

"People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S.
aggressors and all their running dogs!"



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BUILD UP THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY AND MARCH ONWARD

—CHARU MAZUMDAR 71

The peasant and worker guerrillas of Naxalbari captured six rifles and many bullets by attacking a police post at Magurjan. This has raised the peasants' armed struggle to a higher stage. Despite their best efforts the West Bengal and Bihar police have failed to recover either the rifles or the bullets. This incident is of much significance, for the successful attack was carried out even after all the intellectual and old leaders of that area had been arrested. This incident has given the peasants' armed struggle the character of a liberation war. So we declare that it is already time to build up the People's Liberation Army.

If we do not take up the task of building the people's army the peasants' armed struggle will enter a blind alley. The ruling classes also have realized that the day is not far off when Bengal will become another Viet Nam. The imperialist powers and social-imperialism have landed troops in East Pakistan in the name of providing aid to the flood-ravaged areas as soon as the peasants' armed struggle has started there ; for, they know quite well that this struggle in West Bengal will spread very quickly to East Pakistan. No power on earth will then be able to stop the onward march of that liberation struggle. The imperialist powers feel alarmed also because a Party has been formed on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought in East Pakistan too. Not only this ; it has also started the peasants' armed struggle in the countryside by combating revisionism. So they know that these two struggles will merge into one very soon as it happened in the case of the struggles of the three countries of Indo-China. That is why they are not in a mood to waste any more time : they have already entered Pakistan with their armed forces.

In West Bengal, the situation has so developed that no civil administration can cope with it. That is why the enemy has deployed troops all over West Bengal: they are holding elections with the help of the army. This army will stay on even after the elections. The puppet character of the ministry that will be formed under the military will very quickly get exposed before the people; the civil war will enter a stage in which nationalism will be on our side, for imperialist intervention will then appear in quite a naked form. Even today the imperialists are carrying on intervention in India: even today American and Russian "experts" are sitting on the back of the Indian army. This has still been kept a secret from the people. But imperialist intervention will not remain a secret after West Bengal has been handed over to the military. As part of the U. S. - Soviet war plot, the India government has provided Japan with opportunities to plunder our country. The agreement it has entered into with Japan regarding supply of iron ore can by no means be described as a business deal. Japan buys iron ore at Rs. 9 per ton while our cost of raising it is Rs. 16 per ton. And in the name of buying iron ore Japan is taking away uranium at the same price. So Japan also is among the countries that are today plundering India. India's foreign trade cannot expand, for the more it will expand the greater will be the burden of taxation on the Indian people. Almost all of this country's steel output is exported to foreign countries. As a consequence, the Indian people have to pay one rupee per head as a penalty. So imperialism cannot by any means afford to lose this paradise for plunderers. That is why they are appearing on the scene after making full preparations.

It is the incident at Magurjan that has led today to the formation of the People's Army in West Bengal. All our squads of poor and landless peasants are today contingents of this People's Army. There must be commanders when there is an army. So we have to elect commanders from among poor and landless peasants on the area and regional basis. It is thus that the leadership of the poor and landless peasants will be established over the

peasants' armed struggle. What will be the tasks of this People's Army of ours? Today, all comrades should study and implement the following quotation from Chairman Mao Tsetung:

"The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence."

This quotation puts concretely the tasks of the People's Army in the present situation. That is why every member of the Party must study over and over again this quotation and must implement it in practice. It is on the fulfilment of these tasks that the future of our struggle depends. In order to carry out these tasks we must rely more and still more on the poor and landless peasants. Petty bourgeois intellectual comrades will serve as political commissars.

Comrades,

Today, the peasants' revolutionary struggle is acquiring the character of a liberation war. So attack must be launched on the armed forces of the enemy. To wage attacks now against only class enemies amounts to a certain form of economism. If we fail to wage attacks against the armed forces of the enemy simultaneously with our attacks on the class enemies we shall land ourselves in the mire of a certain kind of economism. There need be no doubt whether so many tasks can be performed at the same time; for, the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses can carry out all these tasks with their many-sided genius. We were busy till now with unleashing the initiative of the poor and landless peasants.

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Comrade Charu Mazumdar's Call :

SEIZE THE RIFLES AND ARM THE PEASANT GUERRILLA SQUADS

Once again the police arrested five youths at Beliaghata [in Calcutta] and shot and murdered them. This is the policy that the Government have today adopted for all occasions and in all places—to shoot and murder revolutionaries. It is possible to avenge murder through murder alone. Today the Government are trying to murder the people, so on behalf of the people we should take upon ourselves the task of avenging this murder through murder. This is called 'tit for tat' struggle. Chairman has said time and again that the tactics of our struggle should be tit for tat. That is why it is the task of every revolutionary today not only to wipe out the police force but to seize their rifles and to arm the squads of the peasant guerrillas with those rifles.

The battle for seizure of rifles has started. It started at Magurjan and has taken place in many other areas, even at Behala. This battle of ours is a political battle : our political principle is "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

In Bengal this struggle has reached a higher stage. So Bengal has to advance further in implementing the task of building the armed guerrilla forces. Here the leadership of the landless and poor peasants has been established. Never should we treat lightly the task of establishing this leadership. The armed guerrilla forces led by the poor and landless peasants will bring out the creative genius of the peasantry and, as a result, the revolutionary struggle will quickly assume a wide character. We will be prepared to fight every imperialist power and follow the path of solving all our problems by waging this armed struggle.

(February 23, 1971)

RED SALUTE TO THE COMRADES BEHIND PRISON BARS

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

The revolutionaries who are today in the prisons of West Bengal have created a new history of struggle that none ever came across in the annals of prison-life. These comrades realize and feel from the core of their hearts that revolutionaries remain revolutionaries even while in prison : they are quick to rise up and fight every humiliation. They have made jail-breaking a common-place affair. Two hundred year-old imperialist rule built up the prison as the strongest base within the administrative system : today that two hundred year-old structure is crumbling down. This is proof of the fact that imperialism built up its structure on very shaky foundations. Today the prison is a centre of revolt : today the comrades in prison are repeatedly making a mockery of it by escaping from it. Though the reactionary government murders prisoners and pursues a policy of savage repression, it fails to and will ever fail to stop jail-breaking and to put down the revolt within prisons. That is why I offer red salute to the comrades in prison.

—February 23, 1971

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Now we have to strengthen the unity of the broad peasant masses and see that their genius has free play. We must undertake our tasks with faith in the revolutionary genius of the masses. Once this genius has free play we shall advance at an irresistible speed and will surely achieve victory. Inspire the cadres with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, for we are a contingent and comrades-in-arms of the world-wide anti-imperialist front. Chairman Mao is leading the world revolution : victory will certainly be ours.

(February 10, 1971)

NOTES

HAIL THE FORMATION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

**"The four seas are rising, clouds and water raging,
The five continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring.
Away with all pests !
Our force is irresistible"**

—CHAIRMAN MAO

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam the People's Liberation Armies are winning everyday resounding, thrilling victories. U. S. imperialism's blatant aggression against Cambodia, resumption of its savage air raids on the People's Republic of Vietnam and its frenzied invasion of Laos, which is a direct threat to Socialist China and constitutes one more step in its drive towards another world war, are meeting with staggering defeats at the hands of the People's Liberation Armies of the three countries. Indeed, U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their stooges are today in the throes of their death-bed struggle.

In this excellent revolutionary situation the Indian People's Liberation Army has been founded. It is out of the many guerrilla squads of landless and poor peasants who have been waging revolutionary armed struggle in various parts of West Bengal under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) that the People's Liberation Army has emerged. Chairman Mao said : "*Without a people's army the people have nothing.*" The armed guerrilla units led by the Party in different districts of West Bengal had struck fear into the hearts of the class enemies. In eleven other states of India—Andhra, Bihar, Punjab,

Kerala Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh etc.—the peasantry led by the CPI (ML) have been waging a valiant armed struggle for the overthrow of the class enemies. Now, with the formation of the People's Army under the guidance of our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the Indian people's march of victory over the armed forces of the enemy begins. It is only the beginning, though a great beginning, of the Indian people's long march to victory over imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys in this country.

Great victories have already been achieved on the political and ideological front. The people have realized the great truth enshrined in Chairman Mao's words : "**Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.**" The need for revolutionary violence to defeat counter-revolutionary violence and to bring about the long-desired change in the unendurable conditions of their lives is realized by the people. Today they know that "**it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords**", "**that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.**" The theory of non-violence, the weapon with which the comprador bourgeoisie disrupted the armed anti-imperialist struggles of the people for a long time, and the theory of peaceful transition to socialism peddled by the modern revisionists for the same treacherous purpose are today spurned by the people. All illusions about the parliamentary path, that the reactionaries and the revisionists of all hues built up so painstakingly, now lie shattered.

It is amusing to see how the reactionaries, who never hesitate to use the worst violence to crush any sign of resistance by the people to their oppression and exploitation and their revisionist agents deplore the spread of "the cult of violence" in the country and the breakdown of their precious "law and order" From Indira Gandhi, West Bengal's governor Dhawan, Calcutta's police commissioner to revisionists of all brands including the "Marxists"—all claim that they are not opposed to revolution but to the practice of violence, to "individual terrorism" indulged in by the "Naxalites" that is, "anti-social elements" and "miscreants". They have all

entered into a conspiracy to hide the truth that hurts them—the truth that a revolutionary civil war has been going on in this country—by adopting the very simple device of calling the revolutionary cadres “anti-social elements” and “miscreants”. These people have reasons to feel worried, even alarmed, for the class enemies and the agents of imperialism and police—whether big landlords, blood-sucking industrialists, top bureaucrats or top educationists whose educational activities are today a cover for their secret activities as C. I. A. and police agents—do not feel quite safe in any part of West Bengal, rural or urban. Panic has gripped them—and quite rightly, for the hunters have also become the hunted now. While perfecting their machinery of violence, they decry violence so much because the monopoly they so long enjoyed—the monopoly of the right to perpetrate violence—has been challenged by the people. This is just the beginning, yet they are stricken with terror, for they know quite well that they shall not escape the wrath of the people that they have kindled. All their trumpet-tongued lying propaganda to isolate the revolutionary cadres from the people has failed—dismally for them. To their utter dismay, “the politics of violence”, against which the reactionaries, revisionists and hired scribes of the bourgeois press have joined in a chorus of denunciation, is gaining ground swiftly. It is the politics of seizure of power by armed force that has become the main current today.

Two main factors that have brought about this change are the founding of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the peasants’ armed struggle led by it. From the foot of the Himalayas in the north to the river estuary in the south and the *sal* forests in the south-west, West Bengal’s countryside is resounding with the footsteps of brave peasant guerrillas. In large rural areas the landlords, instead of relying on their state machinery, make piteous appeals to poor and landless peasants for sparing their and their sons’ lives! The truth is, Indian feudalism, which has for ages been a real tiger and has devoured millions and hundreds of millions of people, has been

reduced into a paper tiger wherever the peasants have taken up arms.

Workers also are on the march. Their militant battles in defence of their interests and in defence of their honour are frequent. And inspired by the armed revolutionary struggle of the peasantry, the youths and students of urban areas are waging a heroic fight. Thousands have been arrested and tortured, many revolutionary cadres have been shot and murdered, homes have been ravaged, villages have been burnt down, and the machinery for inflicting the worst violence on the people is being perfected; yet, the revolutionary struggles of the peasants, workers and youths surge onward shattering the morale of the ruling classes, the reactionary police and the bureaucracy.

The capture of rifles and bullets from an armed police camp at Magurjan in the Naxalbari area by peasant guerrillas and the formation of the People’s Liberation Army, which welds together all the scattered guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants, mark a decisive turning-point in the history of the Indian revolution. Led by the Party, the P L A, now a small force, will grow from strength to strength as it will fight and annihilate the enemy and his armed forces, *conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them and help them to establish revolutionary political power.* The sole purpose of this army will be to stand firmly with the Indian people and to serve them wholeheartedly.

Today, with the formation of the People’s Liberation Army, the peasants’ revolutionary armed struggle has reached a new stage—a qualitatively higher stage. This is the stage when the destruction of the armed forces of the reactionary state and the establishment of the people’s revolutionary political power is on the agenda. Comrade Charu Mazumdar has issued the historic call: *“Give priority to the task of establishing the peasants’ political power in the countryside.”* He has said: “The poor and landless peasants’ Revolutionary Committees under the leadership of the Party will be the first stage of a new revolutionary government” These Revolutionary Committees, which will unite and lead the

broad peasant masses, will seize the land and crops of the landlords, distribute them among the landless and poor peasants, call upon the latter to defend the land and crops, form the village militias, punish the hated class enemies and their agents, and look after production. This will ensure the active participation of the broad peasant masses in the people's war in order to defend the peasants' revolutionary political power and other fruits of the revolution. This will create such an upsurge, such a high tide, of revolutionary armed struggle as will sweep away all reactionary forces before it. That is why, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said, the task of establishing revolutionary political power is the most sacred task—the most important task—before the party cadres today.

Frightened and bewildered, the enemy has devised two measures among others to extricate themselves from the present situation. One is the mid-term poll scheduled to be held on March 10. The other is the deployment of the army in the name of maintaining peace during elections. The ruling classes have thought of opposing "the politics of violence" with the politics of parliamentarism in the vain hope of creating fresh illusions among the people. They want to befool the people by setting up a "popularly elected" government. But they are not foolish enough to place much reliance on it, for they have deployed the army all over West Bengal. And the army has set up fifty-two command posts, one in each sub division of each district of West Bengal. The usual police and the paramilitary forces like the C. R. P., the E. F. R and the B. S. F. have failed to accomplish the purpose—the purpose of stemming the tide of the revolutionary armed struggle. The ruling classes have realized that no civil administration can cope with the situation created by the people's revolutionary armed struggle. So, the army has actually taken over in West Bengal. Despite all the solemn declarations of the enemy, the army has come not to withdraw after the elections but to stay: only more and more reinforcements are expected in future. But military rule, the last resort of the dying oppressors, even in one part of India, is a dangerous gamble. That is why the ruling classes feel the need for camouflaging the ugly

reality by setting up a so-called popular government, a kind of puppet government, under actual military rule.

The burden of the election speeches of Indira Gandhi and different political parties is that there must be stable government "for the regeneration of the country". This is like crying for the moon, for the days of stability for the rule of the reactionary classes are long gone. Now, governments in different states fall like nine pins and the government at the centre is also faced with instability. Reaction can no longer stabilize its hold even in collusion with its revisionist agents. Only two years ago, the revisionist chieftain Namboodiripad hailed the "United Front" governments of West Bengal and Kerala as "the vanguard of the emerging alternative." But the "alternative" on which the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the domestic reactionaries pinned so great hopes, has disappeared before it could fully emerge, because "the vanguard" has split and disintegrated under the impact of the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry. Today, reactionary and revisionist forces are bound to disintegrate: new fronts, new alliances, are formed one day only to disintegrate the next day. This is the inevitable, inescapable, result of the armed peasant struggle as well as of the intense dog-fight among different sections of the ruling classes and among the different imperialist powers and Soviet social-imperialism. As the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle sweeps onward, as the contradictions between the people on the one hand and imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction on the other become sharper and sharper, the contradictions between the different sections of the ruling classes and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters grow most acute. In this frantic scramble for power and profit, reactionary and revisionist political parties are being backed by different imperialist and social-imperialist powers, each of which is fighting to carve out its sphere of influence in this vast country. The charge that the imperialist powers are placing rich funds at the disposal of the different political parties is an old one. The other day Nijalingappa, president of the Congress (O), demanded a judicial probe into the charge that certain foreign countries—mainly countries under the

rule of the revisionists—were withdrawing large amounts of money from their rupee reserves with the concurrence of the Reserve Bank to help their political allies in the coming elections, (*Statesman*, 8. 2. 71) As thieves have fallen out, more such secrets will be out. It will be no surprise if the C P I (M) and the D M K have forged links with the British and the West German imperialists respectively. The demand for arming the states with greater powers at the expense of the central government, raised by the CPI (M) and the DMK, is quite in conformity with the interests of the British and West German imperialists, for U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have no doubt a decisive influence on the centre. But it will be a mistake to suppose that rival imperialist and social-imperialist powers lend their support only to their favourites. They never put all their eggs in one basket; so, while backing its favourite, each supports some other parties too in order how best to dominate and plunder this country.

Reaction's devices to extricate itself from the present desperate situation—the bait of elections and the deployment of the army—will not only fail to achieve their purpose but will hasten its doom. Already the mad scramble for crumbs from the master's table is leading the different ruling class parties into an orgy of mutual slaughter though, in public, they are loud in decrying violence. The experience of the people on the eve of the mid-term poll will further disenchant them about the imagined virtues of parliamentarism, the fraud of which will lie completely exposed. The ruling classes are in a quandary—whether to hold the elections in West Bengal or to abandon them. *The Statesman* is advising the reactionary government to scrap them: it is afraid that these are becoming a "tragic farce". No, these elections shall turn out to be not a farce, a thing of laughter, but an unrelieved, dark tragedy for the ruling classes in more senses than one.

And the military rule which has virtually been imposed on West Bengal will complete the political isolation of the reactionary ruling classes and of all their political parties including revisionist ones. The people will not fail to see through the actual character—the

puppet nature—of the civil administration whether it is run by the bureaucracy under President's rule or by "popularly elected" ministers. And the intervention by the imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists will be more and more blatant as the people's revolutionary armed struggle advances. None of the imperialist powers will voluntarily withdraw from this country of 500 million people, this El Dorado for imperialist robbers. The presence in India at this time of U.S. army chief of staff, General Westmoreland, notorious for his war crimes in Viet Nam, Chester Bowles and Sherman Cooper, former U. S. ambassadors to India, is not without significance. Already the different imperialist powers have landed troops in East Pakistan under cover of providing relief to the cyclone-devastated areas.

