution and socialist construction has emerged.

The developing situation calls for Party organizations and revolutionary committees at all levels to pay still greater attention to methods of work.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "**To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work. Even with correct general and specific policies, troubles may still arise if methods of work are neglected.**"

Chairman Mao has also taught us: "**It is not enough to set tasks, we must also solve the problem of the methods for carrying them out. If our task is to cross a river, we cannot cross it without a bridge or a boat. Unless the bridge or boat problem is solved, it is idle to speak of crossing the river. Unless the problem of method is solved, talk about the task is useless.**"

Chairman Mao has always paid great attention to the question of methods of work. When he set new fighting tasks for the whole Party in every historical period of the

development of the revolution, he always urged us to pay attention to methods of work. At the Ninth Party Congress and the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao issued a new fighting call to the whole Party and he once again reminded us to pay attention to methods of work. Chairman Mao said: **“Work meticulously. Meticulous care is necessary; to be careless will not do for that often leads to errors.”**

What methods of work should we pay attention to at present?

I. Grasp the ideological work of the leading members well. To do ideological work well among tens of millions of people in a province, it is necessary, first of all, that the ideological work of those leading the tens of millions be grasped well, namely, the revolutionization of the leading body. Earnest and persistent efforts must be made to grasp the leading body's living study and application of Mao Tse-tung Thought, its resolute adherence to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, its implementation of all the policies set forth by Chairman Mao and its using Mao Tsetung Thought to command everything. Likewise, this should be done in every county, factory and people's commune.

II. Take hold of selected basic units. The leadership should collect first-hand information by taking hold of such units so as to guide the movement. It is necessary to take good hold of such units, and energy should be concentrated on fighting battles of annihilation instead of ranging widely. Comrades who go to such units must be clear about policy. Policies should be explained clearly. Leading comrades should combine their work in a selected unit with work in an area, take the problems collected from the area to that unit for study and popularize the experience gained in the unit throughout the area.

III. Grasp the work in one-third of an area. The

experience gained in selected units cannot be spread all at once to the whole area. It is necessary to map out an overall plan and have a good grasp of the work in one-third of the area before dealing with the rest. When we have a good grasp of one-third of the area, we will be able to have a good grasp of two-thirds or more of the area.

IV. Take the whole situation into consideration. In everything we do, we should proceed from the strategic concept **“Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,”** and observe, check and do everything in the light of it. This is what we mean by keeping the overall situation in mind. People in every trade and profession must give prominence to proletarian politics, pay attention to studying the situation and ideological trends and handle the work of a particular unit in the light of the overall situation. To work without keeping the overall situation in mind is a purely technical viewpoint.

V. Keep the masses in mind. What we decide about a problem and how we handle it concerns the masses. We must consult the masses, listen to different views, let the masses discuss matters of major importance and obtain their approval and support.

VI. Direct contact between the leadership and the masses. This revolutionary method of work has been universally adopted in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must not confine ourselves to a small circle and be satisfied with reports level by level. We must live among the masses, learn from them and with them carry through the principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee.

VII. Run Mao Tsetung Thought study classes well. The various types of Mao Tsetung Thought study classes should be run in such a way as to shoot the arrow at the target, that is, with specific problems in mind. Once they

are started, they must be run well so as to solve problems effectively.

VIII. Hold meetings to exchange experience in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. The masses have a rich store of good experience in using Mao Tsetung Thought to solve problems. Organize them to give talks, for such talks are concrete, lively and most convincing.

IX. Fewer but better. Meetings, documents and forms should be drastically cut down and simplified. Do not have endless meetings or bury yourself in documents for days on end. Short meetings and short articles should be encouraged and news reporting should also be clear and concise.

X. Provide leeway. In fighting a battle, there must be reserves. In arranging daily life, one must have something in reserve. There must be some leeway in all work. If leeway for manoeuvre is not provided, one is liable to land in a passive position.

XI. Combine exertion and rest. There must be relaxation as well as alertness. The more energetic the masses are, the greater care must be given to their well-being.

XII. Put stress on real effect. It is imperative to work hard without fuss and do the work in a down-to-earth way. Make tireless efforts at key points, and solve existing questions. Don't put on a show. Don't complicate things.

The question of the method of work is also one of method of thinking, a question of world outlook. Whenever you do something, you use certain methods. If you are not using the correct method, you are using the wrong method. The method of work which Chairman Mao advocates is the method of the mass line, the method of integrating theory with practice, the method of materialist dialectics. This method of work is opposed to bureaucratic, subjective and formalistic methods of work.

(Continued at the foot of 40)

The Criminal Schemes Of the U.S.—Japanese Reactionaries

(“People's Daily” editorial on November 28, 1969)

EISAKU SATO, chieftain of the reactionary Japanese government, in a trip to Washington recently, conducted secret talks with Nixon and issued a “joint communique” afterwards. These talks have brought the military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to a new stage, that is, in the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U. S. imperialism, Japanese reaction has been raised to play the role of the gendarme in Asia and has become the fugleman in opposition to the Chinese people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese people and all the peoples of Asia. U. S. imperialism and Japanese reaction are further reinforcing their military alliance and stepping up their planning and preparations for a new war of aggression. This is a new trend which merits the serious attention of the Asian people.

The ostensible aim of Sato's recent visit to the United States was to conduct negotiations on the so-called question of “the return of Okinawa”. Actually, however, this is entirely a fraud. According to the U. S.-Japan joint communique, what the United States prepares to “return” to Japan is merely the “administrative rights” over Okinawa, while the U. S. military bases on that island will remain intact in the hands of the United States. As military rule is still in the hands of the United States, the so-called “administrative rights” are merely empty talk. The U. S. armed forces there can interfere at any time in the administration in the name of military needs while the administration can only remain subordinated to the

military rule. At the same time, the United States categorically has not made any definite commitment on the question of removing the nuclear weapons installed on its bases in Okinawa. Moreover, the joint communique contains an implication, couched in ambiguous terms, to the effect that the United States will continue to install nuclear weapons on Okinawa. This, in fact, means that the United States will be allowed to keep its nuclear bases on Okinawa indefinitely. Now, if the United States can still freely use the military bases on Okinawa and keep nuclear weapons there after the island is "returned" to Japan and becomes a part of Japan proper, why, then, can't the United States do the same in the whole of Japan? So it can be seen that the result of the U.S.-Japan talks is not the turning of Okinawa into part of Japan proper but the "Okinawanization" of Japan proper. This is a shameless sell-out by Eisaku Sato of the state sovereignty and national interests of Japan and a monstrous mockery of the Japanese people's just demand for the unconditional recovery of Okinawa!

The aim of Nixon and Sato in taking such pains to play a variety of tricks on the question of "the return of Okinawa" is to cover up the criminal activities of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in stepping up their military collusion. At the same time, U.S. imperialism also purposely wants to give Sato a little political capital in form so that the Japanese reactionaries can carry out arms expansion and war preparations with a free hand and exert themselves to serve the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression.

In the joint communique, Nixon and Sato declared in undisguised terms that they "highly valued the role" played by the U.S.-Japan "security treaty" in the suppression of the Japanese people and in the aggression against Asia, and that they would "firmly maintain the treaty". Sato had the impudence to clamour that China's sacred territory of Taiwan province was "a most important factor

for the security of Japan", and that Korea was "essential to Japan's own security". He even declared that the Japanese reactionaries would also play a "role" in the aggression against the Indo-Chinese region. In this way, the Japanese reactionaries have unscrupulously proclaimed that they not only want to fasten Japan more tightly to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism but also openly direct the spearhead of their aggression against China, Korea, Viet Nam and Indo-China and, when necessary, are ready to take the field themselves for military adventure. U.S. imperialism, on its part, agrees to give as a reward to the Japanese reactionaries a share in such areas as Taiwan, South Korea and Indo-China under its forcible occupation. This is a monstrous and extremely vicious conspiracy jointly engineered by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The Japanese reactionaries have long harboured the design to seize the Chinese territory of Taiwan province. As a result of U.S. imperialist backing, they have become ever more unbridled and undisguised in carrying out conspiratorial activities in this respect. Simultaneous with Sato's visit to the United States, Nobusuke Kishi, ex-Prime Minister of Japan and a war criminal class A, openly and swaggeringly intruded into Taiwan. While one of these two brothers was howling about Taiwan being "a most important factor" for the security of Japan, the other was ranting about Japan's desire to strengthen "amity and co-operation" with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and to support the latter in its so-called "counter-offensive against the mainland." Their tune is entirely the same as the hullabaloo of the old Japanese militarists about China's three north-eastern provinces being the "lifeline" of Japan's security and about "Sino-Japanese co-operation." Clear as daylight has become the Japanese reactionaries' wolfish ambition to obstruct by force of arms the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan and to support the Chiang Kai-shek

bandit gang's attempt to make inroad into the mainland in exchange for their annexation of Taiwan. This is a frantic provocation against the 700 million Chinese people. We Chinese people must on no account treat it casually.

It is an important component part of Nixon's so-called "new Asia policy" for U.S. imperialism to step up its efforts to raise Japanese reaction to the position of the gendarme in Asia. Since U.S. imperialism has landed itself in an impasse as a result of the ceaseless bankruptcy it has suffered in its policy of aggression against Asia, it has become more and more anxious to unleash Japanese militarism and make it serve as the fugleman for U.S. aggression in Asia. Nixon has time and again stressed that the Japanese reactionaries should play "a leading role," "a key role" in Asia, with a view to establishing a new aggressive military alliance with Japan as its backbone and the United States as its back-stage manager, so as to realize the scheme of making Asians fight Asians. With inflated economic strength, Japanese monopoly capital is vainly hoping to use U.S. imperialism as the mainstay for accelerating the revival of militarism engaging in aggression and expansion in a big way, re-establishing its colonial sphere of influence in Asia and realizing its old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." Sato's clamour that Japan would "make further active contributions" to the counter-revolutionary-undertaking of aggression in Asia is a full disclosure of this rabid ambition of Japanese militarism.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out:

"The time is not far off when all the aggressors in the world will be buried together with their running dogs. There is no escape for them."

While Eisaku Sato has shouted wildly that after the "return" of Okinawa, Japan will enter a so-called "new Pacific era" in which it will rule supreme in the Asian and Pacific region, Nobusuke Kishi howled for creating a "new

Asia" of the nineteen seventies. They are truly blinded by their presumptuous self-conceit and overweening ambition! The present era is one in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory. The great socialist China stands firm as a rock in the east of the world. The revolutionary movement of the Asian peoples is surging forward wave upon wave. Whatever U.S. imperialism and Japanese reaction may do to stir up trouble in the Asian and Pacific region, they can in no way avert their inevitable doom nor can they topple the sky! As to the modern revisionist attempt to use the military alliance of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to oppose and isolate China, put out the flames of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and undermine the Korean people's cause of reunifying their motherland, the modern revisionists can only reveal more clearly their features as the enemy of the people of Asia and the rest of the world.

