

"But even if the Commune is crushed, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed, they will declare themselves again and again until the working class achieves its liberation."

—KARL MARX

# Liberation

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## Some Points In Appraisal of the Present International Situation

April 1946

—CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

1. The forces of the world reaction are definitely preparing a third world war, and the danger of war exists. But the democratic forces of the people of the world have surpassed the reactionary forces and are forging ahead ; they must and certainly can overcome the danger of war. Therefore, the question in the relations between the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union is not a question of compromise or break, but a question of compromise earlier or compromise later. "Compromise" means reaching agreement through peaceful negotiation. "Earlier or later" means several years, or more than ten years, or even longer.

2. The kind of compromise mentioned above does not mean compromise on all international issues. That is impossible so long as the United States, Britain and France continue to be ruled by reactionaries. This kind of compromise means compromise on some issues, including certain important ones. But there will not be many such compromises in the near future. There is, however, possibility that the trade relations of the United States, Britain and France with the Soviet Union will expand.

3. Such compromise between the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union can be the outcome only of resolute, effective struggles by all the democratic forces of the world against the reactionary forces of the United States, Britain and France. Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions. The principles of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare

to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now. Face to face with this situation, the democratic forces of the people should likewise apply the same principle to the reactionary forces

\* This document was written to counter a pessimistic appraisal of the international situation at that time. In the spring of 1946, imperialism headed by the United States of America together with the reactionaries in various countries, was daily intensifying its anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-popular activities and trumpeting that "war between the United States and the Soviet Union is inevitable" and that "the outbreak of a third world war is inevitable". In these circumstances, since some comrades overestimated the strength of imperialism, underestimated the strength of the people, feared U.S. imperialism and feared the outbreak of a new world war, they showed weakness in the face of the armed attacks of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionary gang and dared not resolutely oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war. In this document Comrade Mao Tsetung was combating such erroneous thinking. He pointed out that if the forces of the people throughout the world waged resolute, effective struggles against the forces of world reaction, they could overcome the danger of a new world war. At the same time, he pointed out that it was possible for the imperialist countries and the socialist countries to reach certain compromises but that such compromises do "not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home", and that "the people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions". This document was not made public at the time and was circulated only among some leading comrades of the Central Committee. It was distributed at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in December 1947. Since the comrades present unanimously agreed with its contents, the full text was later included in "A Circular on the Decisions Made at the Central Committee Meeting of December 1947", issued by the Central Committee in January 1948.

## One Year Since the Party Congress

—OHARU MAZUMDAR

One year has passed since our Party Congress. One year has passed also since Chairman Mao made his historic Statement of May 20. Chairman Mao's Statement has enthused the revolutionary masses the world over, inspired them to undergo more arduous labour and sacrifice and has strengthened the self-confidence in the minds of the fighters. During the past one year the great peoples of the three countries of Indo-China have won great successes and defeated U.S. imperialism. U. S. imperialism is in the throes of a difficult crisis. U.S. imperialism will not accept defeat; true to its nature, it is repeatedly trying to start the conflagration of a world war.

In our country also, the struggle has become considerably widespread and has struck deep roots among the masses during the past one year. The peasants' armed struggle in rural areas has roused the students and youths in towns and cities. The struggle of the students and youths has taken the form of a great mass movement and has dealt blows at the colonial system of education. Investigations into the history of our country in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have increased as a result of the struggle of the students and youths and the Party comrades belonging to the intelligentsia have done much valuable work. The students and youths have set glowing examples of self-sacrifice. The working class has led many successful struggles for upholding its dignity and against repressive policies. The armed struggle in villages has spread to wide areas. With the snatching of rifles by a squad of poor and landless peasants at Magurjan, the process of building up the People's Liberation Army has begun. With a view to arming the guerrilla force, the campaign for collection of guns has begun on a big scale. In many places in the countryside Revolutionary Committees have been set up and these Revolutionary Committees have taken up the task of distributing among the landless and poor peasants the land of *jotedars* who have been killed or have fled. They are laying stress on the necessity of keeping up production and of holding on to the produce. The

Revolutionary Committees are building up the village militia, administering justice and trying to effect a general reduction in rent. Through these activities the Revolutionary Committees are establishing themselves as people's State power. In order to strengthen the People's Army we must make our campaign for collection of rifles more widespread and vigorous. In this respect also, the efforts to develop the initiative of the poor and landless peasants must continue, the leadership of the poor and landless peasants in the campaign for collection of rifles must be established. This is because the People's Liberation Army is a weapon of class struggle and this Army will make agrarian revolution successful.

As our struggle in the past one year has advanced, it has also suffered setbacks. Many of our leaders in Andhra and Punjab have laid down their lives and become martyrs after a heroic struggle. In Andhra many leaders have been arrested. In Punjab we have got over the difficulties and have penetrated deeper among the poor and landless peasants. But in Andhra we have not yet been able to tide over the difficulties. As there are victories in struggles, so there are defeats. Taking advantage of our temporary reverses in Andhra, revisionism raised its head within the Party. The path of revolutionary self-sacrifice was described as the path of suicide and the issue of self preservation was raised. Instead of giving importance to the problem of unity of poor and landless peasants with middle peasants, emphasis was laid on unity with rich peasants. These are the main aspects of the Bihar Committee's document. All this is revisionist thinking. Revisionism opposes armed struggle on the plea that good cadres would be killed thereby. By such talk, revisionism indirectly helps counter-revolutionary violence. It hides from our view the man-killing system, the fact that the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system of our country is daily thrusting tens of millions of poor and landless peasants, workers and poor petty-bourgeois helplessly towards the grave. In order to change the system we must be imbued with the *mantra* of self-sacrifice and be resolute in carrying on armed struggle in a determined manner. Revolution in our country can become successful only through agrarian revolution and to make the agrarian revolution successful

we must entirely depend on the poor and landless peasants. In the interest of revolution itself the poor and landless peasant will seek to make the middle peasant his firm ally in the struggle. Only in this way can the firm unity of the peasantry be built up. If we now lay stress on unity with rich peasants, the Party's classline will become weak and the struggle will, as a result, lose its determined character.

Did the Andhra comrades commit no mistakes? They might have made mistakes and in the course of a struggle many a mistake is sure to be committed. We must learn from the mistakes. The Andhra comrades are making a review and we shall all learn from them. But the revisionists are attributing the reverses in Andhra to the entire Party programme. There are many ups and downs along the path of armed struggle; we shall not deviate from our objective if we have faith in the masses and have faith in the Party.

In the initial stage of the trouble in East Pakistan many did not observe the chauvinist activities of the Awami League nor did they observe the shameless interference of the Indian Government in the internal affairs of Pakistan. As a result, they took a wrong decision. Subsequently, those who noted the Indian interference failed to see the reactionary character of Yahya and went on propagating that the Party's only task was to extend full support to Yahya. They could not realize the importance of the determined efforts of the EPCP (M-L) to build up class struggle in this difficult situation. Consequently, the line they adopted was entirely a liquidationist line. Our Party has very correctly raised the slogan "Stop interference in Pakistan".

The importance of our political work is increasing as our struggle is becoming more widespread and intense. The political level of the Party workers will have to be raised and the political consciousness of the masses has to be developed; only then shall we be able to combat successfully the different manifestations of revisionism and to raise the morale of the fighting masses.

—May 20, 1971

## To the Comrades of Punjab

*The following message was sent by Comrade Charu Mazumdar to the Comrades of Punjab in the third week of April, 1971 :*

Dear Comrades of Punjab,

You are continuing the struggle under the heaviest repression and most ruthless oppression by the ruling class. Your struggle is drawing admiration from all over India and giving us inspiration to continue the struggle. We must not forget martyrs like Comrade Daya Singh, Comrade Bhuja Singh and many others.

You have overcome your weaknesses despite severe repression. You have entrenched yourselves among the landless and poor peasants of Punjab who have been suffering from age-old oppression. You have been successful because you have consciously tried to follow the Thought of Chairman Mao, which is the only weapon with which we can overcome our difficulties and carry the struggle forward.

Rely upon the landless and poor peasants, release their initiative, and all the difficulties and obstacles will be removed.

This faith upon the basic masses is the corner-stone of our success, because these masses can function in various ways and their creative genius can do miracles.

Accept my revolutionary greetings and great admiration for you.

CHARU MAZUMDAR

**"Is the proletariat to follow the bourgeoisie, or is the bourgeoisie to follow the proletariat? This question of responsibility for leadership in the Chinese revolution is the linchpin upon which the success or failure of the revolution depends."**

—CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG—

*(The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party  
in the Period of Resistance to Japan)*

## NOTES

### THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY

One year ago, in his historic Statement of May 20, Chairman Mao said: "A new upsurge in the struggle against U. S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world."

This solemn Statement breathed a new faith, a new confidence, among the revolutionary people all the world over. They were resolved more than ever before to dare to rise in struggle, to dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their countries. Responding to the call of the great leader of the world revolution they pledged to unite and defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs. Astonishing were the victories won during the last twelve months by the heroic Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples over the most powerful and most aggressive imperialists in history—the U. S. imperialists. Their struggles, the like of which the world has never before seen, have merged into one and the whole of Indo-China today presents one battle-front. The revolutionary unity of the Chinese people, the three Indo-Chinese peoples and the Korean people is the sure guarantee of the not-distant doom of the U. S. imperialist monster. Defeating U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and domestic reactionaries, revolution is marching on in various other countries. As the flames of revolution spread, the pacts and alliances and military blocs the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists built up painstakingly during all these years are in complete disarray today. NATO, SEATO, CENTO, WARSHAW Pact, OAS (Organization of American States)—all these carefully built-up military blocs are today ridden with contradictions and are fast disintegrating. The struggle of the Polish people against the Polish revisionist ruling clique, obedient lackey of the Soviet social-imperialists, was quite typical of the shape of things to come in East Europe. The

struggle of the Latin American Governments against the two so-called superpowers for their ocean rights is one more instance of the sharp contradictions that today beset the U. S. imperialists and their chief accomplice.

Chairman Mao said: "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." To escape from the raging flames of revolution the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are making frantic preparations to start a new world war today. Japanese militarism, revived by the U.S. imperialists, may serve as the shock brigade of the imperialist aggressors against the Korean People's Democratic Republic. In Europe, Romania, Albania and Yugoslavia are menaced by the threat of aggression from the Soviet social-imperialists. That is why a new phenomenon is emerging in the world today. Though their social systems may be violently opposed to that of Socialist China, all countries which are menaced by the U. S. aggressors or the Soviet social-imperialists are more and more seeking the friendship and help of Socialist China and are increasingly relying on her for protection from either of the imperialist wolves. While, in the course of revolutionary struggles, the anti-imperialist unity of the revolutionary peoples of the world grows more firm every day, the sharp contradictions among the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and their various comprador groups and their fear of one another tear them apart and accentuate the disunity among them to the alarm of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. Yet "imperialism means war" and the revolutionary people of the world can never afford to relax their vigilance.

Chairman Mao's Statement of May 20 marked the beginning of a new phase in the world's history. Since then epoch-making victories have been won by the revolutionary people of the world on various battle-fronts. Politically, both at home and abroad, the two so-called superpowers are much more isolated today than ever before. A qualitative change is taking place in the world

situation and the total collapse of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction is in sight.

The last one year—the year after the Party Congress, the first Congress since the Party was rebuilt on Mao Tsetung Thought—has been a momentous year in this country's history too. From the Party Congress Comrade Charu Mazumdar issued his great call to the Indian revolutionaries—the call to spread the armed agrarian revolution to every village in India and to create as many points of armed struggle as possible by relying on the poor and landless peasants. It was the battle of annihilation of class enemies, the higher form of class struggle, that would serve as the starting-point of guerrilla war—people's war—in India and would create new men ready to make every sacrifice and fearless of death. When this transformation has taken place, when the poor and landless peasants, imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought, have dared to go close to the enemy and snatch his rifle, the guerrilla squads, the armed forces, led by the Party would become regular units of the People's Liberation Army and a vast mass upheaval would follow in the wake of the intensified armed struggle. Revolutionary Committees would be formed in rural areas freed of the class enemies and their agents, land and crops of the landlord class would be confiscated and distributed among the landless and poor peasants, the village militia and people's courts would be set up, the many-sided genius of the people awakened after a long sleep would perform miracles. The mass struggle linked with armed struggle would sweep the country and the two, inextricably interwoven and influencing and helping each other, would soon strike at the present man-eating system with the force of a hurricane and shatter it.

Now is the dawn of that day the coming of which Comrade Charu Mazumdar predicted from the platform of the Party Congress last year. In last October a squad of landless and poor peasant guerrillas, equipped with only primitive weapons and entirely on their own initiative, dared to attack armed forces of the reactionary state at Magurjan, snatched away six rifles and many bullets after annihilating two armed men. Comrade Charu Mazumdar hailed it and announced the formation of the Indian People's

Liberation Army with the peasant guerrilla squads led by the Party as units of the P. L. A. He also gave a call for the formation of Peasant Revolutionary Committees as organs of political power in areas freed of class enemies and their agents. Since then the snatching of rifles and guns for arming the PLA has become a kind of festival throughout West Bengal and Peasants' Revolutionary Committees are arising in various areas. The working class also is rising in militant battles and the best worker cadres are fighting arms in hand and shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary peasants. The revolutionary youths and students have exposed by their courageous struggles the utter rottenness of the present colonial system of education, trampled underfoot the images of imperialism's lackeys whom reactionaries and revisionists so long adored as the people's heroes, and have thus raised the class consciousness of the entire people.

Today India is on the eve of a great change: a leap, a qualitative change, is taking place. The new man whom India had been awaiting for hundreds of years, the new man who is thoroughly unselfish and has conquered the fear of death and who alone can be the architect of the great change, has arisen out of the fire of class struggle. The Party is going deeper and deeper among the masses of poor and landless peasants and workers. The storm of a great mass upheaval is about to break.

During this momentous year the Party led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar had to wage a ceaseless battle against revisionism which attacked the Party line both from within and without. Treacherous revisionist elements lurking within the Party tried to liquidate the revolutionary armed struggle by insisting on the unity with rich peasants, the need for self-defence and self-preservation etc., and by calling a halt to militant struggles in urban areas. As the history of the great Communist Party of China shows, the inner-Party struggle will be a ceaseless one. New issues will appear and revisionism will wear new masks at every phase and work hard to change the class struggle into class capitulation and thus to sabotage the armed revolution. It is only by adhering firmly to Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line, only by

overcoming ceaseless revisionist challenges, that the Party can grow, develop and lead the Indian revolution to victory. Only thus can the revolutionary people of India, a contingent of the world-wide revolutionary anti-imperialist front led by Chairman Mao and the great Communist Party of China, smash all counter revolutionary conspiracies of the two so-called superpowers and domestic reaction in this sub continent and hasten their total collapse.

—May 20, 1971

*DEFEATING IMPERIALISM, KHRUSHOV REVISIONISM  
AND ALL OTHER REACTION REVOLUTION IN  
EAST PAKISTAN MARCHES ON*

Recently the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian reactionaries gambled in East Pakistan and lost.

For some time the two so-called superpowers have been putting great pressure on the Pakistani ruling classes to join them in encircling China and in serving the interests of their counter-revolutionary strategy in this part of Asia. Meeting with resistance on the part of the Pakistani ruling classes, they co-ordinated their plans with the Indian expansionists and tried to dismember Pakistan and turn East Pakistan into a base of aggression against China.

Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League had been groomed by the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices to seize power from within while the Indian expansionists would do whatever was needed to carry out the imperialist plan from without. Taking his cue from the U.S. imperialists, Mujibur demanded "freedom" for East Pakistan, and while he carried on negotiations with President Yahya Khan, his men stirred up provincial riots and butchered thousands of non Bengalees. When the negotiations broke down, Mujibur, like Gandhi in 1942, quietly went to prison asking his followers to "do or die". Strangely enough, Bengali

members of the East Bengal Regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles, the police and the *Ansars* (a fascist organization), banded together by the U.S. imperialists, became the chief contingents of what was called a "liberation army". The resistance offered by them to General Yahya Khan's army was quite feeble. The Awami League leaders who had been intoxicated with hopes of a quick, easy victory, fled to India as quickly as their legs could carry them.

The Indian expansionists cast off all diplomatic pretence and interfered crudely, blatantly in Pakistan's internal affairs. They massed several army divisions on the border with East Pakistan; besides arms, they sent plainclothes armymen across the border to carry out sabotage and harassment. Their press and radio, including the "Free Bengal (meaning East Bengal) Radio" improvised by them, spread day in and day out fantastic stories to rally people in the sham "liberation" struggle. The Indian journalists, many of whom receive their inspiration from either the CIA or the Soviet social-imperialists, gleefully hailed the "revolution" as something without parallel in history.

This gamble was part of the intensified preparations for a new world war. It has failed but it has cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and caused the misery and destitution of millions of others. Burning, looting and killing were resorted to on a large scale by the Pakistani army as well as the landlords, the Muslim League and a rabid fascist organization called Jamiat-i-Islami. This once again shows what ferocious enemies of mankind are U.S. imperialism, its accomplices and other reactionaries.

Though this attempt to turn East Pakistan into a base of aggression against China and the world's people has not succeeded, the U.S. imperialists are trying to use the Pakistani rulers' economic dependence as a kind of lever to force a political settlement on them. Protracted negotiations are going on in Washington between the U.S. imperialists and General Yahya Khan's men. But whatever may be result of those negotiations, the plan to "liberate" East Pakistan and tie it to the U.S.-Soviet war-chariot has already acted as a boomerang on all enemies of the people—foreign and

domestic. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) armed peasant struggle is forging ahead in many districts: several areas in Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali and other districts have been freed of class enemies and their agents; large quantities of fire-arms and ammunition have been seized and units of the People's Liberation Army in East Pakistan have been formed; people's revolutionary committees have been established as organs of people's power and the land of the feudal class has been confiscated and is being distributed among the poor and landless peasants; people's courts are punishing the enemies of the people. It is the dawn of a great new era.