The policy that the reactionary ruling classes are pursuing is bound to recoil on them. Neither the bait of elections nor the intensified joint offensive by the army and police will save them. Similarly, the relief they propose to dole out to the people in the form of sham land redistribution, rehabilitation of "sick" industries (how can they revive sick industries when the entire social, economic and political system has grown incurably sick?), slum clearance etc., etc., will be of little avail. The murderous attacks by large, mobile groups of armed gangsters, sometimes several hundred strong, organized by the CPI (M), the last reserve of the ruling classes, on revolutionary cadres and people and its brave assurances that it will put an end to the "Naxalites", if it is elected to ministerial offices, will not be particularly helpful. This clique of degenerate counter-revolutionaries, who ape the fascists, will soon be a nightmare of the past.

And the stage will be set on which "many a drama full of sound and colour, power and grandeur" will be presented by the People's Army and the revolutionary people led by the CPI (M-L). No doubt, the People's Army is now quite a small force; no doubt, there can be no comparison between it and the reactionary armed forces in respect of number and equipments. But it is already tempered in the fire of class war and armed with Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics of People's War; it represents the interests of

the people and so it is sure to march from strength to strength with the passing of days while the reactionary armed forces that serve the decaying classes of exploiters and oppressors will grow weaker and weaker until they are completely routed; the People's Army enjoys the love and support of the people; it is also armed with the invaluable support of Socialist China and other revolutionary peoples of the whole world; and it has a morale for which the morale of the reactionary mercenary forces is no match. And this morale strengthened by ever more abundant support from the people of this country as well as of other countries of the world will ensure its triumph over their hated oppressors and hasten the victory of the world revolution, which is being led by Chairman Mao. To quote the verses of a song which Chinese comrades sang during their War of Resistance Against Japan:

"March on, march on, march on!
Our column faces the sun,
Under our feet is the earth of our great motherland,
On our backs lies the hope of our nation."

(Feb. 22, 1971)

DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Meeting with one ignominious defeat after another, U. S. imperialism is running amuck in Indo-China. As its fond dream of reducing Indo-China into a neo-colony and bridgehead for aggression against Socialist China has been shattered by the valiant people of South Viet Nam, its attacks on the Indo-Chinese peoples are becoming more and more frenzied. Chairman Mao said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again.....till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law" Battered in Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists invaded Cambodia last year and fashioned a new noose round its neck. They had to taste time and again the bitterness of defeat at the hands of that small but heroic nation. Yet the imperialist maniacs refused to learn from experience. These most hated enemies

of mankind intensified their savage air raids on both North and South Viet Nam and on Laos. The London *Economist* wrote in its issue of February 6: "They [the Americans] are said to have been dropping 1,000 tons of bombs a day over Laos late last year, and the figure may have been even higher over the past week." In the beginning of February, the U.S. imperialists led South Vietnamese puppet troops into Laos, flagrantly violating all international agreements. The Chinese Government have declared that this aggression is "a grave menace to China" and that "the Chinese people absolutely will not remain indifferent to it." Already the brave Laotian people have foiled the imperialist plans and routed the invading marauders in various battles; and large new areas have been liberated. Everyday the world hears reports of the thrilling victories won on the battle field by the brave Laotian people.

But, neither the powerful blows rained upon it by the Indo-Chinese peoples nor the resistance of the world's peoples, including the people of the U.S.A., to their policy of war and aggression can turn the imperialist maniacs from the path of war; they seem bent on spreading the flames of war to wider and wider areas, even beyond the borders of Indo-China. So Nixon, the chief of the U. S. imperialist robbers, arrogantly said that there would be no restriction to savage U.S. air raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. And Saigon's puppet chief, Thieu, said the other day that invasion by land of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was "only a matter of time". The puppet has repeated the same threat. Driven to desperation, the U. S. imperialists are casting off all restraints and are about to take a plunge into another world war in order to escape from the fires of revolutionary struggles raging round it. But this mad gamble, if the U. S. imperialists resort to it, is sure to hasten their doom. 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 to-day". When revolutionary national liberation war and class war have become the main trend in the world of today, U. S. imperialism, the most ferocious of all imperialisms, is out to precipitate a third world war.

For some time the reactionary India Government has been making hectic war preparations in order to serve the U S imperialists' policy of aggression and war. The military budget for 1970-71 was more than 11,515 million rupees or 467 million rupees more than the figure for 1969-70. It did not include large sums which have actually been spent on arms expansion and war preparations but which were shown under other more harmless items. And by this time the expenditure has for exceeded the amounts included in the military budget or presented under seemingly innocent garbs. At the behests of the U S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists, the reactionary Indian government has stepped up its frantic preparations for war as part of their war plot against Socialist China. It has turned large stretches of territory, into a vast network of bases, built up big air bases, constructed highways, railways and fortifications in areas close to China and set up Mig and other factories for producing war materials.

But this criminal war-plot against China and against the world's people is meeting with increasing resistance in this country. India, which has served for a long time as a base for aggression, is changing: the advancing tide of revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian peasantry led by the CPI (M-L), despite all repressive measures causes panic among the imperialists and their Indian henchmen. Within the country, armed counter-revolution is confronted with armed revolution. Without putting an end to the civil war in the country, which the *Statesman*, an important mouth-piece of the Indian ruling classes, chose to describe as "incipient", the imperialists and domestic reactionaries can hardly plunge into a world war. That is why, to put an end to the civil war as well as to step up their political and military preparations for war against China and the world's people, the reactionary India Government has rushed 80,000 troops to West Bengal in the name of maintaining peace

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UNITE TO WIN STILL GREATER VICTORIES

(Following is the full text, as issued by Hsinhua, of the Communiqué of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.)

Communiqué of Second Plenary Session of Ninth Central Committee of Communist Party of China

September 6, 1970

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China opened on August 23, 1970 and concluded victoriously on September 6.

The Session was attended by 155 members and 100 alternate members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 255 in all.

Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, personally presided over the Session.

Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Biao spoke at the Session. The members and alternate members of the Central Committee attending the Session enthusiastically discussed the items on the agenda of the Session.

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee holds: Since the Party's Ninth National Congress and the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party, in response to the great call of our great leader Chairman Mao, "Unite

to Win Still Greater Victories', and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the country have carried out the tasks set forth by the Ninth Party Congress and achieved great successes. The mass movement of the people of the whole country for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought continues to develop in depth. New successes and experience have been constantly gained in the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The movement to strike at the counter-revolutionaries and to oppose corruption and theft, oppose speculation and oppose extravagance and waste is deepening. Mass revolutionary criticism is fiercely sweeping away the remnant pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi; it has enormously enhanced the consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on the part of the working class, the poor and the lower middle peasants and the masses of the people, inspired the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses of the working people and given a powerful impetus to revolution and production. Rich harvests have been gathered in our socialist agriculture for eight years running, and another one is in sight this year. Industrial production and capital construction are developing rapidly. The mass movement for technical innovations is vigorously forging ahead. The launching of China's first man-made earth satellite signifies that our science and technology have reached a new level. Throughout the country prices are stable and the market is thriving. The situation is very good on the entire economic front. In response to Chairman Mao's solemn call "Heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland", the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, the people's militia and the people of the whole country in order to guard against imperialist and social-imperialist aggression on our country, have further enhanced their preparedness against war ideologically, materially and organizationally. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our

country is more consolidated than ever. A new high tide is rising in the great socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Plenary Session holds: The solemn statement Chairman Mao Tsetung issued on May 20, 1970, "People of the world, unite and defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs", is a great programme for the Chinese people, together with the revolutionary people of the world, to carry on the struggle against imperialism. As Chairman Mao pointed out, "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". The development of the international situation in the past few months has testified to this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's. The people of the three countries of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia are continuously winning new victories in the war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation. The flames of the struggle of the people of Korea, Japan, the southeast Asian countries and other countries in Asia against U S imperialism and against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U. S. and Japanese reactionaries are raging. Fearing no threat and refusing to be deceived, the Palestinian and other Arab people continue to persist in heroic armed struggle. From Asia, Africa, Latin America to North America, Europe and Oceania the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries are vigorously surging ahead. The Albanian Party of Labour and other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the world have continuously achieved tremendous successes in the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and the reactionaries of various countries. Beset with troubles both at home and abroad U. S. imperialism and social-imperialism have become increasingly isolated and are besieged by the revolutionary people the world over. In contrast, China's foreign relations are daily developing. On the basis of adhering to the Five Principles, we strive for peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist

policies of aggression and war, and have continuously won new victories. We have friends all over the world.

The Plenary Session holds that in the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is the fervent desire of the people of the whole country to convene the Fourth National People's Congress. The Plenary Session proposes to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress that necessary preparations be made so that the Fourth National People's Congress will be convened at an appropriate time.

The Plenary Session approved the State Council's report on the National Planning Conference and the National Economic Plan for 1970.

The Plenary Session approved the report on strengthening the work for preparedness against war presented by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party.

The Plenary Session calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the country to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies and continue to fulfil the various fighting tasks set forth by the Ninth Party Congress.

It is imperative to continue to deepen the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought consciously to remould our world outlook, linking closely with practice in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The whole Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic works, uphold dialectical materialism and historical materialism and oppose idealism and metaphysics.

It is imperative to continue to **"Carry out tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously"**, deepen revolutionary criticism and eliminate the remnant pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line so as to carry to the end the revolution on the political and ideological front, the cultural and

educational front, the economic front and in all spheres of the superstructure. It is imperative to grasp firmly the movement for striking at the counter-revolutionaries and opposing corruption and theft, opposing speculation and opposing extravagance and waste and continue to deal powerful blows to the handful of counter-revolutionaries, who sabotage socialist revolution and construction and who vainly attempt to restore capitalism.

It is imperative to continue to implement the policy of **"Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war"** in an all-round way and, with the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines as the key, work arduously, rely on our own efforts, go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and strive to fulfil or overfulfil the National Economic Plan for 1970, continue to grasp firmly and strengthen the work for preparedness against war and further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are determined to liberate Taiwan.

It is imperative to fulfil the task of consolidating and building the Party conscientiously and to strengthen the building of the Party ideologically and organizationally. The Party organizations at all levels and all Communist Party members must have faith in the masses, rely on them and give further play to the leading role of the vanguard of the proletariat.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us : **"The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."** The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the people of the whole country. On the basis of the great victories won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and through the Ninth Party Congress, the whole Party has achieved unprecedented unity and unification. We must continue to strengthen this unity and unification. We must continue to strengthen this unity based on the principles of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Plenary Session calls on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals as well as all patriotic personages throughout the country to greet the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress with new victories!

The Plenary Session calls on the people of the whole country further to strengthen by deeds the militant unity with the people of Albania, the three countries of Indo-China, Korea and Japan, and the Palestinian and other Arab people, further to strengthen the militant unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and the oppressed nations of the world and carry the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries through to the end!

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, "Unite to win still greater victories!"

"We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."

—CHAIRMAN MAO

CHAIRMAN MAO'S CONCEPT OF PEOPLE'S WAR

—A Discussion

The militiamen and the poor and lower-middle peasants of Chiaojuanghu in Peking's Shunyi county held discussions on the eve of August 1, Chinese People's Liberation Army Day, on what they have gained from studying Chairman Mao's concept of People's War in relation to their experience. They pledged to carry forward the revolutionary tradition and advanced valiantly on the road of continuing the revolution.

During the Anti-Japanese War and the Liberation War, the people of Chiaojuanghu, under Communist Party leadership, took up arms and waged protracted heroic struggles against Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Chiaojuanghu was only 50 kilometres from Peking, then occupied by the Japanese aggressors. The village was encircled by enemy forts, the nearest being only one kilometre away. The enemy repeatedly attacked the village. The local people waged tunnel warfare. With such weapons as home-made shot guns and cannon, knives and spears, they repeatedly defeated the enemy, who had superior equipment, successfully defending their homes and effectively supporting the struggle of the main forces of the people's army.

Although encircled by the enemy, this village of less than 200 households won final victory by persevering in struggle for nearly ten years. This showed the matchless power of people's war. The village was cited as a red banner in carrying out the people's war. Many foreign friends and Chinese revolutionary people have visited the village and studied experience.

Following are excerpts of the speeches by militiamen and poor and lower-middle peasants of the village at their study and discussion meetings.

By Mobilizing and Relying on the Masses, any powerful enemy can be defeated

Ma Fu (leading member of the Party branch and the former village head who led the local people in digging the tunnel in war-time): Chairman Mao teaches: **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** Our struggle vividly proved this.

After having occupied China's northeast, the Japanese aggressors in 1937 waged an all-round war of aggression against China. The Kuomintang reactionaries betrayed the country for their own interests. They retreated without fighting, leaving large areas of north China to the Japanese aggressors. The Japanese aggressors combed the rural districts and carried out "mopping-up operations" and the policy of killing all, looting all and burning all, trying to trample down the Chinese people and throw them into abysmal misery.

Chairman Mao pointed out at the time: **"It is mainly because of the unorganized state of the Chinese masses that Japan dares to bully us."** The Party sent a work-team to help our village build the Party branch in 1939. The whole village was soon organized and the situation changed radically. We took up arms to fight the enemy, after which he no longer dared to come to harass us at will. Facts showed us that the only way was to organize the people to fight the enemy when he came. If you don't attack him, he will attack you; if you attack him, he will stand in fear of you. This village of ours within easy reach of the enemy was organized to wage a people's war. No matter how bitterly the Japanese aggressors and Kuomintang reactionaries hated us, they could not find any way to deal with us.

Hsiao Yung-shun (Deputy Secretary of the Party branch, veteran militiaman): We had many ways to handle the enemies. The young and the middle-aged people joined the militia, and women

and children were organized. We worked with one heart to fight the enemy. The women made uniforms and shoes for the soldiers and the children stood sentry to keep watch over enemy movements. With gun in one hand and hoe in the other, we fought to eliminate the enemy while taking part in production to support the war. We constantly attacked the enemy, harassing them and making them uncertain and panic-stricken. At the same time, we worked in co-ordination with the Eighth Route Army to wipe out effective enemy strength. We became a thorn in the enemy's side. They kept encircling us to wipe us out. But we used tunnel warfare, land-mine warfare and many other ingenious methods of fighting. Every person and every village could fight independently when necessary, thus smashing the enemy machinations. The strength of the people is matchless and their wisdom is inexhaustible. By relying on the masses we won victory. Today all the world's nations and people suffering invasion, oppression and enslavement by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, can defeat any strong enemy if only they are mobilized and united, take up arms and dare to rise in struggle and fight on dauntlessly.

With home-made weapons we defeated enemies with modern arms

Ho Hsin-man (Deputy Secretary of the Party branch and veteran militiaman) and Ma Wen-tsoo (former militia detachment leader): Chairman Mao teaches: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."** During the anti-Japanese war and the War of Liberation, the Japanese invaders and the Kuomintang reactionaries had modern guns and cannon and we had just home-made ones, but we were victorious and they were defeated. We fought the enemy in more than 150 battles, killed and wounded more than 130 enemy troops and captured over 40, and took over a number of guns and ammunition. We lost only two men, who died gloriously as martyrs for the revolution. We could use inferior armament to defeat the

enemy with superior arms because we rely on man's courage and fearlessness of death.

Hsiao Yung-shun : I cite two examples. The enemy besieged our village one time. Ma Wen-tung and I repulsed four enemy charges with home-made rifles, hand-grenades and mines. The enemy sent a large number of troops to fight. In order to wipe out more, we decided to withdraw into the tunnels. Ma Wen-tung covered us. He fought bravely until his bullets and hand-grenades were finished. The enemy rushed in to overwhelm him. He held the mine beside him and fought the enemy bitterly, finally he laid down his life for the people's revolutionary cause. Ma Wen-tung was a hero of our village who feared neither hardship nor death. He will live in our hearts for ever and encourage us to fight on heroically. Vice-Chairman Lin says : "What is the greatest fighting power ? It is people who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is courage, it is fearlessness in the face of death." This is irrefutable.

On another occasion a group of Japanese aggressor troops came to Tapeiwu to "comb the rural districts". Some 30 militiamen of our village led by the detachment leader Ma Wen-tsoo, together with militiamen of neighbouring villages, fought the enemy with shot-guns and sabres and routed them. They fled in panic. The shot-guns and sabres in our hands were far more powerful than the modern rifles and cannon of the foreign aggressors.

Weapons are of importance in war, but it depends on people to grasp and master the weapons. The factor decisive in winning a war is, in the final analysis, the factor of people. When we fought the Japanese aggressors and Kuomintang reactionaries, they could never settle the engagements by shelling from a long distance. They had to come into our village. When the enemy came into the village, we brought into full play our high political consciousness, courage and spirit of not fearing death, and charged the enemy. Our shot-guns, hand-grenades and sabres fully displayed their superiority and the cannon of the enemies became useless scrap metal.

In the conditions of greatly developed long-range nuclear weapons at present, the outcome of a war is still decided by people, not by one or two new types of weapons. The physical atom bomb is important but the spiritual atom bomb is more important. The U. S. imperialists and their accomplice think that they can frighten the revolutionary people with the atom bomb, and subject them to enslavement and plunder. That is impossible.

Strategy and tactics of People's War put enemy in such passive position that he is beaten everywhere

Ma Wen-tsoo : In the past, our Chiao-chuang-hu defeated the enemy because we applied the strategy and tactics of Chairman Mao's People's War. This is : "You fight in your way and we fight in ours ; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't."

At the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japanese aggression, the situation was that we were weak and the enemy was strong. In order to persist in struggle and defend ourselves so as to wipe out the enemy, the villagers, men and women, old and young, under the leadership of the Party, dug tunnels with a total length of 12 kilometres inside the village and around it. The tunnels were in a jig-saw pattern and connected every household. We could attack as well as defend ourselves ; we could advance from as well as retreat to the tunnels. We launched the well-known tunnel warfare and put the enemy in such a passive position that he was beaten everywhere. Just as Vice-Chairman Lin says : "When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance ; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out."