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. They resolutely support the Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle, the struggles of the Korean, Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian and other Asian peoples against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. By uniting to wage firm struggles, the Asian peoples will certainly be able to completely smash the criminal schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to intensify military collusion and engineer a new war of aggression. Should U.S. imperialism and any of its accomplices dare to play with fire, they will definitely be reduced to ashes by the raging flames of the revolution of the Asian peoples!

INTENSIFIED U.S.-SOVIET COLLABORATION
AGAINST CHINA

Essence of So-Called Preliminary Talks on "Strategic Arms Limitation"

THE United States and the Soviet Union announced in Washington and Moscow on October 25 that the two Governments have decided to begin "preliminary discussions" on the "strategic arms limitation talks" in Helsinki on November 17. This is a big plot. It shows that the United States and the Soviet Union are contending with each other, each seeking to maintain its own nuclear superiority by restricting the other, while at the same time both are colluding with each other in a futile effort to further develop their nuclear military alliance so as to maintain their nuclear monopoly, which has gone bankrupt, and continue to carry out their nuclear threat against the people of the world. It is also a new move by the United States and the Soviet Union to step up their joint opposition to China.

On October 20, as disclosed by official U. S. circles, Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, made a special visit to the White House for a secret talk with U. S. imperialist chieftain Nixon to convey the Soviet Government's consent to Nixon's proposal for holding U.S.-Soviet "strategic arms limitation talks." Two days later, Dobrynin had a long secret meeting with U. S. Secretary of State Rogers on the same subject.

Official U. S. statements have made it clear that the United States and the Soviet Union also intend to promote their extensive global deal through the so-called "strategic

arms limitation talks." White House spokesman Ronald Ziegler divulged on October 28 that Nixon held that "there is a certain relationship between the S. A. L. T. and political questions." After meeting with Nixon the same day, U. S. House Republican leader Gerald Ford said the talks might be extended to include "a number of political issues between the United States and the Soviet Union." The Soviet delegate to the Geneva "disarmament" conference also stressed on October 28 that the Soviet Union "attaches great importance" to the talks.

Following the conclusion of the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" and the "nuclear non-proliferation treaty," the U. S.-Soviet talks on so-called "strategic arms limitation" are aimed at further developing their nuclear military alliance. They vainly hope to maintain their nuclear monopoly and carry out nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats against the Chinese people and the people of the world. Nixon blatantly told a press conference on March 14 this year that U. S.-Soviet nuclear talks were designed to jointly cope with what he called the "potential Chinese Communist threat." Rogers also said on October 25 that it would be to the "advantage" of both the United States and the Soviet Union if an agreement was reached on "strategic arms limitation." He openly stated that "if we can work out something that is constructive from the standpoint of the two superpowers then we can deal with China's problem later on." These ravings by Nixon and Rogers have exposed the criminal designs of U. S. imperialism and social-imperialism in conducting the nuclear talks.

Since the conclusion of the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" in 1963, the United States and the Soviet Union have not in the least slackened their nuclear arms expansion and war preparations. On the contrary, they have continually intensified their manufacture, stockpiling and development of nuclear weapons. Since the beginning of

1969, U.S. imperialism has conducted a series of nuclear weapon tests, allocated large sums of money for the trial-manufacture of multi-headed guided missiles and the building of an anti-ballistic missile system. This shows that their so-called "partial nuclear test ban," "nuclear non-proliferation" and "strategic arms limitation," etc., though different in phraseology, are all aimed at hoodwinking the world's people and covering up the intensified nuclear arms expansion and war preparations of U. S. imperialism and social-imperialism and their nuclear war threats against the world's people.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 46, 1969)

PAY ATTENTION TO METHODS OF WORK

(Continued from page 32)

The Marxist-Leninist method of work which Chairman Mao has consistently advocated has been grasped by growing numbers of old and new cadres during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and has therefore greatly raised the revolutionary cadres' quality of leadership. However, some of our comrades from time to time still use methods of work that run counter to Mao Tsetung Thought. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, pay attention to methods of work, conscientiously study Chairman Mao's many instructions on methods of leadership and methods of work, improve the quality of leadership of Party organizations and revolutionary committees at all levels, carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian policies in a still better way, and fulfil all the fighting tasks set by the Ninth Party Congress.

(*Renmin Ribao* editorial, November 5, 1969)

"Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of people's war has been proved by the long practice of the Chinese revolution to be in accord with the objective laws of such wars and to be invincible. It has not only been valid for China, it is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world."

—LIN PIAO

Chairman Mao's Military Thinking Is The Magic Weapon in Defeating The Enemy

[In leading protracted struggle of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao formulated the correct line and a whole series of strategy and tactics of people's war which guided the Chinese people through extremely complex and difficult conditions to defeat the domestic and foreign reactionaries and win the great victory of the Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao's great theory on people's war has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist military theories. It constitutes an invaluable asset for the revolutionary people; it is the powerful ideological weapon of the revolutionary people who use revolutionary war to smash a war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, and all other counter-revolutionary wars. For our common study of Chairman Mao's great thinking on people's war, we shall, beginning with this issue, publish from time to time articles

on studying and applying Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war in a living way. —*Editor, Peking Review*]

Strategically Despise the Enemy, but Tactically Take Him Seriously

by Liu Chan-chi

OUR great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." "Imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking." Chairman Mao's great thinking of despising the enemy strategically but taking him seriously tactically is our powerful ideological weapon in carrying on the revolutionary struggle and defeating all enemies.

During the War of Liberation, our platoon triumphantly threw back repeated attacks by a battalion of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang in a holding operation. Banking on their numerical superiority and U.S. equipment, the enemy troops, puffed up with their own arrogance, thought that they could break through our positions without much effort. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "all reactionaries are paper tigers," we discussed and exposed at great length the enemy's paper-tiger nature, and this strengthened our determination and confidence in daring to fight and to win. At the same time, acting according to Chairman Mao's great teaching "Fight no battle unprepared," we carefully analysed enemy troop

disposition, fire-power, tactics and other related matters, and worked out specific methods of fighting with due consideration for various possibilities that might arise. Thus we were fully prepared ideologically and materially. When the enemy troops launched their attack, every comrade in the platoon gave full play to his courage and tenacity in battle and, using flexible and ingenious tactics, repulsed five successive enemy charges. After eight hours of fierce fighting, we carried out our task triumphantly.

In recalling this battle, I realize profoundly that only when we despise the enemy strategically and dare to fight and to win can we have the revolutionary heroic spirit to "vanquish all enemies and never to yield." And only when we tactically take the enemy seriously and earnestly make every necessary preparation for battle, can we adequately cope with whatever complex situation that may arise, and finally overwhelm the enemy.

At present, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are colluding to feverishly quell the revolutionary struggles of the world's people and are trying to launch a war of aggression against our country. We must deeply understand the paper-tiger nature and counter-revolutionary features of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, raise our vigilance and see to it that we are fully prepared. In this way, if they should dare to invade our country, we will resolutely wipe out every aggressor!

Develop Military Democracy, Defeat the Enemy Through Collective Efforts

by Chang Hsin-nien

OUR great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "In periods of fighting the companies at the front must hold big and small meetings of various kinds. Under the direction of the company leadership, the rank and file should be roused to

discuss how to attack and capture enemy positions and how to fulfil other combat tasks. When the fighting lasts several days, several such meetings should be held." Through the long years of revolutionary wars, our army adhered to this great teaching of Chairman Mao's and brought military democracy into full play. This was an important reason for our great victories.

In the Taiyuan campaign during the War of Liberation, our company was given the task of demolishing the enemy's outer defence works of Shouyimen in order to ensure the unobstructed scaling of the city wall by our main forces. This outer defence was an intricate affair made up of a main pillbox and about a dozen smaller ones. To ensure victory, our company's Party branch called a "military democracy" meeting in accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching on developing military democracy. The rank and file were mobilized to make an earnest and detailed study of the fire-power of the enemy's pillboxes, and plans for blowing them up were discussed again and again. This resulted in positive proposals and concrete measures to be taken. Squad leader Comrade Chen Yungshui, for instance, volunteered to lead a group of men armed with explosives. By charging the enemy's main pillbox dauntlessly and swiftly, the men in this group would draw all the fire from the smaller pillboxes. This would facilitate the launching of a simultaneous attack on the smaller pillboxes by the other groups with explosives. So, by collecting correct proposals from the rank and file, we mapped out an adequate plan for combat. When we went into battle, we took only 40 minutes to demolish 12 enemy pillboxes, thereby clearing the way for our main forces to scale the city wall. Thus we fulfilled our assignment with credit.

Military democracy is an important component part of Chairman Mao's military thinking. It is a vivid demonstration of Chairman Mao's mass line in military affairs, and

a powerful weapon for defeating the enemy. "The masses are the real heroes." By giving full play to military democracy, we can fully draw from the masses' wisdom and strength. With the army united as one man and by pooling our wisdom and efforts and displaying mass courage and daring, we will be invincible.

Concentrate a Superior Force To Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One

by Wang Teh

CHAIRMAN MAO has taught us: "The method of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one must be employed not only in the disposition of troops for a campaign but also in the disposition of troops for a battle."

"Concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one" is an important part of Chairman Mao's famous ten major principles of operation; it is a basic guiding thought and fine tradition of our army in combat.

I was in an artillery unit during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. Together with other fraternal units, our platoon once was given the task of demolishing an enemy artillery position near Panmunjom to clear the way of advance for our main forces. Our platoon's specific task was to destroy the right sector of this enemy artillery position. According to our scouts, fire from one of the enemy artillery emplacements posed a direct threat to the advance of our main forces. This being the case, we concentrated the entire platoon's fire-power and, with an absolutely superior force, we first relentlessly bombarded this emplacement and knocked it out. We thus swiftly blasted open a way for our main forces to advance. Again concentrating our fire, we then shelled the enemy artillery position without let-up and reduced its right sector to a shambles. As a result, we successfully fulfilled our task.

This example fully demonstrates that we will be invincible if we study and apply in a living way Chairman Mao's principle of operation: "Concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one." In fighting the enemy, every commander must consistently and firmly carry out this principle so that, in every part and every battle, he concentrates a superior force to form an iron fist which will strike home wherever it hits and most effectively destroy the enemy's effectives. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Using this method we shall win. Acting counter to it we shall lose."

Be Active in Destroying the Enemy, and Not Passive In Defence

by Chang Yung-ko

OUR great supreme commander Chairman Mao has taught us: "Destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself." This great teaching of Chairman Mao's has most penetratingly expounded the dialectical relationship between destroying the enemy and preserving oneself on the battlefield. It is our magic weapon in defeating the enemy.