The continued refusal of the Pakistani rulers to join the so-called superpowers and the Indian expansionists in forming a ring round China, their friendly relations with China, their just struggle to foil U.S.-Soviet conspiracies and to defeat the Indian expansionists' intervention and interference, and China's support to their just struggle—all these have raised a number of questions. What has led the Pakistani rulers to oppose the U.S.-Soviet war strategy directed against China? And what is the nature and extent of that opposition? Does this prove that Pakistan is no longer a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country but an independent country ruled by the national bourgeoisie which is anti-imperialist and revolutionary? And how can the Party best fight the anti-China war-plots in this sub-continent? To find out answers to these questions we should try to get rid of subjectivism and make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, which, according to Lenin, is 'the most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism'.

Throughout the 1950's Pakistan pursued a policy hostile to China, a policy dictated by the U. S. imperialists. The Ayub Government's policy towards the end of the fifties and even later was one of increasing dependence on the U.S.A. and President Ayub's joint defence offer to India was viewed by China as "sowing discord in the relations between China and India." (*People's Daily*, July 23, 1959, quoted by Neville Maxwell in "India's China War", p. 274—2nd Jaico impression). *People's Daily* of July 23, 1959, wrote: "The Pakistani ruling clique has been playing a vicious



role and adopting an extremely unfriendly attitude towards China." It warned: "The Pakistani Government should pull up the horse before the precipice, reverse its hostile stand towards the Chinese people and return to the road laid down by the Bandung resolutions and the road of Sino-Pakistani friendship." (Ibid)

In a few years the same Ayub Government did reverse its hostile stand towards the Chinese people. Why? It was not newly-awakened love for Socialist China or for the Bandung principles but fear of the Indian expansionists that goaded the Pakistani ruling clique to change its 'vicious role' and seek China's friendship. It is the basic contradiction between the Indian compradors and the Pakistani compradors that had been utilized by their common masters—the British imperialists, had become the cause of frightful massacres of millions of people and the uprooting of many more millions in 1946-47 and led to the emergence of Pakistan. Since then, this contradiction, far from being resolved, has grown more and more acute and led to widespread riots against the minority communities in both India and Pakistan and, at least, thrice to open armed conflicts between the two countries. Even after October 1962, when the Indian reactionaries, egged on by the Soviet revisionist renegades and the U.S. imperialists, attacked the Tibet region of China a series of conferences between the Nehru Government and the Ayub Government were held to resolve this contradiction. But this attempt failed to achieve the end so much desired by U.S. imperialism—the unity of the reactionary ruling classes of the two countries that would serve the U. S. imperialists' counter-revolutionary global strategy. It was in 1959 that Kennedy, Khrushov and Nehru came to an agreement and the two so-called superpowers came to rely on the Indian reactionaries for carrying out their counter-revolutionary strategy in this part of Asia. In the U.S.-Soviet scheme of aggression against China, India with her much larger population and richer material resources than Pakistan, was assigned the major role. Since 1959, the Indian reactionaries have been playing this role quite faithfully. The Pakistani compradors were afraid that they would be signing their death warrant if they surrendered to the U.S.-Soviet demand, which meant surrender to the

Indian expansionists on the terms offered by the latter. This gnawing fear of the Indian reactionaries, this fight for survival, is the internal factor—the decisive factor—that urged the Pakistani ruling classes to seek the friendship, support and help of Socialist China.

What is the nature of the opposition offered by the Pakistani rulers to the U. S.-Soviet plans of aggression against China? Certain facts may be illuminating. Pakistan still continues to be a member of the U.S.-organized and U.S.-led military alliances—SEATO and CENTO, though she has refused to yield to the U.S. demand that she should despatch troops to die in South Viet Nam. On this issue she is in good company, for Britain and France also, though members of the SEATO, refused to comply with the U.S. demand. Pakistan also saw to it that a U.S. observation base in West Pakistan was removed. On the other hand, Pakistan maintains close ties with the reactionary governments of the Middle East and lent troops to the U.S. stooge, King Hussein of Jordan, to wage war against the Palestinian liberation fighters. It should be noted that in the just struggle against Mujbur and the Indian expansionists Pakistan enjoyed the full support of all the stooges of imperialism in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Pakistan's economy is dependent on "aid" from and unequal trade with imperialist and revisionist countries. The following table, based on a chart published in the *Statesman* of May 9, 1971, will give some idea of the extent of the domination of Pakistan's economy by imperialist powers. In this table, only the main sources of "aid" have been mentioned:

Foreign Economic Assistance upto December 1969

	Rs. million		Rs. million
China :	510.9	France :	539.9
Australia :	193.0	W. Germany :	1974.2
Canada :	1651.5	Italy :	440.3
Czechoslovakia :	257.9	Japan :	1432.5
U. K. :	1754.6	Yugoslavia :	529.1
U. S. A. :	12,683.1	I. B. R. D. :	2917.8
U. S. S. R. :	567.8	I. D. A. :	1801.2

The above fully exposes the semi-colonial nature of Pakistan's economy. It should not be forgotten that "aid" is an instrument of the imperialist powers for carrying out their foreign policy.

The contradiction with the Indian expansionists, that does not allow the Pakistani ruling classes to join them in implementing the U.S.-Soviet global strategy, is helpful to China and the world revolution but not quite pleasing to the two "superpowers". In 1965 and, again, in 1968-9, they—and not any imaginary "national bourgeoisie" nor the anti-imperialist people of Pakistan—tried to remove President Ayub. In September 1965 it was a two-pronged attack on Ayub and his policy: a coup d'etat by top-ranking military officers of Pakistan was planned by the CIA when the Indian expansionists taking their cue from the U.S. imperialists invaded Pakistan. Then, too, China came out in open support of Pakistan. The U.S. conspiracy was defeated; but, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists managed to drag the Indian Prime Minister Shastri and the Pakistani President Ayub to a conference at Tashkent to forge unity between the Indian reactionaries and the Pakistani ruling classes—a unity the edge of which would be directed against China and the world's people. The Tashkent conference was a joint manoeuvre of the Soviet social-imperialists and the U. S. imperialists—a manoeuvre strongly denounced by China and extolled by all revisionists—both of the Dange and of the Nambudiripad-Ranadive variety in this country. Those revisionist curs and swine are being echoed today by new-type revisionism which, while paying lip service to Chairman Mao's Thought, depicts the Tashkent Agreement, the outcome of the conference, as a victory of the "national bourgeoisie" and the anti-imperialist people of Pakistan! But the Agreement, imposed by the two superpowers, soon became a mere scrap of paper as the basic contradiction between the Pakistani ruling classes and the Indian expansionists remained unresolved.

In 1968-69 the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, taking advantage of the widespread mass discontent against the Pakistani ruling classes, managed to remove Ayub. But the

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# Long Live the Victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

In commemoration of the centenary of the  
Paris Commune

by the Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao,  
Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao

## 1. The Principles of the Paris Commune Are Eternal

March 18 this year marks the centenary of the Paris Commune. Full of profound feelings of proletarian internationalism, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people under the teaching of their great leader Chairman Mao warmly celebrate this great "festival of the proletariat"<sup>1</sup> together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world.

One hundred years ago the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of Paris in France staged a heroic armed uprising and founded the Paris Commune. This was the first proletarian regime in the history of mankind, the first great attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune abolished the army and police of the reactionary bourgeois government and replaced them with the armed people; the gun was in the hands of the working class.

The Paris Commune broke the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus enslaving the people, founded the working class's own government,

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adopted a series of policies to safeguard the interests of the working people and organized the masses to take an active part in running the state.

In the fight to found and defend the proletarian regime, the heroes of the Paris Commune displayed extraordinary revolutionary initiative, soaring revolutionary enthusiasm and self-sacrificing heroism, winning the admiration of the revolutionary people generation after generation.

Although the Paris Commune failed as a result of the military onslaught and bloody suppression carried out by butcher Thiers in league with Bismarck, its historical contributions are indelible. As Marx said: The glorious movement of March 18 was "the dawn of the great social revolution which will liberate mankind from the regime of classes for ever."<sup>2</sup>

While the battle was raging in a Paris darkened by the smoke of gunfire, Marx declared: "But even if the Commune is crushed, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed; they will declare themselves again and again until the working class achieves its liberation."<sup>3</sup>

What are the revolutionary principles that Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the proletariat, summed up on the basis of the practice of the Paris Commune?

In a word, "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes."<sup>4</sup> The proletariat must use revolutionary violence to "break" and "smash"<sup>5</sup> the old state machinery and carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat.<sup>6</sup>

In expounding this principle, Marx stressed: The first premise of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is an army of the proletariat. The working class must win the right to its emancipation on the battlefield."<sup>7</sup> Only by relying on revolutionary armed force can the proletariat overthrow the rule of reactionary classes and go on to fulfil its whole historical mission.

Marx also said: The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat

will "be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."<sup>8</sup>

As Lenin said: "One of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state" is "the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (as Marx and Engels began to call it after the Paris Commune)."<sup>9</sup> To persist in revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat or to maintain the bourgeois state machine and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat—this has been the focus of repeated struggles between Marxism on the one hand and revisionism, reformism, anarchism and all kinds of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology on the other, the focus of repeated struggles between the two lines in the international communist movement for the past hundred years. It is precisely on this fundamental question of the dictatorship of the proletariat that all revisionism, from the revisionism of the Second International to modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, has completely betrayed Marxism.

A century's history has proved to the full that the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is invincible.

Forty-six years after the Paris Commune uprising, the proletariat of Russia led by the great Lenin, won victory in the October Socialist Revolution through armed uprising, opening up a new world era of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin said: On the path of breaking the old state machine, the Paris Commune "took the first world-historical step.....The Soviet Government took the second."<sup>10</sup>

Seventy-eight years after the Paris Commune uprising, the Chinese people, led by the great leader Chairman Mao, won victory in the revolution. Chairman Mao blazed a trail in establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally taking the cities. He led the Chinese people through protracted revolutionary wars in overthrowing the reac-

tionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, in breaking the old state machine and bringing about in China the people's democratic dictatorship that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since then Chairman Mao has been leading the Chinese people in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing triumphantly along the socialist road.

Fighting bravely, advancing wave upon wave and supporting and encouraging each other in the past century, the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world have been promoting the socialist revolution and the national democratic revolution and have won most brilliant victories. As Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "This is the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory."<sup>11</sup> The cause of the Paris Commune is spreading far and wide at a higher stage in the new historical conditions. The world has undergone an earth-shaking change.

In commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels, with jubilant revolutionary feeling, told the European working class: "Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated, lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: Vive la Commune!"<sup>12</sup> Today, the flames of the revolutionary torch raised by the Paris Commune are ablaze throughout the world, and the days of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction are numbered. In celebrating the centenary of the Paris Commune at such a time, the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people the world over have all the more reason to shout with unbounded confidence: Long live the Commune! Long live the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

In commemorating the Paris Commune, we should study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, learn from historical experience, criticize

modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, adhere to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, and unite with the people of the world to win still greater victories.

## II. It Is of the Utmost Importance for the Revolutionary People To Take Hold of the Gun

The historical experience of the Paris Commune has fully demonstrated that taking hold of revolutionary arms is of the utmost importance to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Explaining the experience of the Paris Commune, Lenin referred to Engels' important thesis that the workers emerged with arms from every revolution in France and that, therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. On this conclusion of Engels', Lenin commented: "The essence of the matter—also, by the way, on the question of the state (*has the oppressed class arms?*)—is here remarkably well grasped."<sup>13</sup>

The Paris Commune was born in the fierce struggle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution. The 72 days of the Paris Commune were 72 days of armed uprising, armed struggle and armed defence. The very fact that the proletariat of Paris had taken hold of the gun struck the greatest terror into the hearts of the bourgeois reactionaries. And a fatal error of the Paris Commune lay precisely in the fact that it showed excessive magnanimity towards counter-revolution and did not march on Versailles immediately, thus giving Thiers a breathing space to muster his reactionary forces for an onslaught on revolutionary Paris. As Engels said: "Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?"<sup>14</sup>

Comrade Mao Tsetung has concisely summed up the tremendous importance of armed struggle and the people's army and advanced the celebrated thesis "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."<sup>15</sup> He points out: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."<sup>16</sup>

Violent revolution is the universal principle of proletarian revolution. A Marxist-Leninist party must adhere to this universal principle and apply it to the concrete practice of its own country. Historical experience shows that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the oppressed people of a country and the seizure of victory in their revolution are accomplished invariably by the power of the gun; they are accomplished under the leadership of a proletarian party, by acting in accordance with that country's specific conditions, by gradually building up the people's armed forces and fighting a people's war on the basis of arousing the broad masses to action, and by waging repeated struggles against the imperialists and reactionaries. This is true of the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the revolutions of Albania, Viet Nam, Korea and other countries, and there is no exception.

On the other hand, a proletarian party suffers setbacks in the revolution if it fails to go in for or gives up revolutionary armed force, and there have been serious lessons: Some parties failed to take hold of the gun and were helpless in the face of sudden attacks by imperialism and its lackeys' and of counter-revolutionary suppression, and as a result millions of revolutionary people were massacred. In some cases where the revolutionary people had already taken up arms and their armed forces had grown considerably, certain parties handed over the people's armed forces and forfeited the fruits of the revolution because they sought official posts in bourgeois governments or were duped by the reactionaries.

In the past decades, many Communist Parties have participated in elections and parliaments, but none has set up a dictatorship of the proletariat by such means. Even if a Communist Party should win a majority in parliament or participate in the government, this

would not mean any change in the character of bourgeois political power, still less the smashing of the old state machine. The reactionary ruling classes can proclaim the election null and void, dissolve the parliament or directly use violence to kick out the Communist Party. If a proletarian party does no mass work, rejects armed struggle and makes a fetish of parliamentary elections, it will only lull the masses and corrupt itself. The bourgeoisie buys over a Communist Party through parliamentary elections and turns it into a revisionist party, a party of the bourgeoisie—are such cases rare in history?

The proletariat must use the gun to seize political power and must use the gun to defend it. The people's army under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party is the bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat and among the various factors for preventing the restoration of capitalism it is the main one. Having a people's army armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the proletariat can deal with any complicated situation in the domestic or international class struggle and safeguard the proletarian state.

The contemporary liberation movement of the oppressed nations is an important component part and a great ally of the proletarian world revolution. The national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are related to each other and at the same time distinct from each other; they represent two different stages and are different in character. However, to win complete victory in the national democratic revolution, it is likewise necessary to get prepared for a trial of armed strength with the imperialists and reactionaries. For the oppressed nations, it is likewise most important to take hold of the gun.

Since World War II, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States have incessantly launched wars of aggression and resorted ever more frequently to such means as military intervention, armed subversion and invasion by mercenary troops to suppress the countries and people that are fighting for or have already gained independence. Incomplete statistics show that U.S. imperialism has engineered and launched armed intervention and armed aggression on more than 50 occasions

in the past 25 years. As for U.S.-engineered armed subversion, examples are too numerous to be counted. Therefore, in order to win liberation and safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and effectively combat aggression and subversion by imperialism and its lackeys all the oppressed nations must have their own anti-imperialist armed forces and be prepared at all times to counter wars of aggression with revolutionary wars. The war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of the three countries of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia has set a brilliant example to the oppressed nations and people all over the world. The struggles against aggression and subversion waged by the people of many other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America have likewise provided valuable experience.

In his solemn statement "People of the world, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!", Chairman Mao points out: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."<sup>17</sup>

As Comrade Lin Piao says, "people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys."<sup>18</sup> The proletariat and the oppressed people and nations the world over will all change from being unarmed and unskilled in warfare to taking up arms and being skilled in warfare. U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys will eventually be burned to ashes in the fiery flames of the people's war they themselves have kindled.

### III. Revolution is the Cause of the Masses in Their Millions

The historical experience of the Paris Commune tells us that to be victorious in the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat it is imperative to rely on the revolutionary enthu-

siasm of the masses in their millions and give full play to their great power as the makers of history. Lenin said: "The autoeracy cannot be abolished without the revolutionary action of class-conscious millions, without a great surge of mass heroism, readiness and ability on their part to 'storm heaven', as Marx put it when speaking of the Paris workers at the time of the Commune."<sup>19</sup>

Marx, the great teacher of the proletariat, highly valued the revolutionary initiative of the masses of the people and set us a brilliant example of the correct attitude to adopt towards the revolutionary mass movement.

In the autumn of 1870, prior to the founding of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the conditions were not ripe for an uprising by the French workers. But when the proletariat of Paris did rise in revolt with heaven-storming revolutionary heroism in March 1871, Marx, regarding himself as a participant, promptly and firmly supported and helped this proletarian revolution. Although he perceived the mistakes of the Commune and foresaw its defeat, Marx considered the revolution the most glorious exploit of the French working class. For he regarded this movement "as a historic experience of enormous importance, as a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, as a practical step that was more important than hundreds of programmes and arguments."<sup>20</sup> In a letter to L. Kugelmann at that time, Marx expressed his fervent praise: "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!" "History has no like example of like greatness!"<sup>21</sup> Lenin saw in this letter a gulf between the proletarian revolutionaries and the opportunists and hoped that it would be "hung in the home... of every literate Russian worker."<sup>22</sup>

Contrary to the Marxists, all the opportunists and old and new revisionists oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and they inevitably have a mortal fear of and bitter hatred for the masses, and they deride, curse and sabotage the revolutionary mass movement. When the Russian armed uprising of December 1905 failed, Plekhanov stood aloof and accused the

masses, saying: "They should not have taken to arms." Lenin indignantly criticized Plekhanov's aristocratic attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement and denounced him as an infamous Russian renegade from Marxism. Lenin pointed out that without the "general rehearsal" of 1905, victory in the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible.

In 1959, when our great teacher Chairman Mao denounced the Peng Teh-huai Right-opportunist anti-Party clique for slandering and opposing the revolutionary mass movement, he sharply told these anti-Marxist renegades:

"Please look and see how Marx and Lenin commented on the Paris Commune, and Lenin on the Russian revolution!" "Do you see how Lenin criticized the renegade Plekhanov and those bourgeois gentlemen and their hangers-on, 'the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them'? If not, will you please have a look?"<sup>23</sup> Chairman Mao used this historical experience as a profound lesson to educate the whole Party and urged our party members and cadres to follow the example of Marx and Lenin and take a correct attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement.