Late on the night of February 28, 1948, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the armed forces of the landlords in the nearby counties

sent a force 1,400 strong to encircle our village. At that time we had only a bit over 130 militiamen and more than 70 rifles, shot-guns, and some hand-grenades and mines. The enemy attacked us early the next morning. We made good use of pill-boxes, gun-slits and favourable terrain to resist and pin down the enemy, and fought until two o'clock in the afternoon; the enemy still could not get into the village. They used cannon to attack us. In order to put their cannon out of action, and bring our shot-guns, hand-grenades and mines into full play, we went into the tunnels and let the enemy come in. After the enemy entered the village, they were in the open and we were under cover. We fought in our way freely in the tunnels and sent the enemy reeling helter-skelter. The enemy casualties came to more than 50, among them an officer of the puppet troops. But only one of us fell. These so-called Kuomintang regular troops and the armed forces of the landlords, thoroughly wicked and armed with U. S. guns, pitting ten against one, thought they could level our village. But it was they who were defeated and had to flee.

We also launched mine warfare and created all kinds of flexible fighting methods, catching the enemy in a net that stretched from sky to earth of people's war and the enemy was beaten everywhere and could not move an inch further. The facts proved that no matter what kind of superior equipment the enemy had or what methods the enemy used he could not cope with our strategy and tactics.

That we could apply all the strategy and tactics is determined by the fundamental nature of people's war. We represent the interests of the people and the people support us, and so we can carry out the strategy and tactics of people's war and bring into play the superiority of people's war and drown the enemy in the ocean of people's war.

Use People's War to Defeat U. S. Imperialism and its Running Dogs

Ma Huai-chin (Political Instructor of the Militia Company in Chiaojuanghu): The situation is excellent at present. The

people of the world are bringing about a new high tide in their struggle against U. S. imperialism. The revolutionary struggle of various countries is developing vigorously. But we must always keep high revolutionary vigilance.

Imperialism means war. U.S. imperialism, not reconciled to its defeat, is putting its aggressive talons into Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and many other countries of the world. It is still forcibly occupying our territory Taiwan and carrying out ceaseless armed provocations against China. It supports and fosters the Sato reactionary government and has revived Japanese militarism as a hatchetman for its aggression. Social-imperialism is greedily peeping into China's territory. It has never slackened its preparations for a single day for attacking China. We must make all preparations to guard against imperialist and social-imperialist aggression and cope with any surprise attack.

Li Yung-kuei (Militia Company leader) and Ma Shu-hsiang (young militia woman): We Chiaojuanghu militia are determined to carry the revolutionary tradition forward and will fight with the people of the whole world to defeat U. S. imperialism and its running dogs. We are determined to arm ourselves with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the socialist revolution through to the end not only on the economic front but also on the political and ideological fronts and constantly consolidate our impregnable state of the proletariat. With rifle in one hand and hoe in the other, we will grasp revolution and promote production so as to support the revolutionary struggle of the world's people with our concrete action. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. If U. S. imperialism and its running dogs dare to launch a war of aggression against us, we will take up arms and cooperate with the Chinese People's Liberation Army in wiping out the aggressors thoroughly, wholly and completely.

Chairman Mao teaches: "People of the world, unite and defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running-dogs! People

of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed". In the past, our revolutionary forerunners launching people's war used home-made rifles and cannon, swords and spears to defeat the Japanese aggressors and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, the running dogs of U. S. imperialism. And now, the people of various countries who are subject to U. S. aggression and bullying will surely be able to defeat U. S. imperialism and its running dogs and win their freedom and emancipation provided they get organized, arm themselves and carry out people's war.

—Hsinhua News Bulletin

"The U. S. imperialists and all other such vermin have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial is not far off."

—CHAIRMAN MAO

CAMBODIAN PEOPLE'S WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST U. S. AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION IN FINE SHAPE

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, held a press conference on November 2 at the Great Hall of the People in Peking. Giving an account of the excellent situation in the Cambodian people's war of resistance against U. S. aggression and for national salvation, Samdech Sihanouk made public a report recently sent to him and Samdech Penn Nouth by Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim, leading members of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, from a liberated area in Cambodia. He also answered questions put by the newsmen.

Samdech Sihanouk showed the press correspondents representing China and other countries a sketch map indicating the current military situation in Cambodia. He said that two-thirds of Cambodia have already been liberated, a fact which has been confirmed by many Western correspondents. Quoting some of their reports, he pointed out that ever since last July, the enemy camp has admitted that the N. U. F. C. has already controlled four whole provinces and three-fourths of the other three provinces in the north and northeast of Cambodia. Since then, the National Liberation Armed Forces (N. L. A. F.) have completely liberated the province of Preah Vihear, and Lon Nol's "big offensive" aimed at driving the N. U. F. C. out of the province of Kompong Thom has failed lamentably. In Kompong Thom Province, only the city of Kompong Thom is still in the hands of the Lon Nolites. But the city is besieged on all sides by the N. L. A. F. The Lon Nolites suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the N. L. A. F. of the N. U. F. C. in a zone west of the Mekong which is of very great strategic importance: the zone of Kompong Thom-Preah Vihear.

The Cambodian Head of State pointed out that the armed forces of Thieu Ky and Lon Nol failed to "hold" the "Fishhook" area in Svay Rieng Province, once invaded and occupied by the Yankee forces. The "Fishhook" and the "Parrot's Beak" areas are today liberated by the N.U.F.C. It is thus apparent that the large-scale aggression launched by Nixon on May 1, 1970 against the N.U.F.C. to save Lon Nol came to naught. The "victory" boasted of by Nixon's propaganda machines is today officially belied by his military men and mercenaries themselves in Saigon!

Samdech Sihanouk said the N.U.F.C. today has encircled Phnom Penh almost completely and holds district towns which are within 10 miles of the capital. Most of the national highways leading from the capital to the provinces which are often cut have now come under the control of the Cambodian people's forces.

Western observers, Samdech Sihanouk said, maintained that the very rich region of Battambang was "out of reach" of the N.U.F.C. The fact is that the N.U.F.C., which liberated the mountainous region of Pailin at the very beginning of its armed resistance there, is now engaged in liberating the plains and in isolating the provincial capital, Battambangville.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk cited a host of facts to refute a despicable lie continuously spread by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in Phnom Penh and Saigon which denied the existence of the N.U.F.C. and the N.L.A.F.

We can shatter this monstrous cummny, he said, by bringing forward the testimonies provided by our enemies and the Western press and news agencies, without having to advance our own arguments.

At the press conference, Samdech Sihanouk made public a report he and Samdech Penn Nouth recently received from Khieu Samphan, Hou Yuon and Hu Nim, leading members of the Royal Government of National Union Under the Leadership of the N.U.F.C., in a liberated area in Cambodia.

Referring to the situation in the liberated areas, the report said: "The committees of the N.U.F.C. elected by the people have been

set up in all the regions under our control at the levels of *phum* (village), *khum* (town), *srok* (district) and *khet* (province).

"These committees have replaced the enemy administration at the same level. Their powers extend to all fields: economic, military, cultural, social etc. in accordance with the Political Programme of the N.U.F.C.

"To be more precise, our committees show particular concern to the solution of all the problems affecting the daily life of our compatriots, from the smallest village to the most important urban centre, thereby showing the will of our N.U.F.C. to govern the country with the people, by the people and for the people. In the military field, apart from the P.A.F.N.L. (People's Armed Forces of National Liberation) directly under the Ministry of National Defence, militias led by the Ministry of Interior have also been set up at the levels of village, town, district and province. These militias ensure order and security and their principal task is to protect the life and property of the population from being extorted and attacked by the enemy. Members of the militia are selected from among the population of the villages. They perform their tasks in the military field as well as in the economic and social fields. They participate in the common life of all the inhabitants, particularly in agricultural production."

In answering newsmen's questions, Samdech Sihanouk said that the people of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos are confronted with a common enemy—the U.S. aggressor, that their War against U. S. aggression and for national salvation is an inseparable one, and that all actions must proceed from the overall situation in the interest of the common cause of the people of the three countries. In line with the spirit of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, the people of the three countries of Indo-China will continue to unite as one and fight and win victory together, he said.

—Peking Review, No. 46, Nov. 13, 1970

On January 22, UPI reported from Phnom Penh: "Communist troops attacked Phnom Penh early today, almost completely destroying the Cambodian Air Force, damaging a Navy Base on the east side and shelling other sections of the city.

"Most of the capital's airport have been destroyed by rocket and mortar attacks by the Vietcong [meaning Cambodia's N. L. A. F.] who shelled incessantly from the roof of the airfield restaurant. --- A Communist sapper squad, backed by mortar and rocket teams, levelled an Army base and then hit the airport.

"Diplomatic sources said the Vietcong's [meaning N.L.A.F.'S] first-ever attack on Phnom Penh represented a conscious political decision in view of the fact that there are Soviet and East European Embassies still here.

"The spokesman said that 'very important' damage had been done to the airport, where most of the Cambodian Air Force's Mig-17 jets and T-28 propeller-driven fighter-bombers are based.

"Reliable sources said that Air Cambodia's only Caravelle jet liner had been badly damaged.

"With the attacks early today, Phnom Penh is literally an isolated city, with the Vietcong [meaning the N.L.A.F.] able to interdict shipping on the Mekong and with a section of Highway Four beyond the Pich Nil pass still in North Vietnamese hands. The airport, the only other feasible link with the outside world, is also out of action at the moment.

"About 1,600 canisters of napalm are understood to have caught fire resulting in a conflagration which engulfed the military section of the airport. Till late night, the blaze had not yet been put out.

"Two villages, housing dependents of Cambodian soldiers, were completely flattened, probably as a result of the ammunition dump explosion. Undoubtedly, many are dead here although it was not possible to approach the site." (Statesman, January 23, 1971).

The above report circulated by an imperialist news agency shows how true are Chairman Mao's words :

"The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

By engaging in people's war the brave people of Cambodia, which has a population of only 5 million and is industrially backward, have inflicted staggering defeats on the U. S. army of aggression and the mercenary army led by U. S imperialism's stooge, Lon Nol, and equipped by the U. S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. By their heroic deeds they are shattering every day the myth spread by the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen that the N. U. F. C. and the N. L. A. F. do not exist.

The above report also exposes the hideous nature of Soviet social-imperialism. The Soviet social-imperialists and their East European lackeys are not only lending political support to the Lonlites by maintaining diplomatic relations with the puppet regime but are also equipping them with Soviet bombers and fighters and other war materials to enable them to wage war against the Cambodian people, just as they have armed Suharto and Nasution to carry on war against the Indonesian people. These facts show once again that today the Soviet social-imperialists have become the chief accomplice of U. S. imperialism in its criminal plot to suppress the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Ed. - Liberation

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FLAMES OF REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE RAGING ALL OVER SOUTHEAST ASIA

Thanks to the leadership of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary political Parties and organizations, the people of the Southeast Asian countries waging revolutionary armed struggle have embarked on the revolutionary road of encircling the cities from the countryside and then capturing them. They direct the spearhead of their struggle against U. S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. Today, the revolutionary armed struggle of the people of Southeast Asia, which is developing daily in depth and breadth, constitutes an extremely important component part of the storm of the world revolution. Following is a description of the situation in armed struggle in the area since the beginning of this year.

—Ed. *Peking Review*

The flames of the people's revolutionary armed struggle are raging all over Southeast Asia in the first year of the great 1970s. The war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and the revolutionary armed struggle waged by the people of Burma, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, India, Indonesia and North Kalimantan have formed an irresistible torrent fiercely pounding the reactionary rule of U. S. imperialism and its running dogs. The excellent situation of the vigorous development of the revolutionary armed struggles of the people of various countries in Southeast Asia testifies to our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today."

Armed Struggle Develops Vigorously

The heroic south Vietnamese armed forces and people have persevered since the beginning of the 1960s in the war against U.S.

aggression and for national salvation for a whole decade. They have put out of action large numbers of U. S. aggressor troops, their puppet and accomplice troops and tied down several hundred thousand U. S. troops in south Viet Nam, thus making an important contribution to the struggle against U. S. imperialism by the people of the world. Having failed to win in Viet Nam and Laos, U. S. imperialism engineered a coup d'etat in Cambodia and sent troops to invade that country, hoping in vain that by doing so it could save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam and Laos. But this criminal act of U. S. imperialism aroused indignant resistance on the part of the three peoples of Indo-China who, fighting shoulder to shoulder, have brought about a very excellent situation. In South Viet Nam, U. S. imperialism's plot to "Vietnamize" the war has met with disastrous failure. In Laos, after they recaptured the strategic Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang area, the patriotic armed forces and people expanded the liberated zone in Lower Laos with the recapture of the important towns of Attopeu and Saravane. Fighting valiantly for the past six months, the patriotic Cambodian armed forces and people have liberated more than two-thirds of the country's territory, wiped out and disintegrated nearly 110,000 enemy troops, including 38,000 U.S. aggressor troops and Saigon puppet troops. The battlefields in the whole of Indo-China have now been linked up to become the graveyard of the U. S. aggressor troops and their lackey troops.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma, the people's revolutionary armed struggle in that country victoriously entered its 23rd year last March. This year, the people's armed forces under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma and the people's armed forces of various nationalities have intensified their extensive combat activities in different parts of the country. In the first half of this year, they engaged reactionary Burmese troops in well over 100 battles, annihilating whole platoons or whole companies of enemy troops in some engagements. Active not only in the Pegu, Irrawaddy, Arakan and Tenasserim areas where their armed struggle has been going on for some years, the people's

armed forces have also expanded the fighting to Upper Burma and the Shan States, winning splendid victories.

After five years of heroic and tenacious fighting, the Thai people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, have formed their People's Liberation Army and are waging armed struggle in vast areas of over 150 districts in more than half of the country's provinces. They have established base areas and people's political power in some places. The patriotic armed forces and people have fought nearly 3,000 battles with the enemy in the past five years and wiped out some 5,500 enemy troops. In the first six months of this year alone, they annihilated more than 600 enemy troops and shot down or damaged over 30 enemy planes.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Malaya, the Malayan people have persevered in revolutionary armed struggle for a long time. Revolutionary base areas and areas of armed struggle are now gradually expanding. The people's armed forces are now actively waging guerrilla warfare in the Perak, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and areas bordering Thailand. From February to June this year, the people's armed forces wiped out nearly 250 enemy troops and shot down or damaged three enemy aircraft.

Since it was rebuilt in December 1968, the Philippine Communist Party has actively led Philippine people in waging revolutionary struggle. Consequently, a new vigorous situation has emerged in the revolutionary armed struggle waged by the Philippine people. The Philippine New People's Army established in March last year has extensively developed guerrilla warfare in Central Luzon, spreading the flames of armed struggle to seven provinces there including Tarlac, Pampanga and Zambales. The people's armed forces are active in North Luzon, South Luzon, the Visayan Islands and Mindanao in the southern part of the country.

In India, which has a population of 500 million, the revolutionary people under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have, for the past three years, waged peasant armed struggle with agrarian revolution as its centre and have resisted barbarous suppression by the Indian reactionaries. This

year, cadres of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have gone deep into the vast rural areas where the struggle is sharpest to further mobilize and organize the peasant masses and carry out guerrilla warfare. With the active support and co-ordination of the poverty-stricken peasants, the peasant guerrillas have spread the revolutionary flames started in Naxalbari to the vast mountainous areas and plains in 12 of the country's 16 states. They punished despotic landlords, confiscated their property and weapons, burnt land title-deeds and attacked the reactionary troops and police sent to suppress them.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has since 1967 led the revolutionary Indonesian people in developing armed struggle against the reactionary rule of the fascist Suharto military clique. Since the beginning of the year the people's armed forces have persevered in struggle under extremely difficult conditions in West Kalimantan, Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and other main islands. They have organized guerrilla forces and self-defence guards in the rural areas to attack the enemy repeatedly.

In their armed struggle, the people of North Kalimantan founded the North Kalimantan People's Army on October 26, 1965 and established guerrilla bases in areas bordering Indonesia. In recent years, the people's armed forces have extended their fighting to the vast areas of Sarawak's First, Second and Third Divisions, and smashed many joint "encirclement and suppression" operations by the reactionary authorities of Indonesia and Malaya. The Western bourgeois press recently howled in alarm that the speed of the development of the Sarawak guerrilla forces is amazing and that they have tied down 5,000 reactionary troops and police there.

Advance in Countering Enemy "Encirclement and Suppression" Campaigns

Elucidating the problems of strategy in China's revolutionary war, Chairman Mao points out: "The special characteristic

of China's civil war consists in the long-term repetition of 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns and of our counter-campaigns together with the long-term alternation in the two forms of fighting, attack and defence." The people's revolutionary armed forces in Burma, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines and other countries have grown stronger and stronger and unceasingly annihilated enemy troops in the course of the people's armed forces' counter-campaigns versus the enemy 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns.

The people's armed forces of the Communist Party of Burma and those of the various minority nationalities of Burma have won many brilliant victories by successfully smashing again and again the large-scale military "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the reactionary troops and police. Relying on the masses of the people and using flexible strategy and tactics, they repulsed since last winter another 'encirclement and suppression' campaign in the Pegu mountain area launched by over 2,000 reactionary Burmese troops, wiping out more than 200 enemy troops.

Fighting valiantly, the people's armed forces in different parts of Thailand have smashed a number of large-scale military "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the troops and police of the U. S.-Thai reactionaries in the first half of this year. The people's armed forces in Northern Thailand defeated the enemy's wanton attacks in Nan, Phetchabun, Phitsanulok, Tak and other provinces. They also initiated attacks on the enemy, wiping out nearly 400 reactionary troops and police, shooting down or damaging nearly 20 enemy aircraft, destroying 15 military vehicles and demolishing a number of enemy posts. They have thus further consolidated their bases and expanded the guerrilla areas and opened new areas of operation in Kamphaeng Phet Province. The people's armed forces fighting in Northeastern, Central and Southern Thailand have also scored remarkable successes in their frequent attacks on the enemy.