In a battle in the spring of 1952 during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, our company was given the task of defending Height 317 near Kaesong. Covered by aircraft and artillery fire, the enemy troops launched repeated attacks on our positions. Revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, we feared neither hardship nor death. With bayonets and hand-grenades, we soundly thrashed the enemy troops who were forced to flee, leaving behind many dead. But they refused to accept defeat and bombarded our positions with greater intensity, destroying much of our defence works. At that point we were faced with this question: Should we immediately turn to repairing the defence works or should we

seize every opportunity to actively wipe out the enemy troops attacking us? It was at this crucial moment that Chairman Mao's great teaching "In attack the immediate object is to destroy the enemy, but at the same time it is self-preservation" showed us the right way. I thought to myself: To a certain extent, repairing the defence works would be useful in preserving ourselves, but if we failed to seize every moment possible to destroy the enemy, we might lose the battle and, in that event, we would also not be able to preserve ourselves. Only if we "give full play to our style of fighting—courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest)" and were active in destroying the enemy troops, could we defend our positions, preserve the fighting capacity of our unit and win victory in the battle. Following Chairman Mao's teaching and acting in the light of the information we had concerning the enemy, and with due consideration to the terrain, we exploited the enemy's weak points to our advantage by organizing small groups to make sudden thrusts which upset the enemy's plan of attack. Forced to contend with these forays, the enemy thereby slackened his attack on our positions. Taking advantage of this lapse in the fighting, we strengthened the defence works, redeployed our forces, and consequently destroyed a large number of enemy effectives. Thus we won a victory, and our positions were consolidated.

Practice has proved that, in fighting, as long as we seriously understand and put into effect Chairman Mao's military thinking, we will be ever victorious. Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and guided by Chairman Mao's military thinking, we defeated powerful domestic and foreign enemies. Today, so long as we conscientiously study and apply Chairman Mao's military thinking in a living way, we will smash a war of aggression launched by any imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, and all other counter-revolutionary wars as well.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 49, 1969)

Flames Of Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Spread To New Areas

THE revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian peasants led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has continued to spread relentlessly to ever newer areas. In November the flames of this struggle spread to two other States—Assam and Tripura—in the north-eastern region of the country. This is of considerable significance from the viewpoint of the Indian revolution. The revolutionary peasants in these two States led by the CPI(M-L) and inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought have struck their first telling blow against the reactionary ruling classes and their foreign masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism—by annihilating despotic landlords.

This has happened at a time when the traitorous revisionists—Dange, Sundarayya and company—together with the Congress reactionaries and all other reformist and reactionary parties are frantically trying to put out the flames of peasant revolutionary armed struggle in India by deceptive talks of land reforms and “stricter implementation” of existing land legislations. To deceive the peasant masses and lure them away from the path of armed revolution the revisionists, in collaboration with other reactionary parties, have even devised “new” and “progressive” land legislations in Kerala and West Bengal where they lead the reactionary United Front governments. Essentially reactionary, these “progressive” legislations are no better than the ones that were made by the Congress reactionaries to protect and strengthen the feudal vested interests. The fact that the revolutionary

peasants of Assam and Tripura have now taken the path of armed revolution, the path of Naxalbari, has come as a resounding slap in the face of these revisionist hirelings of the reactionary ruling classes and exposes once more the utter bankruptcy of the so-called ‘peaceful’ path peddled by them. It clearly shows that the Indian peasants refuse to be duped by the “concessions” and “ameliorative” measures of the reactionary ruling classes, which the revisionist lackeys of reaction—Namboodiripad, Jyoti, Konar, Biswanath and company—are trumpeting with great fanfare as ‘big gains’ for the peasantry. These ‘big gains’ do not harm in the least the existing system of cruel feudal exploitation which is daily and hourly grinding down the vast masses of peasants under its crushing weight. These ‘gains’ are nothing but poisonous baits to instill legalist illusions in the minds of the peasant masses, and thus condemn them to a state of vegetative passiveness so that they would not take the path of armed revolution to destroy the system of feudal exploitation and oppression. The “concessions” etc. are, in fact, truly “big gains” for the feudal lords who hope to “gain much” (holding the peasants in perpetual slavery) by “losing a little” (concessions etc.). The revolutionary peasant armed struggles in Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari, Gopiballavpur, Debra etc.—and now in Assam and Tripura—have repeatedly demonstrated, and the coming events will continue to demonstrate, that the Indian peasants inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the CPI(M-L) are fighting not for land or crops or concessions but for seizing political power by force of arms.

Indira Gandhi, Chavan and company, and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism—are banking heavily on the revisionists, Dange-Namboodiripad-Jyoti-Konar-Biswanath and company, in holding the masses in subjugation through deception. Every step taken by the revolutionary peasants is a repudiation

of the revisionist politics pushed by these shameless counter-revolutionaries. This is why they are so bitterly opposing the revolutionary peasant armed struggle in India. There is absolutely no difference between Jyoti Basu, Harekrishna Konar, Biswanath Mukherjee and Nambudiripad on the one hand and Indira Gandhi, Chavan, Ajoy Mukherji etc. on the other when it comes to opposing and suppressing the growing armed struggle of the revolutionary peasants. Indeed these revisionist scoundrels are vicious and inveterate enemies of the people and revolution. It was the U.F. Government led by these revisionists which launched vicious attacks against the revolutionary peasant struggle in Naxalbari in 1967 with full co-operation of Indira Gandhi and Chavan. And now in late 1969, it is this same bunch of revisionist traitors that are once again trying in vain to carry out ruthless bloody suppression of the revolutionary peasant struggle in Gopiballavpur and Debra areas in Midnapur district of West Bengal. In their frantic attempt to protect the system of feudal exploitation from the just anger of the roused peasant masses they have once again resorted to unrestricted violence against the revolutionary peasants. They have deployed the para-military EFR units with the orders to "shoot to kill." They have given free reins to the marauding police force and EFR men and created a White terror against the peasants by making indiscriminate arrests on a large scale, looting, torturing, beating and even burning down whole villages. This has once more exposed the ugly counter-revolutionary features of the Jyoti-Konar-Biswanath gang and no amount of waving of "red flags" can save them from their approaching doom. But all their deceptive talks and attempts at bloody suppression are unable to stem the rising tide of revolution. Undaunted by police repression organized by the Jyoti Basu and gang the peasant guerrillas led by the CPI(M-L) are persisting in their

struggle. They successfully annihilated one more despotic landlord in Baharagora area (adjacent to Gopiballavpur) amidst severe police repression. What is more, the peasant guerrilla struggle has spread to another new area—the Jalpaiguri district in North Bengal.

We give below reports of the peasant guerrilla actions in Assam, Tripura and West Bengal.

ASSAM

A small section of the central guerrilla unit of Abhayapuri P.S. in Goalpara district led by the CPI(M-L) raided the house of a despotic landlord and usurer, Tekla, in the village of Katasbari at 2 A.M. on November 27, annihilated him and burnt down his house, his stock of paddy and almost all of his property (briefly reported in the previous issue of *Liberation*). This hated class enemy had flung his net of usurious exploitation wide. For many years he had been ruthlessly oppressing the peasants of the area and so earned their deep hatred. Realizing the intensity of their class hatred for him this man took all precautions to save his own life. As a rule he never went out after dusk and during daytime whenever he went out he always kept a large body of his trusted men with him. Moreover, his house is surrounded on three sides by rivers and has a large tank on the other side. But all this could not deter the peasant guerrillas. They made a thorough investigation before organizing the raid. Armed only with bamboo poles, blunt choppers and spears they overcame the strong resistance put up by the jotedar and annihilated him without even a scratch on themselves. The class hatred of the peasant guerrillas was so intense that they beat the class enemy until the bamboo pole broke, then they began chopping him with the chopper.

This is the first guerrilla action in this State. It has greatly increased the fighting zeal of the peasants of the area and firmly established the authority of the CPI(M-L) among them.

TRIPURA

The flames of Naxalbari have also spread to Tripura to the south of Assam. On the evening of November 9, a guerrilla squad annihilated a despotic landlord and usurer, Elfus Mian, in South Maharani mouza in Udaipur sub-division. In a brief report entitled "The Spark of Maharani Mouza Will Spread to the Whole of Tripura", a guerrilla fighter has said: "We are following the teachings of Chairman Mao; we are striving to grasp the significance of the instructions given by our leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar; we are trying to become humble and modest pupils of the poor peasants and learn from them; we are **directing our eyes downward.**" Excerpts from his report are given below:

"The Congress Party and the United Front acting jointly under the instructions of the Indian comprador and feudal classes, whose interests they represent, have imposed an armed counter-revolutionary civil war on the Indian people. The Indian peasant has now risen up with the determination to oppose and crush this counter-revolutionary civil war by waging revolutionary civil war. In India today armed revolution is locked in battle with armed counter-revolution...."

"It was the night of the new moon on November 9, and the place was South Maharani mouza in Udaipur sub-division. The sun had long set behind the hills on the western horizon. But a new sun rose in the sky piercing the gathering darkness, the bright red sun of the liberation of the exploited masses and of armed agrarian revolution shining with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and tinged with the red of the blood of the class enemy. The daring guerrilla fighters were waiting with bated breath in the jungle for the class enemy. Like a consuming fire, intense class hatred was burning in them while their hearts overflowed with boundless love for the exploited masses. Their eyes

FLAMES OF GUERRILLA STRUGGLE

were filled with the dreams of liberation and their set mouths expressed their determination to achieve their goal which had eluded them five times before owing to their lack of experience and other factors. This was their sixth attempt and they were determined to win success this time.

"One and a half months before this the Area Organizing Committee of the Party at a secret meeting took the decision to punish this class enemy [Elfus] by death after a thorough and detailed analysis of his crimes against the people and taking into account the wishes of the masses. The guerrilla squad no. 1 was entrusted with the task of carrying out this decision. Five previous attempts had failed. As a result, most people of the area came to know of this decision by and by. All our attempts to maintain secrecy could not prevent this. But no one divulged it to any class enemy. On the contrary, the people of the neighbouring villages grated their teeth in hatred and eagerly waited with great expectation to hear the gladdening news of the annihilation of this class enemy every time they saw him going by. It was this mood of the people which made the leader of our area organizing committee exclaim in joy: "The ground is ready for undertaking the task of annihilation! Can we expect a better situation than this?" This correct summing up done by the peasant leader met with full approval of the peasant guerrillas, and they were convinced of the correctness of the decision to annihilate Elfus.

"Mobap Mian, father of Elfus, is the biggest landlord of this area. No one knows for certain the extent of his landed property or the amount of his usurious capital. His income from hiring out his bullocks alone, of which he has 60 pairs in South Maharani mouza alone, is huge. He charges 10 maunds [380 kg. approx.] of paddy for hiring out one pair of bullocks for one year. He divided up his property between his two sons, Elfus and another. Elfus's

share included the South Maharani mouza and vast stretches of land in Baisabari and Tenanibazar mouzas further south. According to watered-down police reports. Elfus's usurious capital amounted to 150 thousand rupees. This beast of a man ruthlessly oppressed the peasants and was responsible for the death and starvation of many men, women and children. His exploitation reached such proportions that exasperated peasants hatefully exclaimed: "When we think of the month of *Asarh* [June-July, when the peasants are worst off] we feel like eating the flesh of the usurer!" This hated class enemy, complacent and arrogant, was returning after making his weekly collection when the guerrillas waylaid and annihilated him.