"Revolution is the main trend in the world today."<sup>24</sup> All round the globe, the people are thundering: Down with the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! The strategic rear areas of imperialism have become front lines in the anti-imperialist struggle. The victorious development of the war of the three peoples of Indochina against U. S. aggression and for national salvation has pushed the worldwide anti-U.S. struggle to a new high. The struggle against the doctrine of the hegemony of the two super-powers is gaining momentum. The national liberation movement in Asia and Africa is shooting forward as violently as a raging fire. The struggle of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is daily surging ahead. The Palestinian and other Arab people are continuing their advance in the fight against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors. Revolutionary mass movements on an unprecedented scale have broken out in North America, Europe and

Oceania. The workers, students, black people and other minority peoples in the United States are daily awakening and rising in a revolutionary storm against the reactionary rule of the Nixon government and its policy of aggression. In Latin America, the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, the long-suppressed anti-U.S. fury in the hearts of the people has now burst forth, and a new situation has emerged characterized by joint struggle for the defence of their national interests and state sovereignty. The revolutionary struggle of the people in certain East European countries against social-imperialism is in the ascendant. The spring thunder of revolution is sounding even in hitherto relatively quiescent areas. Reacting on and encouraging each other, these struggles have merged into the powerful torrent of the world people's revolutionary movement.

In the face of the present great revolutionary movement, every revolutionary party and every revolutionary will have to make a choice. To march at the head of the masses and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries must warmly support the revolutionary actions of the masses, firmly march at the head of the mass movement and lead the masses forward.

The political parties of the proletariat and all revolutionaries ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle.<sup>25</sup> They must share weal and woe with the masses, modestly learn from them, be their willing pupils, be good at discovering their revolutionary initiative and draw wisdom and strength from them. Only by plunging into the mighty storm of the mass movement can a political party of the proletariat temper itself and grow in maturity. And only through the practice of the masses in class struggle can a correct programme or line be formulated, developed, tested and carried out.

The mainstream of the revolutionary mass movement is always good and always conforms to the development of society. In the mass movement various trends of thought exert their influence,

various factions emerge and various kinds of people take part. This is only natural. Nothing on earth is absolutely pure. Through their practice in struggle and repeated comparison, the broad masses of the people will eventually distinguish between what is correct and what is erroneous; they will eventually cast aside revisionism and all that is erroneous and accept and grasp the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism. A proletarian party must go deep among the masses and work patiently, painstakingly and for a long time, so as constantly to raise their political consciousness and lead the mass movement forward along the correct road.

The question of first importance for the revolution is to distinguish between enemies and friends, to unite with our real friends and attack our real enemies. The development of the revolutionary mass movement calls for the constant strengthening of unity within the revolutionary forces and the smashing of the plots to split and sabotage hatched by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. The people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population—the workers, peasants, students and all those who refuse to be oppressed by imperialism—invariably want to make revolution. In order to defeat U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs it is imperative to form a broad united front, unite with all forces that can be united, the enemy excepted, and carry out arduous struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party."<sup>26</sup> We must rely on the masses and launch mass movements when we fight for political power. We must likewise rely on the masses, launch mass movements and adhere to the mass line in all our work when we engage in the socialist revolution and socialist construction after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty."<sup>27</sup>

#### IV. It Is Essential to Have a Genuine Marxist-Leninist Party

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels explicitly stated: "In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes."<sup>28</sup> This is a condition indispensable to seizing victory in the proletarian revolution, establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and realizing the ultimate goal of abolishing classes.

The fundamental cause of the failure of the Paris Commune was that, owing to the historical conditions, Marxism had not yet achieved a dominant position in the workers' movement and a proletarian revolutionary party with Marxism as its guiding thought had not yet come into being. On the other hand, Blanquism and Proudhonism which were then dominant in the Paris Commune could not possibly lead the proletarian revolution to victory.

Historical experience shows that where a very favourable revolutionary situation and revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of the masses exist, it is still necessary to have a strong core of leadership of the proletariat, that is, "a revolutionary party..... built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style."<sup>29</sup> Only such a party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses in defeating imperialism and its running dogs and winning victory in the revolution.

A revolutionary situation appeared in many countries at the time of World War I. However, since almost all the political parties of the Second International had degenerated into revisionist, social-chauvinist parties, it was out of the question for them to lead the proletariat in seizing political power. Only in Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin, was the Great October Socialist Revolution crowned with success.



During and after World War II, the revolution triumphed in China thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader; in some other countries, also under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, the revolution was victorious or protracted revolutionary struggles were persevered in. But in certain countries, the revolution failed because the opportunist, revisionist line had got the upper hand in the parties.

For world revolution the situation today is better than ever before. The objective situation urgently demands strong leadership by genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, and the building of proletarian revolutionary parties, which completely break with the revisionist line, which are consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally and which have a broad mass character.

To be able to lead the revolution, it is of fundamental importance for a proletarian party to take Marxism-Leninism as its guiding thought, integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country, and formulate and implement a correct line, suited to the conditions of that country. With a correct line, a weak force can grow strong, armed forces can be built up from scratch, and political power can be attained. With an erroneous line, the revolution will suffer setbacks and the gains already won will be forfeited.

In leading the Chinese people's revolution through protracted struggles, Comrade Mao Tsetung repeatedly pointed out: "As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution"<sup>30</sup> and "it has been the consistent ideological principle of our Party to closely integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution."<sup>31</sup>

Comrade Mao Tsetung further expounded this fundamental principle in his important inscription written for Japanese worker friends: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution."<sup>32</sup>

A proletarian party should, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to carry out deep-going investigations and study of the class relations in society, make concrete analyses of the present conditions and the history of its own country and the characteristics of the revolution in that country, and solve the theoretical and practical problems of the revolution independently.

It is necessary to learn from international experience, which, however, should not be copied mechanically; a proletarian party should creatively develop its own experience in the light of the realities of its own country; only thus can it guide the revolution to victory and contribute to the cause of the proletarian world revolution.

To keep on integrating theory with practice, a proletarian party must maintain close ties with the masses, go deep among them and adopt the method of leadership, "from the masses, to the masses,"<sup>33</sup> so that the party's correct line and principles can be translated into mass action. At the same time it should be good at summing up experience and lessons, carry out criticism and self-criticism, persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong in the interests of the people, and find out the laws of development through practice in struggle and then use them to guide the practical struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung says: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."<sup>34</sup> To ensure that its political line is correct and its organization consolidated, a proletarian party must conduct uncompromising struggles against opportunism and revisionism of every description, against the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement, is a protracted one. For more than a decade, the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and all the

genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world have together waged a resolute ideological, theoretical and political struggle against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and have won great victories. But the struggle is by no means over. To keep on promoting the proletarian world revolution, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary people in various countries have an important task to fulfil, namely, to continue criticizing modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and carry this struggle through to the end.

The ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes have long dominated society. The bourgeoisie invariably does its utmost to influence, corrupt and "corrode" the Communist Party ideologically by every means and through every channel, whether in developed capitalist countries or in economically backward countries; whether the status of the Communist Party is legal or not; whether before the seizure of political power by the proletariat or after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If a proletarian party fails to wage resolute struggles against the inroads of bourgeois ideology, it cannot possibly maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and will turn into an appendage of the bourgeoisie and its political parties. The proletarian party can bring its fighting strength into play and achieve victory in the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat only by using Marxism-Leninism as its weapon of criticism and sticking to class struggle in the realm of ideology to defeat the reactionary bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook.

## V. The Modern Revisionists Are Renegades From the Revolutionary Principles of the Paris Commune

At the time when the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world are marking the grand centenary of the Paris Commune,

the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is putting on an act, talking glibly about "loyalty to the principles of the Commune"<sup>36</sup> and making itself up as the successor to the Paris Commune. It has no sense of shame at all.

What right have the Soviet revisionist renegades to talk about the Paris Commune? It is these renegades who have usurped the leadership of the Soviet party and state, and as a result the Soviet state founded by Lenin and defended by Stalin has changed its political colour. It is they who have turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and put social-imperialism and social-fascism into force. This is gross betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune.

From Khrushchov to Breznev, all have tried to mask their dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as the "state of the whole people". Khrushchov used to say that the Soviet Union had been "transformed... into a state of the whole people."<sup>36</sup> Now Brezhnev and his ilk say that theirs is a "Soviet socialist state of the whole people"<sup>37</sup> and that what they practise is "Soviet democracy." All this is humbug.

The Soviet, a great creation of the Russian proletariat, embodied the fact that the working people were masters in their own house, and it was a glorious title. However, the name "Soviet," like the name "Communist Party," can be used by Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, by Marxist-Leninists or revisionists. What is decisive is not the name but the essence, not the form but the content. In the Soviet Union today, the name "Soviet" has not changed, nor has the name of the state but the class content has changed completely. With its leadership usurped by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Soviet state is no longer an instrument with which the proletariat suppresses the bourgeoisie, but has become a tool with which the restored bourgeoisie suppresses the proletariat. The Soviet revisionist renegades have turned the Soviet Union into a paradise for a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists of a new type, a prison for the millions of working people. This is the whole content of what they call a "Soviet socialist state of the whole people" and "Soviet democracy." It is by no means the fact that "the state of

the whole people is a direct continuation of the state of the whole people is a direct continuation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat,"<sup>38</sup> but rather that Brezhnev's line is a "direct continuation" of Khrushchov's line. This is essentially why Brezhnev and his like are clinging desperately to the slogan of the "state of the whole people."

Their frenzied opposition to violent proletarian revolution is another concentrated expression of the betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Brezhnev and his company clamorously demand of "the leaders of the proletariat to reduce violence to the minimum at every stage of the struggle and employ milder forms of compulsion"; they bleat that "armed struggle and civil war are accompanied by colossal sacrifices and sufferings on the part of the masses of the people, by destruction of the productive forces, and by the annihilation of the best revolutionary cadres." To find a pretext for their fallacy of "peaceful transition," this group of renegades wantonly distort history, even preaching that the Paris Commune was "initially" an "almost completely bloodless revolution."<sup>39</sup>

The revolution of the Paris Commune was from beginning to end a life-and-death fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle of violence between revolution and counter-revolution. In less than six months before the Paris Commune uprising, the People of Paris had staged two armed uprisings, and both were bloodily by the reactionaries. And in the battles following the uprising, tens of thousands of workers and other working people laid down their lives. How can this revolution be described as an "initially" "almost completely bloodless revolution"? Marx pointed out: "working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."<sup>40</sup> The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has now come out into the open and is playing the part of

the priests saying prayers for the exterminators. This is a monstrous insult to the martyrs of the Paris Commune!

The Soviet revisionist renegades try in a hundred and one ways to justify counter-revolutionary violence, but they curse revolutionary violence with clenched teeth. Under the rule of violence by imperialism and the reactionaries, the working people suffer unending pain and large numbers of them die every day, every hour. It is precisely to put an end to this man-eating system so as to free the people from exploitation and enslavement that the oppressed people carry out violent revolution. But the Soviet revisionist renegades level so many criminal charges against the revolutionary armed forces and their revolutionary wars, making allegations about the "sufferings of the people", the "annihilation of cadres" and "destruction of the productive forces," and so on and so forth. Doesn't this logic of theirs mean that the first law under heaven is for the imperialists and reactionaries to oppress and massacre the people, whereas it is a hellish crime for the revolutionary people to take up arms and rise in resistance?

The Soviet revisionist renegades want the people of all countries to reduce revolutionary violence "to the minimum," but they themselves keep on increasing counter-revolutionary violence to the maximum. Indifferent to the life or death of Soviet people, Brezhnev and his gang are going all out for militarism and the arms race, spending more and more rubles on more and more planes, guns, warships, guided missiles and nuclear weapons. It is by means of this monstrous apparatus of violence that these new tsars oppress the broad masses at home and maintain their colonial rule abroad, trying to bring a number of countries under their control. It is this apparatus of violence that they are using as capital for bargaining with U.S. imperialism, pushing power politics and dividing spheres of influence.

The Soviet revisionist renegades want the revolutionary people to employ "milder forms of compulsion" against counter-revolution, while they themselves use the most savage and brutal means to deal with the revolutionary people.

May we ask :

Is it a "milder" form when you send large numbers of armed troops and police to suppress the people of different nationalities in your country?

Is it a "milder" form when you station large numbers of troops in some East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic to impose a tight control over them, and even carry out the military occupation in Czechoslovakia, driving tanks into Prague?

And is it a "milder" form when you engage in military expansion everywhere and insidiously conduct all manner of subversive activities against other countries?

What the Soviet revisionist renegades have done fully shows that they not only oppose violent revolution but use violence to oppose revolution. They put on benevolent airs, but actually they are "the worst enemies of the workers—wolves in sheep's clothing."<sup>41</sup>

And there is a Miyamoto revisionist clique in Japan, which, too, zealously opposes violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and urges that it is "necessary to make every effort"<sup>42</sup> to take the parliamentary road. Racking their brains, they allege that according to the dictionary the word "violence" means "brute force" or "lawless force" and the people should not make such a revolution.<sup>43</sup> They also say that some people are "frightened" by the phrase—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which is a "very inappropriate" translation, and it is necessary to "make a really accurate translation" in the future.<sup>44</sup> In order to maintain U.S. imperialist and Japanese militarist violence and to oppose the Japanese people making revolution, the Miyamoto clique even seeks help from the dictionary, falls back on semantics and juggles with words. How modern revisionism has degenerated ideologically!

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will."<sup>45</sup> Khrushchov, the arch-representative of modern revisionism, has long been swept into the rubbish heap of history. Novotny and Gomulka, who

followed Khrushchov's revisionist line, have also toppled in their turn. There can be no doubt that whoever runs counter to the laws of history, betrays the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune and turns traitor to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat will come to no good end.

## VI. Persist in Continuing the Revolution Under The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Strive for Still Greater Victories

Historical experience since the Paris Commune, and especially since the October Revolution, shows that the capture of political power by the proletariat is not the end but the beginning of the socialist revolution. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, it is necessary to carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

The world proletarian revolutionary movement has gone through twists and turns on its road forward. When capitalism was being restored in the homeland of the October Revolution, for a time it seemed doubtful whether the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were still valid. The imperialists and reactionaries were beside themselves with joy. They thought: Since the Soviet Union has changed through "peaceful evolution," won't it be possible to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in China in the same way? But, the salvos of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself have destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and exploded the imperialists' and modern revisionists' fond dream of restoring capitalism in China.

Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the positive and negative aspects of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-

Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and solved, in theory and practice, the most important question of our time - the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Thus he has made a great new contribution to Marxism-Leninism and charted our course for carrying the proletarian revolution triumphantly to the end. In China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line are being integrated more and more deeply with the revolutionary practice of the people in their hundreds of millions to become the greatest force in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

37 Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this period, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle still focuses on the question of political power. The defeated class will still struggle; these people are still around and this class still exists. They will invariably seek their agents within the Communist Party for the purpose of restoring capitalism. Therefore, the proletariat must not only guard against enemies like Thiers and Bismarck who overthrew the revolutionary political power by force of arms; it must in particular guard against such careerists and schemers as Khrushchov and Brezhnev who usurped party and state leadership from within. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, the proletariat must carry out the socialist revolution not only on the economic front, but also on the political front and ideological and cultural front and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. It is essential to enable the Party members, the cadres and the masses to grasp the sharpest weapon, Marxism-Leninism, and to distinguish between the correct and erroneous lines, between genuine and sham Marxism, and between materialism and idealism, so as to ensure that our Party and state will always advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao says: "The final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."<sup>4</sup>

The revolutionary movement of the proletariat is always international in character. Therefore, the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat calls for the realization of the great slogans: "Working men of all countries unite!"<sup>47</sup> and "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!"<sup>48</sup> The proletariat of the capitalist countries should support the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the people of the colonies and semi-colonies should support that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries, and the people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help the people who are still fighting for liberation. This is the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution. The revolutionary cause of the Chinese people is closely bound up with that of the other peoples of the world. We always regard the revolutionary struggles of the people of other countries as our own and as helping the Chinese people. We should learn from other revolutionary peoples, firmly support their struggles and fulfil our bounden duty. We should carry forward the proletarian internationalist spirit, further strengthen our militant unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, and strengthen our militant unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world for the seizure of still greater victories. d/

A hundred years ago, Marx said of the Paris Commune: "Whatever.....its fate at Paris, it will make *le tour du monde*."<sup>49</sup> This great prediction of Marx's is more and more becoming a glorious reality. Reviewing the past and looking into the future we declare with increasing conviction: The final destruction of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction is inevitable.

and so is the complete emancipation of the proletariat, the oppressed people and the oppressed nations!

The *Internationale* written by Eugene Pottier, the poet of the Paris Commune, is today reverberating through the world. "No more tradition's chain shall bind us." "We shall be all." "Let each stand in his place; The Internationale shall be the human race!" Let the imperialists, social-imperialists and all reactionaries tremble in the great storm of the world people's revolution! "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." 50

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(Continued at the foot of the next page)

## PHILIPPINES:

### Fast-Growing New People's Army

The Philippine New People's Army was founded on March 29, 1969 after the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Using skilful and flexible strategy and tactics it had big successes by smashing at least seven "search and destroy" and "encirclement and suppression" operations by the reactionary Philippine army in the past two years.

The present situation in the Philippine revolutionary armed struggle is excellent. As the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines has pointed out, "the road of armed revolution has been opened" and "the spark of the armed struggle is turning into a prairie fire."

Engagements with the enemy by the New People's Army in the same period have become larger in scale and it has gained combat experience in both mountain areas and on the plains. While in the past it could only wipe out scattered individual enemy troops, it is now capable of wiping out an enemy squad of the regular forces or a platoon of the "village self-defence guards" in a single engagement. According to *Ang Bayan*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army fought more than 80 battles with the reactionary army and wiped out more than 200 enemy troops, including 17 U.S. aggressor troops, during the first year after it was founded. In the following year, it fought still more battles and annihilated still more enemy troops. It also shot down an enemy helicopter and damaged another.

From May to July last year, it smashed an enemy "mopping-up" operation in the vast area of central Luzon, putting 50 of their troops out of action and striking fear into the hearts of the enemy.