The Malayan National Liberation Army has since the beginning of this year successively smashed the joint "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the Rahman-Razak puppet clique and the Thanom puppet clique of Thailand. Courageous and skilful in fighting, the Malayan National Liberation Army extensively employed land-mine warfare tactics, inflicting heavy casualties on enemy troops and put them to flight. During the period from mid-April to early June, the National Liberation Army in Perak State and in the Thailand-Malaya border area wiped out over 100 enemy troops and shot down an enemy fighter plane.

The New People's Army of the Philippines won a signal victory in countering the enemy "mopping-up" campaigns this year. Beginning last May, the reactionary Philippine authorities mustered several thousand reactionary troops and police and, in co-ordination with the reactionary armed bands of the landlords, repeatedly attacked the people's armed forces. However, the enemy either failed to locate the people's armed forces or was badly battered by them. Since early July, the New People's Army has begun counter-attacking, killing more than 40 men of the reactionary troops and police and the reactionary local armed forces, and wounding 10 others. The New People's Army has fought many successful battles since then.

Unity and Mutual Support in Fighting

Chairman Mao teaches us : "The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other." The people of the three countries of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, bringing into full play their courageous and dauntless spirit in fighting, are striking back at U. S. imperialism, the most ferocious imperialism in the world. This is a tremendous encouragement and support to the revolutionary struggle of the people of other countries in Southeast Asia who, strengthening their own struggle, have in turn given support and co-ordinated with the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Indo-China.

Responding to the call of the Communist Party of Thailand to unite still more closely with the Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese people, persevere in struggle and deal hammer blows at the U.S.-Thanom clique," the Thai people's armed forces have been actively carrying out armed struggle in provinces bordering Laos and Cambodia. They have sabotaged the enemy's military transport lines, attacked the enemy's highway police, burnt down bridges on the enemy's strategic highways leading to Cambodia and compelled the enemy to suspend the construction of more strategic highways.

In the Thailand-Malaya border area, the people's armed forces of the two countries, fighting in close co-ordination, have courageously counter-attacked the military "encirclement and suppression" by the reactionary authorities of Thailand and Malaya and dealt the enemy heavy blows. They have thus supported the war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of the three countries in Indo-China.

Encouraged and inspired by the victorious development of the three Indo-Chinese peoples' war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the people's armed forces of Burma have become ever more active in recent months. They have intensified combat activities in Lower Burma and other areas. They fought 50 to 60 battles with the enemy last May and in the first two weeks of June. On May 3, two hundred fighters of the people's armed forces stormed a town police station in the Bassein District of the Irrawaddy Division, capturing 20 rifles and large quantities of other material from the reactionary government.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "U. S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger now in the throes of its death-bed struggle." For more than two decades, the huge monster U.S. imperialism time and again has been beaten into a pulp by the people of the Asian countries with their iron fists and its true paper-tiger features have been revealed. In the early days of the 1950s, U. S. imperialism, swaggering like a conquering hero at the time, unleashed a war of aggression against Korea, but was completely defeated. In the 1960s, it was

severely battered in its war of aggression against Viet Nam ; it was confronted with aggravating crises both at home and abroad, and became more isolated than ever. Now, in the first year of the great 1970s, a new upsurge in the struggle against U. S. imperialism is emerging throughout the world. It can be said with certainty that in such an excellent situation U. S. imperialism will surely meet with more disastrous defeats whether it carries out military adventures on its own or makes its lackey Japanese militarism fight at the forefront in its scheme to "use Asians to fight Asians." The people of various countries in Asia will surely win still more splendid victories in their struggle to send U. S. imperialism and its running dogs to their graves.

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ABOUT IMPERIALISM'S LACKEY CALLED DESHBANDHU AND AN IMPORTANT PHASE OF INDIAN HISTORY

—PARTHA CHOUDHURI

The birth-centenary of Chittaranjan Das, one of the foremost Congress leaders and founder of the Swaraj Party, was observed on November 6 with a great fanfare. As part of this observance, the reactionary Indian government declared November 6 a holiday throughout India, installed larger-than-life size statues of this man in Calcutta and other places and tried in every way possible—through the press, the radio, the cinema and public meetings—to project his image as a great patriot and leader of India's struggle for freedom. All these years reactionaries and revisionists have adored him as "*Deshbandhu*" ("friend of the country").

Was this man a friend of the country and people or a friend of the enemy? Was he a leader of the old-type bourgeois democratic revolution, a representative of the progressive bourgeoisie as Rajani Palme Dutt calls him in his book "*India Today*", or a faithful lackey of British imperialism?

The *Programme* of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) states: "The Indian bourgeoisie, comprador in nature, intervened to divert the national liberation struggle from the path of revolution to the path of compromise and surrender. Beginning from the Champaran peasant struggle, the Gandhian leadership representing the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie and the feudal class, with its ideology of *ahimsa*, *satyagraha*, passive resistance and *charkha*, sought to tailor the national movement to serve the interests of the British imperialist rule and its feudal lackeys."

The Indian National Congress, which owes its birth in 1885 to the initiative of a British administrator, A. O. Hume, has been neither Indian in its outlook nor national in its aspirations at

any time during its long life. Hume retired from government service in 1882 in order to take up the work of building the Congress for he did not, to use his own words, "entertain a shadow of doubt that *we were then truly in extreme danger of a most terrible revolution.*" In his book "*Allan Octavian Hume, Father of the Indian National Congress*", William Wedderburn wrote quoting from a memorandum prepared by Hume: "The evidence convinced me at the time—about fifteen months I think before Lord Lytton left—that we were in imminent danger of a terrible outbreak. I was shown seven large volumes (corresponding to a certain mode of dividing the country, excluding Burma, Assam and some minor tracts) containing a vast number of entries; English abstracts or translations—longer or shorter—of vernacular reports or communications of one kind or another, all arranged according to districts, sub-districts, sub-divisions, and the cities, towns and 'villages included in these.'... Many of the entries reported conversations between men of the lowest classes, 'all going to show that these poor men were pervaded with a sense of the hopelessness of the existing state of affairs, that they were convinced that they would starve and die, and that they wanted to do *something*. They were going to do something, and stand by each other, *and that something* meant violence.'" (Pp. 80-81) The British administrator was convinced that the people's mood of revolt, which had already found expression in the Deccan peasant risings and other struggles, would soon grow into a national revolt that would receive the support of a section of the educated people and would prove to be the most serious threat after 1857 to the British rule. So, Hume discussed the situation with Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India, and the product of this imperialist conspiracy to forestall the impending revolution was the Indian National Congress.

In his book "*Introduction to Indian Politics*", W. C. Bonnerjee, first president of the Congress, wrote: "It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in

reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, when that nobleman was the Governor-General of India.... Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter, and after considering it [Hume's project of bringing together Indian politicians to discuss social matters] for some time he sent for Mr Hume and told him that in his opinion Mr Hume's project would not be of much use.... It would be very desirable in their interests as well as the interests of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved..... Mr Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr Hume that his name should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country."

"The years just before the Congress", wrote Andrews and Mookherjee in their book "Rise and Growth of the Congress in India", "were among the most dangerous since 1857. It was Hume, among English officials, who saw the impending disaster and tried to prevent it..... The time was fully ripe for this All-India movement. *In place of an agrarian revolt, which would have had the sympathy and support of the educated classes, it gave the rising classes a national platform from which to create a New India. It was all to the good in the long run that a revolutionary situation based on violence was not allowed to be created once again.*" (Pp. 128-9) [Our emphasis].

It was the spectre of 1857 that was haunting the British rulers and it was out of fear of that spectre that they fathered this bastard child and named it Indian National Congress. It was designed to ward off the threat of "a revolutionary situation based on violence" that could overthrow the imperialist rule : it was designed to be an effective weapon for sabotaging an agrarian revolution. And whether under the leadership of Gokhale, Tilak, Gandhi, Das, the "Netaji"

or the Nehrus, the Congress has always played the role for which it was brought on to the Indian political stage by its British masters. Its role was not to organize and lead an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution but to sabotage any such revolution that might threaten the rule of imperialism and its main prop-
feudalism.

In the following lines we shall confine ourselves mainly to a discussion of the role played by "Deshbandhu" Das in an important phase of Indian history and appraisal of this role by revisionists like Rajani Palme Dutt.

In 1905, the British imperialists divided Bengal into two parts, linking East Bengal with Assam, and West Bengal with Bihar and Orissa. In 1905-6, an agitation, known as the *Swadeshi* movement, was launched to annul this partition. The movement aimed not at overthrowing the British rule but at reuniting the two Bengals into one province under the British rule. Boycott of British goods was one of the weapons used to put pressure on the British government. It was at this time—on October 16, 1905—that Das said at a public meeting : "Let us not waste any more time on fruitless debates. We have got to sustain this *Swadeshi* movement by every means possible. All our hopes are placed on it. There are many humorists in our country who ask : What do you propose to do ? Do you intend to overthrow the rule of the Company [i. e. the East India Company, which is here synonymous with the British government] ?" It is very easy to answer this question. We want nothing but to make men of ourselves. Our relationship with the British is only the relationship between the king and his subjects. There is a wide field of activity which lies outside the sphere of the British laws, outside the sphere of our relationship with the British. It is there that we shall raise the banner of the victory of our mother [Bengal]. It is there that we shall wipe out our shame as Bengalees. It is there that we shall make men of ourselves." ("About the *Swadeshi* Movement"—speech reproduced in Rabindranath Tagore's journal "Bhandar" and reprinted in *Desh*, November 14, 1970—our translation.)

Here, the leader of India's so-called freedom struggle does not even think of disturbing the British laws or the relationship that existed between the British king and the Indian subjects. This relationship is rather sacrosanct in his eyes: to him, the laws the British imperialists framed to hold our country in subjection are inviolable. It is not difficult to understand that all talk of raising the banner of victory of our mother-land without breaking the fetters of British imperialist rule was meant to hide the ugly treachery of the men like Das and Rabindranath, the men who indulged in such glib talks.

The imperialist war of 1914-18 intensified the exploitation and oppression of the people by the British imperialists and let loose severe repression on the people. There was an upsurge of revolutionary movement and the revolutionaries, chiefly of Punjab and Bengal, dreamed of making the country free by bringing in arms from the outside. Mutinies in the army were suppressed with all ruthlessness. The Rowlatt Committee was appointed in 1917 by the British imperialists to enquire into "the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movements in India" and to propose new repressive legislations.

During all these war years the Congress leaders pledged the fullest loyalty to the British imperialists and gave all support to British war efforts. Gandhi himself, 'the apostle of non-violence', worked as a recruiting-sergeant furnishing Indian cannon-fodder for the imperialist war. And he was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal by the British imperialists for his service in defending the British empire just as he had been previously awarded the Boer War Medal for rendering service to the British imperialists in their war against the Boers in South Africa. One may recall that it was at the end of 1915 that the British imperialists thought it fit to confer knighthood on Rabindranath Tagore—at the very time when they were shooting to death revolutionaries like Jatin Mukherjee. The Congress session held in Calcutta at the end of 1917 adopted a resolution "that the Congress, speaking on behalf of

the united people of India, begs respectfully to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor their deep loyalty and profound attachment to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the British Empire at all hazards and at all costs." It was from this year, 1917, that Chittaranjan Das began to play a leading role in the affairs of the Congress.

The end of the war saw the Indian people restive. The British imperialists replied with a two-pronged offensive against the people. First, there was even more ruthless repression. When the war-time repressive laws lapsed, they passed the Rowlatt Act to arm themselves with the powers to arrest and imprison people without trial for an indefinite period. Ruthless repression was the answer of the British imperialists to the growing struggles of the people. At the same time, they tried to associate a handful of stooges with their administration and so offered the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, which afterwards became the Government of India Act, 1919. These "reforms" proposed elections to a Central Legislative Assembly and provincial Legislative councils, which would be partly nominated by the rulers and partly elected on the basis of a very limited franchise. Even then the Government of India would in no way be responsible to the Legislative Assembly, and the provincial governments would be a kind of 'dyarchy', i.e., some harmless ministerial positions were offered to the stooges who would enjoy the support of the majority in the legislative councils. The "reforms" aimed in no way at restricting the powers of the British imperialists who would maintain their rule unfettered through the Governor-General and the provincial governors appointed by them.

So, when the wrath of the Indian people against the oppressive British rule was mounting, the British imperialists dangled both the carrot and the stick—the carrot of some official favour for the kind of politicians who thrived under the colonial rule and the stick for the sullen, rebellious people.

While one section of the Congress, known as the "moderates", was quite outspoken in welcoming the "reforms", the "extremist" section, though not unwilling to work out the imperialist plan, asked for some modifications in it *within the framework of the British colonial administration*. So, meeting at a special session in Bombay in August, 1918, the Congress (now deserted by the "moderates") adopted a resolution that "*appreciated the earnest attempt on the part of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to inaugurate a system of Responsible Government*, and while it recognized that some of the proposals constituted an advance in some directions, it was of opinion that the proposals were disappointing and unsatisfactory and went on to suggest modifications which were considered absolutely necessary to constitute a substantial step towards Responsible Government [that is, Government run by the lackeys responsible to the imperialists]". (B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, "The History of the Indian National Congress, (1885-1935)", p. 264).

They were not the demands of the leaders of a proud, rebellious people fighting for the overthrow of the oppressive colonial rule but the cringing prayer of the representatives of the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class who thus sought to divert the struggle of the people along the path of surrender to their masters and benefactors. Theirs was a fight not to smash the imperialist chains but to make those chains stronger by serving British imperialism better and in more capacities.

The annual session of the Congress meeting at Delhi in December, 1918, "conveyed its loyalty to the King and congratulations on 'the successful termination of the war' which was waged for the liberty and freedom of all the peoples of the world (sic!). Another resolution recorded the appreciation of the Congress of the gallantry of the allied forces and 'particularly of the heroic achievement of the Indian troops in the cause of freedom, justice and self-determination' (sic!)." (Ibid, p. 267). To the Congress, the cause of the British empire was "the cause of freedom, justice and self-determination."

Who were the Indian troops warring heroically for "the cause of freedom, justice and self-determination"? They were the soldiers in an army raised by a colonial power by the vilest methods. In the book "Mahatma Gandhi", H. N. Brailsford had to admit, "Though recruiting for the army had been in theory voluntary, in fact severe means of pressure had been used. The same thing was true of the immense sums subscribed to the war loans. The resentment was especially strong in the Punjab" (p. 126). A description of Gandhi's experience as a recruiting-sergeant on behalf of the British colonial power may be interesting. Let us quote H. N. Brailsford, Gandhi's British admirer: "...He chose to do his recruiting in Khaira [in Gujrat, where he had led a campaign among the peasantry for reduction of land revenue], where his influence stood high. He soon received a rude shock. The peasants were far from feeling good will towards the Empire. In his campaign against the land revenue the people offered him their carts free of charge, and when he asked for one volunteer he got two. Now he could not even hire a cart. He had to trudge on foot from one inhospitable village to another, carrying his food in his satchel. By perseverance he managed in the end to register a very few recruits. --- 'Among the many misdeeds', he wrote [in a leaflet appealing to the people to join the British colonial army], 'of the British rule in India, history will look upon the Act depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest. If we want the Arms Act to be repealed, if we want to learn the use of arms, here is a golden opportunity.'" ("Mahatma Gandhi", pp. 124-5) In deceiving the people into serving as cannon-fodder in defence of the British empire, this 'apostle of truth and non-violence'—a born lackey of British imperialism—did not find his call to arms inconsistent with his creed of non-violence!

Another resolution adopted at this session of the Congress throws light on its class character. "The Report of the Industrial Commission," wrote Pattabhi Sitaramayya, "of which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had been a member, also came in for consideration and the Congress passed a resolution welcoming its recommendations and the policy that the Government must play an active part in promoting the industrial development of the country, and hoping

"But before the *Hartal* Gandhi had made one stipulation. He wanted every satyagrahi to sign a pledge of non-violence & to agree to defy such laws as might be suggested by the Satyagraha C'hes & to suffer gladly any punishment such action might entail (see below) that encouragement would be given to Indian Capital and enterprise, and protection against foreign exploitation. — The Congress supported the recommendation of the Committee that industries should have separate representation in the Executive Council of the Government of India and that there should be Provincial Departments of Industries. The Congress also suggested the constitution of Imperial and Provincial Advisory Boards consisting of Indians elected by Indian industrial and trade associations and Chambers of Commerce. It further was of opinion that proposed Imperial Industrial and Chemical Services should be constituted with adequate salaries and that Universities should establish Commercial Colleges with help from Government. The Congress regretted the absence in the Report of recommendations for adequate organization for financing industries, and urged the starting of industrial banks" (pp. 268-9) Whose voice was this—the voice of the fighters for national freedom and independence or the voice of the comprador bourgeoisie relying for its growth and development on the very British imperialists who had been enslaving and fleecing the country? It is this that explains the Congress policy, Gandhi's policy—open advocacy of violence in defence of the interests of the British imperialists and insistence on the people's scrupulous adherence to the 'creed of non-violence' in their fight against their aggressors.