"There are some self-styled pundits who jeeringly call our Party's correct line of guerrilla warfare the isolationist line of Che Guevara. We would ask them to remove their blinkers for once and see how events are continuing to confirm the correctness of our Party line. We have to mention for their benefit that here in our area we did not follow their much-vaunted "line" of organizing Kisan Samiti. What is more, there has never been any so-called peasant movement of "mass character" in this area. We are directing our eyes downward and trying to learn with humility and modesty from poor peasants; we are striving to understand the significance of the instructions given by our leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar. We are following the teachings of Chairman Mao: (1) Do not set up open mass organizations unless it is in a liberated area; (2) military activity is the chief method for bringing about a revolutionary upheaval in a semi-feudal agrarian country.

"Who dares say that we are isolated from the masses and that our guerrilla fighters are only a handful of adventurist heroes? Our guerrilla squad is not merely a fighting group, it is making propaganda and organizing the masses at the same time. Is it not a fact that our

guerrillas are defeating the tendency that says 'guerrilla action is everything', by maintaining living connections with the masses? Who dares deny the fact that the masses are getting mobilized, showing great initiative and giving great support to us, and sustaining us by providing food, shelter and information? Who dares deny the fact that in our area it is guerrilla warfare alone that is releasing the initiative of the masses and consolidating their support for us? To the conceited intellectuals who boast of their learning we can only say: "The peasant who has no education understands Mao Tsetung Thought very much better than the whole lot of you. While you engage yourselves in meaningless and empty pundit-like deliberations over Chairman Mao's teachings, the uneducated peasants transform those teachings into a material force through practice. You may rest assured that correct ideas can never come from your learned heads. We know where correct ideas come from. We accept what one poor peasant has taught us. He said: "Mao Tsetung Thought is, in fact, the thinking of the masses." Mao Tsetung Thought is, in reality, the summing up of the thinking of the masses. And this is Marxism, not empiricism."

"The peasant guerrillas themselves took the decision to organize this guerrilla action, and the investigation, planning and execution of it, everything was done by them on their own initiative and with the active help of the local people. They have constantly taken lessons from their failures and consulted what Chairman Mao taught in this respect: "Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first" "concentrate an absolutely superior force", "encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly." "Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy." We have boundless reliance on the initiative of the masses and depend completely on the Party unit and the guerrilla squad.

"The police is making vigorous investigations with the help of dogs. They fight in their own way and we fight in ours. They depend on dogs while we depend on class-conscious people. Victory will certainly be ours. There will be many difficulties on our way but no power on earth can prevent the development of the new-born armed revolution. The spark that has been kindled in South Maharani mouza will certainly create a prairie fire in the whole of Tripura—this firm conviction is growing among the peasant masses here."

WEST BENGAL

Jalpaiguri : The red flames of peasant armed revolution of Darjeeling district have inspired the peasants of the Jalpaiguri district. They have grasped the teaching of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of the world, and responded to the great call of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the call to abolish the barbarous exploitation and oppression by the feudal landlords in the rural areas, establish people's political power there and thus liberate the countryside and use it to encircle the cities and finally capture them. They must wage guerrilla struggle to achieve this objective, and annihilate the landlords and jotedars through guerrilla struggle under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants. They have accepted the invaluable teaching of our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar. He has pointed out that "guerrilla warfare can be started only by liquidating the feudal classes in the countryside. And this campaign for the annihilation of the class enemy can be carried out only by inspiring the poor and landless peasants with the politics of establishing the political power of the peasants in the countryside after destroying the domination of the feudal classes. That is why the annihilation of class enemy is the higher form of class struggle while the act of annihilating class enemies through

guerrilla action is the primary stage of the guerrilla struggle."

Inspired with this teaching and led by the CPI (M-L), a small squad of 4 peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated on the evening of December 3 a notorious jotedar Sushil Bagchi (alias Babu) in Sardarpara village only four miles from the Jalpaiguri town. This jotedar, who lived in the town, owned considerable land and ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the poor and landless peasants in various ways. The guerrillas carried out a thorough investigation and attacked and annihilated Bagchi while he was returning to town from his farm. This successful guerrilla action has tremendously enthused the poor and landless peasants while striking fear in the hearts of the jotedars and their agents in this district. The police are frantically trying to get hold of the heroic peasant comrades. But they have not been able to capture even a single peasant guerrilla. All they have been able to do is to arrest two innocent school boys and two ordinary peasants.

Within five days of this incident the peasant guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L) struck another blow at the feudal exploiters in another part of the district. In this case a squad of eight peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer Suren Sarkar of the village Bhalka under Kumergram P.S. at 8 o'clock in the evening of December 8. This notorious usurer made the lives of the poor peasants of Bhalka, Barabisha, Purbasalbari and Naziyim-Deurighata villages utterly miserable by his inhuman oppression. He took away the land of countless poor peasants and even forced them to leave their hearth and home. There was great jubilation and enthusiasm among the poor peasants of this area when they heard the news of the annihilation of this wretched despot. The peasant comrades of the area had been planning for sometime to annihilate this class enemy. The peasant guerrillas made a detailed investigation and attacked and

annihilated Sarkar with choppers and *bhojalis*, while he was returning from the village market. A passerby who happened to be present at the time of the annihilation cried out in alarm but not a single man of the locality came out to obstruct the peasant guerrillas.

Gopiballavpur and Debra, Midnapur district: The reactionary United Front government of West Bengal led by the treacherous revisionists—Jyoti, Konar, Biswanath and company—has let loose a reign of terror in Gopiballavpur and Debra areas in order to suppress by armed force the revolutionary peasants there who are fighting for establishing people's political power by overthrowing feudal exploitation. Previously the arch renegade Jyoti Basu, the Police Minister, attempted to browbeat the revolutionary peasants by setting up a large number of armed police camps in the Gopiballavpur area. As the aroused peasants led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) defied these, Basu replaced the armed police force by the Eastern Frontier Rifles troops. Now the entire area has been handed over to the commander of the EFR for maintaining "law and order", that is, for protecting the interests of the feudal exploiters. 1,100 EFR troops have been deployed there by Jyoti Basu with orders to "shoot to kill" the peasants and revolutionaries who dare to oppose the inhuman feudal exploitation. In Debra two big armed police camps have been set up under Basu's instructions for the same purpose. These reactionary policemen are oppressing the peasants and looting their belongings. They have forbidden the people to use the roads at night, and are using powerful searchlights at night to keep watch. With Basu's encouragement and approval they are behaving like wild beasts. In one instance they threw hand-grenades at the peasants who were harvesting paddy from the field. Six peasants were injured as a result of this. In Gopiballavpur area Jyoti Basu's police have evicted the people of Surmuhi and 7 other villages.

But all this has failed to cow the exploited peasants. On November 22, the peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic landlord and usurer Haradhan Ghose of Barasal village under Baharagora P.S. of Bihar and adjacent to Gopiballavpur (briefly reported in *Liberation*, December, '69, issue). This courageous action of the guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L) has dealt a sharp blow at Jyoti-Konar-Biswanath and company and enthused the revolutionary people.

Haradhan owned 100 bighas of first grade land for growing paddy and had a thriving money-lending business. He also dealt in cement-making equipment. This beast of a man made the lives of the peasants of the neighbouring villages miserable by his ruthless exploitation and oppression and took great initiative in helping the police in evicting people from the villages. He gave 2,000 rupees as bribe to the police to encourage them to kill the revolutionaries. He not only co-operated with the police in oppressing the peasants but also personally wreaked vengeance on them with the help of the police. On the day he was annihilated he was going along a road close to a police camp with one poor man as his companion who carried a bamboo pole. "Why on earth should we be afraid? We have the police and rifles to protect ourselves. Let the wretched riff-raff dare come forward and try to harm us!" He was boasting in this vein when the guerrillas attacked him and finished him off with a sword. The poor man who accompanied him at first tried to resist the guerrillas with his stick. But the guerrillas, considering that he was a poor man, did not harm him in any way. Later, frightened by the determined action of the guerrillas against the jotedar the man fled. Another poor man who was passing at that time with a load of paddy on his shoulders was not at all frightened by the action of the guerrillas and walked away leisurely as if nothing had happened. This shows that the poor people of the area have come to realize that the guerrillas will never harm them in anyway.

This daring action by the peasant guerrillas in broad daylight and so near the police camp and amidst intense repression has greatly enthused the poor people of the entire area while the morale of the class enemies which Jyoti Basu is trying frantically to boost up by unleashing ruthless repression, has been shattered. The rich people here were somewhat heartened by Jyoti Basu's ruthless repression of the peasants and even began to threaten the poor people by pointing their finger to the police repression in Surmuhi and other places. But all their boasting has now given way to fear and despondency. Many among them are now trying to be on the good books of the peasant guerrillas and contacting the local unit of the CPI (M-L) in order to save their skin. The revisionist Dange-Sundarayya cliques, which were trying to confuse the peasants by such talks as: "Look, the guerrillas will not do you any good," and create legalist illusions among them, are now finding themselves in an awkward position. On the other hand, the faith and sympathy of the poor people for CPI (M-L) has greatly increased as a result of this guerrilla action.

Summing up the experience of this action the guerrillas have drawn two conclusions from it. They are: (1) No matter how severe the repression is and what precautions the class enemies take to save themselves, the class hatred of the politically conscious poor and landless peasants will enable them to overcome every difficulty and carry forward their guerrilla warfare. They will continue to annihilate the class enemies by the guerrilla method: they are able to perform miracles under any circumstance and at any time. (2) This guerrilla action is a rebuff to the wrong idea that 'guerrilla actions cannot be successful unless investigations are faultless.' Investigations are both necessary and important, but no investigation can be expected to be a perfect one. It would be mechanical to demand an investigation to be faultless. It confuses the politics that underlies

investigations and may lead us to militarism. Success in a guerrilla action depends on the class hatred and consciousness of the guerrillas. This is what boosts up their morale and releases their boundless creative power. Referring to their action in Baharagora, the guerrillas note that their investigation did not and could not take into account the presence of a companion of the jotedar who was annihilated. According to their investigation, the class enemy was expected to be alone. Neither could they foresee that a man would pass along the road at the time of the action. So it was evident that their investigation was not a faultless one. But in spite of all these unforeseen factors the action could be carried out smoothly by the heroic guerrillas, thanks to their daring and heroism.

The guerrillas also point out that their general policy of giving the poor people a chance even when he acts as a lackey of a class enemy has been a correct one. This has helped them to expose the false propaganda of the rich people of the area. To confuse the poor people who happen to serve them, the rich people would say to them: "Since you are with us, they [the guerrillas] will not spare you. They will also annihilate you." The guerrillas have noted that their correct policy has helped the poor people of the area to distinguish between the White terror of Jyoti Basu's police against the people and the Red terror against the exploiters and oppressors of the people.