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In the struggle against "encirclement and suppression" operations last September and October, the New People's Army killed one army commander—a lieutenant-colonel—staff officer in his headquarters and one U.S. officer. On December 29, it made a successful attack on a military academy armoury and seized a large quantity of arms. Since the beginning of this year, it has continued its attacks against the enemy and won new successes.

Kindled two years ago in Capas, Tarlac Province in central Luzon, the flames of people's armed struggle have now spread to other rural areas in central, northern and southern Luzon and other places. Although the U.S. imperialists have given the Philippine reactionaries a large amount of military "aid" and sent so called U.S. "advisers" to supervise the fighting they cannot check the rapid development of the revolutionary armed struggle.

Carrying out instruction of the Communist Party of the Philippines on establishing consolidated revolutionary bases, the New People's Army last year set up temporary organizational committees and relatively permanent revolutionary committees in the rural areas. The peasant masses have raised their political consciousness through struggle, and a good number of young peasants enthusiastically joined the new army in response to the Party's appeal.

The Communist Party of the Philippines places great importance on political construction in the New People's Army. To better integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with concrete practice in the Philippine revolution, the Party Central Committee also requires Party members, cadres and fighters to study the history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party, acquaint themselves with past and present conditions in Philippine society and carry the rectification movement against the Lava revisionist renegade clique and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique to the end.

The high prestige of the New People's Army continues to rise among the urban and rural population. Public opinion in Manila has noted that this army "is not fighting in the interests of a minority but for a revolutionary ideal and the interests of the masses of the people." Such a people's army is the hope of the Philippine people for emancipation.

( From *Peking Review*, No. 15, April 9, 1971 )

## Fraternal Support From Canadian Comrades

We reproduce below most of the statement published under the title *East is Red in Mass Line*, journal of the Communist Party of Canada ( Marxist-Leninist ). This revolutionary Canadian weekly dedicated its special issue of September 13, 1970 to Indian Revolution : it reprinted our Party Programme and all other Party Congress documents and editorial notes that appeared in *Liberation*, May-July 1970 issue, in order to make them available to the revolutionary people of North America and Europe. Thus our fraternal Party took upon itself the task of foiling the attempt of the Indian reactionaries and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters to stifle the voice of the Indian revolution and to isolate the revolutionary Party and people of this country from the revolutionary people of the rest of the world. We are grateful to our fraternal Party for its valuable support to the cause of Indian revolution, which is but a part of the world revolution led by Chairman Mao Tsetung. The warm greetings of our Canadian comrades will be an unflinching source of inspiration and strength to us during our struggle against the common enemies of mankind.

Referring to the Congress of the Communist Party of India ( Marxist-Leninist ) held in May last year, *Mass Line* declared :

"*Mass Line* warmly hails this event. To make sure that the Party programme and other relevant documents of CPI ( ML ) are made available to all revolutionary people in North America and western Europe, we produce this special issue of *Mass Line* and dedicate the whole issue to *Indian Revolution*.

"For us, here in Canada, it is a great joy and happiness



to know that bright red rays of *Mao Tsetung Thought* have reached India. For us it is in India and China that the fate of the whole mankind is going to be decided as Comrade Lenin pointed out so brilliantly.....

"That is why it is fundamental to our own work in Canada that we fully support and work for the Indian Revolution. Our Indian comrades who have met C P I ( M L ) responsible comrades point out that the greatest help which the proletariat in the imperialist and other countries like Canada can provide the Indian Revolution is to propagate *Mao Tsetung Thought* on a large scale. Because, this is an era of world revolution and *Mao Tsetung Thought* is the guide to action to all people of the world, it is most important to arm the minds of the people with *Mao Tsetung Thought*. We assure our great fraternal comrades in India who are in the forefront of world revolution that we will always persist in disseminating *Mao Tsetung Thought* in Canada and elsewhere as our contribution to world revolution and also a necessary ingredient for the overthrow of U. S. imperialism from our own country.

"*Mass Line* fully believes that either west wind prevails over the east wind or the *East Wind* prevails over the west wind. We are fully conscious of the historical fact that only the *East Wind* holds a great progressive and revolutionary future for the whole mankind. *To make sure that the East Wind prevails over the West Wind, we will certainly uphold Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought and participate in the glorious task of liquidating class society from all over this world. India and the whole of Asia with China as the bright red bastion of world anti-imperialist and socialist revolution is part of the East Wind and its raging storm is approaching our own land far out in the west. Comrades: We can also see the rays of the eastern sun and the freshness of the wind from the east and the great future which awaits the whole of mankind.*

Continued at the foot of the next page.

## China Denounces Indian Expansionists And Their Masters For Intervention In Pakistan

We are reproducing the following two documents from *Peking Review*, No. 16, April 16, 1971. These explain the Chinese stand on recent events in Pakistan—a principled stand that the Indian reactionaries and revisionists of all hues have tried hard to misinterpret.—Ed. *Liberation*.

### Chinese Embassy In India Lodges Strong Protest With Indian Government

The Indian Government, while flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan, has gone so far as to connive at a provocation by several hundred Indians in front of the Chinese Embassy in India on March 29. Against this, the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India in a note to the Indian Ministry of External affairs dated April 6 lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government.

The note said: At 6 o'clock in the afternoon of March 29 1971, several hundred Indians frantically shouted slogans against Chinese leaders in front of the Chinese Embassy and posted so-called "protests" on the Embassy gate and plate, slandering China as aiding the Pakistan Government in "its war on the freedom-loving people of East Bengal." Yet the Indian policemen who were on the spot at the time looked on with folded arms and made no effort to stop them.

(Continued from the previous page)

"We warmly salute the heroic Indian comrades, C P I ( M L ) and Comrade Charu Mazumdar !!!

Long live the Indian Revolution !!!

Long live C P I ( M L ) !!!

Long live Communist Party of Canada ( M L ) !!!

Long live Chairman Mao !!!

A long long life to Chairman Mao !!!

It continued: It is known to all that the Chinese Government, basing itself on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of others countries. At present, while flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan, the Indian Government has gone so far as to connive at the wilful trouble-making by Indians in front of the Chinese Embassy. This is a sheer act of provocation. Against this, the Embassy hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government and demands that the latter take effective measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents.

### What Are Indian Expansionists Trying To Do ?

—“*Renmin Riabo*” Commentator

Of late, the Indian Government has redoubled its efforts to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs in disregard of the repeated stern protests of the Pakistan Government. This overbearing action of the Indian Government cannot but arouse the indignation of all justice-upholding countries.

The relevant measures taken by President Yahya Khan in connection with the present situation in Pakistan are the internal affairs of Pakistan, in which no country should or has the right to interfere. But the Indian reactionaries came forward in a great hurry to openly interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. Certain bigwigs in the Indian Government ranging from the Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs, to members of Parliament and chief ministers of states raised a hue and cry for fanatic interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The Indian Parliament and the Indian National Congress openly discussed and adopted resolutions interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The Indian Government was busily plotting for international intervention in league with the two superpowers. Meanwhile, the Indian reactionaries have set their

entire propaganda machine in motion to fan up anti-Pakistan chauvinist sentiments. All these frenzied acts are a new exposure of the expansionist features of the Indian reactionaries.

To create pretexts for meddling in the internal affairs of a neighbouring country, the Indian reactionaries insisted that changes in the internal situation of Pakistan “cannot but prejudice India's own security.” It may be asked: Is it Pakistan that “threatens” India's security, or is it the Indian expansionists that threaten Pakistan's security? While the Indian reactionaries were making inflammatory remarks over the Pakistan situation, the Indian Government massed troops along the East Pakistan border, and even instigated armed plainclothes men to infiltrate into Pakistan territory for disruption and harassment. Does this flagrant threat of force not seriously prejudice the security of Pakistan ?

The Indian reactionaries also claimed that “geography makes it impossible” for India to “view” the situation in Pakistan “as simply an internal matter for Pakistan.” Such argument is extremely preposterous. With a definite place in geography, every country has neighbours. If this “theory” of the Indian expansionists can stand, then countries with expansionist and aggressive ambitions may wilfully interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbouring countries for geographical reasons. Under such circumstances, what normal relations can there be between nations ? !

It is worth noting that the two superpowers, working in close co-ordination with the Indian reactionaries, crudely interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The U. S. State Department issued a statement in an effort to poke its nose into Pakistan's internal affairs, while the Soviet Government acted more blatantly. In his message to President Yahya Khan, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. Podgorny made no mention of the Indian

reactionaries' threat to Pakistan, but on the contrary impudently criticized the Pakistan Government. They posed themselves as "friends" and hypocritically expressed concern for "the interests of the people of Pakistan." As known to all, if the independence, sovereignty, unification and territorial integrity of a country are encroached upon, then what is left of the interests of the people? Judging by what had been done by the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, it is not hard to see what the Soviet leadership supports, what it opposes, and on whose side after all it stands.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**We firmly maintain that all nations should practise the well-known Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.**" This is the criterion for handling relations among nations. Anyone who interferes in the internal affairs of other countries in an attempt to achieve one's ulterior motives will never come to a good end.

The Pakistan people have the revolutionary tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism and have waged unyielding struggles against aggressors and interventionists from outside. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and against foreign aggression and interference. (April 11)

### **Hail the Splendid Victory of the Lao Patriotic Army and People**

*by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator*

The Lao patriotic armed forces and people, having wiped out 8 battalions and 20 companies of enemy troops which had intruded into southern Laos, recently continued

their triumphant advance and multiplied their military successes by annihilating the Saigon puppet forces' "crack" 1st Regiment of the 1st Infantry Division. All the five battalions of this regiment were put out of action and the regimental commander and deputy commander killed on the spot. The Chinese people hail this magnificent military success of the Lao patriotic armed forces and people and extend them warm congratulations.

More than a month ago, the enemy intruded into southern Laos along Highway 9, clamouring that they would "take" Tchepone within a week. They were covered by large numbers of aircraft overhead and supported by long range artillery from behind. Nevertheless, Tchepone has remained tantalizingly beyond their reach. With every move forward, the enemy received head-on blows from the Lao patriotic armed forces and people and suffered heavy losses. Completely routed now, the enemy is retreating in disorder. The U.S.-puppet troops have been severely punished for their invasion of Laos.

The splendid victory of the Lao patriotic armed forces and people demonstrates the unparalleled might of people's war. The enemy invading Laos made loud boasts about their arms "superiority". But this "superiority" came to naught in the face of the strategy and tactics of people's war. For courage and political consciousness of the people, close-quarter fighting and night operations still count in modern warfare. Fighting for independence and freedom, the Lao people fear no sacrifice and fight courageously. With their bayonets, they defeated an enemy armed to the teeth and wiped them out by whole battalions and regiments. The victory of the Lao patriotic armed forces and people once again testifies to the indisputable truth that **weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive.**

The failure of the U.S.-puppet troops' invasion of Laos proclaims the bankruptcy of the Nixon government's long-

planned "Vietnamization programme." As their main force, they threw the so-called crack troops of the Saigon puppet clique, the 1st Infantry Division, the Paratroop Division and the rangers, into the battle and regarded this invasion as "a key test of 'Vietnamizing' the war." The annihilation of large numbers of Saigon puppet troops meant "throwing the helve after the hatchet"—a double defeat for the Nixon government. The "Vietnamization programme" is doomed to failure because there are only a handful of national scum in south Viet Nam willing to serve as running dogs of U.S. imperialism. The bulk of the soldiers of the Saigon puppet regime are not willing to die for U.S. imperialism. Such being the case, is it not stupid and ridiculous on the part of the Nixon government to pin its hopes on the south Vietnamese puppet troops to save it?

Though it has sustained a crushing blow in Laos, U.S. imperialism, which is aggressive by nature, will never admit failure, give up and be reconciled to its defeat. It will still make a last-ditch struggle and may even embark on new military adventures. However, no matter what further stakes the Nixon government may throw in, it will lose out in the end. Final victory belongs to the heroic Lao people, to the people of all three countries of Indochina.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 13, March 26, 1971

## ARMED STRUGGLE IN THAILAND

### First Quarter Battle Score

People's war by the Thai patriots and their armed forces was thrown into higher gear on all battlefields in the first quarter of the year. This was especially so in areas bordering Laos and Cambodia. Preliminary statistics reveal that the U.S.-Thanom clique was hit hard.

Since January Thailand's patriotic armed forces and people have wiped out about 300 men of the reactionary

armed forces of the U.S.-Thanom clique, shot down or damaged more than 10 enemy planes, destroyed many military vehicles and overran a number of enemy posts.

Supported by the masses, the People's Liberation Army in Nan Province, northern Thailand, did well in often ambushing the enemy. On February 15, liberation fighters waylaid U.S.-Thanom clique's personnel carriers on the highway between Chieng Khan and Tung Chang, wiping out 15 of the enemy. On March 11, they put out of action over 30 enemies in the Bua district and on March 29 destroyed two armoured cars and two tractors used for building strategic highways in the Tung Chang district and wiped out over 20 men.

There were frequent ambushes of the enemy in Phitsanulok Province bordering Laos by the people's Liberation Army and people. On February 2, they destroyed a military vehicle and wiped out 12 enemy soldiers riding in it.

Courageous in battle, the patriotic army and people in Tak Province in the northern part of Thailand fought the enemy continuously. In the Mae Saut district, fighting more than 20 days from January 14 to February 7, they gave the enemy no chance to relax. By wiping out more than 120 enemy troops and downing and damaging nine planes, they gained a splendid victory and smashed the U.S.-Thanom clique's counter revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" operations.

The Thai patriotic army and people also opened new battlefields during the three months. According to the "Voice of the People of Thailand" radio, the patriotic army and people in Nakhon Srithamarat Province recently extended guerrilla warfare to the enemy-infested districts of Tung Song, Ronphibun and Lan Saka. From the end of February to the beginning of March, the patriotic army and people in Kolasin Province opened new battlefields in two districts.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 16, April, 16, 1971)

## Swift Advance of Armed Peasant Struggle in Punjab

[ The following report was received from the Punjab State Committee of the C. P. I ( M-L ) in the beginning of May 1971 —Ed. Liberation ]

Inspired by Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call :

"Indian Comrades, cast off all weakness, spread your struggle to every village, give up all ideas of self-defence. This is the era of self-sacrifice, the era of the liberation of the world. The exploited and oppressed masses of the different countries will liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression. Take upon yourselves that sacred task, forget all ideas of self-defence, attack and destroy the enemy."—the armed struggle led by the CPI (M-L) in various districts of Punjab made a swift and victorious advance in the month of April 1971. In this month we observed the anniversary of the martyrdom of our brave leaders and comrades like Daya Singh and Hari Singh Margind by carrying out the following armed actions. By murdering these valiant leaders and comrades, the reactionary ruling class had vainly attempted to deprive us of able leaders. But the onward march of our armed revolutionary struggle has foiled all their vicious schemes, and Red terror has been replacing white terror.

Following Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instructions our struggle is spreading both in breadth and in depth. We have paid an enormous price in blood because we failed to follow strictly the instructions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the leader of the Indian Revolution.

### SANGRUR DISTRICT

The first action in April took place on the 2nd in the village Herike in Malerkotla sub-division. Two hated class-enemies—father and son—were annihilated with swords

and knives by a guerrilla squad of five poor and landless peasants. These oppressors were notorious for their usurious exploitation of the peasants in almost the whole of the area. For a long time they had sucked the blood of the poor peasants, cheated them of their lands and houses and rendered them paupers. Many poor peasants had been driven to death by their bitter exploitation and oppression. In the past the peasants were helpless victims because they could not even think of getting rid of these powerful enemies. But they are now realizing that poor and landless peasants, armed with Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tsetung thought, can annihilate and overthrow these enemies economically, politically and militarily by waging guerrilla struggle against them. The above action took place in the heart of the village. Many poor and landless peasants were then present there. When the guerrillas cut off the arms and legs of the son with their swords, the father shouted: "Don't kill him. I will give you everything you want." Burning with class hatred the guerrillas boldly annihilated both the class enemies, set fire to all legal deeds and papers and shouted: "Naxalbari Zindabad!" ("Long Live Naxalbari!"), "C. P. I (M-L) Zindabad!" and "Comrade Charu Mazumdar Zindabad!"

After the action the guerrillas were warmly greeted by the peasants of the surrounding villages. They said that the very next day other class enemies of that village had fled to the cities and that one of them had gone mad.

Another action took place on April 4 in the village Changalewala in Sangrur sub-division. A notorious police agent Govinder was annihilated with knives and his double-barrel gun was taken away by a guerrilla squad of four poor and landless peasants. This police agent was chief among a number of police agents in the surrounding villages. He was so wicked and cruel that the people of the area repeatedly warned the guerrillas that he could not be annihilated easily—not with swords and knives. There are many

stories of his wickedness and cruelty. Once he cruelly beat a poor peasant all night with an iron-rod giving him some liquid at intervals, till the peasant died. An old woman of poor peasant origin asked the guerrillas: "My sons, when will his end come?" The annihilation took place when the enemy was on his way back from the police station which is at a distance of only one mile from the place of the action. After annihilating him with deep class-hatred, the guerrillas embraced one another and then mingled with the masses of people. The people of the area received the news with great joy and many of them burnt candles at night. Next day, the landless and poor peasant women of the near-by villages were saying: "Let us have a *halwa* today because our enemy has been sent to hell by our Party." Police completely failed to trace the whereabouts of the great sons of the peasants.

Another action in the same sub-division was carried out on April 7 at Jakhal town on the border between Punjab and Haryana. This time the enemy was a millionaire usurer, who also buys and sells peasant women. He belonged to the village Balran near Jakhal town and ran two big shops at Jakhal. He grabbed 200 acres of land from poor and middle peasants in the surrounding villages. He sucked the blood of poor and landless peasants of about 20 villages and rendered many a poor peasant landless and homeless. A guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants annihilated him with knives at a place where many people were present. A police post is situated at a distance of only a furlong from the place. After carrying out the action, the brave guerrillas shouted: "Naxalbari Zindabad!" and "Comrade Charu Zindabad!" They left a photo of Comrade Bhuja Singh and a copy of *Lok Yudh* by the side of the dead man and thus avenged the great martyrs.