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When the Congress representing the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class was servile enough, the British imperialists enacted the Rowlatt Act in March 1919 to suppress every sign of resistance by the people. To hoodwink the people, Gandhi, who was cunning enough to sense the mood of the people, decided to start *satyagraha* (or passive resistance) as a mark of protest against the Black Act. March 30, 1919, was fixed as "a day of *hartal*, a day of fasting and prayer and penance and meetings all over." Afterwards the date was changed to April 6. Perhaps Gandhi had calculated that all the pent-up feelings of wrath and hatred of the people for all that they had suffered at the hands of their oppressors and exploiters would thus find a safe, non-violent

The C'hes had so far not specified the laws to be defied." (R. Prasad, *Autobiography*, Bombay, 1957, 107-8).

outlet in "fasting and prayer and penance and meetings"—and not in revolutionary deeds, which he dreaded most. But, to his dismay, the oppressed people were in a mood of revolt; they were not in a mood to fast and pray and do penance for the crimes of the British imperialists. *Hartal* was observed throughout India, militant demonstrations were held and clashes with the minions of the law took place in various places. At Delhi a procession was fired on and eight persons were killed. In March, even before the *hartal*, the police had fired on the people both at Amritsar and Lahore. "Riots," wrote Brailsford, "were taking the unusual form of attacks on isolated Europeans" ("Mahatma Gandhi", p. 128). Gandhi tried to rush to Amritsar 'to restore peace'. But he was stopped by the police and escorted back to Bombay. At Ahmedabad, some English and Indian officers met their doom at the hands of the people. Viramgram and Nadiad were also scenes of revolt. In Calcutta, the militant people were fired upon and six persons were killed and many wounded. At Amritsar, a procession which went on April 10 to demand the release of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, two Congress leaders, was fired on by the police. Carrying the dead with them, the militant people attacked two banks and the railway station, and avenged the murder of their compatriots by annihilating five Europeans. Describing this heroic revolt of the unarmed people, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the writer of the official history of the Congress, says: "*The behaviour of the masses was not less reprehensible at Gujranwala and Kasur.*" (Ibid, p. 277—our emphasis). At Kasur, on April 12, the people "did considerable damage to the railway station, burnt a small oil shed, damaged signal and telegraph wires, attacked a train in which were some Europeans and beat two soldiers to death, a branch post-office was looted, the main post-office burnt, the Munsiff's Court set on fire, and other damage done." At Gujranwala, on April 14, the people "surrounded and stoned a train, burnt a small railway bridge and fired another railway bridge. — The telegraph-office, post-office and railway station were subsequently set on fire, as well as the Dak Bungalow, Kutcheri (Collector's office), a church, a school,

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and a railway shed." (Ibid, p. 277) Trains were stoned, telegraph wires were cut and railway stations were set fire to in various other places.

To cow the people into submission, the British imperialists did not hesitate to commit the most atrocious crimes. On April 13, a British General ordered his troops to fire till all their ammunition was exhausted on a meeting of unarmed men in an enclosed park called Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar, killing, according to official estimates, 397 persons and wounding more than 1200. After this massacre, martial law was proclaimed throughout the Punjab. There were shootings and hangings: aircraft were used, both to bomb villages and to fire on groups of peasants. Most savage and humiliating punishments were inflicted on the people, even on those who were loyal to the British rulers. A reign of terror was the British imperialists' response to the seething discontent of the people. In "India 1926" Sir Valentine Chirol wrote. "The movement assumed the undeniable character of an organized revolt against the British raj."

How did Gandhi and the Congress react to this spontaneous revolt and the brutal repression perpetrated by the British imperialists? Gandhi and the Congress were scared out of their wits by this heroic revolt: he condemned it in no uncertain terms and called off the passive resistance movement in the middle of April, that is, within a week of the hartal. He declared that he had committed "a blunder of Himalayan dimensions which had enabled ill-disposed persons, not true passive resisters at all, to perpetrate disorders" (our emphasis). In a statement issued to the press on July 21, Gandhi said that after writing a 'respectful letter to H. E. the Viceroy', he had been satisfied with "indications of good will" on the part of the Government and had accepted the Government's advice not to resume 'civil resistance'. "A civil resister", he declared, "never seeks to embarrass the Government." (See ibid, p. 174)

Though Gandhi and the Congress did not propose to embarrass the Government, the situation in India in the later half of 1919 was, in the words of Pattabhi Sitaramayya 'not merely gloomy

Withdrawal of Satyagraha campaign:

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"At Amritsar, in Jallianwala Bagh, General Dyer had opened fire on a meeting of unarmed persons killing a large number of them. Gandhiji was agitated & in the train took the decision to suspend the satyagraha. . . . He drafted a statement saying that because of the unpreparedness of the people to stick to non-violence, he was compelled to postpone

The campaign. The statement was released to the press when it arrived in Bombay. (Prasad, Autobiography p. 109) ^ Prasad went back to Patna to take up his legal practice which brought him a handsome income." (109)

but portentous." A "Manifesto on the Situation in India unani- mously adopted by the Delegates from the Indian National Congress (to England) and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in the autumn of 1919" warned the British rulers: "It is time that the British public had a clear vision regarding India, where, through the folly of the Government a cloud bigger than a man's hand has already gathered, threatening to break into a storm, the dimensions of which no one can foresee." It is the approaching storm of revolution that filled with fright the hearts of the Congress lackeys.

So, meeting at Amritsar at the end of 1919, the Congress, after duly criticizing the "Reforms" Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" (Gandhi moved an amendment for deleting the word "disappointing") and after urging the British Parliament to "take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India", advised the people to work the "Reforms" pending such introduction. The Congress also offered "its thanks to the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the Reforms." The Congress denounced in no uncertain terms the violence employed by the people to combat the violence unleashed by the alien rulers. A resolution adopted by the Congress, "while fully recognizing the grave provocation that led to a sudden outburst of mob frenzy, expressed the deep regret of the Congress at, and its condemnation of, the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujrat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to person and property during the month of April last." And quite befittingly for these flunkies of imperialism—Gandhi, Das and men of their ilk—a resolution was passed by the Congress offering welcome to the Prince of Wales. (See ibid, p. 181)

In his weekly paper *Young India* of December 31, 1919, Gandhi wrote: "The reform^s Act coupled with the proclamation [by the British king announcing the assent to the Government of India Act, 1919] is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India (sic) and it ought to remove suspicion on that score.....Our duty therefore is not to subject the m^t

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(The Reforms)

2nd anti-imperialist struggle of the people - Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs - (See Prasad, Autobiography p. 110)

and proclaimed his readiness to assist in every possible way to restore normal conditions (See Pattabhi, ibid, p. 171)

Prasad, ibid, p. 177

(See ibid, p. 179-80)

(ibid, p. 180)

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 * (Cited in Subhas Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*,
 New York 1964 (Natoji Research Bureau edn),
 p. 37)
 Reforms to carping criticism, but to settle down quietly to work so
 thorough/as to make them a success... (CCWMS, vol. 16,
 H. 360-61)

Though Gandhi, Das and others, were convinced of the earnestness of the British imperialists "to do justice to India" and decided to settle down quietly to work out the imperialist plan, the people decided otherwise: they made things very unquiet for imperialism's stooges. Throughout 1920 and 1921 the people were on the march. The peasants, workers, youths and students could no longer endure the chains of slavery which imperialism's lackeys like Gandhi and Das wore as ornaments: they passionately wanted a change and were ready to fight, and even die, for it. So long as brutal exploitation and oppression stalked the land, so long as the two mountains of imperialism and feudalism shut out the sunlight from their lives, there was no peace, no quiet, in their tortured lives. So, despite all the efforts of imperialism's flunkeys to pacify the people, mass unrest swept the land in 1920 and 1921. Presiding over the Calcutta special session of the Congress in September, 1920, Lajpat Rai said: "It is no use blinking the fact that we are passing through a revolutionary period... We are by instinct and tradition averse to revolutions."

So, in the face of this revolutionary situation, the problem before Gandhi and the entire clique of counter-revolutionary stooges was how to assume the leadership of the growing mass upsurge in order to betray it. To worm their way into the camp of the people, these little but shrewd men, averse to revolutions, felt obliged to change their tactics. So they changed the earlier decision to "settle down quietly to work" and co-operate with the British imperialists in implementing the "Reforms". In the special session of the Congress, Gandhi put forward his policy of "progressive non-violent non-co-operation". To hoodwink the people a sham fight was to be launched. What did "non-co-operation" actually mean? According to Gandhi, it would begin with the renunciation of titles bestowed by the British government on their proved henchmen in this country and with the triple boycott—boycott of legislatures, law-courts and educational institutions—and would end

in non-payment of taxes at a future date to be determined by Gandhi himself after various possible and impossible conditions had been fulfilled. Even then, Gandhi insisted, non-co-operation must be non-violent both in word and in deed and must be gradual. In actual practice the boycott of violence by Congressmen, as intended by Gandhi, proved to be the only effective boycott.

Even this policy of "progressive non-violent non-co-operation"—a manoeuvre cunningly devised by one section of the flunkeys of imperialism to save it from the wrath of the people—was opposed by another section led by Das. Das wanted to enter the Legislative Councils set up under the Government of India Act on the plea of "non-co-operating" with the British government there. At the Calcutta special session in September as well as at the annual session at Nagpur in December, 1920, Gandhi won, and the policy of "progressive non-violent non-co-operation" was adopted by the Congress.

What did this movement aim at achieving?

The aims were: the redress of the wrongs done to the caliph of Turkey by the British Government after the First World War, the redress of the wrongs done to the Punjab and the achievement of *swaraj*.

What did *swaraj* mean? Did it mean national independence, freedom from British rule? Though this word was kept conveniently vague, it never meant national independence. Gandhi defined 'swaraj' as "Self-Government within the Empire, if possible—and outside, if necessary." When, at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress in 1921, Hasrat Mohani proposed to define *swaraj* as "complete independence, free from all foreign control", Gandhi immediately lashed out at him: "The levity with which the proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows lack of responsibility... Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know, and this proposition of Mr Hasrat Mohani leads you into depths unfathomable." In his "Autobiography", Jawaharlal Nehru wrote:

(See Subhas Ch. Bose, op. cit., p. 45)

"But it"

(See Pt. Habibi, p. 228)

② the British king said:

was obvious that to most of our leaders Swaraj meant something much less than independence. Gandhiji was delightfully vague on the subject, and he did not encourage clear thinking about it either." Interestingly, ^{in his marriage} the British king said on the occasion of the inauguration of the Government of India Act, ¹⁹¹⁹: "For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland; today you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire.---" ^{x x} Swaraj as dreamed of by 'patriotic and loyal Indians' of the Congress hue was, in reality, British colonial administration manned by Indian flunkies and pledged to perpetuate the rule and exploitation by the British imperialists, Indian princes, landlords and comprador bourgeoisie.

This is about the aims and forms of the struggle. And the forms of struggle permitted only the petty-bourgeoisie, chiefly its pro-imperialist upper stratum to take part in it. And the people were advised to concentrate on hand-spinning and hand-weaving in order to achieve *swaraj* by the end of 1921.

Though the non-co-operation movement, depicted by reactionaries and revisionists as a great national liberation struggle, was launched, Gandhi saw Lord Reading soon after his arrival in India in April, 1921, as Viceroy and Governor-General. To quote Subhas Bose, "At this interview, Lord Reading gave an assurance to the Mahatma that he would not interfere with the work of the Congress as long as there was no resort to violence. He further stated that in a speech of his, Moulana Mohammad Ali, the right-hand man of the Mahatma, had made an appeal for resorting to violence and that the Government were thinking of prosecuting him. The Mahatma promised to see to it that the Moulana gave a public assurance that he would eschew violence in every way and this promise was duly carried out." ("The Indian Struggle, 1920-34", p. 57)

But the people were becoming more and more restive and in many places, refused to spin and weave their way non-violently to *swaraj* despite all the admonitions of Gandhi and his followers to maintain perfect non-violence in the face of the organized brutal

violence practised by the rulers. When arrests and shootings by the police were the order of the day, there was a demand from various places for permission to start civil disobedience. Gandhi's British admirer, Brailsford, writes: "Meanwhile, the tide of excitement was rising among the masses. There had been many strikes in the industrial towns during the previous year, and now the wave reached the remote tea gardens of Assam, whose workers were at this time among the most wretched in India. Gandhi discouraged these movements; it was on disciplined action that he relied; he dreaded an uncontrollable ferment.--- ... Gandhi, meanwhile, refused to give the signal for mass civil disobedience which the people were eagerly awaiting, and tried, as the fever of expectation rose, to divert it into constructive channels." ("Mahatma Gandhi", p. 146) At last, on November 5, 1921, the Congress authorized every province on its own responsibility to undertake civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, in the manner considered most suitable by the respective provincial Congress committees, if certain possible and impossible conditions were fulfilled.

What would be the nature of this civil disobedience? Gandhi wrote in *Young India*: "Indians dare not pin their faith solely to civil disobedience. It is like the use of a knife, to be used most sparingly, if at all. A man who cuts away without ceasing cuts at the very root and finds himself without the substance he was trying to reach by cutting off the superficial hard crust. The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of all growth. We must therefore give its full and therefore greater value to the adjective 'civil' than to 'disobedience'. Disobedience without civility, discipline, determination, non-violence, is certain destruction. Disobedience combined with love is the living water of life."

Negotiations with the British Government for withdrawal of the non-violent non-co-operation movement continued. In December, 1921 Madan Mohan Malaviya and Jinnah saw Das who was

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then in a prison in Calcutta as the viceroy's emissaries. Das was in favour of withdrawal of the movement if a Round Table Conference was held in March next to consider the "Reform scheme" and if the civil disobedience prisoners were released.

In January, 1922, an All Parties' Conference, that is, a conference of imperialism's flunkies of all hues, was held and attended by Gandhi. At its suggestion the Civil Disobedience movement was postponed till the end of January. But when the very modest prayer of this conference of stooges was rejected outright by the British imperialists, the Congress and Gandhi were obliged to adopt a *formal* decision of starting civil disobedience in Bardoli, a small place in Gujrat with a population of 87,000. In a letter to the viceroy on February 1, Gandhi regretted that "although, in my opinion, the terms [of the All-Parties Conference] were quite in keeping with your own requirements,....you have summarily rejected this proposal." So the Congress had been forced to take the decision to start civil disobedience though he had wanted very much "to advise postponement of the adoption of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline among the millions of its adherents." In this letter Gandhi assured the viceroy that even then he would postpone civil disobedience, if non-violent non-co-operating prisoners were set free and if the Government did not interfere with the activities of the non-violent non-co-operators. Utter servility, readiness to surrender to the imperialists on their terms, opposition to all militant struggle, fear of the people and fear of violence being used by the people against the imperialists—these find eloquent expression in this letter.

These mice-like men were feeling more and more frightened as the masses, especially peasants, were rising in heroic revolts in different parts of the country. In Midnapur district in Bengal, the peasants had launched a no-tax campaign. In Punjab, the Sikh peasants had been fighting against the powerful priests who enjoyed the support of the government. In Malabar in South India

the Moplah peasants, mostly poor and landless, rose arms in hand against the alien government and their feudal oppressors. The brave Moplah peasants fought several battles with the government forces. In one such battle on August 20, 1921, nearly 30,000 peasants armed with all sorts of weapons took part. Nine peasant fighters became martyrs but the Collector of the district, the assistant superintendent of police, one military officer and two constables were killed. The peasant rebels destroyed railway stations and railway lines, telegraph wires and bridges. Many post offices, courts and registration offices were burnt down. For ten days the peasant rebels reigned supreme in a wide area of Malabar. Martial law was declared in Malabar on August 21, 1921. The government rushed several regiments of soldiers to Malabar. The Moplah peasants fought heroically, inflicted many casualties on the enemy, and made immense sacrifice. Guerrilla war continued for some time. Hundreds laid down their lives in this anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle. To isolate and suppress this revolt of the peasants, the imperialists used two weapons. They slandered it as communal and as directed by Muslims against Hindus. The Moplah peasants did punish Hindu landlords and spies but no Hindu was attacked or robbed out of communal considerations. In several places, Hindu poor peasants joined the Moplah peasants. But Gandhi and the Congress sang the tune set for them by their imperialist masters and denounced this heroic revolt. The other weapon used by the British imperialists was that of terror. Appalling atrocities were committed by them: peasant women were outraged and murdered: peasant rebels were hung on the wayside trees and left dangling there to strike terror into the hearts of the people.

Gandhi and the Congress were eloquent enough to condemn the brave Moplah peasantry but they had few words with which to condemn the savagery of the imperialists. Rather, the Congressmen did everything possible to help the alien rulers in putting down the revolt. They actually acted as the enemy's fifth column. Gandhi said with good reason, though shamelessly: "I am sorry to believe, but it is my belief, that the men on the spot do not wish

to give non-co-operators the credit for peacefully ending the trouble (sic!).” He felt sorry because the local officers of the British government failed to appreciate the service rendered to them by him and his followers—a bunch of traitors.

Then, on January 12, 1922, Guntur in Andhra started a No-tax campaign. On January 17, immediately on learning of it, Gandhi sent a letter to the President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee and a statement to the press saying that he would be glad to hear that all taxes were paid by January 25. Still, in Guntur, the campaign continued, though in other districts taxes were paid up as desired by Gandhi. Even threats and intimidation by the military had no effect. But, meeting on January 31, the Congress working committee “advised all other parts of India to co-operate with the people of Bardoli Taluka by refraining from mass or individual Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character, except upon the express consent of Mahatma Gandhi previously obtained.” The working committee further advised the people throughout the Provinces to pay up the taxes due by them to the Government whether directly, or indirectly through Zamindars or Talukdars,—except in such cases of direct payment to the Government where previous consent had been obtained from Mahatma Gandhi for suspension of payment preparatory to mass Civil Disobedience.” (Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Ibid, p. 232). A committee that had been appointed by the Congress instructed the peasants of Guntur to pay up the taxes, and they were duly paid by February 10. Sitaramayya wrote: “It must be owned that the non-payment campaign in Andhradesa was a thorough success, so far as the campaign went, for not even five percent of the taxes were collected so long as the Congress ban was operative.” (Ibid, p. 232-236)

This refusal to pay rent and taxes to landlords and their agents was the worst of all crimes in the eyes of Gandhi, to whom the rights of the landlords to fleece the peasants was sacred. So the trend of events was alarming to Gandhi and the Congress.