Our own correspondent in Midnapur has given a report on the situation in Gopiballavpur. He writes:

The annihilation of a number of notorious feudal exploiters and their lackeys by the peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) in the Gopiballavpur area has created a Red terror there as opposed to the White terror unleashed by Jyoti Basu's police. The rule of the feudal lords which has existed for ages is now crumbling down and many feudal exploiters have fled from there while some of

them are kowtowing before the guerrillas. Those who are staying on are panicky and powerless to do anything. As a result of all this, power has come to the peasant masses who are now called upon to shoulder some administrative responsibilities. There can be no doubt whatsoever that it is the rule of the peasant masses, the embryonic form of the peasants' political power though it is only a point and is at its primary stage, and may even be temporary. The class enemies and their political representatives, Jyoti, Konar, Biswanath and company, have realized this fact and so have ceased to depend on the State police force and the landlords' armed goondas, and borrowed the services of the EFR from the Congress government at New Delhi. Not content with this, Jyoti Basu personally visited the Gopiballavpur area to supervise the 'progress' of the counter-revolutionary suppression campaign and boost the morale of the feudal lords. On behalf of the UF government he has issued instructions to "shoot to kill" the peasant revolutionaries. These blood-thirsty counter-revolutionaries did the same thing two years ago to suppress the Naxalbari peasant struggle.

The collapse of the feudal regime in Gopiballavpur under the blows of the peasant guerrilla struggle confronted the peasant regime there with the urgent task of seizing and distributing the crops of the jotedars and their agents. Thus began a campaign to seize the crops while the guerrillas continued to wage guerrilla warfare. The campaign started with the seizing of the crops of one Jatin Sau, an agent of the jotedars. Party's decisions were to confiscate (1) the entire crops of the despotic jotedars, (2) part of the crops of all jotedars, (3) the entire crops of police agents, and (4) part of the crops of the agents who are not die-hards. It was decided: (a) not to touch the crops of the rich peasants, the middle peasants and the small jotedars who have sympathy for us; (b) not to bother about the B-forms or distinguish between *khas* and other

lands; (c) the armed guerrilla squads and the village defence forces are to keep watch and stand guard so that the crops of our friendly classes are not touched and also to deal with the police and the jotedars' goondas; (d) to take the seized guns to the fields.

It was only after November 22, that the Party leadership could correctly gauge the extent to which the initiative and boldness of the broad peasant masses were enhanced by the annihilation of the class enemies and the guerrilla warfare. So, before that, the leadership was not very clear about how widely this movement of seizing the crops would spread. The following two incidents, among many others, will show how greatly the guerrilla warfare emboldened the broad peasant masses and released their initiative.

It was decided to harvest the crops on either side of the Dharampur-Ashut-Mahalbani highway on November 27. There was a police camp every one mile while contingents of EFR were stationed at Dharampur, Ashut and Mahalbani. Whatever apprehension the Party leadership had in the beginning was dispelled when they saw the enthusiastic and fighting mood of the masses. Peasants were coming from all sides with red flags in their hands. Gradually their number swelled to ten thousand. The highway from Dharampur to Mahalbani was crowded with thousands of determined peasants. Traffic along the highway came to a standstill. Tens of hundreds of red flags fluttered joyfully in the cool morning breeze, and the sky was rent with the full-throated revolutionary slogans of the aroused peasants. Frightened to death the policemen fled from their camps and EFR troops ran to the jungles to hide themselves. Three jotedars surrendered their guns to the assembled peasants and begged for their lives. The jotedars' agents from the neighbouring places also came and surrendered to the peasants and begged them to spare their lives. The peasants set up a people's court then and there. Some of the agents were given only nominal

punishment and others were warned—then all of them were let off. Part of the crops of those who had surrendered their guns was confiscated. This was done in consideration of the fact that they had acted as agents. They were warned that the peasants would watch their (the agents') activities in future. A large section of the assembled peasants took part in this trial. The rest, numbering about six thousand peasants, harvested the paddy of 500 bighas of land owned by the big jotedars of the area—Jogadish Tati, Sachida Kar, Suchinta Rana, Umesh Rana (an agent of jotedars), Nagen Senapati and Mukunda Senapati.

At Tikayetpur the gun of one Mahapatra, an agent of jotedars, was seized on November 29. The peasant masses also confiscated the crops of 100 bighas of land owned by the landlord Mohant Goswami and a jotedar, Adhikari. When five truck-loads of EFR troops arrived at the spot the peasants unhurriedly completed their harvesting and then moved away. The SP (district police chief) and the DM (the district magistrate) arrived at the place at night with a large police force and EFR troops and began making indiscriminate arrests. They are also trying to get hold of the crops seized by the peasants.

But all the repression and White terror organized by Jyoti Basu and his accomplices in the UF government has not cowed the people of Gopiballavpur and Debra. Led by the CPI (M-L) the peasants there are preparing to deal hard blows at the reactionary feudal exploiters and their protectors, Jyoti-Konar-Biswanath and company.

IN SRIKAKULAM

Peasant Revolutionaries Write A Glorious Chapter With Their Blood

IN THE hills and plains of Srikakulam the indomitable peasant revolutionaries are writing the epic of India's liberation struggle with their own blood. On November 22, Comrades Bhaskar Rao, Thamada Ganapathy, Gorakala Sanyasi and Krishnamurty were killed in an encounter with the class enemies. Within a few days Comrade Tejeswara Rao fell into the hands of the class enemies. But the most remarkable thing is that this temporary setback did not adversely affect the morale of the masses or even weaken their firm determination to resist the repression of the ruling classes. No amount of repression can crush the broad revolutionary mass upsurge. The initiative being shown by the peasant masses is most heartening. They are anxious lest "doubtism" should raise its head inside the Party in the wake of some errors and shortcomings. So, they are coming in groups to the Party and saying with heart-felt sincerity: "We have indeed lost some leading comrades. But that is no reason why we should stop the struggle or even slacken its tempo." The Party has heeded with deep satisfaction the advice of the masses and decided to act according to their wishes.

The Srikakulam struggle is also spreading rapidly across the border to the Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa.

The guerrilla fighters in Srikakulam fear neither hardship nor death and are going all out to deal with the attacks of the reactionary police. In this struggle they are setting brilliant examples of death-defying heroism and self-sacrifice. In last November, three comrades—

Comrades Gana Madhava Rao, Maripinti Vallabharao and Gadela Lokanatham—were suddenly surrounded by 200 CRP men armed with rifles and light machine-guns. To surrender to the enemy or to fight him resolutely through to the end? This was a question of utmost urgency facing them in the most trying situation in which they found themselves. In essence, it was a struggle between two world outlooks, between the revisionist world outlook represented by Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi and their Indian counterparts the Dange, Sundarayya and company on the one hand, and the proletarian world outlook, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought upheld and applied resolutely by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and the revolutionary peasant fighters led by it. To be a revisionist, a coward who places his own safety and well-being above everything else, has no respect for the masses, and is afraid to make revolution and sacrifices, or, a fearless revolutionary who places the interests of the oppressed masses and revolution above everything else, has boundless love for the masses and burning hatred for the exploiters and oppressors, fears neither hardship nor death, and thinks nothing of his personal safety and well-being—that was the question that confronted the three comrades. To surrender meant being a revisionist, a coward and a traitor to the people and revolution. The comrades did not even think of it and went right away into a fierce attack and tried to blast their way through the enemy encirclement. Our valiant comrades fought on for long three hours. Two reactionary policemen were killed by them on the spot but two comrades died heroically fighting the enemy. The third one, Comrade Gadela Lokanatham, the 17-year-old son of a poor peasant, though riddled with bullets, managed to break through the encirclement. He died soon after owing to excessive loss of blood.

This is how the poor and landless peasants, the glorious fighters of Srikakulam, are fighting for India's

liberation and the liberation of mankind. No wonder that the most brutal repression by the reactionary police unleashed by the reactionary ruling classes has failed to cow these heroic peasant fighters. Inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought they are now coming forward in their hundreds to join the people's liberation army led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The revolutionary masses themselves are setting brilliant examples of fearing neither hardship nor death. The Party is taking measures to overcome the shortcomings and grasp firmly Chairman Mao's teaching: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices."

ABOUT THE HEROES

Comrade Gana Madhava Rao : Born in a poor peasant family in the village Dunnaru in Sompeta taluk, Comrade Rao, aged 24, came in contact with the Party after the armed struggle had started. He was a guerrilla commander and took part in every guerrilla action in the Sompeta area excepting the one at Bathapuram. He was leading the guerrilla struggle in the Uddanam area. He became very popular among the masses in course of the armed struggle. He joined the armed struggle only a year ago. During this period and till his death Comrade Rao unfailingly carried out the tasks entrusted to him—sincerely, heroically and diligently. He was a Party member.

Comrade Maripinti Vallabharao : Aged 26, Comrade Vallabharao was a landless peasant of village Marripadu under Garudabhadra Panchayat, Tekkali taluk. He came in contact with the Party in 1968 and later became a

Party member. He was a well-disciplined comrade and discharged his responsibilities diligently. He jumped into the revolution despite his long illness. He often spoke of his desire to die for the people and revolution and when the time came he fulfilled this in actual practice.

As a heroic guerrilla fighter he became a terror to the police. He could not read or write but worked out an ingenious method of propagating politics among the masses. He explained the revolutionary politics to the masses who were attracted by his simple language and warm approach, and drew inspiration from him. This became an example for other comrades to follow. He was warmly loved by the people.

Comrade Gadela Lokanatham : Born in a poor peasant family in Boddapadu village in Sompeta taluk, Comrade Lokanatham, aged 17, received education upto the high school standard and took an active part in the student movement. He came in contact with the Party at that time. He joined the armed struggle as soon as it started and faithfully served the revolution till his death. The heroic young martyrs Comrades Chinna Babu, Gopala Rao and Pappa Rao were schoolmates of Comrade Lokanatham.

New Upsurge of Peasant Armed Struggle In Naxalbari :

(A Report)

NAXALBARI, the place where India's armed agrarian revolution under the guidance of the thought of Chairman Mao, that is, the struggle for seizing political power by armed force, had its first beginning is experiencing a new wave of peasant armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). With the annihilation of a despotic jotedar Sarat Singh in June last and the annihilation of two hated agents of the class enemy by the heroic peasant guerrillas in quick succession later, on December 2 and 5, the spark of peasant armed struggle has been rekindled in this area.

The spark that was kindled in Naxalbari in 1967 has spread far and wide in the last two years, has created a number of Naxalbaris all over India and is now going to develop into a country-wide conflagration. These two years have witnessed two momentous events in the course of development of the Indian revolution—one, the birth of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) under the leadership of our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar and, two, the emergence of Red political power in Srikakulam, the first shoot of Indian people's political power. On the other hand, the counter-revolutionary ferocity of the ruling parties and the reactionary Indian government—the running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and of the hated feudal exploiters, the landlords and jotedars—has become still more ruthless in these two years. They have become more frantic in their vain attempt to stop the march of the Indian people's revolution and are hatching all sorts vicious plots to put out this flame of revolution. The ugly counter-revolutionary features of the revisionists, the rotten agents of imperialism, have become still more clear before the people. This is why the workers, peasants

and other toiling people of India are rising up in growing numbers to smash the trammels of exploitation and oppression that have held them down for ages. Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) they are organizing guerrilla struggle in one area after another, from the far away Punjab in the west to West Bengal, Assam and Tripura in the east, from Uttar Pradesh in the north to the coasts of Madras and Kerala far in the south. The bright light of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought is illumining the whole of India like the radiant rays of an ever-brilliant red sun lighting up the path of liberation for the Indian people.