Another action was carried out on April 12 by a guerrilla squad of four poor and landless peasants in Baraala

sub-division. The enemy Kartar Singh was a notorious police agent who had been responsible for the murder of three peasant revolutionaries last year. Police gave him a reward of Rs. 20,000 for his crimes against the people. The people of the surrounding villages demanded time and again that the guerrillas should annihilate the enemy immediately. He was rewarded by the police also with the licence for two good fire-arms. But the brave peasant guerrillas annihilated him when he was returning after attending a meeting of police agents called by the district superintendent of police. Another police informer who accompanied him was also annihilated by the guerrilla comrades. This courageous action has ushered in a reign of Red terror among all the enemy agents in the area and the people feel much relieved. The brave guerrillas and the Party have received numerous greetings from the people.

On April 12, one more action was carried out at village Majhi in Sangrur sub-division. The enemy ruthlessly exploited the poor and landless peasants of ten villages through usury and various other means. He owned two big shops at Nabha city. He had his agents in all the villages. He charged interest that was four times the amount he lent out to the poor and landless peasants and tortured them, their women and children when they failed to pay it. He was annihilated with knives and other conventional weapons in the morning by a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants. The people of the surrounding villages hailed with joy this courageous action. Police have completely failed to trace the guerrilla comrades who have gone deep in the vast ocean of the peasant masses.

#### BHATINDA DISTRICT

In the month of April three armed actions were carried out under the leadership of the C. P. I. (M-L). A big landlord notorious for his oppression of the peasantry was

annihilated by a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants. A hated police agent was annihilated in village Nangal by a squad of poor and landless peasants. Another notorious police agent was punished with death by poor and landless peasant guerrillas in Akolia village.

### FEROZPUR DISTRICT

A big landlord was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants near Moga city in the month of April. In the same month another class-enemy—a notorious usurer—was also annihilated by poor and landless peasant guerrillas.

*(The Punjab State Committee has informed us that they will send detailed reports of the armed struggle in Bhatinda, Ferozpur and other districts of Punjab for publication in the next issue.*

— Ed. Liberation)

"China is in urgent need of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and this revolution can be completed only under the leadership of the proletariat. Because the proletariat failed to exercise firm leadership in the revolution of 1926—27 which started from Kwangtung and spread towards the Yangtse River, leadership was seized by the comprador and landlord classes and the revolution was replaced by counter-revolution."

Chairman Mao

*(Why is it that Red Political Power can Exist in China?)*

## On Subhas Bose

—Sasanka

Subhas Bose became "Netaji" during the last stage of his life. How it happened will be told afterwards. It is said that he was a "Leftist" inside the Congress. But it was seen that during every critical phase he bowed to Gandhi's authority and, despite his fire eating utterances, ultimately threw himself at the feet of Gandhi. For gaining control of the Congress—the comprador bourgeoisie's organization—in Bengal, he was at one time deeply involved in an ugly factional quarrel, referred to by people in those days as the Subhas-Sengupta quarrel. There was no principle involved in that factionalism, which frequently led to bloodshed. He had his rich stock of fire-eating words, but he never crossed the limits set by Gandhi. He had some contacts with some petty-bourgeois groups which believed in armed revolution, but he used his contacts in the struggle for seizing leadership in the Congress. In those days quarrels over leadership were, as at present, inevitable in such an organization of the comprador bourgeoisie as the Congress. The quarrels revealed why the Gandhi faction was unfavourably disposed towards him and why Gandhi could not stand him. But Gandhi knew how far Subhas Bose, despite his big talk, could go. Gandhi knew it well that Subhas would never join hands with the Communists, would never support militant struggles of workers and peasants and that he would not take the path of Sun Yat-sen who built up an armed force and began an armed struggle to end imperialist rule. None realized better than Gandhi the meaning of the saying that it would be impossible for the priest to look beyond the pulpit. Yet Gandhi feared all through that Subhas might agitate the masses and the petty-bourgeois youth by his fire-eating

words and create such a pressure as to seize the Congress leadership. Events proved that the shrewd Gandhi's fear was not baseless. There was another reason for Gandhi's animosity towards Subhas. For long Subhas was connected with the German, Japanese and Italian Fascists. The German, Japanese and Italian imperialists were conspiring to wage a war to snatch away from the British, French and American imperialists their colonies. To ensure the success of that conspiracy in India it was necessary to create such quislings in India as would mobilize the masses in favour of those neo-imperialists, by talking big on armed struggle against the British and by carrying on subtle propaganda in favour of Hitler-Tojo-Mussolini, and thus prepare the ground for turning India from a British colony into a colony of the Fascist powers. Gandhi was the representative and leader of the comprador section tied to British imperialism, while Subhas was the leader of the rising coterie of lackeys of German-Japanese-Italian imperialism.

This rising coterie had the support of the comparatively weak section of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie—the section which dreamt of becoming the dominant section in the event of change of masters. Despite their dislike for this coterie, the British rulers tolerated it because it helped them considerably in their efforts to arrest the growth and spread of communism. Moreover, the possibility of the outbreak of a war was still remote and there was as yet no real threat to British imperialist rule over India. So this coterie could grow with some encouragement from the British. Yet we must not forget that the conflict between the Gandhi faction and the Subhas faction was a reflection of the conflict between the two imperialist groups on the international arena. The two groups—the Gandhi faction and the Subhas faction—were political representatives of the two sections of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao has shown that in China also different groups of the comprador bourgeoisie were tied to various imperialist

powers and the conflicts among imperialist powers appeared there as conflicts among those comprador bourgeois groups. Although India, instead of being under the indirect rule of different imperialist powers as was China, had been under the direct domination of a single imperialist power, the law observed in China also operated in India. The Gandhi-Subhas conflict was an expression of that law. The Gandhi group believed that British imperialism would never be defeated and India would never go out of British hands. Therefore, it would take an anti-British stand only to the extent it was absolutely necessary to hoodwink the masses and, in the event of Britain getting involved in a war, even that pretence of an opposition to the British would be put in cold storage. But the Subhas group assessed that although the British were the sole masters of India, the Japanese-German-Italian group would steadily grow strong internationally and at one stage snatch away India from the British by precipitating a war. The Subhas group, therefore, thought that it must be ready for the change it anticipated, that it must become the favourite of the future new masters of India by giving demonstration of its anti-British stance beforehand and must be able to provide evidence of having done quite much to facilitate the advent of the new masters. Here was the origin of Subhas's opposition to and animosity towards Gandhi. As the conflict between the two imperialist groups in the international sphere sharpened as a result of the outbreak of war, the conflict between Gandhi and Subhas inside the Congress also sharpened. Ultimately, Subhas was defeated, and forced to flee from his country and go to Germany.

Alongside this conflict between the Gandhi group and the Subhas group, there was an understanding between the two and that was fundamental. Both the groups were opposed to the Soviet Union, opposed to communism and to the masses of workers and peasants. It is true that Subhas talked of socialism, spoke a word or two in praise



of communism and the Soviet Union, became the president of AITUC, even set up, together with Sahajananda, a paper kisan sabha in opposition to Communists. But he did all this under pressure of circumstances and as a mere show. He was every inch a fascist. Hitler, Tojo and Mussolini were his idols. He deeply hated the masses of workers and peasants. In the 'free' India of his dream workers and peasants would have no scope for realizing their hopes and aspirations. He could not stand any movement of workers and peasants.

Although the necessity of enlisting the support of Leftist forces in his fight against Gandhi forced Subhas occasionally to appear as a supporter of the workers' and peasants' movements, he really considered it a sheer impertinence on the part of workers and peasants to raise the issue of their rights and demands. That is why the Nazi ideology had so great an attraction for him. This also explained why Subhas Bose was an enthusiastic patron of the Fascist propaganda circle which had been organized around Visva-Bharati and Ramkrishna Mission by 'professors' like Benoy Sarkar, Kalidas Nag, Suniti Chatterji, Pramatha Roy and Tucci with money obtained from Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. Many elders may still remember the manner in which, during the twenties of this century, Subhas, as the chief executive officer of Calcutta Corporation, employed the police and blacklegs to break the scavengers' strike. Even the C.P.I. (M) leader, Muzaffar Ahmed, has recorded how, during the Congress session in Calcutta in 1928, Subhas, as the leader of the volunteer corps, ordered a procession of a few thousand railway workers—who had come to appeal to the Congress leaders to support their struggle to be lathi-charged. Many may also remember how Subhas, in exchange of "contributions" to the fund of the newly-constituted Forward Bloc, issued a press statement in support of the owners of Mohini Mills and against the workers' strike. Subhas started the

movement for demolition of Holwell Monument overnight to forestall the militant peasant movement which the Communists had sponsored as part of the programme for opposing the imperialist war during the first phase of the Second World War. He refused even to issue a statement in support of the peasant struggle. He said that he would not issue any statement but that he would, if necessary, provide some materials for the relief of the peasants. It is no use citing more of such instances. Really, Subhas was a fascist to the core of his heart: he was entirely opposed to workers and peasants.

The initial trend of the war and particularly the developments during the few months after the German attack on the Soviet Union made the Indian comprador bourgeoisie believe firmly that Britain was going to be defeated and that India would turn into a colony of Germany and Japan. Overnight, the Gandhi group became terribly anti-British. Gandhi, who had, at the commencement of the war, expressed his shock over the possibility of a bomb attack on the palace of the King of England, suddenly served an ultimatum on the British to "Quit India", roared "Do or die" and drew up a plan for the 1942 movement, i.e., planned for an armed uprising to drive out the British. Subhas, who had been driven out of the country by the Gandhi group, overnight became very dear to that group. A competition began, as it were, between Gandhi and Subhas as to who would be the favourite of the German and Japanese imperialists. Gandhi and Subhas, who would not ordinarily see each other's face, overnight began to sing each other's praise. Subhas went all out in praise of Gandhi while broadcasting from Berlin. Similarly, Gandhi frequently became ecstatic in praise of Subhas. It is necessary to mention one point here. A section of the representatives of the comprador bourgeoisie had made a different assessment of the situation. This section was headed by Nehru, Azad and Rajagopalachari. It was their assessment that as

America, China and, above all, the U.S.S.R. had joined hands with England in the course of the war, the latter would eventually win and Germany, Japan and Italy would be defeated. Therefore, India would continue to be under the rule of Britain. It would therefore be unwise not to remain on the side of Britain. But the Gandhi faction did not give any heed to their words at that time. This was disclosed in the minutes of the secret meeting at Allahabad of the A.I.C.C on the eve of the "Quit India" movement, which were collected by the then India Government through spies and published (the contents of the publication have not been contradicted on behalf of the Congress). It is to be noted that all representatives of the comprador bourgeoisie agreed that they "must be on the side which would win." They only differed as to who would win. It is an ugly example of selfish opportunism in the name of a national liberation war. Gandhi "the seeker after truth" wanted to abandon the side represented by Britain, not because England was fighting an unjust war but because England, he thought, was losing the war. Again, Nehru, described in some quarters as one of the world leaders of the anti-Fascist front, wanted to continue to be associated with the side represented by England, not because he was inspired by the great ideal of defeating the Fascist powers at any cost, but because the Fascist defeat was certain.

Meanwhile, the character of the war had changed with the German attack on Russia. In the world at large and in India also, the progressive masses had then stood up in support of the world's only socialist country, U.S.S.R. The battle of Stalingrad was going on and the Soviet people were fighting with indomitable courage. Whether the world would be saved or not depended on whether the Soviet people were able to defend Stalingrad. The alternative was total doom. In the event of Soviet defeat the socialist state would be destroyed and the world would be plunged into total darkness. Just at that time Hitler constituted the defeated

and imprisoned Indian members of the British imperialist army into a force, called it the *Azad Hind Fauz*—the Army of Free India.—and made Subhas Bose its chief. Hitler also formed a puppet "Free Indian Government" and placed Subhas Bose at its head. He had planned that when Stalingrad would fall to Germany he would, in company with Subhas Bose and his *Azad Hind Fauz* and members of the *Azad Hind* Government, cross the Caucasus mountain range, enter India and establish with Subhas Bose's help a Fifth Columnist Government which would have a free and nationalist facade but which would in reality be a colonial and puppet Government under German imperialism. At that time Subhas Bose also broadcast from Berlin and addressed himself to Indians, declaring that the fall of Stalingrad was imminent and that immediately thereafter he would, in company with Hitler and along with the *Azad Hind Fauz*, enter India and establish his "Free Government" in India. At that time, like a mistress whose old master had fallen on bad days, the Gandhi group was counting days in the expectation of the arrival of a new master. The Gandhi group warmly greeted Subhas, whom it had driven out of India two years before. Differences between Subhas and Gandhi then disappeared.

In support of Subhas Bose many argue that, during the First World War also, Indian revolutionaries tried to achieve, with German assistance, India's liberation through revolution. The point they forget or suppress is that at that time the October revolution had not taken place, the Soviet Union was not there and the Communist movement in the colonies had not begun. It might have been proper and natural for the revolutionaries to have acted and thought on those lines at that time. But after a big and powerful State—a sincere friend and supporter of the people in the colonies—had been established in one-sixth of the world and the Communist movement had gained such momentum and made such progress, it was an unpardonable

crime and limitless hypocrisy, in the name of national liberation war, to ignore it and to join hands with the forces opposed to that State and bent on its destruction. There should be a limit to the drawing of historical parallels.

To proceed. Stalingrad did not, however, fall. The tide of the war turned. The fall of Hitler began. All the calculations of Gandhi and Subhas were upset. When the progressive people the world over burst forth in jubilation over the Red Army's victory in Stalingrad, Subhas realized that the fall and destruction of Hitler's forces were inevitable in the face of the irresistible attacks of Stalin's Red Army. Then the only hope of Subhas was Japan. He then went to Japan. At that time Japan was at war with China and had attacked Southeast Asia and India. Like Germany, Japan also had an army formed for Subhas Bose with the defeated and imprisoned Indian members of the British imperialist army. It also got a puppet Government formed for Subhas. The Japanese forces took Subhas with them during their march so that Japan could achieve the same objective as set by Germany. But ultimately even that failed. Under Communist leadership the heroic people of China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya and Burma defeated—by launching attacks and through armed struggle—the fascist Japanese forces and, for good, put an end to Subhas Bose's ambition of becoming a puppet king in Japan-occupied India. Therefore, Subhas Bose was in the eyes of the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa as well as those of Europe and America, merely a hated collaborator of the fascist enemies. Thus, adoration of Subhas meant severance of all ties with the revolutionary masses of the world.

After the British won the war, they got the Congress saddled to power. Those who had once driven Subhas out of the country now took upon themselves the responsibility of building up his image as 'Netaji' and began worshipping him. As the Indian masses had then awakened

and wanted to go ahead, under Communist leadership, along the path of armed struggle, it was essential to build up Subhas, the symbol of Communist-baiting and fascist ideology, so as to divorce the masses from the Communists. The situation after the war was such that the people would beat up those who spoke of non-violent struggle, but any talk of armed struggle as such was dangerous as its leadership might go to the Communists.

The problem was how to solve the dilemma and Subhas Bose appeared to be the appropriate answer because he represented a kind of bridge between armed struggle and anti-Communism. The most important point to be noted is that the revisionist Communist leadership could not take up a firm stand in the face of this clever anti-Communist offensive of the comprador bourgeoisie with Subhas Bose as its cover. They did not try to unravel to the people the mystery of making a "Netaji" of Subhas. They were quaking in their knees at the sight of the terrible-looking, sharp teeth of the fascist paper-tiger. How to ensure votes was all through their main headache. Truth became the first casualty and the wooing of the masses by hook or crook became their main concern. Once, under the impact of the international Communist movement, revisionists had called Subhas Bose a fascist traitor; for fear of losing votes they now recanted and unashamedly withdrew their past statements. Taking advantage of this lack of principle, opportunism and cowardice of the revisionist leaders of India, "Netaji" was firmly entrenched on the soil of India. Since the Great Revolt of 1857-58, the Indian people have wanted again and again to build their own army to overthrow British rule. But every time that desire remained unfulfilled on account of Congress machinations. These could succeed because of the prevalence of petty bourgeois revolutionism which was divorced from the masses of workers and peasants and because of the lack of proletarian ideology. Under the influence of the example

of armed popular resistance to German and Japanese Fascism in Europe and Southeast Asia during and after the Second World War and under the impact of the anti-Japanese liberation war of China, the desire for ending British rule in India through armed struggle waged by their own army again became pronounced among the Indian masses. Such was the situation that it became no longer possible for the Congress leadership to suppress this desire or to confuse the masses. With this desire burning in them, the Indian masses inevitably leaned towards the Communist Party. But the revisionist leadership of the Indian Communist Party raised the slogan that "India's path is different from the Chinese path" and first committed Left adventurism and then indulged in Right opportunism to betray the masses desirous of making revolution. The image of "Netaji" and of the *Azad Hind Fauj* was built up taking advantage of the betrayal of the Communist Party leadership and the desire of the Indian masses to participate in an armed struggle for national liberation with the help of their own army. The lingering respect for Subhas Bose discernible among the revolutionary masses is a reflection of this revolutionary desire of the masses. Because of the absence of any Communist propaganda countering bourgeois propaganda, the masses continued to harbour the false notion that Subhas wanted to achieve the very goal which was desired by the revolutionary masses. The objective of bourgeois propaganda was to see that the Fascist ideology was established in the mass mind gradually through worship of Subhas. The point that needs to be remembered is that the *Azad Hind Fauj* was not a people's army. The *Azad Hind Fauj* was not born or raised through class struggle. It was not even formed with soldiers who had revolted against imperialist authority, as was the case with the rebel army formed during the "Sepoy Mutiny" (i.e. India's War of Independence of 1857-58). A puppet army raised by one imperialist power with the defeated and imprisoned soldiers of another imperialist

power was given the high-sounding name of "*Azad Hind Fauj*"—"Indian Liberation Army". After having defeated the reactionary ruling cliques of eastern Europe and their reactionary armies, Hitler constituted one puppet army after another from among the defeated and imprisoned mercenary soldiers and employed those armies during the attack on the Soviet Union. He called even those armies the liberation forces of those countries. Simultaneously, he set up a "Free Government" in each of the "occupied" countries and appointed a head for each Government. That is to say in each occupied country he built up a "Netaji" and an "Azad army" and an "Azad Government". As a result of the armed mass uprisings, which occurred in those countries in the wake of the victorious march of Stalin's Red Army, all those "Netajis", all those "Azad Governments" all those "Azad armies" were smashed and thrown into the dust-bin of history.