Moreover, in spite of all the sermons of the Congress leaders, there was violence in the air. On the occasion of the visit of the

Prince of Wales to Bombay on November 17, 1921, the people of Bombay, like the rest of India, observed a general strike. They also vented their wrath and hatred on a handful of traitors who attended the official celebrations. Despite all the attempts of Gandhi and the Congress volunteers he mobilized, violent incidents, which resulted in the death of 50 persons, continued for four days. This spontaneous rising of the people against the imperialists upset Gandhi: *he declared that Swaraj stank in his nostrils.*

The people of Madras also were not quite non-violent when the Prince of Wales visited that city in January. Then, on February 5, within five days of Gandhi's writing that letter to the viceroy, angry peasants stormed and burned a police station at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur in U. P. 22 policemen who had fired on a crowd of peasants perished in the flames. Immediately, Gandhi decided to call off the movement. On February 12, at a hastily summoned meeting, the Congress working committee adopted a resolution the more important clauses of which are worth quoting:

“Clause 1. The Working Committee *deplores* the *inhuman* conduct of *the mob* at Chauri Chaura in having *brutally* murdered constables and *wantonly* burned police thana [station].

“Clause 2. In view of the violent outbreaks every time mass civil disobedience is inaugurated, indicating that the country is not non-violent enough, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience be suspended, and *instructs the local Congress Committees to advise the cultivators to pay land revenue and other taxes due to the Government*, and to suspend every other activity of an offensive character.

“Clause 3. The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued until the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of *atrocities* such as Gorakhpur or of the *hooliganism* such as at Bombay and Madras.

“Clause 6. *The Working Committee advises Congress workers and organizations to inform the ryots that withholding of rent payment to the zemindars [landlords] is contrary to the Congress resolutions and injurious to the best interests of the country.*

See B.B. Misra, The Indian Political Parties

"Clause 7. *The Working Committee assures the zemindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights, and that even where the ryots have grievances, the Committee desires that redress be sought by mutual consultation and arbitration.*" (Our emphasis).

On February 9, 1922, the viceroy had sent the following wire to the Secretary of State for India: "The lower classes in the towns have been seriously affected by the non-co-operation movement... In certain areas the peasantry have been affected, particularly in parts of the Assam Valley, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. As regards the Punjab, the Akali agitation... has penetrated to the rural Sikhs. A large proportion of the Mohammedan population throughout the country are embittered and sullen... grave possibilities... The Government of India are prepared for disorder of a more formidable nature than has in the past occurred, and do not seek to minimize in any way the fact that great anxiety is caused by the situation." (See *ibid*, H. 288-9)

It is Gandhi and his men who came to the rescue of the British imperialists. Only three days after this cable had been sent, the Bardoli decision was taken and the fears of the British imperialists were allayed.

In a subsequent interview with Drew Pearson, Lord Lloyd, who was Governor of Bombay during this time, said: "He [Gandhi] gave us a scare! His programme filled our jails. You can't go on arresting people forever, you know—not when there are 319,000,000 of them. And if they had taken his next step and refused to pay taxes! God knows where we should have been!" (See *ibid*, p. 289n)

Throughout 1921, when a great enthusiasm swept the country and waves of struggle by peasants, workers and youths were rising, the Congress and Gandhi were busy conspiring about how to stab the people's struggle effectively in the back. The stabbing, of course, had been going on all the time. They tried by every conceivable means to curb the initiative and militancy of the people; they insisted on the people's strict adherence to non-violence in order that the alien rulers might enjoy a monopoly of violence; they pre-

ached the gospel of "love" and "civility" towards the imperialists who were committing atrocious crimes against the people in order to blunt the people's revolutionary consciousness; they prescribed hand-spinning and hand-weaving for the militant people to keep them away from the road of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. Whenever the struggle of the people proved a real challenge to imperialism and its prop, feudalism, they did not hesitate to betray the people. And as the mass upsurge increasingly assumed an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal character, they sabotaged the struggle.

The arch-saboteur Gandhi's work was over: now, for his greater glory, he was put behind prison bars. After he had done his task, it was necessary to send him to prison as a brief respite to resurrect his image. "I am as happy as a bird", he wrote to Andrews a few days after his arrest.

After the calling off of all movement of an "aggressive character", Das and Motilal Nehru wanted a change in the Congress policy of non-co-operation. They wanted to enter legislative councils formed under the "Reform scheme" on the plea of carrying on there "uniform, continuous and consistent opposition to the Government". Their plan was rejected by the Gaya session of the Congress at the end of 1922, over which Das presided. He resigned presidentship of the Congress to form, together with Motilal Nehru, the Swaraj Party. *formed on January 1, 1923 with Das as president & M. Nehru as secretary.*

The Swaraj Party won some success in the elections of 1923. On entering the Central Legislative Assembly as the leader of the Swaraj Party, Motilal Nehru declared "that his party could not be dismissed as wreckers. He was not asking for Responsible Government, to be handed over as it were, tied up in a bundle. *His party had come there to offer their co-operation. If the Government would receive their co-operation, they would find that the Swarajists were their men.*" (Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *Ibid*, p. 453—our emphasis). All talk of offering "uniform, continuous and consistent opposition to the Government" had been reduced to a prayer for an opportunity to serve the British imperialists as "their men"!

Cited in
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Dutt,
India
Today,
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p. 268

Das was hopeful of getting this opportunity, though the British rulers had intensified repression on the people. On October 24, 1924, an emergency ordinance, called the Bengal Ordinance, was issued by the viceroy and, within a few hours, a large number of Congress men in Bengal were arrested. Yet Das saw signs of "a change of heart" in the British Government and was carrying on negotiations with its representative in India. At the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Faridpur in May, 1925, a few weeks before his death, Das declared: "Provided some real responsibility is transferred to the people, *there is no reason why we should not co-operate with the Government*..." — A few suggestions may be made having regard to what is nearest to the hearts of the people of Bengal—

(1) General amnesty of all political prisoners, (2) a guarantee of the fullest recognition of our right to establishment of Swaraj within the Commonwealth in the near future, and in the meantime till Swaraj comes, a sure and sufficient foundation of such Swaraj should be laid at once, (3) *we on our part should give some sort of understanding that we shall not, by word, deed or gesture, encourage revolutionary propaganda and that we shall make every effort to put an end to such a movement.*" (Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *Ibid.*, pp. 426-7—our emphasis). "The deliberations of the Faridpur Conference," wrote Subhas Bose, "were on the whole satisfactory to the authorities with whom the Deshabandhu was engaged in negotiating." ("The Indian Struggle", p. 109).

For too long a time "their men" have been mistaken for our men; those who assured the British imperialists that they would not, by word, deed or gesture, encourage revolutionary propaganda and that they would join hands with the British in fighting the revolutionary movement have been lauded as heroes of the national liberation struggle. In "India Today", Rajani Palme Dutt wrote: "But in practice the Swaraj Party was the party of the progressive upper bourgeoisie." (P. 330). Again, "The Swaraj Party was the party of the progressive bourgeoisie moving to co-operation with imperialism." (P. 331). Hiren Mukherjee improved upon his master and wrote: "But in practice it [the Swaraj Party] was the party of the patriotic and progressive sections of the upper and middle

bourgeoisie." ("India's Struggle for Freedom", pp. 170-1) Those who offered their co-operation to the British imperialists, shamelessly called themselves "their men", gave an open "understanding" to them that they would combat revolutionary propaganda and fight the revolutionary movement together with the British imperialists are praised by revisionist traitors as representatives of the (patriotic and) progressive section of the upper (and middle) bourgeoisie. This "progressive section of the bourgeoisie moving to co-operation with imperialism" was also wedded to a policy of defending the interests of the princes and landlords. A Swaraj Party statement declared: "True it is that the Party stands for justice to the tenant, but poor indeed will be the quality of that justice if it involves any injustice to the landlord" Any comment is superfluous

Who are the progressive bourgeoisie? By what yardstick should one section of the bourgeoisie be judged progressive and another reactionary? In a colony or a semi colony, the first and most important criterion is that the progressive bourgeoisie must demand national independence and liquidation of feudalism, imperialism's main prop in the colony or semi-colony. That is, this section must have two major objectives—first, the overthrow of imperialist rule and achievement of complete national independence by revolutionary action and second, the overthrow of princes and landlords. Did Das, Gandhi and the entire Congress lot ever fight for these objectives? Far from leading or lending support to an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution as Sun Yat-sen did, Das, Gandhi and the Congress always tried to prevent the outbreak of such a revolution. They never hesitated to work as the accomplices of the British imperialists and Indian princes and landlords in putting down any rising of the people with fire and sword. In India, the bourgeoisie they represented was comprador in character: this bourgeoisie, like the Congress itself, had their birth, growth and development by relying on British imperialism: from their very birth they have acted as agents of foreign monopolies and have had no independent existence. They have always been wholly dependent on imperialism and have

been closely allied with the Indian princes and landlords. That is why the Montague-Chelmsford Report of 1918 stated: "The politically minded portion of the people of India [meaning the politicians belonging to the Congress and similar organizations]—are intellectually our children. They have imbibed ideas which we ourselves have set before them, and we ought to reckon it to their credit. The present intellectual and moral stir in India is no reproach, but rather a tribute to our work." No doubt, they were the illegitimate children of British imperialism and had close ties with native feudalism. By what stretch of imagination can they be called representatives of the progressive bourgeoisie? How can the bourgeoisie of a colony that co-operate with the imperialist masters against the people be described as progressive or patriotic?

ital In "India Today" (pp. 578-80), Rajani Palme Dutt presents his thesis that the role that Gandhi and other Congress leaders played upto August 1947 was the same as that of Sun Yat-sen and the united Kuomintang upto 1927. But after August 1947 the role of Gandhi and the other leaders of the Congress was that of Chiang Kai-shek in 1927 and after. According to this notorious revisionist's analysis, the role of Gandhi, Das etc. was revolutionary till 1947 and counter-revolutionary afterwards. It is possible only for a revisionist agent of imperialism to put in the same category Gandhi, Das etc.—flunkies of imperialism, sworn enemies of the working class and the peasantry, and inveterate haters of the Soviet Union—and Sun Yat-sen, the outstanding representative of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, who led armed revolutions against imperialism and feudalism, fought in close alliance with the Communist Party of China and was a sincere friend of the Soviet Union.

It is no wonder that Rajani Palme Dutt, P.C. Joshi, Hiren Mukherjee, Namboodiripad and other revisionist agents of imperialism have tried hard to cover up the treachery of Gandhi and the Congress leadership and depicted them as representatives of the progressive bourgeoisie leading India's struggle for freedom till 1947. For, their purpose was the same as that of Gandhi and men

of his ilk—to betray the Indian revolution. That is why, far from trying to fight and eliminate the influence of the comprador bourgeois leaders on the revolutionary masses, they strengthened it. Today, after the armed peasant struggle for the overthrow of imperialism and feudalism and for the liberation of the country has broken out, the revolutionary youth are exposing all that fraud, not in so many words but through deeds—by trampling underfoot the images of the men who were lackeys all.

NOTES

(Continued from p. 16)

during the elections on March 10. Troops have been deployed throughout West Bengal—in each of the police station areas. Military rule has virtually been imposed on West Bengal, though not in name, and every area, rural or urban, where the people's armed struggle has been raging, is being encircled by the army and combing operations are being carried out. This ruthless war against the people, the CPI(M-L) and its revolutionary cadres has two objects: to destroy the revolutionary forces in order to crush the armed revolution, and to make secure this base for imperialism's aggression against Socialist China. For the Indian reactionaries too, the national and international tasks have become one. The two tasks—to fight the civil war and preserve the rule of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the domestic reactionaries and to serve the war plot of the U.S imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists—have merged into one. That is why the enemy has launched a frenzied offensive against the CPI(M-L) and the revolutionary people. This offensive, this vain struggle to liquidate the armed revolution which is destined to smash all their counter-revolutionary war-plots, is being directed by the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. U. S and Soviet military and

other experts are dictating every move of the reactionary Indian government. It is they who have, despite very acute contradictions between themselves, arranged a temporary consolidation of various reactionary and revisionist forces behind Indira Gandhi. Faced as they are with the surging tide of revolutionary armed struggle and with the possibility of a new world war in the near future, they urgently need such a consolidation.

Chairman Mao said : "If the U S monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States." The day of which Chairman Mao spoke is near. The whole world is witnessing today an unprecedented upsurge of revolutionary struggle. Due to the further sharpening of the basic contradictions and the aggression, oppression and exploitation of the people of the various countries by U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, hundreds of millions of people are rising in revolution. Besides the people of the three countries of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, who have achieved an unprecedented unity and momentous victories in their war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation, the people of other Southeast Asian countries are waging valiant struggles against imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction and winning fresh victories every day. 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 and the struggle of the Japanese people against the U. S. military bases on Okinawa are forging ahead vigorously. The Palestinian and other Arab peoples have defeated armed attacks by the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen and are persevering in armed struggle despite heavy odds. Recently the Republic of Guinea has successfully fought back invasion by U. S. - Portuguese colonialists and strengthened the African peoples' struggle against colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and subversion. The Latin American countries are refusing to serve

as U. S. imperialism's "backyard" and fighting against neo-colonialist domination. There is also an upsurge of revolutionary mass movements in Europe and North America. In the U. S. A. itself, 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 American people, both the whites and the Afro-Americans, have repeatedly taken up arms to fight back the Nixon Government's fascist repression. The American people of various strata have time and again opposed the Nixon Government's counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. The workers and the broad masses of Poland rose in heroic revolt against the revisionist ruling clique and brought about the downfall of Gomulka. Soviet social-imperialism's colonial rule in East Europe is enmeshed in a deep crisis. On the other hand, Socialist China, the base of world revolution, has become ideologically, politically, economically and militarily more impregnable than ever. The dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than before, agriculture is thriving ; a new upsurge is emerging in industrial production, and the revolutionary spirit of the people is soaring. The Communist Party of China, the P L A and the people of the whole country are implementing the great strategic principles "Heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland" and "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." The other day Prime Minister Chou En-lai declared that the great Chinese people want to fight jointly with the Indo-Chinese peoples and to win.

In our country the revolutionary people led by the CPI (M L) will oppose the war-plot of the Indian reactionaries, their imperialist and social-imperialist masters. A new high tide of revolutionary armed struggle has set in. There will be many twists and turns but no force on earth can crush the revolutionary armed peasant struggle guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the CPI (M-L). On the other hand, the frenzied offensive of the reactionaries is sure to be smashed by the revolutionary people who have conquered the fear of death. And the

temporary consolidation of the reactionary and revisionist forces under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, built up by the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, will soon be shattered by the blows of the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry.

And the sparks of revolutionary armed peasant struggle are already flying in East Bengal. The battle for annihilation of class enemies has started in several districts of East Bengal. Despite the machinations of the imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and all their henchmen in India and Pakistan, the peasant armed struggle in West Bengal will soon unite with the peasant armed struggle in East Bengal, and the two will form one vast flood in which the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries will be drowned.

In his statement of May 20, Chairman Mao issued the historic call :

"People of the world, unite and defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs !"

People all over the world are responding to this call : they are uniting in order to defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs. The Indian people too are coming forward to fight as a contingent of the world-wide anti-imperialist front led by Chairman Mao Tsetung. Beset with increasingly acute contradictions and besieged ring upon ring by the world's people, the U. S. imperialist maniacs may unleash a world war, even a nuclear conflagration, but if they dare to do it, imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction will be wiped out from the face of this earth. A new earth robed in new glory and splendour will arise from the ashes of the old.

—March 15, 1971

PEOPLE OF EAST BENGAL WILL SMASH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PLOT

The revolutionary armed peasant struggle that has developed in several districts of East Bengal under the leadership of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) struck fear

into the hearts of the imperialists and the Pakistani landlords and comprador bourgeoisie. If the armed agrarian revolution spread, this age-old paradise for plunderers would be lost to them : their dream of turning East Bengal into one more link in the ring of imperialism's bases encircling Socialist China and launching a new world war would be reduced to ashes. The Indian reactionaries too were afraid, for in no distant time the peasants' armed struggle in East Bengal would forge close links with the peasants' armed struggle raging in West Bengal and the two would become one vast, irresistible tide that would sweep imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of the two countries into their graves.

So, when, on November 12, a terrible calamity befell the people of East Bengal, when a cyclone and a huge tidal wave lashed its islands and coastal areas and took a toll of about one million lives, the U.S. and British imperialists swooped like vultures on this unfortunate land. In the name of providing relief to the distressed people they rushed large armed forces to East Bengal. The accidental crash of a Soviet plane at Panagarh near Asansol in West Bengal carrying Soviet military personnel bound for East Bengal, gave the secret out that the Soviet social-imperialists were working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists in reducing East Bengal into a neo-colony and military base of theirs. And in this country ravaged by the cyclone and tidal wave and virtually occupied by the armed forces of the imperialists and the social-imperialists, so-called parliamentary elections were stage-managed to give Mujibur Rahman of the Awami League, the arch-lackey of the U.S. imperialists, a sweeping victory. This running-dog of the U. S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, the Indian reactionaries and East Bengal's feudal oppressors and comprador bourgeoisie has raised the slogan of "Jai Bangla" (victory to Bengal), slogan of the Bengali people's national liberation. Thus he seeks to exploit the people's fervent nationalism which has today grown very intense because of the brutal exploitation and oppression they have been suffering from at the hands of the Pakistani ruling classes. The landing of foreign troops in East Bengal, the elections, the slogan of "Jai Bangla"—

the/ all these form one pattern and have one aim: to confuse the people, to divert them from path of armed struggle, to disrupt and suppress it and to drag Pakistan into the global war strategy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. It is no wonder that the Indian reactionaries and revisionists of all hues are loud in acclaiming Mujibur Rahman as the "liberator" of East Bengal. Jaiprakash Narain has extolled Mujibur's "achievement" and compared it with that of Gandhi, the arch-traitor.

7/ Sometime ago Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out that imperialist powers themselves would sometimes raise through their henchmen the slogan of national liberation in order to hoodwink the people, to divert them from the path of class war, to make them an appendage of the comprador bourgeoisie and to sabotage the anti-feudal, genuinely anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle. Today, as the running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and as lackeys of East Bengal's landlords and comprador bourgeoisie, Mujib and his men have raised the demand for sham national liberation—a manoeuvre to strengthen the imperialist and feudal fetters and to fulfil the aspirations of East Bengal's comprador bourgeoisie. To realize his demands, Mujib and his men have started "non-violent non-co-operation" movement on Gandhi's pattern. He preaches non-violence towards the armed forces of the state but he threatens to bury alive revolutionary cadres. He insists on the workers slaving faithfully in mills and factories: he never talks of abolishing feudalism but he warns the peasantry against neglecting production. Far from wanting to smash the present state machinery, he seeks to retain it. His programme represents the aspirations of East Bengal's landlords, comprador bourgeoisie and a section of the bureaucracy. While serving their interests within the framework of the existing state machinery, he wants to tie East Bengal to the war-chariot of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

This counter-revolutionary plot—this imperialist plan of war against the people of East Bengal and the revolutionary people of the whole world—cannot and shall not succeed. 'Lifting a rock

only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind." The cadres of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) have spread over the countryside and, undeterred by hardships, are carrying Mao Tsetung thought to the landless and poor peasants. They are carrying to them the politics of seizure of power by armed force. And there is a great hunger for change among the landless and poor peasants, long duped and most bitterly exploited and oppressed—a fervent desire among them to make revolution. Already sparks of armed revolution are flying in East Bengal. Neither any counter-revolutionary manoeuvre nor any reactionary force on earth can extinguish them. On the contrary, these sparks will soon kindle a prairie-fire that will burn into ashes the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries.

—March 15, 1971

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE SPREADS IN PUNJAB

The coming bourgeois parliamentary elections have exposed the revisionist nature of the CPI and the CPM. The CPI's complete collaboration with the Indira Congress and the CPM's surrender before the Akali feudal lords have isolated them from the poor and landless masses. On the other hand, severe police repression on the CPI (M-L)'s cadres and its sympathisers has made clear to the people as to who are their enemies and who are their friends. Against this background, the CPI (M-L)'s line of annihilation of class enemies has helped the Party to integrate itself with the poor and landless peasants. In spite of severe repression the CPI(M-L) has been able to penetrate among the masses and to carry forward the class struggle through annihilation of hated class enemies.

In the last week of August, a money-lender and usurer was attacked in Bahld village in Sangrur district. The enemy escaped death but was severely injured.

On October 24, a big money-lender and usurer was annihilated with traditional weapons at Khumano in Ludhiana district. This raised a wave of jubilation among the poor, landless and even middle peasants of the surrounding 30 villages where this enemy used to exploit the poor peasants. After the annihilation, the Party has been able to consolidate its base among the landless and poor peasants of this area through vigorous political propaganda and poster-campaign.

In the first week of November, a big money-lender was annihilated with traditional weapons at Duladi village in Patiala district.

In the second week of November, a hated money-lender was annihilated with traditional weapons at Thikriwala village near Bamala in Sangrur district. In the third week of November, a big

feudal landlord and money-lender, Babu Singh, was annihilated with traditional weapons at his village Dasaundha Singhwala near Baruala in Sangrur district. This landlord lived a very luxurious and princely life in his place like a big *haveli*.

At the end of November, a money-lender was annihilated with traditional weapons at Bhutal village in Sangrur district.

In the second week of December, a middle school headmaster who was a noted police-tout of the area and who used to help police in locating the comrade guerrillas of the area was shot dead at Khatkarkalan village in Jullunder district. His gun was confiscated and his minor son who accompanied him was let off unharmed. His two other colleagues accompanying him were also let off unharmed. This has built a good image of the Party in the area.

In the third week of December our guerrillas forcibly secured the release of a comrade, who was being taken for interrogation, from police custody in a bus near Kapurthala. In the scuffle one policeman was shot dead on the spot and the guerrillas safely merged with the masses. This was the second daring action on police in broad daylight. This action has demoralized the police force and aroused the masses. Police was unable to trace the whereabouts of the guerrillas in spite of severe repression in the surrounding villages.

On December 29, a big landlord, police tout and known bad character was annihilated and then beheaded at Gardhiwala in Hoshiarpur district. The Government has announced big prizes for giving any information about the guerrillas. But the guerrillas are safely operating in this area.

On January 2, 1971, a guerrilla squad attacked a hated money-leader in Pharwah village in Bhatinda district. The enemy was severely injured. The comrades did the mistake of not raising slogans. Therefore they were mistaken for dacoits by the villagers. This village has a militant background of capturing dacoits. They chased the comrades who did a tactical mistake of running from the place of the incident. One of the comrades was captured by the villagers and was brought back to the village. But when the

comrade told them that he was a 'Naxalbaria', the people felt sorry for capturing him. They then served him with milk and let him off. But, unfortunately, the police who were already present in the village, arrived on the scene and arrested the comrade. This was the only action where complete success was not achieved.

On January 13, a money-lender was annihilated with traditional weapons at Mulhadda village in Jullunder district. On January 13, again, a big police tout who was responsible for the arrest of some comrades was annihilated. He was a former sub-inspector of police and an ex-member of CPM.

On January 19, a big money-lender who lent out money amounting to Rs 4 lakhs or more and who used to charge interest at an exorbitant rate of 100% per annum, was annihilated at Wagha village in Hoshiarpur district. He was also a school teacher and, in the name of teaching, used to do heinous crimes. This annihilation was much hailed by the poor and landless peasants. This second annihilation in the area immediately after the first one has perplexed the state machinery, which has desperately unleashed a reign of terror in the area. At a high level meeting the government decided to spend Rs. 36 lakhs more for 'eradicating the 'Naxalite' menace'.

On January 25, a big landlord, Akali leader and president of the Block samiti, was shot dead at Kokri Kalan village in Ferozepur district. This villain of a man was also a true servant of the British raj and he was awarded a 'jagri' by the British rulers for giving evidence against Bhagat Singh, a martyr who still stirs up emotions of the Punjabi youth. With this annihilation armed struggle of the peasants has spread to Ferozepur district. This district is inhabited by very rich landlords who control Punjab politics.

On February 16, a rich landlord who was village *sarpanch*, wine-contractor and noted police tout, was shot dead in Behlolpur village in Ludhiana district.

The rapid development of the armed peasant struggle in Punjab has belied the hopes of those who thought that in Punjab, which is economically prosperous as compared to other Indian states and

where the "green revolution" has occurred, the line of annihilation of class enemies cannot succeed. The Naggi Reddy group of revisionists is complaining that the CPI (M-L) is not leaving any area free for them where they can carry out the experiment with mass organizations. The peasants' armed struggle has spread to eight districts. The flames of armed peasant struggle are yet to reach only three districts—Amritsar, Kapurthala and Gurdaspur. Armed struggle is expected to develop soon in Gurdaspur district also.

Armed peasant struggle in Punjab has influenced the neighbouring state of Haryana also. The initial ideological and political work is being done in Haryana. Two issues of the Party organ *Lok Yudh* in Hindi have been published.

The Party in Punjab has learnt lessons from its past experience and now it is laying special emphasis on the following points :

1. After the arrest of some comrades from petty bourgeois contacts, the Party has learnt a bitter lesson and now is relying wholly on the poor and landless peasants and thus realizing the correctness of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's emphasis on integrating with the poor and landless peasants. Special stress is being laid on giving up revisionist methods of work and petty bourgeois mentality.

2. Most of the annihilations after the Party Congress in May have been carried out with traditional weapons. Earlier, reliance was placed on fire-arms.

3. In order to integrate with the landless and poor peasants intellectual comrades have realized the importance of participating in production together with the poor masses. This creates their confidence in poor and landless peasants.

4. The Party has suffered heavily due to the open type of work it sometimes carried on. Now, the importance of secrecy is being more realized and thus the comrades are learning through practice the methods of working in and building underground organizations.

Work Among The Students : The Party's correct revolutionary line has attracted students in large numbers, especially

those belonging to rural areas. Significantly, the only political party in Punjab which is organizationally strong among the students is CPI (M-L). Students hate Akalis, jokingly call CPI as Communist Party of Indira and consider CPM as one section of Akali Dal.

The state machinery is much worried about the increasing influence of CPI (M-L) among the students and teachers and is, therefore, resorting to repressive measures.

In September 1970, two students of Lajpat Rai Centenary College, Dhudike, Ferozepur district, were arrested by police while writing slogans in favour of CPI (M-L). Immediately the students of the college went on strike to protest against the arrest. The strike spread to Lajpat Rai College, Jagraon, D.M. College, Moga, Guru Teg Bahadurgarh College, Rode. Fearing that the strike might spread to other places, the police released them.

In November 1970, two students of S. D. College, Barnala, were arrested for alleged involvement in CPI (M-L) activities. Immediately the students went on strike and forced the college to close for seventeen days. Police went to the house of every student in nearby villages asking their parents to prevent them from coming under 'Naxalite' influence. The Party is organizationally very strong in this area.

In November 1970, a strong contingent of armed police surrounded the hostel of Brigendra Government College, Faridkot (Dist. Bhatinda) and arrested a student leader at midnight for propagating 'Naxalite' politics among students. Next day, the 1200 students went on strike protesting against the arrest.

In December 1970, 125 students of Nehru College, Mausa, (Dist. Bhatinda), were arrested for alleged involvement in 'Naxalite' activities. The college remained close for a long time due to student strike in protest against the mass arrests.

In December 1970, a student of D. A. V. College, Bhatinda was arrested for participating in 'Naxalite' activities. Next day, the students went on strike protesting against the arrest.

In January 1971, a student of Guru Nanak Engineering College, Ludhiana, was arrested for participating in 'Naxalite' activities.

Next day, the students went on strike which continued for 21 days. The students of Punjab Engineering College, Chandigarh, also observed a one-day token strike to protest against the arrests.

On January 15, 1971, seven students of Government College, Malerkotla (Dist. Ludhiana), were arrested for writing slogans. Next day the students of the college went on strike to protest against the arrests.

On February 10, a lecturer of Ranagarbia College, Phagwara (Dist. Kapurthala), was arrested on suspicion of being a 'Naxalite.' The students of the college and of the other two local colleges made an angry demonstration before the police station to protest against the arrest. Police resorted to lathi charge on stone-throwing students and then fired. Eight students were injured. Armed police had to be called to restore order.

Now the influence of the CPI (M-L) is spreading to high and higher secondary school students.

Writing slogans and hoisting red flags on colleges and schools have become a regular feature.

At one place, Rode (in Ferozepur district), the college was attacked and examinations disrupted. The students of Nehru College, Mansa, boycotted their examinations because they said this system of education and examination is wrong.

Students have also expressed their wrath against Gandhi, the proved agent of the imperialists. A Gandhi statue was beheaded at Ropar. Next day, two college students were arrested in this connection. Immediately the students went on strike protesting against the arrests.

A Gandhi statue has been beheaded at Amritsar. Gandhi statues were disfigured at Phagwara and Patiala. Police guards have been deployed to protect the statue of 'non-violent' Gandhi at Patiala.

Gandhian literature was burnt at Nabha and Baruala. 50 pictures of Gandhi in a museum have been burnt at Dhudike.

CPI (M-L) has penetrated among some sections of Government employees also. In December, 1970, the Divisional Secretary of LIC Staff Union along with two other employees (one of them a woman) was arrested at Jullunder on the charge of taking part in CPI (M-L) activities. The employees demonstrated before the police station to protest against the arrests.

REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE REACHES A NEW STAGE IN WEST BENGAL

Under the guidance of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and led by the CPI (M-L), the guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants, imbued with the politics of seizure of power by armed force, have carried the battle of annihilation of class enemies to various parts of West Bengal, created many points of armed struggle and spread it in waves to larger and larger areas. All over West Bengal the class enemies and their agents are stricken with terror; the armed forces of the reactionary state, tens of thousands of men belonging to the CRP, EFR, BSF etc., have failed to give the class enemies that sense of security which they hanker after so much. In the course of this struggle the initiative of the poor and landless peasants has been unleashed, and their leadership has been established. The poor and landless peasants constituting seventy-five per cent of West Bengal's peasant masses, the most militant and most revolutionary class in rural Bengal, have grasped their destiny and the destiny of the entire country in their own hands and have dared to take up arms in order to fight and win. It was this that led to Magurjan—the bold attack on the armed police post, seizure of rifles and killing of two armed men of the enemy by a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants who relied on themselves alone to plan and carry out the attack.

This was hailed by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, and under his guidance the People's Liberation Army has been founded. All the guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants are being transformed into units of the PLA. The PLA led by the Party is waging attacks not merely on the class enemies but also on the armed policemen and troops of the reactionary state, is seizing rifles, revolvers and guns from them and is thus arming itself. The battle

for the seizure of rifles is spreading. Almost everyday squads of guerrilla comrades, either in rural areas or in towns and cities, are seizing the rifles and guns of the armed forces or the class enemies. Sometime ago, Comrade Charu Mazumdar said that the rifle in the hand of a poor or landless peasant would roar like a thousand cannon. What he predicted then is coming true today. The rifles in the hands of the poor and landless peasants are inspiring the peasantry with faith in their own strength; they have become the symbols of the peasants' power. Revolutionary Committees of landless and poor peasants, which are the people's revolutionary government in embryo, have been established at least in three places in the Naxalbari area. Complete abolition of feudalism and land redistribution with the co-operation of the broad peasant masses in these places are now on the agenda. It is the beginning of that great upheaval which was predicted by Comrade Charu Mazumdar a few months ago. The armed peasant struggle is creating a mighty upsurge among the broad peasant masses and other working people, and this upsurge, in its turn, will create a new high tide of revolutionary armed struggle—a vast flood that will sweep the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries into their graves.

It is impossible to describe fully the revolutionary armed struggle now raging in West Bengal. Here we shall try to give only a brief outline of the struggle as it has advanced since we last reported.

Naxalbari—Siliguri Area :

At least seven hated class enemies who maintained close links with the police were annihilated during the period between January 11 and February 24. Prasad, Dhakru Singh (the right-hand man of notorious Sampad Roy), Labu Singh and Punai Oraon of Phansidewa police station area, Sane Rai and his wife of Kharibari police station area and Bipin Singh of Chopra police station area (in West Dinajpur district) were annihilated for their many crimes against the people. The guerrilla comrades not only seized the

rifles of the armed police at Magurjan but also used them while attacking the class enemies

Two guns were also seized from the houses of class enemies. As we have said before, at least three Revolutionary Committees of poor and landless peasants were established in this area. The response from the people is wonderful. A large number of peasant youths are eager to leave their homes and join the revolution. Even peasant women are not lagging behind. The people are extending enthusiastic help and support to the guerrilla comrades.

In Siliguri town a guerrilla squad of students and youths annihilated Banarasi Singh, the town police inspector, notorious bad character and oppressor of the urban poor, on February 8. The very next day attack was launched on a police outpost in the town.

Inspired by the peasants' armed struggle, workers and employees are putting up increasing resistance in a militant way to the attacks of the enemy. So when, on February 7, a worker of Siliguri Telephone Exchange was arrested by the police, the entire staff manning the Posts and Telegraph Department and the Telephone Exchange at Siliguri went on a protest strike. They compelled the Director of the North Bengal region to demand the release of their colleague: despising the threats of further arrests by the police, they *gheraoed* the Sub-divisional officer and forced him to release their colleague. They also refused to operate the telephone calls by the police till the reactionary authorities surrendered completely to them. Thus this political battle ended in victory for the workers and employees.

Jalpaiguri-Cooch Behar Area :

By the middle of January, at least 43 class enemies and police officers and men were annihilated in this area by squads of guerrilla comrades. In a large area big *jotedars* were feeling so helpless that they appealed to our comrades to spare their lives and their sons' lives.

Inspired by the revolutionary spirit of heroic self-sacrifice, our guerrilla comrades boldly attacked armed policemen, annihilated three of them and seized four rifles in this area.

West Dinajpur :

Several class enemies have been annihilated in this district. On December 18, Chotulal Bhagat, a notorious *jotedar* of Bhikhahar village in Tapan police station area, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of three poor and landless peasants. Ganesh Burman, a hated *jotedar* of Raiganj police station area, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of poor peasants on March 9.

Malda :

There have been more annihilations of class enemies in this district. On November 2, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Jyotish Joardar, a hated *jotedar* of Nimbari village within Habibpur police station area,

Midnapur Area :

The revolutionary armed struggle has forged ahead since we last reported. Two police informers, Kali Majhi and Gandhi Bhuiyan, were annihilated by squads of poor and landless peasants in Panskura police station area. In Khargapur town, two notorious usurers, Limpoo Maharaj and Chunilal Keora, were annihilated by guerrilla squads, mainly of workers.

The workers of the Khargapur Railway workshop hoisted the Red flag on the top of it. Out of fear the railway police and the West Bengal police refused to bring down the flag when ordered to do so. A CRP battalion armed with sten guns then pulled it down.

On March 9, a daring attack was made on an armed police camp at Rupaskundi in Baharagora (Singbhum district) by our guerrilla

comrades, and nine rifles and 105 bullets were seized. Three armed men of the enemy were killed. The police minister and high police officers of the Bihar government rushed to the area and intensive combing operations were launched. The West Bengal police also became quite active. But the guerrilla comrades with their rifles are quite safe among the people. Within a few days, on March 15 to be exact, they used these seized rifles to attack and annihilate Kumed Sahoo, the *anchal pradhan* of Bashjora in Gopiballavpur police station area, his brother and two sons, who had murdered one of our comrades and helped the police in unleashing terror on the people. These bold actions have roused the masses and caused panic among the class enemies in a wide area.