The three incidents in which one jotedar and two agents of class enemies were annihilated by peasant guerrillas are given below :

First incident : Only two peasant guerrillas annihilated Sarat Singh, a despotic jotedar of Phansidewa area in June last. The action was carried out thoroughly and the police have not been able to get hold of the guerrillas to this date.

Second incident : A guerrilla squad of 6 members annihilated Kamakshya Banerjee, an agent of jotedars and usurers and member of C.P.M., on the evening of December 2 near his house. The police failed to trace the guerrillas even with the help of trained police-dogs. All they could do was to arrest some ordinary peasants.

It may be remembered in this connection that Kamakshya surrendered with one of his accomplices, Phani Master, to the police during the Naxalbari struggle in 1967. To avoid arrest he moved about for some time with the revolutionary comrades. Later, in connivance with the neo-revisionists, he surrendered to the police. While he was in 'hiding' he fled to Jalpaiguri and published slanderous statements against the Naxalbari struggle in "Terai Darpan"—the local organ of the S.S.P. It may be mentioned in this connection that at one time he belonged

to the S.S.P. in Jalpaiguri district. He was expelled from the S.S.P. on charges of defalcation. Then he came to live in his father-in-law's house in Naxalbari area. After he was released from the jail—he became a member of the C.P.M. and was entrusted with the job of creating disruption among the ranks of the revolutionary peasant comrades of Naxalbari. He actively set to work in Naxalbari area for this purpose. He had been intimidating a poor peasant in various ways since March 1969 in order to force him to become a member of his party. When the poor peasant refused to oblige him, Kamakshya set the peasant's hut on fire and tried to register a false diary with the police against our comrades for this criminal act. He forced the police officer of the thana to arrest one of our peasant comrades. However, when the peasants demonstrated against this the officer had to release the arrested comrade. This is how Kamakshya was carrying on all sorts of counter-revolutionary activities in the area.

Third incident : A despicable police agent was annihilated on December 5. Ever since the Naxalbari struggle started this man had been informing the police of the movements of our comrades and accompanied the police to point out the houses where they lived. He had many of our comrades arrested by the police and took part in the police repression against the peasants. In this case also the police have not been able to arrest any of our comrades.

The two recent guerrilla actions in quick succession have thrown the jotedars and their agents, the CPM revisionists, into a panic. Their 'leaders', both of higher and lower levels, are themselves leading the police in searching the houses of our comrades but with no success. The activity of the police that is now being witnessed here far surpasses that of 1967. Unable to find our comrades the police are now arresting their relatives. They have arrested eight ordinary peasants upto now.

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Peasant Armed Struggle And The Bourgeois Press In West Bengal

—SASANKA

THE reactionary bourgeois press in West Bengal is seriously alarmed over the development of peasant armed struggle. In its pitiful attempt to belittle and even gag the news of the peasant armed struggle it adopted one trick after another until, at last, it now finds itself shorn of all pretensions, in a deepening shadow of gloom. The assumed airs of 'Well, it is nothing serious to worry over,' has now given way to fear, dark and ill-concealed. The realization—and one must concede the bourgeois papers their instinctive ability to sense the things which their masters, the ruling classes, need take serious note of—has come home to roost that the peasant armed struggle now going on in Debra and Gopiballavpur is totally different in character from the so-called "peasant struggles" which the revisionists and other parties in the United Front are merrily indulging in. These 'struggles,' taking place almost every day and claiming the lives, property and blood of the peasants who are duped by the criminal counter-revolutionary party bosses of the UF into fighting their own class brothers, have nothing in common with the peasant armed struggle now going on in Debra and Gopiballavpur. Quite unlike the former, which gladdens the hearts of the feudal exploiters, the latter is a revolutionary struggle of the peasants for seizure of political power. The revolutionary peasants of Debra and Gopiballavpur have already had a taste of political power. This is what the revisionists and the neo-revisionists are frantically trying to suppress from the people. But the bourgeois newspapers, which are supposed to provide their masters, the ruling classes, with advance information and warning signals of approaching

dangers, apparently do not consider it advisable to wish away the potentialities of the situation in Debra and Gopiballavpur any more. So, they have started sounding the alarm. In a long 'report' covering almost a whole page Sri Barun Sengupta, a correspondent of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, after visiting Debra and Gopiballavpur, sums up the situation there like this :

"But one thing is clear ; so far hardly anyone has come forward to co-operate with the police. The reason, according to the police, is fear of the Naxalites. It is difficult to ascertain whether it is because of fear or for love for the Naxalites. The fact, however, remains that the police have so far been unable to capture their leaders. Everyone knows that almost all the leaders are still here in this area, yet no one gets any information about them. This means that no one is giving the information, and so, the leaders are still able to live underground.

"In spite of the presence of and patrolling by the police

(Continued from page 71)

The red flames of Naxalbari are now no longer confined to the plain fields of Terai but have spread to the mountainous regions of Darjeeling district. On the night of December 1, a guerrilla squad of 6 members raided the bungalow of the despotic manager of Singbul Tea Estate under Mirik P.S. and seriously injured him. This tyrant of a man who ruthlessly oppressed the workers could not, however, be annihilated. The foreign and native owners of tea plantations ruthlessly exploit and oppress the workers through these managers in order to mint huge profits.

Immediately after this incident the manager of the neighbouring Mirikthung Tea Estate fled for his life. The workers of this area have been greatly enthused by this incident. The police have not been able to arrest any of our comrades.

the majority of the local well-to-do people prefer to maintain good terms with the Naxalites. The police explain away this sort of affair by stating that the people still have fears of the Naxalites. But the Naxalites point to this fact as a proof of their claim that they continue to wield strong influence in the area. Everyone knows, they claim, that the police are quite unable to protect them [the well-to-do]. The local people also admit that there are quite a few villages in Debra where the police dare not enter in small numbers—two or three men—even when armed with rifles. They dare to enter into those places only when they are twenty or more in number and armed with rifles. And in Gopiballavpur there are no less than three hundred such villages.

“The day I arrived at Debra I learned that the Naxalites were holding secret meeting near a village named Belar in Debra. The people had been warned not to go near the village and no outsider dared defy this warning. There are hundreds of villages in Gopiballavpur where no outsider would dare to go...” (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, December 28, 1969).

Sri Sengupta began his summing up with a “but.” This has close similarity with the “nevertheless” with which V.M.Nair began his ‘report’ on Srikakulam (See *Statesman*, Dec. 10, 1969). After a laborious attempt to build up a case that the struggle in Srikakulam has petered out with the murder of Comrades Bhaskar Rao and Ganapathy and the arrest of Comrade Tejeswar Rao, Sri Nair sums up the situation in Srikakulam with a “nevertheless”. He writes :

“It is nevertheless true that about 100 square miles of mountainous terrain, deep in the interior of Parvatipuram agency, is under the virtual control of the Naxalites. The Andhra Pradesh Government has failed to extend its sway to this red area’.

“The Naxalites have been collecting ‘taxes’ from the

tribals living there. Defaulters and those who dare to oppose the rebels are ‘tried’ in ‘people’s courts’ and punished; often they are summarily executed. Recently a Girijan who refused to respond to the summons of the ‘people’s court’ was shot dead soon afterwards.

“This campaign of terror and the abject poverty and political naivety of the Girijan tribesmen have helped to sustain the revolt over the past two years.....”

The picture of Debra and Gopiballavpur that Barun Sengupta presents in his report with a “but”, and that of Srikakulam presented by V. M. Nair with a “nevertheless” clearly demonstrate that “Red political power” has emerged in those places. Their reports are, at once, an admission of this fact by the frightened class enemies as well as a serious warning to their class brothers of the incontestable fact that “Red political power” has really emerged on the soil of India. True, this power has come into existence in only a very small area, exceedingly small, and perhaps no more than a point compared with the whole of India. But it absolutely does not matter if these areas are mere points in the present. For the “Red political power” in Debra, Gopiballavpur and Srikakulam which are only two red dots today are the guarantee that the whole vast expanse of India is inevitably going to turn red before long under the brilliant guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. The image of the vast expanse of the sky is reflected in the few drops of water in the tiny shallow cavities formed by the cow’s hoofs. Similarly, the tiny red dots of today—Srikakulam and Debra-Gopiballavpur—fully reflect the whole vast expanse of the Indian sky—the red, bright future towards which India is advancing irresistibly.

Let us consider an example. In the sweltering heat of *Jaistha* (May-June) when the mango tree is full of innumerable juicy, full-grown, half-ripe mangoes, people wait expectantly for the signs of their maturing. Then, it so happens that they discover all of a sudden a mango, half-hidden

somewhere behind the green foliage and branches, that has just begun to change colour. With great joy they welcome this event, the first sign of the maturing of a single mango, and say: "So, the mangoes have begun to ripen!" Who has ever heard or would expect the people to say that it is 'only one' mango that has begun to ripen? No doubt it is only one mango out of the tens of hundreds in the big tree, that has only just begun to change colour, and only the first glimpse of maturing is seen in it. It may well be that the particular mango will be eaten away by birds or some unexpected hailstorm may hurt it so that it will rot before getting fully ripe; the people would, nonetheless, say that the mangoes are maturing. Though the overwhelming majority of the mangoes are still apparently "green" and no sign of maturing, no change of colour is noticed in them, yet the people have no difficulty in realizing that the mangoes have begun to ripen.

The same is true of the red dots—the Red political power in small areas in Srikakulam and Gopiballavpur—that have appeared in India, which the class enemies can no more ignore. These tiny red points are the incontestable proof that revolution has matured all over India; the appearance of these red points is the expression and confirmation of this maturing. The places that are "green" today will turn red tomorrow.

There is one more aspect to consider. The reports of Barun Sengupta and V. M. Nair amply prove that the class enemies have not failed to take note of this aspect. What we find today in Srikakulam and Debra-Gopiballavpur is not the developed, matured form of people's political power; it is not the developed end-result of the process but the beginning of it, not the developed form but the first step towards its development, the emerging of it. They have been able to sense it, and with this they have also realized that it is really the peasants' political power, that has already come into existence, though in an embryonic

form and only locally, and though it is no bigger than a point. Emergence of a thing is not unconnected with its fully developed form, the former is part of the latter, as tasting is an inseparable part of eating. The process of the emergence and establishment of Red political power can neither be stopped nor destroyed, because it fully conforms to the laws of historical development.

However, the cowardly renegades, Nagi-Asit-Promode-Parimal and company, who are afraid to make revolution and push mechanistic materialism in the name of dialectical materialism, are unable to see what even the correspondents of the bourgeois press like Barun Sengupta and V. M. Nair have been able to discern. While the bourgeois papers are openly expressing their alarm at seeing the first signs of the maturing of the 'mangoes', these renegades in their blind hatred for revolution and the revolutionary masses, are frantically trying to wish away this fact of maturing and even dare to treat as "preposterous" and "precocious" the action of the revolutionary peasants led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). These cowardly 'theoreticians' are resorting to all sorts of 'theoretical' jargoning in order to smother the bold thinking and actions of the revolutionary masses in a dust-storm of dry bookish phrases. These pitiable creatures are, however, absolutely unable to stop the march of Indian revolution. Their fate will be no better than that of their masters, the reactionary ruling classes.