In the eyes of the struggling masses of the world desiring revolution, Stalin, the victor in the war against Fascism, and the Soviet Union were at the height of their prestige after the Second World War. As is being done today on the occasion of the inquiry by the Khosla Commission, the rumour was spread on behalf of the vested interests 25 years ago also that Subhas Bose was in Stalin's Russia, was given shelter by Stalin and was planning India's liberation from there. In this way they then tried to use the name of the Great Stalin to rehabilitate a hated Fascist agent as a great freedom fighter—as is being done today also. At that time a fitting reply to this came from Stalin's Russia. The small news item, which was circulated by Reuter and was published in a number of newspapers and journals in India 25 years ago, on January 9, 1946, is being reproduced here from the *Hindusthan Standard* :

"London,—January 7.—The Soviet journalist, David Zaslavsky, in an article in *Pravda* today denounced as a 'stupid fairy-tale' a report that Subhas Chandra Bose who

headed the Free India Government during the War, was in Soviet Russia, Moscow Radio reported. Zaslavsky wrote: 'The substance of the fairy tales is the notorious would-be Quisling of India, Subhas Chandra Bose, who at first was in Hitlerite pay in Berlin and then in the pay of the Japanese imperialists in Tokyo, has allegedly fled into Russia. This fascist rogue is alleged to have travelled in Soviet countries and inspected his 300,000 army. An unnamed soldier appears to know that responsible representatives of the Soviet Government conferred with Bose and gave this Indo-fascist adventurer imaginary concrete promises. Such is the stupid fairy tale.'

Only this brief extract from the article published in *Pravda* was then circulated in India by Reuter and it appeared at least in all newspapers in Bengal, except in the then Communist Party's mouthpiece, *Swadhinata*. The secretary of the party, P.C. Johi, had banned publication of it in their journal. When Stalin's Russia was demolishing the image of that "fascist rogue" who, in the name of conducting India's liberation war, was a party to the world-wide conspiracy to destroy simultaneously Stalin's Russia and Mao Tsetung's China, the revisionist Indian scabs were seeking to protect that image in this manner. Today, after 25 years, the revolutionary Indian youths and students, awakened by the Naxalbari struggle, are smashing the image of Subhas Bose and are thus continuing the work begun under Stalin.

But the vote-begging, revisionist curs like Jyoti, Promode and Harekrishna are trying their best to protect the image of Subhas, that enemy of the world proletariat. When these men take the name of Stalin, observe Stalin's birthday, quote at frequent intervals from Stalin to justify their entry into the pigsty of bourgeois parliament and, with glee, shout in praise of Stalin at public meetings, one feels utter contempt for these hypocritical counter-revolutionary knives.

—Translated from the Bengali original.

## Revolutionary Violence Vs. Counter-Revolutionary Violence

### **New Developments in the American People's Revolutionary Struggle**

The outgoing 1970 saw the American people's revolutionary struggle developing in sundry forms. Apart from mass demonstrations and strikes by workers and students on a mammoth scale against U.S. imperialism's reactionary foreign and domestic policies, the people of various strata courageously took up arms to resist the Nixon government's counter-revolutionary repression. The year also witnessed the growth, in scale, intensity and frequency, of Afro-American armed actions against the establishment's violent repression, and many organs of dictatorship of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class coming under fierce attack and suffering heavy damage.

*Fascist Suppression Incites Resistance by Violence.* For a year or so, U. S. imperialist chieftain Nixon has quickened the tempo of fascistization at home while feverishly pushing his policies of aggression and war abroad. Last May, when waves of angry protest by the American people against the U. S. imperialist invasion of Cambodia swept the whole country, the Nixon government called out several hundred thousand troops, police and National Guardsmen at one time or another. "Text-books" in schools were replaced by "bayonets and rifles" and students were arrested "by truckloads". Between May 4 and 16, the Nixon government gunned down 12 people, white as well as black. Last summer, it again called out hordes of police and even armoured cars and helicopters to carry out bloody suppression of Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American-Indians fighting violent repression in many parts of the country. Last July, in the city of Asbury Park,

New Jersey, with a population of only 20,000, the police fired on and wounded 92 Afro-Americans fighting violent repression. 'Law and order' was the Nixon government's pretext to make wholesale arrests of progressives and revolutionary masses. Reports say the number of "convicts" in New York jails more than doubled the prison capacity.

Nixon's intensified fascist suppression brought the broad masses of American people out against it. Time and again, they initiated vigorous armed actions against the establishment's violent repression. AP wrote that an increasing number of Americans have come to the conclusion that "violence is necessary now" and have "declared war on the established way of life in America." The report added: "Those who once abhorred violence now talk of the need for defence."

*College Students Up in Arms.* A protest movement on an unprecedented scale was launched by American students last May against the Nixon government's aggression on Cambodia and its massacre of demonstrators. Students of more than 700 universities and colleges and more than 300 middle schools up and down the country stayed from away classes.

Numbering several million, students and people from all walks of life angrily took to the streets, battling courageously with the reactionary troops and police with stones, bottles and home-made bombs. About 10,000 students at Ohio State University fought bravely with 5,000 National Guardsmen for more than a week and finally chased them off the campus. More than 20,000 at South Illinois University rose to resist the mounted police sent by the reactionary authorities and the fierce battle between students and police lasted several hours. Western news agency reports cried out in alarm that "rebellion spread through U.S. leading education academies" and that the agitated schools were boiling over into irrepressible fury.

*Armed Actions Against Violent Repression Spreads Apace.* Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans and American-Indians, victims of ruthless exploitation by U.S. monopoly capital, frequently took armed actions against violent repression. The bourgeois press in the United States disclosed that more than 600 'racial disturbances' broke out in the country in 1970, more than double the 1967 figure. There were many courageous deeds in these struggles. In New Orleans, Louisiana, under the cover of helicopters and an armoured car, more than 200 police dispatched by the reactionary authorities launched a barbarous attack on Afro-Americans on September 15. The black people in the city took up arms in resistance. One Afro-American heroically shouted indignantly to the police: "You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution!" The fierce gun-battle went on for 12 hours. On August 29, a big demonstration was held by 20,000 Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles, California, in protest against the Nixon government expanding the U.S. war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China. The reactionary authorities cracked down on the protest marchers and bloodily suppressed them. The demonstrating Mexican-Americans, fighting back, threw up street barricades. They smashed up and burnt police cars and set fire to monopoly enterprises with home-made incendiary bombs, engulfing the eastern part of the city in palls of smoke. On September 9, American-Indians in the Tacoma area, Washington, also took up arms against police suppression. One of them said vehemently: 'We are a dying people and have to fight for survival.'

*Striking Workers Take Up Arms.* The American workers' movement has also grown rapidly during 1970. Up to the end of October, workers' strikes caused the monopoly capitalists a loss of 51.6 million working days, which represented a sharp increase of 49 per cent compared with the corresponding period in 1969 and trebled the

comparable figure ten years ago. What is noteworthy is the fact that not a few striking workers took up arms to resist the Nixon government's fascist suppression. On April 29, Ohio's reactionary authorities sent 4,100 National Guardsmen to put down a big strike by truck drivers. Undaunted by brute force, the strikers valiantly fought back with rifles, shot-guns and home-made bombs. The reactionary state governor said in alarm that this was an "open war" on the highways. Truck drivers in more than two-thirds of the state's 88 counties, it was reported, resorted to armed actions in heroic resistance to the reactionary authorities' suppression.

While unfolding struggles of a mass character against violent repression, the American people attacked and blew up various military establishments, courts and police institutions of the U.S. ruling circles. According to incomplete U.S. official statistics, nearly 3,000 bomb explosions took place in the country from January to October in 1970—an average of ten incidents per day.

*Fascist Military Training Establishments Become Targets of Attack.* Incidents of bomb explosions rapidly increased in number and assumed greater proportions following the widening of the war of aggression in Indo-China by the Nixon government. Buildings of the "Reserve Officers' Training Corps" (R.O.T.C.) set up in universities and colleges by the U.S. ruling clique to push fascist military training became the main target of student attacks. This is an eloquent proof of the American youth's abhorrence of the fascist military training and aversion to serving as cannon-fodder in the U.S. monopoly capitalists' war of aggression. During the American people's massive protest struggle last May against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Cambodia, the students used incendiary bombs to set fire to the R.O.T.C. buildings of the U.S. army, navy and air force at many universities, blowing up stores of guns and ammunition there. *U.S. News & World Report*, a

mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly capital, admitted: "Not in decades, since the program began, has the R.O.T.C.—Reserve Officers' Training Corps—been dealt such a devastating blow." Many other military research institutions set up by the U.S. ruling circles in various universities constantly came under attack. The U.S. army's mathematics research centre in Wisconsin University's physics department, which directly serves the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression by developing vehicles for the delivery of nuclear and chemical-biological weapons, was blasted on August 24. The first two floors of this six-story building were wrecked and the remaining four badly damaged. An electronic computer valued at 1.5 million U.S. dollars was destroyed and all files and data were blown up. Earlier, an army munition factory and an arms depot near the university were also hit by bombs.

*Government Offices, Courts and Police Stations Bombed.* Bomb explosions also took place frequently in government offices, courts and police stations of all levels. The U.S. journal *International Herald Tribune* disclosed that in the first half of 1970, such explosions threatened federal buildings on 326 occasions, a figure nearly six times that of the second half of 1969. The buildings which house the Inter-American Defence Board, a U.S. imperialist tool for interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, were blasted on July 1. On June 9, a powerful bomb exploded in the new building of the New York Police Headquarters. In the concluding months of 1970, explosions hit the Des Moines Police Board in Iowa, the Oakland police board building, the San Francisco Court, the arms depot of the National Guards in Santa Barbara of California, the New York Court, the army's and navy's "R.O.T.C." centres in New York and the offices of some monopoly enterprises geared to the war industry. On October 12, six explosions occurred in New York City and one of them demolished half of a five-story federal building.

The successive explosions reflected the strong dissatisfaction of the American people with the reactionary foreign and domestic policies of the Nixon government. A young man in Berkeley said: "The great violence of the establishment in Viet Nam, Laos and elsewhere overshadows and almost blots out our violence, even bombs. And if our lesser violence stops the greater violence of the establishment, then how can it be wrong?"

*Cops Ambushed.* Police a tool of the U.S. ruling clique in suppressing the people—have been attacked more and more frequently by the American people. According to U.S. official statistics, in 1969 there were 35,202 cases in which policemen on duty were attacked. This number more than doubled the 1963 figure. Last year saw a further increase, with attacks on policemen occurring in more than 50 cities. In New York City alone, there were more than 2,000 cases in the first eight months, involving 988 policemen killed or wounded, an increase of 80 per cent over the whole year of 1969. *U.S. News & World Report* noted in an article: "Police officers are being ambushed, shot by snipers, blown up by bombs, lured to lethal booby traps and slain or wounded in 'shoot-outs.'" An inspector in Los Angeles said: "A few years ago a sniper attack against a police officer was almost unheard of. Now it is almost routine." A U.S. official lamented: "1970 will go down as a year of violent attacks on police."

*The White House Turned Into a Citadel.* Scared stiff by this situation, Nixon brazenly threatened that he would "choose the tough-minded approach" towards the people's resistance. At the same time, he tried by every means to strengthen security. A report said: "The White House has become a citadel. Security there, always tight, has been tightened further. A dozen sentry boxes cover all gates and approaches. Powerful searchlights and a maze of electronic alarms cover the entire area." Some "veteran" White House pressmen said that they had never seen

such tight security as that now surrounding Nixon. Even White House aides must allow searches to be made of their luggage before boarding a presidential aircraft. Still, Nixon was at a loss for ways to ward off attacks in the surging tide of the American people's revolutionary struggle. Upon his arrival at San Jose on October 29, he was given a slap on the face by the angry masses in the city. They pelted him with eggs, stones and bottles until he fled helter skelter.

Karl Marx once pointed out: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." The vigorous development of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States, especially the use of revolutionary violence, albeit only at the initial stage, to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the U.S. ruling clique, shows the gradual awakening of the American people as well as the unprecedented gravity of the political and social crises of U.S. imperialism.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 1, January 1, 1971)

"The reason is that China is a semi-colonial country for which many imperialist powers are contending. When the struggle is directed against Japanese imperialism, then the running dogs of the United States or Britain, obeying the varying tones of their masters' commands, may engage in veiled or even open strife with the Japanese imperialists and their running dogs. There have been many instances of such dog-fights and we shall not dwell on them... . But such fights, such rifts, such contradictions are of use to the revolutionary people. We must turn to good account all such fights, rifts and contradictions in the enemy camp and turn them against our present main enemy."

CHAIRMAN MAO  
(On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism,  
December 27, 1935)



## American People's Struggle :

### Trend In The First Half of 1971

One of the most significant aspects of the excellent revolutionary situation in the world today is the American people's struggle against Nixon's reactionary rule. In the first few months of this year, as in 1970, there were in the U.S.A. big anti-war demonstrations, militant demonstrations in support of the demand for a guaranteed minimum income and Afro-American armed actions against fascist suppression. Two of the anti-war demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco in April, according to the bourgeois press, were each 200,000-strong. The participants included many youths and labour union contingents. Nixon himself said some time ago that Washington appeared to have been under "siege" during some of the demonstrations.

As more and more people in different parts of the world are scornfully rejecting revisionism and taking to the path of people's war to defeat U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, increasing numbers of Americans are using revolutionary violence to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the Nixon Government. How determined are large numbers of Americans to resort to revolutionary violence, whenever necessary, became evident during the several movements of the American people in the first few months of 1971, particularly during the anti-war demonstrations of April-May. During one of the anti-war demonstrations in Washington in May, at least 12,000 people openly defied the combined strength of contingents of the police, National Guardsmen and troops and many of them, operating from "the cover of a tree-lined hill side", rolled tree trunks, garbage cans and other debris to block traffic. However elementary its form might be, the revolutionary violence of such demonstrators, in a way, justified the remark of U.S. News and World Report, the journal of monopoly capital, that the "new

pattern of violence is more like the tactics of the guerrilla warfare that some radicals have been predicting for years". Policemen—the ruling clique's instrument for oppressing people—continue to be attacked by surprise. In the latter half of May Afro-American militants critically wounded two Manhattan patrolmen by machinegun fire from a car and two policemen, including an Afro-American, were gunned down in Harlem. Fortysix policemen were killed in action in the first four months of 1971 against 39 in the second half of 1970.

Isolated abroad and faced with chaos at home, the Nixon Government is desperately adopting more and more ruthless methods in suppressing movements of the American people. How desperate the Government has become is apparent from the fact that to meet the threatened interference with traffic by anti-war demonstrators in Washington early in May, the Pentagon deployed helicopters "to ferry key officials to and from work if need be" and compelled 4,000 to 5,000 Government employees to report for duty at 5 a.m. on the crucial day. Enraged at the use of revolutionary violence by the demonstrators, Nixon burst out at a recent Press conference: "But when people come in and slice tyres, when they block traffic, when they make a trash bin out of Georgetown and other areas of the city, and when they terrorize innocent bystanders, they are not demonstrators, they are vandals and hoodlums and law-breakers and they should be treated as law-breakers." The fact is that the Nixon Government is not in a mood to stand any anti-Government demonstration, even if it be a peaceful demonstration. The bourgeois press reports that during the threatened interference with traffic the police rounded up "not merely demonstrators who were disorderly but also demonstrators who had not yet violated law and persons who were not even demonstrators at all." Even the anti-war Vietnam Veterans, who came to Washington in the latter part of April, were sought to be prevented, by means of court injunctions, from making camp on the Mall, the grassy plot near the Capitol.

But the fascist oppression of the American people by the Nixon Government is impelling thousands of them to defy "authority"

in a determined manner. The Vietnam veterans, some of them amputees, violated injunctions, stuck to their decision to make camp on the Mall and in the end the authorities were compelled to back down completely. Again, when demonstrators, demanding a 6,500-dollars a-year guaranteed income for a family of four found the way into the interior of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare blocked by a temporary plywood wall, they ripped it to pieces. During one of the demonstrations in April-May, a mock battle was staged in the lawn of the house of the Defence Secretary Melvin R. Laird and a Vietcong flag was hung on his front porch. Although the Nixon Government boasted of having foiled, by effecting mass arrests, the efforts of the May Day demonstrators to tie up traffic in Washington, it could not subdue the fighting spirit of increasing numbers of Americans. The Washington demonstration was followed by clashes with the police in Boston, New York, San Francisco, Denver, Madison and other cities.

New waves of American people's violent struggle are lashing at U. S. imperialism and making even the contradictions between the different groups of U. S. monopolies sharper and sharper. The publication of the secret Pentagon Papers on Viet Nam and the storm that has followed reflect these contradictions, besides the insoluble contradiction between U. S. imperialism and the U. S. people, and point to the desperate situation in which the enemy, battered by the ceaseless blows of the revolutionary peoples all the world over, has landed itself.

Chairman Mao has predicted the ultimate victory of the American people, "who are fighting valiantly" against the fascist rule in the United States. The growing revolutionary spirit of the American people, which found expression in the demonstrations in the first few months of 1971, as also those of the previous year, is the best guarantee of that victory.

**"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."**

—CHAIRMAN MAO

## **Avenge the Massacre in Prison**

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

I send my greetings to the revolutionary comrades of DumDum Jail. They have displayed extraordinary heroism and spirit of self-sacrifice by fighting against the policy of brutal repression. The reactionary Indian government do not feel secure even after imprisoning the revolutionary youths. They are deliberately carrying on campaigns of murder in one prison after another—Midnapur, Berhampur and then DumDum. At DumDum they have murdered seventeen comrades and injured more than ninety other comrades. Like all other reactionaries, the reactionary Indian government think that they can stop the flood-tide of struggle by acts of murder. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Wherever there is oppression there is resistance."** This massacre will rouse revolutionary hatred in the minds of more and more youths and will create a new high-tide of struggle. Revolutionary comrades will avenge this massacre and cause panic within the camp of the enemy. This is the law of history and there will be no deviations from it here, too.