Burdwan District :

Many class enemies have been annihilated by squads of peasant guerrillas in Burdwan's rural areas. Within the police station areas of Jamalpur, Memari, Budbud, Galsi, Bhatar and Barsul, at least seven hated jotedars—Sukumar Konar, Radha Govinda Pal Ajit Nandi, Lakshminarayan Mondal, Moti Thakur, Snehasish Mondal and Renupada Mukherjee—were annihilated in the period between January 17 and February 13 by guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants.

Workers are also taking a leading part in the revolutionary armed struggle. On January 5, a guerrilla squad of two workers attacked most courageously H.D.M. Prasad, the notorious chief of the D.V.C. Agricultural farm, within the Panagarh Military Base area and annihilated him for his crimes against the workers. P. K. Roy, a hated officer of the Bengal Coal Company in Chinakuri within Kulti police station area was annihilated by a squad of worker comrades. Sulakshman Singh, a notorious usurer, wine merchant and gangster was also annihilated. At Chittaranjan were annihilated Ananga De and Haren Pyne, hated usurers and bad characters. On January 1, a hated *Subedar* of the Railway

Protection Force was annihilated. On January 22 was annihilated a *kabuliwala*, notorious for his usury. At Asansol, a CRP van was attacked by guerrilla comrades and one armed policeman was killed and four or five other armed policemen were seriously injured. In the same town, a CPM chieftain, who was acting as a police informer, was annihilated. On February 7, a guerrilla squad of railway workers annihilated a usurer and seriously injured his uncle Mahendra Singh, a devil of a man. In the industrial town of Burnpur were annihilated a police informer, a policeman and a leader of the reactionary INTUC who was a police agent and trusted man of the employers. In the Girmit colliery area within Asansol sub division, two usurers, agents of the colliery management and bad characters, Sibul Singh and Pali Khan, were annihilated on January 4 by a guerrilla squad of workers and youths.

The struggle in the industrial town of Durgapur deserves special mention. The workers, students and youths of Durgapur have risen up again and again in heroic revolt against the reactionary authorities, the police and the revisionists. The workers of the Durgapur steel plant and other factories have fought political battles and forced the reactionary authorities to surrender on several occasions. They also attacked the reactionary police and between the end of October and the end of November alone, nine policemen were annihilated in this town. Several army men also have been killed and injured.

Inspired by the peasants' armed struggle guerrilla squads of revolutionary youths and students annihilated two notorious usurers in Katwa town—Ramdeo Sharma on December 2 and Baburam Singh on January 5. A squad of revolutionary students and youths annihilated Ramlal Goswami, an agent of the class enemies, in Budbud police station area on January 21. The revolutionary students and youths of Burdwan town attacked Birhata police post in November and seriously injured a CRP man.

Murshidabad-Birbhum Area :

A report of December 1970 of the West Bengal-Bihar Border Region Committee of the CPI (M-L), which leads the revolutionary

armed struggle in this area states that 26 class enemies had been attacked by guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants and 19 had been annihilated.

At the end of December a squad of five landless peasants annihilated a *mohanta*, a man who ran a religious centre and was himself a *jotedar*, in Kandi police station area. On December 31, a squad of students and youths annihilated a notorious police agent, Badal Ganguli, in Rampurhat police station area. In the same police station area guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants annihilated two hated *jotedars*—one on January 8 and the other on January 11. In Raghunathganj police station area a *jotedar*, usurer and black-marketeer was annihilated by a squad of landless peasants on January 19. On February 3, a squad of landless peasants annihilated a class enemy in Bharatpur police station area. The last three actions were carried out entirely on the initiative of poor and landless peasants. On February 8, Jadugopal Roy, a *jotedar* and usurer, president of Birbhum district congress committee (R) and candidate for election to W B. Legislative Assembly, was annihilated by a squad of workers and youths. The annihilation of this prop of reaction was hailed by the people. On February 19, a guerrilla squad of landless and poor peasants of Sagardighi police station area made a daring attack on the house of a notorious *jotedar* where seven class enemies had met, killed the worst one and seriously injured the others. Thus they avenged the merciless beating of a peasant guerrilla by the *jotedars*. In Berhampur town, five more *jotedars*, usurers, revisionist agents of the police and bad characters—Swapan Chatterji, Kanak Roy, Mantu Saha, Kamal Saha and Santanu Karfarma—have been annihilated.

Attack on the armed forces of the state and snatching of rifles, guns and revolvers have started in this area. Five rifles have so far been seized.

Nadia District :

The guerrilla squads of landless and poor peasants, workers, youths and students have valiantly carried forward the battle of annihilation of class enemies in this district.

On December 31, a squad of two landless peasants annihilated Nagen Ghosh, a notorious class enemy in Chakdah police station area. On December 20, a guerrilla squad of three landless and poor *Adivasi* peasants annihilated Pagal Chandji, a hated *jotedar* and usurer near the Nadia-24 Parganas border. On January 23, a squad of four poor and landless peasants annihilated Sarafat Ali, a notorious *jotedar*, usurer, police agent and bad character, near the Nadia-24 Parganas border.

According to a report of February 9, 1971, one hated *jotedar* and jute merchant and two CPI (M) gangsters were annihilated within a few weeks in Nabadwip. Brajalal Agarwala, a hated merchant and usurer, was annihilated in Palasi.

According to reports in the bourgeois press, Barin Chakrabarti, a constable attached to the District intelligence branch, was annihilated at the end of January at Krishnagar and another policeman was annihilated in Nabadwip town on February 2.

Attacks on the reactionary police and snatching of guns and revolvers are continuing.

24 Parganas :

The revolutionary armed struggle in this district is forging ahead vigorously. On November 30, Surath Bhattacharyya, a hated police agent and Congressite was annihilated in Baruipur area. On December 3, a squad of five guerrillas annihilated Kanai Debnath, the villain of a man and *jotedar*, in Mathurapur police station area. On December 7, peasant guerrillas annihilated Swapan Chakrabarti, a police agent at Bansbona within Habra police station area. On November 7, Jalaluddin, a blood-sucking *jotedar* and usurer, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of five landless and poor peasants within Mahestala police station area. On October 20, a guerrilla squad of three poor peasants annihilated Hamid, a notorious class enemy, in Barasat police station area. On October 31, Lakshmi Pal, a hated usurer, was annihilated at Ashoknagar. On November 14, Subhendu Mitra, a notorious *jotedar*

and usurer, was annihilated in Swarupnagar area. On December 25, a Red Guard squad annihilated Rabin Das, a hated *jotedar*, usurer, and black-marketeer, at Basirhat in response to the demands of the masses. On January 2, a guerrilla squad of landless and poor peasants annihilated Firojetulla, a notorious *jotedar* and usurer in Baduria police station area. On January 19, a guerrilla squad annihilated a *dofadar*, an enemy agent, in Bhangar police station area. Gopal Thakur, a hated usurer and agent of the landlords and local CPI (M) chieftain, was annihilated by guerrilla comrades at Taki on January 16. The same day, Jadu Ghosh, a notorious *jotedar*, usurer and pleader, was annihilated at Basirhat. On January 15 a squad of revolutionary youths and students seized a gun of a *jotedar* at Basirhat. At Amtali in Gosaba police station area peasant guerrillas annihilated a police informer in the beginning of January. On January 29, Sashipada Tarafdar, a blood-sucking *jotedar* and usurer, was annihilated by a squad of poor and landless peasants in Hingalganj police station area. Sachin Banerjee, a pillar of Congressite reaction and hated class enemy, was fatally injured by guerrilla comrades at Basirhat, on February 1. On February 13, a Red Guard squad attacked and annihilated a policeman. In this area many attacks were launched on government offices and educational institutions and several policemen were seriously injured. On February 6, Ramayan Singh, a hated usurer and black-marketeer, was annihilated by guerrilla comrades in Budge Budge police station area. Previously, Bibek Panja, a police agent and local CPI (M) leader, and Jagatjyoti Das, a hated *jotedar* and usurer, had been annihilated by guerrilla comrades in this area. A guerrilla squad of landless peasants annihilated on January 22 Chadi Sheikh, a villainous *jotedar* and usurer, in Kankuramasat village in Diamond Harbour police station area. The CPI (M-L) had no unit in this place. The landless peasants studied the writings of Chairman Mao and Comrade Charu Mazumdar, organized themselves and carried out the action. According to a bourgeois press report, a class enemy was annihilated in Haroa police station area.

Many bold attacks have been launched on armed policemen, even on army columns and patrols, and several guns, revolvers, and rifles

have been seized. On January 4, a police officer was annihilated and his loaded revolver seized at Ashoknagar in Habra police station area.

Workers are coming forward to join the revolutionary armed struggle. Last year the despot of a manager of the Titagarh Jute Mill was annihilated by workers. On January 18, worker guerrillas stopped the car of the Works Manager of the Usha Fan Factory at Bansdroni and seriously injured him and a few more officers of the factory. For some time the workers of the factory had been subjected to great oppression. Despising the revisionists who are in collusion with the factory authorities, the workers are rising in militant revolt in defence of their honour and interests.

Hooghly District :

The peasants' revolutionary armed struggle is spreading in this district. On December 26, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Panchanan Mitra, a notorious big *jotedar*, usurer and black-marketeer in Haripal police station area. On December 19, Kana Tapi, a police agent, bad character and CPI (M) supporter was annihilated by a guerrilla squad in Chanditala police station area. On January 8 another police agent and bad character was annihilated by peasant guerrillas in the same police station area. On January 28, Sitapati Banerjee, a Forward Bloc candidate for election to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, notorious police agent and bad character, was annihilated by a squad of guerrilla comrades. On January 30, a guerrilla squad annihilated Hrishikesh Sinha, a big *jotedar* and industrialist, in Polba police station area. On February 12, Shyamapada Pal, a notorious *jotedar* and usurer, was annihilated in Goghat police station area by a guerrilla squad. Basan Mian, a big *jotedar*, merchant and local Congress leader, was annihilated by a squad of landless and poor peasants near the Hooghly-Burdwan border. According to a bourgeois press report, one Kishori Mohan Dutt, a class enemy was annihilated in the Goghat police station area on January 16. On March 5, a squad of peasant guerrillas

cap. 1. // annihilated kartic Datta, a hated Jotedar and usurer, in Haripal police station area, Khudiram Roy of a notorious Jotedar family, which had murdered two peasants and is guilty of many crimes, was annihilated by peasant guerrillas in Kotalpur police station area in Bankura district.

Howrah District :

On November 30, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Haru Das a hated Jotedar and usurer, in Panchla police station area.

During this period revolutionary workers, youths and students have dealt powerful blows at the class enemies, police officers and men, police agents and counter-revolutionary CPI (M) gangsters working in close collusion with the police. In Shibpur police station area several such poisonous rats have been wiped out. In Bally-Belur-Lilua area alone, more than six enemy agents including one corrupt personnel officer of the Eastern Railways, two policemen and two leaders of CPI (M) gangsters were punished with death. Several guns and rifles of the police and class enemies have been seized by guerrilla comrades.

Calcutta :

Inspired by the peasants' armed struggle, the revolutionary struggle of the workers, youths and students is making rapid advance. Many class enemies police agents, police officers and men and CPI (M) gangsters, who are secret agents of the police have been liquidated. With death-defying valour guerrilla comrades attacked a police camp at the Behala airstrip and captured at least nine rifles and more than 300 rounds of ammunition on February 21. Next day, another police post was attacked and two rifles were seized.

Two police spies were annihilated at Behala—one on November 12 and the other on December 29.

In Beliaghata many valiant comrades have been murdered in cold blood by the reactionary police during this period. But with great courage and determination the revolutionary workers, youths and students of Beliaghata are avenging these murders by annihilating police officers, police agents and CPI (M) gangsters who actually are secret police agents. Many of them have been liquidated. An American official of the Peace Corps, the U.S. spy ring, was attacked in his car with bombs in Beliaghata.

In Bhowanipur-Kalighat area, a police spy was annihilated and several others were injured.

In north and north-east Calcutta heroic battles have been fought by revolutionary workers, students and youths. Many class-enemies, police agents and CPI (M) gangsters have been annihilated. Several guns and three rifles have been seized. Army patrols have been attacked with death defying valour.

In central Calcutta, the armed police were attacked and two rifles were seized.

Under the leadership of the Garden Reach local committee, a squad of guerrilla comrades attacked the Railway Protection Force at Santoshpur railway station with knives and daggers, killed two armed men, injured another and seized three rifles and some bullets on March 9. The Border Security Force posted near-by tried to encircle the guerrillas and fired two rounds. Our guerrillas too returned the fire with the seized rifles and made good their escape.

Today the revolutionary armed struggle is surging forward despite the 'enemy's encirclement and suppression' campaigns. Area after area is encircled by the army and the armed police are carrying out intensive combing operations. Mass arrests are being made, valiant comrades are being shot and murdered in cold blood when they are captured. But the revolutionary cadres are fighting with death-defying valour. At Jadavpur, the students' hostel on Prince Anwar Shah Road was encircled by large contingents of the army and other armed forces but the brave students fought for at least eight hours with whatever they could lay their hands on before they allowed the enemy to enter the hostel and murder some of them. Chairman Mao said: "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." It is this love for the people and revolutionary heroism that enable our comrades to defy difficulties and despise dangers. So they dare to struggle and dare to win in spite of all the enemy's frenzied offensive. In response to Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call the revolutionary peasants, workers, youths and students are launching their attacks not only on class enemies but

also on armed forces of the reactionary state, including army columns. Almost every day they are seizing rifles and guns and are arming the peasant guerrilla squads with them. It is the invaluable support and co-operation of the broad masses, both rural and urban, that have frustrated and are frustrating the enemy's plans. That is why a spokesman of the reactionary government had to admit some time after they had started intensive combing operations with the help of the army that the CPI (M-L) was more deep-rooted than they had thought of. And that revisionist skunk, Jyoti Basu, bewailed that the combing operations had yielded poor results. All these provided the background of the 'peaceful' polling that took place on March 10. It is indisputable that the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle and the CPI (M-L) that leads it have become the decisive factor in changing the history of this ancient land,

Heroic Struggle of Our Comrades in Prison :

Our comrades in different prisons of West Bengal have created history. Imbued with the spirit of revolutionary heroism they have turned the prison itself into a centre of revolt. The prison walls cannot subdue their spirit nor can they subdue them physically. They have proved that revolutionaries remain revolutionaries even while in prison. So they have heroically fought every attempt to humiliate them. Many comrades have sacrificed their lives in the course of such struggle. In Midnapur Central Jail, nine peasant comrades gave their lives on December 16. In Berhampur Central Jail at least nine comrades were brutally murdered. But the enemy cannot kill the revolutionary spirit of our comrades, their spirit of heroic resistance to oppression. Our comrades are also resolved to make jail-breaking a common-place affair. So, with rare courage and determination, Comrade Nitai Ghosh of Nadia escaped from police custody though he had been severely injured. On December 28, the police van that was carrying Comrade Akhtar Ali from the court to the prison was ambushed by comrades in West Dinajpur and he was rescued. On January 30, Comrade Dil Bahadur and two other comrades escaped from Kurseong Jail in Darjeeling district and five comrades, though handcuffed, escaped from a police van on the way from Alipur Central Jail to Barasat Court. Another

very daring action was carried out by the imprisoned comrades of Rajarhat, 24 Parganas. On January 28, these comrades, while being taken in a police van from Dum Dum Central Jail to Barasat court, attacked the armed guards in the van and seized two of their rifles and aimed them at the police officer in the van. Seven comrades then jumped down from the running van. Of them, two were again captured by the police. But five comrades returned to safety with the active co-operation of the revolutionary people. On February 2 a CPI (M L) cadre and another prisoner made a daring escape from a prison van which was on its way to Sealdah court.

The comrades of Siliguri Jail showed exemplary initiative and courage when they overpowered the warder at the jail gate, snatched away the keys and escaped on February 21. Eleven comrades including Comrade Dipak Biswas broke jail and are now safe among the people.

It is the revolutionary spirit, the spirit of heroic self-sacrifice in the interests of the people and revolution without any thought of self-defence or self-preservation, that inspires our comrades to display wonderful heroism and to do incredible things.

—Marce 16 1971

HOMAGE TO MARTYRS

Last year Comrade Vempatapu Satyanarayan and Comrade Adivatla Kailasham, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and great leaders of the peasant armed struggle in Srikakulam, were shot and murdered by the reactionary police after they had been captured. They remained heroic fighters and loyal comrades to the end of their lives. The entire Party vowed to avenge their murder and to turn their great sorrow into burning hatred and wrath towards the enemy.

Comrade Sushital Roy Choudhury, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), died from heart-attack on March 13. He had been convener of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Commu-

nist Revolutionaries and of the West Bengal State Co-ordination Committee. When the Party was founded, he became a member of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPI (M-L). After the Party Congress he was elected Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party. Hard work in underground conditions told on his health and he was ailing for some time.

The Party and the Editorial Board of *Liberation* pay respectful homage to the memory of these leaders.

Corrections

1. In the article by Comrade Charu Mazumdar "*Give Priority to the Task of Establishing the Peasants' Political Power in the Countryside*" (*Liberation*, September-December issue, p. 31), the last sentence of the first paragraph "In electing the commanders every preference should be given to poor and landless peasants" should read as "Commanders should be elected from among poor and landless peasants."

2. The second sentence in the same article "The peasants of Naxalbari have seized rifles from the police and have thus raised the struggle to a new stage" should read as "The peasants of Naxalbari have seized rifles from the police at Magurjan and have thus raised the struggle to a new stage." (p. 31)

3. In the same issue of *Liberation* the report on our comrades' heroic fight in Midnapur jail stated that two of the enemy attackers were annihilated (p. 70 and p. 71). This part of the report was inaccurate.

The mistakes are regretted.

—Ed. *Liberation*

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