USHER IN THE GREAT 1970'S

(Continued from page 12)

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on Party, and on the relationship between the leader, the political party, the political power, the class and the masses and criticize the Right or ultra-left bourgeois reactionary trends of thought. We must correctly handle the work of "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh." Every Communist Party member must examine himself and thoroughly remould his world outlook in the light of Chairman Mao's instructions and the requirements set in the new Party Constitution.

With the deep-going development of struggle-criticism-transformation, a new high tide of industrial and agricultural production is emerging. The leadership at all levels must stand at the head of the mass movement and implement in an all-round way the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" put forward by Chairman Mao and his great instruction "grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war" so that the movement advances along the course of Mao Tsetung Thought in a deep-going and sustained way. So long as we give full scope to the initiative of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals, unite all the forces that can be united with and bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system, our country will be able to catch up with and surpass the advanced world levels in industrial and agricultural production and in science and technology. The principles of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle" set forth by Chairman Mao should be put into practice in every province, every county, every basic unit and every undertaking. It is necessary to investigate and study the problems that concern policy in economic work. In making

plans, it is essential to mobilize the masses and see to it that there is enough leeway.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!"

This great instruction of Chairman Mao's, with Marxist-Leninist farsightedness, indicates the orientation of struggle for the people of the world and is of far-reaching historic and practical significance. Imperialism means war. The people of the world must heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundredfold! The whole Chinese people must heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundredfold! We must be fully prepared both ideologically and materially. The centralized leadership of the Party must be strengthened. The leading organs at various levels must go a step further and achieve proletarian revolutionization ideologically, organizationally and in working style and apply the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" so as to suit the needs of preparedness against war. We must consolidate and perfect the revolutionary committees at various levels, continue to strengthen the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and unite in the common struggle against the enemy. It is necessary to strengthen the unity between the army and the people and between the army and the government. The Chinese People's Liberation Army should continue to carry forward its glorious revolutionary tradition and the spirit of serving the people whole-heartedly and continue to do a good job of the "three supports and two militaries" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training)

and should make further progress politically and militarily ; it must persevere in giving prominence to proletarian politics, implement the "four goods" (i.e., good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military training and in arranging everyday life) in an all-round way, enhance its fighting capabilities and be ready at all times to win new merits in defending our great socialist motherland.

It has long been our consistent policy to develop diplomatic relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, but on no account can we tolerate the invasion and occupation of our sacred territory by any imperialism or social-imperialism. We are determined to liberate Taiwan—the sacred territory of our motherland ! If imperialism and social-imperialism dare to invade our country, we will resolutely drown them in the vast ocean of people's war !

The revolution is forging ahead and the people are marching forward. The dawn of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation is ahead. Workers of all countries, unite ! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite ! **Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory !**

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China !

Long live the invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought !

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to Chairman Mao !

NOTES

(Continued from page 16)

trade union movement which once it had spearheaded. This in itself is not a small task and will consume much time, energy and even prestige. But there is no escape if Mr Basu is serious about restoring confidence in West Bengal industrialists and businessmen...".

Jyoti Basu and his men have carried out this task as best as they could. With the assistance of their trade union officials and police, they have been able to a considerable extent to stop *gheraos*, one of the most dreaded weapons of the workers at this time of unprecedented crisis when strike action often tends to serve the interests of the industrialists. So a grateful Birla was eloquent in praise of Jyoti Basu. Speaking to newsmen at Bangalore on the labour situation in West Bengal, G. D. Birla said that 'Mr Jyoti Basu had not at all been destructive and it was a welcome feature that important settlements had been reached in jute, tea, engineering and textile industries. This should bring about a greater degree of stability in industrial working of the State.' (*Statesman*, Nov. 8, '69) And, believe it or not, the *Ganashakti*, the daily organ of the CPI(M), published from Calcutta, wrote in its editorial of December 9, '69 :

"Complaints are heard almost everyday that during the regime of the United Front serious unrest prevails in industries, many work-days are being lost and the progress of industries is being retarded as a result of strikes, *gheraos* and excesses committed by workers...When this cry is at its loudest, let us listen to what the industrialists themselves say. At a press conference held at New Delhi two days ago, J. M. Parsons, President of the Associated Chambers of

Commerce and Industry, which was once the organization of the British businessmen and industrialists and which now represents both the foreign and the native industrialists, said: It is the economic reason, rather than the political reason, which is chiefly responsible for the crisis facing the main industries of West Bengal. He said, there are many firms in West Bengal which are members of his organization. It is in this State that their companies have grown and achieved progress despite the changed political situation and these industries have earned more profits this year than during the last four years."

These lackeys are quite satisfied with their performance and quite unashamedly so. They are only indignant when any of their partners in the 'United Front' unjustly accuses them of failure to serve their masters—both the foreign monopolists and their Indian compradors!

Even more vicious is the role that the so-called United Front led by the revisionists has played and is playing in suppressing the revolutionary armed peasant struggles in Naxalbari, Débra and Gopiballavpur. Nothing exposes better their true features than this counter-revolutionary war against the brave peasantry.

But have they been able to achieve that much-needed political stability for their masters? No, at this stage when violent revolution is facing violent counter-revolution, political stability is a mirage which the reactionaries, revisionists and their masters will chase only in vain. However much they may try to unite against revolution and the people, insoluble contradictions will drive them apart. As a political manoeuvre of the ruling classes, as the only political alternative to the Congress Party, the 'United Front' has failed: its death was formally announced with the fall of the Namboodiripad government, that model of 'U.F.' governments. The corpse of a 'U.F.' government may remain unburied and its foul odour may fill the whole air, as in West Bengal, for some

time longer, but the gathering storm of revolution will soon sweep it away.

In a situation so desperate, the imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the reactionaries, who are being battered by the ceaseless blows of the revolutionary peoples all over the world, may try desperate remedies. Imperialism means war. Local wars have been raging in different parts of the world all these years. Alarmed at the utter rout of the Liu Shao-chi gang and Socialist China's rapid march from strength to strength and enmeshed in contradictions from which there is no chance of escape, the Soviet revisionist traitors have been talking loudly of a "pre-emptive nuclear strike" against Socialist China. They have already committed numerous aggressions against China: they are now making feverish preparations for a large-scale war against her. In this mad gamble the Soviet social-imperialists are relying on the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese and Indian reactionaries besides the other stooges. Recently a gang of Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries came to this country from Taiwan at the invitation of the Indira government and held secret talks with Indira, Dinesh Singh and Giri. Close ties are being forged between the Indian reactionaries and the Japanese reactionaries led by Sato, the principal accomplice of the U.S. imperialists in East Asia. The Indian reactionaries have already tied India to the war-chariot of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. The latter are building India's navy equipped with submarines which are weapons of offence rather than of defence. Besides supplying the Indian reactionaries with Migs, helicopters etc., they have set up three factories in India to manufacture Migs. They are today among the biggest merchants in the world trading in weapons of death and destruction and India's biggest supplier of such weapons. Naval bases, air bases, rocket launching stations like Thumba, powerful observatories like that at Rangapur near Hyderabad in Andhra

Pradesh are all being built up under Soviet or U.S. auspices as a part of war preparations.

Like the British imperialists in the past, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are seeking to use India as a base of aggression against Socialist China. Already India, after China, has the largest conventional armed forces in Asia. To serve imperialism's policy the defence expenditure is mounting up every year. In the last 22 years it has increased from 930 million rupees to 12,417.7 million rupees, which amount to 43 per cent of the entire budget. The actual military budget is of course much bigger, for many items of arms expansion and war preparations expenditure have been excluded from it in order to hoodwink the people.

Are the Dange and Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu cliques opposing the hectic arms expansion and war preparations of the Indian reactionaries? Are they opposing the sinister plan of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists to drag the Indian people into an aggressive war against Socialist China and other peoples of the world? Do they oppose the Indian reactionaries openly joining hands with the Chiang bandit gang and the Japanese militarists full of the lust for colonies? No, far from opposing such plans, policies and alliances, they have whole-heartedly rallied behind their foreign and native masters. In the fight against Socialist China and the revolutionary peoples of the world, including our own, all the reactionary and revisionist parties from the Swatantra Party to the so-called C.P.I. (M) are united despite the bitter dog-fight among them for a bigger share of the plunder of the people. One example of this vile collusion will suffice. It is only recently—during the so-called CPI (M)-led U.F. regime in West Bengal—that the Soviet social-imperialists have set up India's first super-power transmitter for the All India Radio at Mogra, Hooghly. This is intended to broadcast imperialist,

revisionist, counter-revolutionary and anti-China falsehoods to the neighbouring countries like Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Chairman Mao Tsetung has recently said: **"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war"**

The possibility that a world war may be unleashed by the Soviet social-fascists and the U.S. imperialists in the near future is quite real. That is why the whole of China is today in a state of mobilization. That is why the great Communist Party of China has issued this noble call to the people of the whole world:

"People of all countries, unite and oppose any war of aggression launched by imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!"

Preparations should be made right now. Every effort should be made to spread the flames of guerrilla struggle to every corner of this vast country, to weed out the class enemies and their agents from the countryside, to create pockets of guerrilla struggle wherever possible and to consolidate the red political power within those areas. These flames will soon turn into a vast prairie-fire which will burn into ashes imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

As we greet the New Year, which brings with it the promise of great victories for the revolutionary people, we must be conscious of our responsibility—the responsibility that has fallen on Indian revolutionaries at this hour of history. As our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said, the Party cadres should boldly rouse the people, quicken the pace of revolutionary civil war to eliminate the war of aggression and usher in a great new age for all mankind.

SAGAS OF DEATH-DEFYING HEROISM

"Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!"

—Chairman Mao

As our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar rightly said, a new man is emerging out of the fierce class war that is now raging in the country. Revolution is first taking place in the hearts and minds of our comrades and people. Today, placing the interests of the people above their own, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, they are writing sagas of death-defying heroism with their blood.

With sorrow and with pride *Liberation* pays homage to the martyrs who recently died the death of heroes. During their lives they served the cause of revolution as good disciples of Chairman Mao: even while dying they raised the banner of revolution, the banner of the CPI (M-L), still higher; the entire Party and the revolutionary people take the pledge that they will not rest until the class enemies are wiped out and their state is smashed.

In November last, three young peasant heroes—Comrades Gana Madhava Rao, Maripinti Vallabharao and Gadela Lokanatham—were suddenly surrounded by a large police force of 200 CRP men equipped with rifles and light machine guns in the coastal area of Sompeta taluk. True revolutionaries loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought, they chose to fight the enemy forces overwhelmingly superior in number and to die the death of heroes rather than to surrender. But before they died they killed 2 policemen and wounded several others. Elsewhere in this issue we publish a brief report of their heroic battle.