—May 20, 1971

## Dawn of a New Era in East Pakistan

Under the bold leadership of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) revolutionary armed peasant struggle swept on in East Pakistan and spread by March 15 to at least twelve districts—Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali, Barisal, Patuakhali, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh, Sylhet etc. Only by fighting the enemy's ruthless attempts at suppression and the revisionist treachery from within and without that the battle of annihilation of class enemies could be carried forward. In each of the districts of Khulna and Jessore at least 15 most hated class enemies had been annihilated by that date by guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought, armed units led by the Party.

This armed struggle for the overthrow of U. S. imperialism, revisionism, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords entered a difficult phase when Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League, lackeys of the U. S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists, started a sham "liberation struggle"—a counter-revolutionary attempt to dismember Pakistan and convert East Pakistan into one more link in the chain of bases around Socialist China. The Indian expansionists not only employed their entire propaganda machine to rally people in the sham "liberation struggle" but also mobilized several divisions of troops along the border with East Pakistan and sent arms and infiltrators across the border to cause sabotage and harassment.

It was a very complicated and difficult situation for the Party and the people of East Pakistan. While the CPEP (M-L) fully unmasked the counter-revolutionary nature of the so-called "liberation struggle"—the Party had actually been exposing Mujib and his Awami League for quite a long time—and warned the people

against joining it, the Party firmly adhered to the class line and tried boldly to rouse the people through class struggle and build genuine People's Liberation Army led by it. It had to wage a heroic struggle both against the forces of national chauvinism unleashed by Mujib and his men and against extreme feudal reaction which enjoys the armed support of the Pakistan government.

Under the leadership of the Party, guns were snatched from big *jotedars* and usurers. Large numbers of rifles and other kinds of arms and huge quantities of ammunition were seized from the government treasuries and armouries in different towns—Jessore, Rajshahi, Thakurgaon (in Dinajpur), Noakhali etc. Under the leadership of the Party, armed units of the People's Liberation Army were formed in various areas and the battle of annihilation of class enemies spread quickly. And, as a result, several base areas have developed in Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali and other districts. The whole of the police station area of Dumuria in Khulna district, for instance, has been completely freed of class enemies and their agents. *Jotedars*, other big landlords, usurers and their agents have fled away from the base areas. Revolutionary People's Committees have been formed with poor and landless peasants and Party cadres to serve as organs of political power of the revolutionary masses. Many *jotedars* and usurers have prayed to the liberation fighters for their lives, returned to the peasants, especially of the minority community, cattle, paddy, boat, land, houses, beddings etc, which they had plundered, and have surrendered completely to the revolutionary People's Committees. Those landlords and usurers who had fled away are sending letters promising to obey the revolutionary committees fully and inquiring whether they may return to the areas.

The revolutionary People's Committees have confiscated the land of the feudal class and are distributing it among poor and landless peasants. In some areas the distribution has already been made. The committees have also confiscated food, cattle, seeds and other things of the landlords and distributed them among poor and landless peasants. Under their leadership the village militias have been organized and they have fought and driven out *jotedars* and

usurers who had rallied within so-called peace preservation committees set up by the Yahya regime. The revolutionary People's Committees are looking after the economic interests of the people, especially production. They are taking measures to ensure a good harvest and to prevent famine. Paddy and other food seized from the jotedars are stored by them for use afterwards, especially to avert famine in future.

People's courts have been set up in the base areas. They judge and punish the enemies of the people. In one instance a military contingent came in a gunboat to a village and asked a jotedar who was a member of a so-called peace preservation committee about a village inhabited by revolutionary peasants. Out of fear of the people the jotedar refused to provide the information and was beaten up. But the army men obtained the information from two enemy agents and carried out oppression on the people. After the soldiers had left, the people seized the agents and dragged them before the people's court which sentenced them to death. The sentence was duly carried out. This had a very good effect on many enemy agents. For lack of information the army can hardly enter the base areas.

Today, the Awami League is politically isolated from the people. The people rightly consider them as traitors. The Indian expansionists, who had provided arms to the East Pakistan Rifles and others, have now taken them back out of fear of the "Naxalites". They are afraid that these may be captured by the "Naxalites". For some time the reactionary Indian government was training the Awami League's men on the Indian soil and was then sending them equipped with arms across the border. On their return the arms were taken away from them.

In East Pakistan the big landlords and their political organizations, the Muslim League and the Jamiat-i-Islami, provide support to the Yahya Khan government. The big landlords have rallied within the so-called peace preservation committees. Together with the reactionary army they are oppressing the poor and landless peasants, especially of the minority community. But the revolutionary People's Committees are protecting the people including the

minorities. People of other areas flock to the base areas in search of security. Large numbers of revolutionary youths and students are eager to join the PLA units. Under the leadership of the Party the base areas are fast extending.

(The above report from East Pakistan was received in the third week of May last.)

According to later reports a large base area—one among many—covering the entire Dumuria police station area and parts of several other police station areas in Khulna Sadar and Satkhira subdivisions has been created. The poor and landless peasants, so long down-trodden and crushed, are rising up everywhere. They are destroying the age-old authority of the feudal lords in the countryside and replacing it by their own. In Khulna alone the heads of more than one hundred hated class enemies and notorious hoodlums rolled in the dust by the middle of June. The units of the PLA, composed mainly of poor and landless peasants, are heroically fighting the Razakars, the bands of hoodlums organized by the big landlords and armed by the Yahya Khan government, who are trying to terrorize the countryside. Wherever the PLA units are active, the big landlords and their gangs of hoodlums are themselves panic-stricken. In one sudden courageous raid a PLA unit destroyed a gang of fourteen big landlords and their agents who had murdered many people. The PLA units are also fighting against the Pakistan army and defending the base areas. One day, at nine in the morning, more than two hundred Pakistani soldiers came to a village in two launches. When the news came, there were only six guerrilla comrades in the village. Others had left to recruit new members of the PLA and to train them. The six comrades rushed to the river-bank and saw that the mercenary soldiers had already landed there. When the others were thinking of what to do, one of the peasant comrades said: "Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said: 'Attack is the best means of defence.' So let us attack

## Pakistan and the Role of the Communist Party

— CHARU MAZUMDAR

them." At this, the comrades shook off all thought of self-preservation and at the enemies. Three of the enemy soldiers dropped down dead. Taken by surprise, others rushed back to the launches. Then they trained their machine-guns at the village and the jute-fields and went on firing for ten minutes. The guerrilla comrades and people had retreated from the village when the enemy soldiers entered it. They found four villagers and killed them brutally but they went away before it was dusk.

The villagers stint themselves in order to feed the guerrilla comrades. Overwhelming is their love and affection for the guerrilla comrades. One day a gang of Razakars came to a village a few miles away from the base area, dragged away a young peasant, killed him and left his dead body at some distance from the village. In the morning the news came to the Party. A guerrilla unit started for the place and on the way met the father of the young man who had been murdered. The father was carrying the mutilated dead body of his son. When the father saw the comrades, he said to them: "I knew you would come. Take his dead body and do whatever you like. He belonged to you, I am sure you will avenge the murder. I have not wept; no, I have not wept." Then, handing over the dead body of his son, he broke down in tears. Such is the faith of the peasantry in the Party and the PLA; such is the unity between the people and the PLA led by the Party.

Poor and landless peasants bring their young sons to the Party centres and ask the Party to admit them to the PLA.

*(Certain units of the Party have attacked the Party line in respect of the recent events in Pakistan and distributed leaflets among the people under the name of the Party. They contend that the entire imperialist camp and the Indian expansionists have launched a war of aggression against Pakistan, that the Yahya Khan government, like Samedek Norodom Sihanouk, has been fighting a just war against them, that the Yahya Khan government represents the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie of Pakistan, and that it should be supported. In order to remove the confusion that may have been created in the minds of the people by these leaflets, we are publishing below a statement by our leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar.— Editor, Liberation.)*

It is the U. S. imperialist plan to bring India and Pakistan together and mobilize them behind their war-plot. But this plan could not succeed because of the contradiction between India and Pakistan. That is why India was made to attack Pakistan in 1965 and, with pressure exerted on them, both the parties were forced to sit at the negotiating table at Tashkent. The Tashkent Agreement was utilized by the Soviet revisionists for carrying on their propaganda that all wars could be settled in this way. The unity achieved at Tashkent was transitory while the contradiction between the two countries is rather permanent. So the U. S. plan failed.

Taking advantage of the students' democratic movement in 1969, the Mujibs captured leadership and demanded removal of Ayub Khan. It was at this time that Mujib's campaign for his six-point demands became strong and, as a result, Ayub resigned and handed over power to Yahya Khan. So Yahya Khan's coming to power was not the result of any bloody struggle waged by the national bourgeoisie. Since then U.S. imperialism has been making plans of creating internal troubles and the Indian government has lent its active co-operation to them.

"Deshabrati" and "Liberation" have supported the stand of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist). The conclusions that have been drawn from these writings (that appeared in "Deshabrati" and "Liberation") are arbitrary and baseless. The Indian government has not yet declared war against Pakistan, actual war has not started. The Indian government has carried on sabotage and interfered in the internal affairs of Pakistan. So it is not proper now to state that Pakistan is waging a "just war", though its struggle against all this sabotage and interference is surely just.

It is not the task of the Communist Party to support Yahya Khan even after foreign aggression has started. The task of the Communist Party is to fight foreign aggression by rousing the broad peasant masses through class struggle and to give the call for unity with Yahya Khan. Even on this issue of unity it should be borne in mind that the leadership must remain in the hands of the Communist Party, that is, this unity should be achieved in the interest of the broad masses. In the face of foreign aggression it is of the utmost importance that the Communist Party should lead struggles independently and on its own initiative and should build up its own army. At the time of foreign aggression the Communist Party must take upon itself the entire responsibility for leadership in the revolutionary war. The Yahya Khans would unite only when the Communist Party has succeeded in uniting the broad masses of the people through its independent work—work done on its own initiative—and has succeeded in building up its own army. That is why the Communist Party has to combat attacks on two fronts—foreign aggression from one side and the attack of the Yahya Khans from the other. China's experience shows that, after the Japanese aggression in 1931, the Communist Party of China had to wage struggles against the Kuomintang and to resist the Japanese attack by undertaking the historic Long March. It was as a result of this that Chiang's army rose up in revolt and forced Chiang to arrive at a compromise with the Communist Party. Though realizing the need for unity, Chairman Mao has given the greatest importance to this independence and initiative of the Communist Party. It was

the Wang Mings and the Liu Shao-chis who, taking advantage of the unity with Chiang, raised the demand for merging the Red Army in Chiang's army and for supporting Chiang. It is seen even today that while the Palestine Liberation Organization has to wage struggles against Israel, it has also to fight against the Jordanian reactionaries, though a part of Jordan is under the occupation of Israel. Chairman Mao has taught us that national liberation war is, in essence, class war.

To put Norodom Sihanouk, the head of the Cambodian state and Yahya Khan in the same category is a serious deviation. Armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party is being waged in Cambodia against U. S imperialism and Lon Nol, and Sihanouk is giving his full support to that struggle. Sihanouk has declared that the compradors and the landlord class are the enemies of the country against whom struggle must be waged. He has also declared that it is Communism that can achieve the liberation of the people. It is not only that under Yahya the Communist Party is illegal but he is also trying to consolidate his power by relying on the landlord class. And his weapon is extreme religious obscurantism. While he is fighting for his very survival against U. S. conspiracies, he is also sending his men to wait upon the U. S. imperialists. That is why they two are not of the same character.

In this document all the imperialist and social-imperialist powers are represented as one united bloc. This is in no way correct, for there is contradiction among imperialist and social-imperialist powers and they cannot resolve this contradiction by any means. In this era this contradiction is becoming more and more apparent everyday. That is why in his Statement of May 20 Chairman Mao directed all the attack against U. S. imperialism. In his Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Comrade Lin Piao mentioned four major contradictions, one of which is the contradiction between imperialism and social-imperialism and among imperialist countries.

In this document the note of interrogation has been put after the word "East" where the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) has been mentioned. This shows disrespect for a fraternal Party and violates Communist internationalism.

—June 29, 1971

## Revolutionary Armed Struggle Rises to a Higher Stage in West Bengal

A leading comrade writes from Naxalbari area: "In 1967 Comrade Charu Mazumdar told us, 'The fighting peasants have not yet obtained the rifle. It is now impossible to conceive what tremendous things will happen when they do. The rifle in the hand of the peasants will raise their fighting spirit still further. The day when they will be able to attack the enemy with that rifle the peasants of the Terai will take to the path blazed by the peasants of Viet Nam; for, they belong to the same class.'"

The day, the coming of which Comrade Charu Mazumdar predicted in 1967, has now dawned. All over West Bengal the ✓ snatching of rifles, guns and revolvers from both the police and class enemies has become a daily occurrence. Both in villages and in towns and cities rifles, revolvers and guns have been seized by poor and landless peasants, workers and revolutionary youths and their number exceeds several hundreds. In different places the PLA units have armed themselves with these seized fire-arms and they are making use of them in attacking the police and the class enemies. More than a month ago, the Home Department of the West Bengal Government stated that 89 policemen had been annihilated and 767 policemen injured by the "Naxalites". The reaction- ✓ ary government is guilty of a gross under-estimate. The number of police officers and men, police informers, ✓ military forces like C.R.P. and EFR men and regular army men, who have been annihilated by guerrilla squads, must be several times greater. Today the toughest battle is being fought not merely against ✓ the class enemies but against their state apparatus. The army, which was deployed throughout West Bengal some months ago in the name of preserving "peace" during the elections in March last, is now being openly used in suppressing the "Naxalite menace". ✓ Army contingents are now manning almost every police station and

carrying out encirclement and suppression campaigns. Chairman Mao said: "Wherever there is oppression there is resistance". As the army and the police, acting often in co-ordination with all the different reactionary and revisionist parties, carry out oppression on the people indiscriminately, the people are uniting to resist it.

Today armed struggle is being linked with mass movements in the countryside—mass movements for land and crops. Several areas have been freed of class enemies and their agents: the most hated ones were annihilated and the others have fled away. Revolutionary Committees backed by the PLA units led by the party have been formed as new organs of power. By confiscating and distributing the land and crops of the class enemies who have been annihilated or who have fled away, the Revolutionary Committees are ✓ unleashing powerful mass movements. The oppressed people in those areas are rallying round the Revolutionary Committees. It is on this issue that all revisionists, renegades and scabs oppose Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line. They have ever tried to put the cart before the horse: they always insist that mass movements for partial demands must precede armed struggle. That has been the revisionist practice in India for more than forty years—until Naxalbari. Objectively, this line amounts to the liquidation of armed struggle. Comrade Charu Mazumdar fought against this revisionist politics and practice and established that armed guerrilla struggle for the seizure of political power, guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, can alone give rise to powerful mass movements, mass upheavals, and the two, closely interlinked and indivisible, will strike at and destroy the very foundations of the present oppressive regime. Thus Comrade Charu Mazumdar made a break with the long revisionist practice in India and drew a clear line of demarcation between revolutionaries and revisionists. Today comrades and revolutionary people are studying again and again the writings of Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao as well as those of Comrade Charu Mazumdar so that they can best integrate the universal principles of Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution.

In the Naxalbari area nine Revolutionary committees have

when  
did  
they  
speak  
of armed  
struggle?

neebe formed. Since Magurjan, guerrilla comrades have launched 12 attacks, nine of which have been fully successful. The enemy is carrying on an "encirclement and suppression" campaign. The police camps have been strengthened and the army has set up camps within the area. But this campaign is meeting with failure after failure. Far from suppressing the fighting peasantry, it has raised their morale. Ready to leave their homes, more and more peasant men and women are coming forward every day to join the People's Army. The guerrilla comrades disperse for purposes of political propaganda but they concentrate while attacking the enemy. Every PLA unit has a commander and a political commissar. In those units where the peasants' level of political consciousness is high, the political commissar is elected from among the peasants. The regional commander and political commissar are peasants. The leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the Revolutionary Committees is being established. On this depends how successfully the Revolutionary Committees will be able to establish the peasants' power in the area.

The Naxalbari struggle is having its impact beyond the border—in Nepal. It is reported that the battle for annihilation of class enemies has already started there and thus it marks the beginning of armed peasant struggle in that country. In early May a notorious class enemy was annihilated in Jamarguri area. More and more youths are leaving their homes to work among the peasantry and rebuild the Communist Party. There is a great demand among them for Nepali and Hindi versions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's writings.

In Jalpaiguri a long stretch of territory is today freed of class enemies and their agents. Scores of class enemies, police officers and men and their agents have been annihilated by the peasants on their own initiative. Many rifles and guns have been seized.

A great wave of struggle has been sweeping the district of Birbhum. About 200 guns and rifles have been snatched from the class enemies and the police. Poor and landless peasants are joining the PLA. Revolutionary Committees have been formed in some areas and people's courts are functioning. The class enemies are extremely panicky. As many tyrant jotedars, usurers, policemen and spies

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Pakistani ruling classes chose General Yahya Khan to succeed Ayub and to carry on the same policy as his.

But because of their heavy and increasing dependence on imperialist "aid" and because of their fundamental contradiction with the people the relation of the Pakistani ruling classes with the U.S. imperialists is one of both subservience and opposition. During all these years when the Pakistani rulers have been refusing to participate in the U.S.-Soviet plans of aggression against China, the two superpowers and the various international agencies controlled by U.S. imperialism did not fail to provide "aid" economic as well as military—to the Pakistan Government nor did the Pakistan Government under Ayub or Yahya Khan ever stop seeking it. Even now "aid" agreements are being signed in Washington between the U.S. and the Pakistan Government.