On November 22 last, Comrades Bhaskar Rao, Thamada Ganapathi, Gorakala Sanyasi and Krishnamurty were

captured in a sudden encounter with a large police force. They were taken miles away from their place of capture and shot. These brave comrades remained true to the Party, the people and the cause of revolution to the last moment of their lives. They died not as the vanquished but as victors. Before they fell to the enemy bullets, Comrade Bhaskar Rao made a speech worthy of a true communist. In the course of the speech, he said: "Do you think you can frighten us with your guns? It is not we but your masters who are afraid, for the days of their rule are numbered. You may kill us but you cannot kill the cause we represent—the cause of the revolution. After centuries of oppression and exploitation the peasants of our beautiful and beloved motherland have risen up and declared war against their exploiters and oppressors. This revolutionary war is a part of the great war that is going on throughout the world to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists and to establish the rule of the workers and peasants. The people shall not rest until they win victory in this war. The people are invincible. We are dying but our death will not be in vain. Your masters shall perish in the flames of this revolutionary war that is sure to burn ever more brightly till a new India, a People's Democratic India, arises out of it."

Then our brave comrades raised the slogans:

"Long live the Indian revolution!"

"Long live the CPI (M-L)!"

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

The hills and the plains reverberated with these slogans.

One month after, in the early hours of December 22, six of our comrades—Comrades Subbarao Panigrahi, Nirmala Krishnamurty, Ramesh Chandra Sahu, Ankamma, Saraswati and Uma Rao—were suddenly encircled in their

shelter in Orissa near the Andhra-Orissa border by a large number of reactionary policemen. Comrade Subbarao Panigrahi was then ailing and some of the other comrades had been injured in an accidental explosion of a grenade.

After their capture our comrades were told that their lives would be spared if they agreed to resign from the CPI(M-L) and disowned the armed struggle; otherwise, they would be shot. Life is precious but far more precious to our comrades was the honour of the Party, the cause of the revolution, the cause of the 500 million people of our country. So our brave comrades spurned the offer of the enemy: they refused to give him an opportunity to slander the Party and the revolutionary struggle and to tarnish the spotless revolutionary career of their own. Lifting their heads high and with hearts full of pride in the Party and burning faith in the ultimate victory of the revolution, they said:

"We do not beg for your mercy. You are too weak, too powerless, to kill the great cause we are fighting for. It is we—the people—who shall annihilate you, for you have no ideal of yours. You are hardly alive, for you are the docile tools of a handful of dying reactionaries.

"Our Party is leading a great revolution that will change the face of this country and the face of the world. For ages, our people have been robbed, kicked about and trampled on by the landlords, the imperialists and their agents. Now the people have arisen to throw the oppressors off their backs and tread them underfoot. The long, dark night is drawing to a close, the day is dawning, the bright red sun of people's power is rising. As we die, we greet this red sun. Its leaping light will soon chase away all darkness and fill this ancient land of ours with a radiance, a glory, that will make it new again."

The enemies were terrified to hear this. They tried in vain to bind our comrades' hands. At that moment the

whole place resounded with the slogans raised by our comrades:

"Long live Revolution!"

"Long live the Communist Party of India (M-L)!"

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Thus, wishing victory to our people and paying homage to Chairman Mao, the great leader of world revolution, our heroes fell. With their blood they laid the foundations of a People's Democratic India, a Socialist India—the dream of the revolutionaries.

ABOUT THE MARTYRS

Comrade Chaganti Bhaskar Rao: He hailed from Parachur in Guntur district. He obtained his M.B.B.S. degree from the Guntur Medical College and came to be reputed as one of the best eye-specialists. During his student-days he was interested in Marxism and became a member of the CPI(M) in March, 1965. After Naxalbari, he was among the first to rebel against the treacherous leadership of the CPI(M). His call to the ranks was: "No use of a wordy duel with the revisionists. Better expose them through practice." So he left his wife and children and came to Srikakulam to work in the Sompeta area. He gave up the old ways and integrated himself completely with landless and poor peasants. He was not only a talented organizer of guerrilla struggle but he himself took part in the guerrilla actions to annihilate the class enemies. The courage he showed and his selfless service to the people were exemplary. He lived a revolutionary to the very end of his life. He died a martyr at the age of only twenty-nine.

Comrade Thamada Ganapathy: Son of a middle peasant of Boddapadu village in Sompeta taluk, he was a well-beloved

servant of the people. His relation with the Communist Party dates from 1954 and he worked as a member of the Srikakulam District Committee till the end. He played an important role in the anti-revisionist struggle and in building the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) in the Sompeta area. After the martyrdom of the beloved leader of the people, Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurty, Comrade Ganapathy took over the responsibility of leading the armed struggle in the Sompeta area. During his leadership the Red Flag flew over wider and wider regions. He himself led many guerrilla actions and struck terror into the hearts of the class enemies. This brave and resolute fighter, a heroic son of the people, died at the age of thirty-one, but his example will always remain a source of inspiration to the people.

Comrade Gorakala Sanyasi : This 19 year old youth was born in a poor peasant family of Chinna Neelavati village near Boddapadu. While a pupil at school, he had to work as a day-labourer. Even then he studied the writings of Marx, Lenin and Mao and explained them to his friends and colleagues. A member of the C.P.I.(M-L), he was ever ready to fulfil his duties without caring for any difficulties. He took part in many guerrilla actions in the Sompeta area and dipped his hand in the blood of the class enemies.

Comrade Krishnamurty : This 35 year-old poor peasant, of Belama village, showed exemplary courage and initiative while acting as a courier to leading comrades even under difficult conditions. He was arrested after the Garuda-bhadra incident on November 24, 1968, but managed to escape from prison. He was about to join a guerrilla squad when he was killed by the reactionary police.

Comrade Subbarao Panigrahi : He was a rare communist, perhaps without any equal in the history of the communist movement in India. Chairman Mao said : "In our struggle

for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough ; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." Comrade Panigrahi was an outstanding fighter both on the military and on the cultural front. He was already the most famous revolutionary writer of Andhra and his songs were sung and his poems were recited throughout Andhra when the armed peasant struggle started in Srikakulam. This revolutionary writer and singer did not hesitate even for a moment to take up the gun and organize and lead guerrilla actions for annihilating the class enemy and destroying the rule of the landlords, the imperialists and their lackeys in the countryside.

Born in an Oriya family in Sompeta taluk, Comrade Subbarao Panigrahi joined the communist movement during the Telangana armed struggle when he was still at school. He was one of those who led the anti-revisionist struggle in Andhra—first against the Dangeites, then against the Sundarayya clique and lastly against Nagi Reddy and company. He was a terror to the revisionists, for his revolutionary songs and poems, popular all over Andhra, mercilessly exposed their true features. His songs and poems are mostly hymns to revolution.

He was very much interested in the folk-arts and popularized *Jamukulakatha*, a form of drama interspersed with songs and presented by a group of three actors. Comrade Panigrahi organized a group which included Comrade T. Chinna Rao, a fourteen year-old boy, who laid down his life for the cause of revolution along with Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurty. He was both director and principal actor in his *Jamukulakatha* which had for its theme the struggle of the Girijan peasants. By staging it throughout Andhra this revolutionary poet, playwright and composer of

songs was able to create an upsurge among the masses. In the writings of Comrade Panigrahi there was the unity of politics and art, the unity of revolutionary political content and artistic excellence.

Comrade Subbarao Panigrahi was a poet-revolutionary: he had the passion of a poet who always spoke a language full of colour and warmth, who could never speak in a dull, cold manner, and all his passion was the passion for revolution. When he left home to join the armed struggle, he told his old mother: "Mother, allow me to leave you. I have a duty towards you but I have also my duty towards the tens of millions of mothers who live in wretchedness and misery in different parts of India." To those who advised him to leave the Party and utilize his talents for making a lot of money for himself, he would say: "If there is anything in the world called greatness, it is in living as a communist and in working for the people." During the last few months he suffered from a serious illness which refused to be fully cured. After Comrades Bhaskar Rao and Ganapathy died, Comrade Panigrahi was elected Secretary of the Sompeta Area Committee (which is responsible for developing armed struggle in several taluks) despite his bad health. Assuming leadership of this area, he said: "My health will not improve. It will be so good to die in struggle instead of dying of illness." Our comrade's desire was fulfilled. He died a heroic death—the death of an outstanding revolutionary.

Comrade Subbarao Panigrahi, who absorbed the best culture of the people of both Orissa and Andhra, was the symbol of their unity—the unity of these two great nationalities who are today marching together along the road of People's War towards liberation.

Comrade Nirmala Krishnamurty: Wife of Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurty, who died a hero's death in last May, she was a woman of a rare type. After the death of Comrade P. K., she was asked by many to stay at home

and to look after her two children. The police also made an offer through the class enemies to withdraw the warrant of arrest against her if she surrendered to the police and extended to them her co-operation. Comrade Nirmala resisted all the pressure heroically, rejected the offer from the police with contempt, took upon herself the unfinished task of her husband and flung herself heart and soul into the revolutionary struggle. She played a heroic role in it and at one stage her name echoed throughout the district. It is perhaps a rare thing even in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the world that the wife stepped into the breach along with many others when her husband dropped down a martyr, fought heroically and herself became a martyr. One's heart swells with hope and pride to think that the revolution in this country has already produced such heroes and heroines in our country.

Comrade Ramesh Chandra Sahu: Born in a village near Berhampur in Orissa, he was a young ardent revolutionary of less than 25 years. He was attracted towards Marxism during his student days and came to realize that Mao Tsetung Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the present era. After obtaining a Civil Engineering diploma, he wanted to dedicate himself completely to the cause of the Indian people's liberation. He was a member of the CPI(M) but severed all his connection with it after the Naxalbari struggle. He came in contact with Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurty, the beloved leader of the Sri-kakulam people, gave all his property to the Party, and joined the struggle. He never lacked courage and never shirked his duty. He used to rush for the gun even at the very appearance of the enemy. He was always ready to make the supreme sacrifice and had close relations with the people—two qualities which are essential to any Party cadre and guerrilla. Within a short time he became the beloved leader of the vast masses of the Sompeta area and a member of the Sompeta Area Committee.

Comrade Ankamma : Aged about twenty, she came from the Rajam village in Tekkali taluk. Her entire family had close relations with the Party and faced severe repression when the armed struggle spread to that area. She rebelled against feudal customs, left her family and joined the guerrilla struggle.

Comrade Saraswati : A girl of twenty-five, she dedicated her life to the service of the people and did not marry. She was among the many from the Boddapadu village who left their homes to join the revolutionary struggle. She bore great love for the people and fierce hatred for the class enemy.

Comrade Uma Rao : A boy of sixteen, he was roused by the death of Comrades P.K. and Chinna Rao, left his family and his village Rajam and joined the guerrilla struggle recently. He was quite fearless and had a strong sense of responsibility. At the time of the tragic accident he was on sentry duty. Somehow he was unaware of the approach of the police. Never for a moment after his capture he asked the enemy for mercy nor did he betray any weakness. Like the other comrades, this young comrade died a hero's death.

* * * * *

Liberation honours the memory of these valiant comrades who have raised the banner of the Communist Party of India (M-L) still higher. We should turn our great grief into anger and hatred towards the enemy so that we can strike harder blows at the tottering rule of the enemy and shorten the period of our people's agony.

“With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities : One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.”

* * *

“People of all countries, unite and oppose any war of aggression launched by imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons ! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now !”

—MAO TSETUNG

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