What gave the Pakistani ruling classes the strength to oppose U.S.-Soviet plans, though in a weak, vacillating manner? At the time of every major conflict with the Indian expansionists, the Pakistan Government was supported by the British imperialists. In September 1965, when the U.S.-directed attack on Pakistan was launched by India, the British Prime Minister openly blamed India as the aggressor. This time, too, in 1971, the British stand was opposed to the U.S. and Soviet stand. Britain's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister declared that the events in Pakistan were that country's internal affair. This support from imperialist powers besides that of China helped the Pakistani Government at every crisis and provided the strength it required. "The contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries" is one of the four major contradictions in the world today. It is silly to imagine the imperialist and social-imperialist countries as one solidly united camp. Rather, in this era of the total collapse of imperialism, all the political and military blocs and alliances that U.S. imperialism built up are disintegrating today; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries, among the imperialist countries and among the different groups of compradors is getting more and more sharp every day. As U.S. imperialism is meeting with defeat after defeat,



especially in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, as its stooges are realizing that the day of its ultimate defeat is not far off, and as their own crises are mounting, they are becoming more and more eager to establish trade and diplomatic relations with Socialist China. Rats seem anxious to flee from the sinking ship.

China firmly adheres to the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. On the basis of these principles China establishes friendly relations with every country—whatever may be its social system—that seeks them. China also supports the just struggle of every country—whatever may be its social system—against foreign aggression and foreign interference. In the past, China supported the U.A.R. and several other countries in their just struggles against different imperialist countries and offered even military aid to them though their rulers had not all on a sudden blossomed out as the anti-imperialist, revolutionary national bourgeoisie. It is silly to conclude that China is supporting the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle for national independence and state sovereignty and against foreign aggression and interference because Yahya Khan represents the national bourgeoisie of Pakistan, which is anti-imperialist and revolutionary. China supports Pakistan because Pakistan is under the threat of aggression from the Indian expansionists. China's support helps in foiling the conspiracies of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists to herd together all the reactionary forces on earth against China and the world revolution and in sharpening the contradictions between imperialist and social-imperialist countries, among the imperialist countries and among their compradors. China's support to the Yahya Government does not mean that there should be an automatic end to all class struggle in Pakistan and that the basic masses and the Communist Party should mobilize all support to the Yahya Government. As early as April 1946 Chairman Mao said: "Such compromise between the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union can be the outcome only of resolute, effective struggles by all the democratic

forces of the world against the reactionary forces of the United States, Britain and France. Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." (*Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation*).

It is utter revisionism to assert that Pakistan has been transformed from a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country into an independent country ruled by the national bourgeoisie. Such a thesis has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It assumes that the bourgeoisie of a country can lead the democratic revolution in this era—long after 1917—and rejects the Marxist-Leninist theory that proletarian leadership is the sole key to victory in the democratic revolution that takes place after the October Revolution. It is openly opposed to Chairman Mao's theory on New Democracy. This is sheer revisionism also because it holds that on some blessed day political power was peacefully transferred from the imperialists, their compradors and the feudal class in Pakistan to the national bourgeoisie. It is opposed to Chairman Mao's thesis: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and is quite in agreement with the theory of peaceful transition peddled by all revisionist traitors. It is the Khrushovites who claim that socialist aid *from outside* can hatch the national bourgeoisie of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and enable it to seize power. Those who assert this view are consciously or unconsciously new adherents of Khrushov despite their loud professions of loyalty to Chairman Mao's Thought. The irony of it is that this pernicious theory is being peddled today in the name of fighting against anti-China counter-revolutionary plots. It is Chairman Mao who fought and defeated Khrushov revisionism and reestablished the eternal principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party could be established under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar only by defeating Khrushov revisionism, by defeating this pernicious theory of peaceful transition. Yet revisionism is trying to raise its

head again but it will fail to befool the ranks matured by the experience of the last four years of revolutionary struggle.

What are the actual conditions in Pakistan? Through capital investments, "aid" and unequal trade different imperialist powers are fleecing the Pakistani people. In collaboration with the Pakistani compradors or without it, foreign monopolies are sucking the blood of the people. Far from launching any attack on them, the Pakistani ruling classes are becoming increasingly more dependent on imperialist "aid". The feudal princes and landlords are equally free to carry on brutal oppression and exploitation of the vast masses of the peasantry. As the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) correctly pointed out, imperialism, revisionism, the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class are the chief enemies of the people of Pakistan. Internally, there is no democracy within the country: the CPEP (M-L) is banned. Educationally and culturally, the country is semi-colonial and semi-feudal. The ruling classes exploit religious obscurantism more than anywhere else. They have named their state "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan".

In this complex situation the CPEP (M-L) has given a bold and correct lead to the people of East Pakistan. Instead of raising the bourgeois slogan of a war of national defence, it has given the call for a national revolutionary war—a national revolutionary war to defeat imperialism and social-imperialism and to overthrow the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class. China's path is the path along which the CPEP (M-L) is leading the people of East Pakistan to victory. By relying on the landless and poor peasants, it has carried forward the battle of annihilation of class enemies and of the armed forces of the reactionary state, formed units of the People's Liberation Army and built base areas where people's revolutionary committees and people's militia are being organized. Thus the Party has rightly laid all the emphasis on the task of rousing the masses, initiating and developing armed struggle and building the People's Army without which the people have nothing. It is only thus, only by developing class struggle to a new height, that the Party and the people of East Pakistan can smash all anti-China war-plots on its soil. Chairman Mao 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." Chairman Mao has assigned only one task to the revolutionaries of the different countries—the task to make revolution in their respective countries. Only by boldly rousing the masses to fulfil this task, by hastening the work of revolution in their countries, revolutionaries can defeat imperialist and social-imperialist plots against China and the world's people, prevent a new world war or win it after it has broken out. All talk of fighting U.S. imperialism by rallying behind the ruling classes of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country is the old, old capitulationist line—the revisionist line of class collaboration, betrayal of class struggle and betrayal of revolutionary peasant struggle.

The CPEP (M-L) has correctly refused to support and trail behind Yahya Khan and his men and thus refused to follow the liquidationist line—to liquidate itself and to liquidate the armed struggle for the seizure of political power. On the issue of building the united front, the Party is guided by what Vice-Chairman Lin Piao said:

"History shows that during the national-democratic revolution there must be two kinds of alliance within this united front, first, the worker-peasant alliance and second, the alliance of the working people with the bourgeoisie and other non-working people. The worker-peasant alliance is an alliance of the working class with the peasants and all other working people in town and country. It is the foundation of the united front. Whether the working class can gain leadership of the national-democratic revolution depends on whether it can lead the broad masses of the peasants in struggle and rally them around itself. Only when the working class gains leadership of the peasants, and only on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, is it possible to establish the second alliance, form a broad united front and wage a people's war victoriously. Otherwise, everything that is done is unreliable, like castles in the air or so much empty talk." ("Long Live the Victory of People's War")

Though faced with a very difficult and complicated situation, the CPEP (M-L) is integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of revolution in East Pakistan. We hail the significant victories our brave comrades of East Pakistan have already won and offer our red salute to them.

—June 15, 1971

*SMASH THE BLOOD-STAINED, CRIMINAL HANDS  
OF THE INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS*

Inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought and guided by the C. P. E. P. (M-L) the brave peasants and the workers and revolutionary youths of East Bengal are waging an armed struggle on two fronts. On the one side they are fighting arms in hand against the Razakars (armed gangs organized by the big landlords), the police and Pakistan's reactionary army; on the other they are waging a bitter fight against the Indian expansionists. India's reactionary government is sending armed infiltrators across the border who are blowing up bridges, damaging roads, setting fire to houses, killing men and looting things. Under the grandiose name of the "Mukti Fouz" ('Liberation Army') the counter-revolutionary Awami League's men equipped with arms by the Indian expansionists and operating from the Indian soil, are engaged in the same nefarious activities. It is the internationalist duty of the working people of India and the C. P. I. (M-L) to express the fullest solidarity with the fighting peasantry of East Bengal and give them all help in smashing the counter-revolutionary plot of the Indian expansionists. It is only by intensifying and quickening the pace of agrarian revolution in India, particularly in West Bengal, that the criminal activities of the Indian expansionists can be stopped and they can be routed. Our Party and people assure the heroic peasantry of East Bengal that they will persevere in the struggle against the common enemies—the Indian expansionists—and raise it to a new height to smash their blood-stained, criminal hands.

*WE WARN THEM*

Comrade Nagbhusan Patnaik, one of the leaders of our Party now in an Andhra prison, has been sentenced to death by the Andhra High Court. Like the army, the police and the bureaucracy, the judiciary is part of the coercive state apparatus and its sole purpose is to oppress the people and defend the man-eating system that prevails in this country. The reactionary ruling class is frightened at the rapid development of the revolutionary peasant struggle that is destined to smash the present man-eating system. The reactionary rulers are murdering our comrades in prison or outside in the vain hope that by doing so they will be able to stifle the Indian revolution. Their hands are already stained with the blood of many of the leading comrades of Srikakulam.

Comrade Nagbhusan Patnaik is one of the leaders of the heroic peasant struggle of Srikakulam and neighbouring Orissa districts, that suffered a set-back. But the revolutionary comrades and people of Srikakulam and other districts of Andhra are summing up the experience of their previous struggle, drawing lessons from it and recovering from the set-back. Already there are signs of a resurgence. New leaders, tempered in the fire of battle, are emerging to spread wide the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle. During the last few months several actions have taken place in Srikakulam, Nellore, and districts of the Telangana region. Srikakulam and Andhra shall rise again.

We sternly warn the reactionary government against carrying out the criminal sentence of death on Comrade Nagbhusan Patnaik. If they dare to murder our comrade they will only earn the undying hatred of all revolutionary people throughout India and fan the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle in which they shall perish. Not only the rulers but also all the minions of "law and order" who may dare to commit this crime shall not escape the wrath of the people.

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have been annihilated, many class enemies have fled away from their homes. Their land and crops have been confiscated. The bourgeois press reflects the alarm that has gripped the class enemies and the bureaucracy. The revolutionary youths and working people have carried the flames of armed struggle to the different towns also. The peasantry and other oppressed people are jubilant. The PLA protects them in many areas. At least three hoodlums who oppressed the people and extorted money from them in the name of the Party have been annihilated.

In Murshidabad district also, annihilation of the most hated class enemies, policemen and revisionist agents of the police and snatching of fire-arms are frequent. The PLA units have armed themselves with guns and rifles seized from the enemies. Our guerrilla comrades avenged the murder of revolutionary youths in Berhampur jail by annihilating Sadhan Ghosh, a jail warder guilty of murder.

In Burdwan district, the revolutionary armed struggle is spreading swiftly. During this period many class enemies, policemen and police informers have been annihilated. Guerrilla comrades have snatched away many rifles and guns. In several rural areas Revolutionary Committees have been formed. The initiative of the poor and landless peasant comrades has developed. On May 14, a guerrilla squad of five landless peasants made a sudden attack on an armed police party in a crowded train near Srikhand railway station when this party was escorting two arrested comrades from Burdwan jail to Katwa court. The guerrilla squad annihilated 4 armed policemen, seized two rifles and secured the release of the two captured comrades. In a self-critical report an intellectual comrade has said that if the initiative of the peasants had not been curbed, they could have seized all the rifles. In the industrial areas the working class is shaking off the revisionist influence and rising in militant struggles. At Durgapur many policemen, CRP men, army men, police agents and CPI (M) hoodlums were annihilated and many rifles and guns were seized by revolutionary workers and youths. Under the leadership of the Party the masses of workers are rising in militant revolts. On June 1, the workers counter-attacked the central industrial security force at Durgapur with whatever

they could lay their hands on when a worker was beaten up. Led by our comrades the revolutionary workers inflicted serious injuries on 21 officers and men of the so-called security force and annihilated a police spy. The struggle spread to different factories—AVB, Graphite, C.S.I.R.G., Damodar Iron and Steel etc. It spread also to neighbouring areas. The railway workers at Andal, an important railway centre, went on protest strike. Even revisionist trade union leaders working in close collusion with the police and the administration failed to suppress this revolt. On April 29, a guerrilla squad of nine workers annihilated Bireswar Mondal, a despotic landlord and police informer, in Baktarnagar village in Andal area. Party units are being organized among the coal miners, one of the most oppressed sections of workers in India. Already their guerrilla squads have annihilated class enemies and snatched away guns. Today in many areas in Burdwan—Andal, Panagarh, Mankar, Buddud etc.—workers, peasants and revolutionary youths are fighting shoulder to shoulder to carry forward the agrarian revolution.

The revolutionary armed struggle has spread to wide areas in 24 Parganas—both rural and urban. Throughout the district guerrilla squads have attacked and annihilated many class enemies, policemen, CRP men and armymen. Many rifles, revolvers and guns have been snatched away from them. Daring attacks are being made by our guerrilla comrades on police outposts and pickets. The police outpost at Badu in Barasat police station area was attacked, a policeman was annihilated and two others injured. Innumerable actions have been carried out in Barasat and Basirhat sub-divisions of the district. The struggle has reached a higher stage also in Diamond Harbour and Canning.

According to a report from the Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Region Committee, a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants attacked a police camp at Jarangi in Gopiballavpur in Midnapur and annihilated 3 EFR men; two EFR men were annihilated at Asura. On June 4, a PLA unit attacked a military police camp within Orissa, annihilated three including a havildar and seized a sten gun. The rest surrendered. Class enemies were annihilated at Govindapur and Banhati and their properties were confiscated and distributed among the peasantry.

In Howrah many daring attacks have been carried out by our guerrilla comrades and many class enemies, police informers and CPI (M) agents of the police have been annihilated. Many rifles and guns have been seized. The urban poor are rallying round the Party.

In Hooahly district the battle of annihilation of class enemies is forging ahead. The police and police informers are increasingly becoming targets of attack. A number of rifles and guns have been seized.

In Nadia the revolutionary struggle has reached a new stage. Attacks have been launched on the police and police informers, besides class enemies, and many rifles and guns have been seized.

In Calcutta and the industrial area of the 24 Parganas, close to Calcutta, the workers are on the march. More and more workers are repudiating the leadership of the CPI (M) and other revisionist parties and taking to the path of militant battles with their employers and the police. There have been many instances when the workers of several factories in an area went on strike immediately one or several of their colleagues had been arrested by the police, forced their employers to demand of the police the release of their comrades, and themselves gheraoed the police stations and forced the police to release them. This has happened in Beliaghata, Belgachhia, Dum Dum and many other areas. When Comrade Shyam, a young revolutionary, was shot dead at Sinthee by the police the workers and other working people erected barricades on the roads and fought against the police, arms in hand, for two days. It is reported that they shot dead 7 armed policemen in that battle.

Many class enemies, policemen and police informers including Congress and CPI (M) agents of the police have been annihilated in different areas of Calcutta and neighbouring industrial areas. Brave struggles have been waged by the revolutionary youths and workers in Behala, Toilygunj, Jadavpur, Metiaburuz, Sinthee, Beliaghata and other places and scores of rifles and revolvers have been snatched away from the police. Daring attacks have been launched on police outposts and police pickets, like the one at Jadavpur Railway station, and many rifles have been seized.

Today, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said, the main task of the Party units in urban areas is to carry the politics of seizure of political power by armed force to the workers, to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought among them and to build Party organizations with the advanced elements among them. This task is being fulfilled and Party units with the best elements of the proletariat are being formed. A major section of the workers in some industrial areas is rallying round these Party units. It is also a feature today that in many areas the Party units and comrades enjoy in an overwhelming measure the support, love and affection of the urban poor. No doubt, the Party is striking roots among the basic masses and this is why all the shooting and imprisonment, all the fascist oppression, all the cruellest methods of torture, practised by the reactionary government, fail to demoralize the revolutionary cadres or to check the swift advance of the revolutionary struggle.

Our comrades, both in prison and outside, are writing new epics of heroism. New men, whose advent Comrade Charu

Mazumdar predicted, have already emerged. Their heroism, fervour of idealism and self-sacrifice can never be surpassed. On April 22—the second anniversary of our Party's foundation—and May 2, our brave comrades in Dum Dum jail hoisted the Red flag over the prison, thus trampling underfoot the Jail Code. Our comrades had drawn up a plan to escape from prison on May 7 but somehow it leaked out and the programme had to be postponed. On the night of May 13 a comrade was handcuffed by the jail authorities because he had written "Red Salute to Mao Tsetung" on his jail-ticket. At the instruction of the Party Committee within the jail, a squad smashed the handcuffs and all comrades wrote "Red Salute to Mao Tsetung" on their tickets. The reactionary authorities planned in collusion with the CPI (M)-led jail warders' association to murder our comrades on the next day. Sensing it, the Party Committee within the jail decided not to leave the initiative in the hands of the reactionary authorities and informed 160 comrades of the decision to carry out the plan of escape. Different groups of comrades were allotted different tasks. Some of the leading comrades took upon themselves the task of resisting the armed policemen and jail warders when their comrades would try to escape. On the afternoon of May 14 the heroic comrades removed an extremely heavy iron gate and placed it against the wall in an almost miraculous manner. In less than five minutes fifty comrades climbed up the gate and the wall and escaped. The other comrades fought the armed policemen and jail-warders, almost bare-handed, and injured 40 of them. But seventeen brave comrades died the death of martyrs: while faced with their murderers they raised the slogans: "Chairman Mao Zindabad!" "Comrade Charu Mazumdar Zindabad!" and "CPI (M-L) Zindabad!" About 90 comrades were injured in this battle. Astonishing were the initiative, valour and the spirit of self-sacrifice of our comrades.

## **"Never Forget Class Struggle"— Chairman Mao**

*Today various specious arguments are being put forward to make revolutionaries give up class struggle and adopt the old, old revisionist line of class capitulation. The following paragraphs from "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" (June 14, 1963, Reply of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to March 30 letter of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) will, we hope, remove much confusion about the tasks of a Marxist-Leninist Party and will also help in understanding the foreign policy of a socialist country.—Editor, Liberation.*

"It is necessary for the socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries. It is possible to reach certain agreements through negotiation by relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries and on the pressure of the people of all countries. But necessary compromises between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should ever demand in the name of peaceful coexistence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggles.

"The application of the policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries is advantageous for achieving a peaceful international environment for socialist construction, for exposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war. But if the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is confined to peaceful coexistence, then it is impossible to handle correctly either the relations between socialist countries or those between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

"In our view, the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries should have the following content: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation among the countries of the socialist camp in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are interrelated and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted."