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VOL.
NOVEMBER

Liberation

REPORT ON NAXALBARI STRUGGLE

DEVELOP PEASANTS' CLASS STRUGGLE

FOLLOW THE ROAD OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

MARXISM-LENINISM & THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG ARE ONE

FIGHT IMPERIALISM, FIGHT REVISIONISM

COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES MEET

LIBERATION

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Editor-in-Chief

Sushital Ray Chaudhury

NOTES

QUOTATIONS FROM
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, the October Revolution, have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era.

The road of the October Revolution is, fundamentally speaking, the bright common road for the progress of all mankind.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was founded by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by the revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and Party members and cadres are good, that they want revolution and that rule by revisionism will not last long.

NOTES

ONE EVENTFUL YEAR

With this issue *Liberation* steps into the second year of its publication. One year is over—a period brief but eventful, a year that brought with it rich gifts for the world's revolutionary people—great struggles and earth-shaking victories.

Immediately after the first issue of *Liberation* had appeared, communist revolutionaries from different states met and formed the All India Co-ordination Committee. The formation of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and the first *Declaration* it issued are no doubt a landmark in the history of the communist movement in India. After the rejection of the revisionist leadership and its policies in practice by the Naxalbari peasants, the All India Co-ordination Committee sent out a call to all true communists in India to repudiate openly the leadership of the neo-revisionist clique. It called upon them to popularise the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism and to unite on this basis all revolutionary elements within and outside the Party. The task to which it gave priority was the task of building peasant struggles of the Naxalbari type under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, for the first time in the history of India's communist movement Marxist-Leninists decided unequivocally to break with the opportunist scum that had so long dominated it. It was, no doubt, under the impact of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China that this long delayed decision was taken. Throughout the history of the party a simmering struggle has continued between the Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists of the Right

and the Left variety, but never before had the Marxist-Leninists purged their ranks of the agents of imperialism and domestic reaction masquerading as communists. We know what a terrible price the Indian revolution and the Marxist-Leninists had to pay for this policy of unity with the traitors.

Communist revolutionaries from one end of India to another have enthusiastically responded to the call of the All India Co-ordination Committee and rallied under its banner. At the May 1968 meeting a second *Declaration* was issued by the Committee clarifying its understanding further, particularly, in respect of one important issue. It then explicitly declared that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, a bourgeois dictatorship and No.1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, is pursuing a neo-colonial policy towards India and is one of the four main enemies of the Indian people. It also appealed to the comrades who accepted the thought of Mao Tse-tung but who still maintained separate groups to liquidate the groups, co-ordinate their struggles and consolidate themselves within the All India Co-ordination Committee. It is worthy of note that this appeal, too, has not gone in vain. Comrades leading the struggles of the working people, especially, peasant struggles in different parts of India—Naxalbari, Lakhimpur, Muzaffarpur, Sreecakulam, Telangana and various other places—have all consolidated themselves within the All India Co-ordination Committee. We again appeal to the genuine revolutionaries who are still outside the Committee to unite within it and carry forward the cause of the Indian revolution.

At the May meeting the All India Co-ordination Committee adopted a historic resolution on the boycott of elections. It unequivocally rejected the futile path of parliamentarism and upheld the revolutionary path, the path of boldly arousing the masses, relying on them, building revolutionary bases in the rural areas through an agrarian

revolution under proletarian leadership and finally capturing the cities—the path along which Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the Chinese revolution to victory. Today, when all the counter-revolutionary parties and groups, including the revisionists and neo-revisionists, have been preaching from the house-tops the virtues of parliamentarism, the Indian people are increasingly taking to the road of armed peasant struggle.

The revolutionary situation in India is now more excellent than before. The ruling classes have been enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crisis than before. Their economy, an appendage to imperialist economy, is afflicted with a mortal disease from which there is no hope of recovery. In the midst of the deepening crisis the U. S. and British monopolists, the Soviet neo-colonialists and the Indian big landlords and big bourgeoisie have intensified their exploitation of our people. The peasantry, the working class and the petty bourgeoisie are faced with pauperisation, unemployment, complete loss of purchasing capacity and soaring prices. Anxiety grips the hearts of even the national bourgeoisie whose enterprises are worst hit by the economic crisis.

As the contradictions between the people and the exploiting classes grow sharper, the Congress Party, the main party of the Indian landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, can hardly deceive the people any longer with talks of economic planning or of building socialism. It is also a house divided against itself. A dogfight is going on between different factions and parties of the ruling classes, which have linked their fate with that of U. S. or British imperialists or of the Soviet neo-colonialists. Their fight for power and super-profits among themselves and their masters is making the political crisis even more sharp.

When the process of our people's disenchantment with the policies of the ruling party and other avowedly resc-

tionary parties is almost complete, the sham communists, Marxists and socialists of various brands have stepped into the breach to stabilise the present system, as E. M. S. Namboodiripad himself said in his interview with the *Washington Post* correspondent (see *People's Democracy*, January 14, 1968). To serve faithfully their masters, the native and foreign exploiters, they are striving hard to divert the wrath of the people along the parliamentary channel. But the process of their own isolation from the people is quite rapid, for all the sham fight they are putting up against the Congress Party can hardly conceal their true features as lackeys of the ruling classes.

The year has witnessed the triumph of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. This epoch-making victory has strengthened and made impregnable the base of the world revolution and provided inspiration and strength to the revolutionary struggles now sweeping through Laos, Thailand, Burma and various other countries. The victorious Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is also inspiring the proletarians and the youth of the metropolitan countries like the U. S. A. and France to rain powerful blows on the imperialist-bourgeoisie. In the countries ruled by the revisionist renegades, Marxist-Leninist parties and groups like the Stalin Group in the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Poland are uniting the people for a decisive fight against the traitors. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet social-imperialists has sharpened the contradictions between the people and the revisionist renegade cliques and hastened the disintegration of the revisionist camp. The events of the year have proved that in this period of revolutionary upsurge, when capitalism cannot hope to regain its stability, when imperialism is heading towards its total collapse and when socialism is marching towards world-wide victory, the revolutionary movement knows no waning. There may be temporary set-backs in a particular place or country, quite

important strategically, due to revisionist conspiracies, but in the world as a whole the revolutionary tide will, far from receding, continue to advance. Before it the world-wide front set up by the imperialists, revisionists and other reactionaries to oppose the new world front of revolution led by Socialist China and Socialist Albania is bound to collapse.

At such a historic hour *Liberation* dedicates itself to the cause of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in this country. To accomplish this revolution it is necessary to fight both the enemies without and the enemy within. Revisionism is the enemy within us, and without eliminating its influence we cannot hope to win victory in the revolution. *Liberation* takes the pledge to carry forward the struggle that has just started in this country against revisionist policies and influences.

We are grateful for the sympathy and support of the international communist movement that we have received in an abundant measure from the very beginning. On this occasion we greet all comrades, both in India and abroad, who have unstintedly given us their valued support and help. We also send our revolutionary greetings to all comrades and people who are today valiantly fighting under the banner of Chairman Mao's thought for the overthrow of the enemies of mankind—imperialism, modern revisionism and all other reaction.

FOLLOW THE ROAD OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Fifty-one years ago the October Revolution led by Lenin and his party ushered in a new, great era in the history of mankind. For the first time on earth this revolution of a new type ended the exploitation of man by man and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in a vast country and challenged the entire capitalist-imperialist

system. The world after the October Revolution was no longer the same as the world before it. The socialist system, the system that was to embrace the whole world in future, had its birth in one-sixth of the world. And the salvoes of the October Revolution awoke the revolutionaries everywhere to Marxism and brought into existence a world front of revolution against the imperialist bourgeoisie. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The October Revolution has opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the peoples of the world and opened up the realistic paths towards it; it has created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East." The land of the Soviets, the first proletarian state in the world, became the base, the centre, the hope, of the world revolutionary movement fighting for the overthrow of imperialism and its stooges.

It was a grim struggle that the Soviet Party and people guided by Lenin and Stalin had to wage against their enemies, both internal and external, in order to preserve the gains of the revolution and build socialism in a country encircled by hostile capitalist states. The victories they won with the sympathy and active support of the people of the world, particularly in the war against Hitlerite fascism, are almost legendary: they are as spectacular as they are inspiring to the toiling people everywhere.

The Chinese revolution led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung followed the road of the October Revolution, the road of violent revolution, and achieved a victory that struck terror into the hearts of all imperialists and reactionaries. And, following China, almost the whole of South-east Asia unfurled the banner of the October Revolution and embarked on the road of violent revolution.

But, to quote Chinese comrades,

"During World War II, at the same time as it achieved tremendous growth the international communist movement produced its own opposite—an adverse current of counter-revolutionary revisionism. The main characteristic of this adverse current was the rejection of violent revolution and the advocacy of the parliamentary road. It brought tremendous losses to the international communist movement. Typical were the setbacks in the French and Italian revolutions."

The modern revisionists, the collaborators of the imperialist bourgeoisie, disrupted or sought to disrupt revolutionary struggles in different countries—France, Italy, Greece, Burma, India, even in China. But all the attempts of China's Khrushchov to make the Chinese Communist Party lay down its arms and opt for the parliamentary road after its victory in the Anti-Japanese War were foiled, and the Chinese revolution led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung achieved its world-shattering victory. But the modern revisionists succeeded in seizing leadership of the Party, the state and the army first in Yugoslavia and then, after Comrade Stalin's death, in the Soviet Union itself. With the capture of power by the revisionist renegades, darkness descended on the first socialist country of the world. What had been the base, the centre, of world revolution became a base, a centre, of world counter-revolution. By using the state machine, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, headed by Khrushchov and his successors, Kosygin and Brezhnev, has restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and itself practises neo-colonialism. The invasion of Czechoslovakia conclusively proves that this clique has, as Comrade Chou En-lai declared, degenerated into social-fascism and social-imperialism. While swearing by Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists repudiate every Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They oppose violent revolution with their theory of peaceful transition to

socialism and laud the parliamentary road to the skies. They repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat and replace it by the dictatorship of the entire people, which amounts to the dictatorship of the new bourgeois stratum. In the name of the state of the entire people, they have changed the proletarian state into a capitalist state. They distort the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence and, anxious to restore capitalism in their country, they try to snuff out the flame of revolution everywhere. Their peaceful co-existence with capitalism amounts to collaboration and collusion with U. S. imperialism to redivide the world into neo-colonial empires for themselves. Their talk of peaceful competition with imperialism and outstripping it in material production is a clever device to hoodwink the revolutionary peoples and divert them from the road of the October Revolution. This revisionist renegade clique is the sworn enemy not only of the Soviet working people, but of all the workers and oppressed nations of the world including the Indian people. They attacked Comrade Stalin in order to attack Marxism-Leninism itself and to disrupt the international communist movement. Their crimes against the people of the world are legion.

The international communist movement under the leadership of Chairman Mao has fought back the vicious offensive and has launched a counter-attack which has completely disorganised the camp of revisionism. Today, a new front of world revolution has emerged with Socialist China as its base. The revisionists led by the Soviet renegade clique have quite naturally concentrated all their fire against Socialist China and against Comrade Mao Tse-tung. To oppose and destroy Socialist China, Socialist Albania, the powerful national liberation struggles and the heroic struggles of the workers and students in the citadels of imperialism and social-imperialism, they have set up a world front of counter-revolution despite contradictions with their allies. This front which includes all traitors

and scabs including Suharto, Tunku, Indira Gandhi, Ne Win, Sato is being led by the neo-colonialists of Washington and Moscow. Today, the world front of revolution led by China and Albania faces the world front of imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction, headed by the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegades.

The brave peasants of Naxalbari, who have embarked on the road of the October Revolution, have given to the Indian people their rightful place within the front of world revolution. But, on which side of the barricade are the Dange revisionist clique and that bunch of opportunists who call themselves "Marxists"? True to themselves, they are, as ever before, on the other side of the barricade. After the twentieth congress of the CPSU they have openly renounced the path of the October Revolution, the path of violent revolution, and have been trying their utmost to divert the people's anger and discontent along the parliamentary channel. They are raving against Socialist China, against Naxalbari and all their energies are directed towards sabotaging the agrarian revolution that is now breaking out in India. Their present is worthy of their past. There has been a long career of conscious treachery to the Indian revolution and to the ideal of the October Revolution. One recalls how these treacherous leaders of the Indian Communist Party sabotaged the agrarian revolution when, following the road of the October Revolution, the heroic Telangana peasants rose arms in hand to overthrow imperialism and feudalism and set up People's power in thousands of villages. When the rank and file comrades rose in revolt against this policy of sordid betrayal, these traitors confessed their crimes in sack cloth and ashes. To escape from the wrath of the Party comrades and people, they wrote in a message of greetings, to the Communist Party of China, dated July 1, 1950:

"Armed with the lessons of the Chinese Revolution as drawn by the Communist Party of China and its great

leader; Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Central Committee has pledged to unite the entire people of India against Anglo-American imperialism and its Indian stooges. The brave fighters of Telangana, Andhra, Mymensingh etc., have already shown that the Chinese path is the path for India also. The Central Committee is sure that following this path, the Indian people can defeat the diabolical plans of Anglo-American imperialism to make India its base of aggression against the Soviet Union and China as well as of intervention against the peoples of South-East Asia, liberate their country from the imperialist grip and establish People's Democracy."

The policies that these sham communists actually pursued while they made the above pledge reveal the depth of hypocrisy and treachery to which they can stoop. Far from following the Chinese path, they ordered revolutionary comrades to stop the Telangana struggle and handed many of them over to the butchers of the Nehru government in return for the dubious privilege of contesting a few seats in the legislatures. Their Election Manifesto which they published on 6th August, 1951 (mark the date), concluded with the following slogans:

"All to the Polls

—To Rout the Congress

—To Make the People's Candidates Victorious

—To Establish a People's Government"

It was the Chinese path, indeed! For all these years since 1951, these despicable traitors have been tireless in talking of routing the Congress, defeating the diabolical plans of Anglo-American imperialists and establishing a People's Government—through the polls!

But the game of these counter-revolutionaries is up. The peasant struggles in Naxalbari, Sreeakulam, Telangana, Lakhimpur, Muzaffarpur, Ranchi have forced them to appear openly on the side of the domestic reactionaries, Soviet revisionist renegades and U. S. imperialists. The

international communist movement has dubbed them as "running dogs of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and lackeys of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie". They can never wash away this shame and ignominy: they can never again worm their way back into the communist movement as they did in the past after each betrayal. As the tide of the Indian revolution rises, it will sweep them away like so much garbage however wildly they may now gesticulate and rave against the peasant uprisings and against Socialist China.

Though the October Revolution has been betrayed in the land of the Soviets, it is winning ever-new triumphs in various other countries. People all over the world are discarding the revisionist stuff of "peaceful transition to socialism" as poison and are realizing that the road of the October Revolution is the only road to national liberation, socialism and world peace. As Chairman Mao has said, "the masses of the Soviet people and Party members and cadres are good", "they want revolution" and "rule by revisionism will not last long." Led by Marxist-Leninists, the Soviet people will, in no distant future, return to the road of the October Revolution and overthrow the dictatorship of the new Tsars in the Kremlin. The whole world shall become red.

Long Live the October Revolution!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought!

Workers and Oppressed Nations of the World, Unite!

REACTION'S OFFENSIVE

Comrade Kanu Sanyal, the beloved leader of the revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari, along with Comrade Keshab Sarkar and some other comrades, was captured by the armed police on the night of October 30-31. On that night, an armed force of about one thousand men surrounded the Birsingjote village and neighbouring areas. The Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling district, personally led the

operations. The West Bengal Government's Chief Secretary and Inspector-General of Police were at hand; they had been camping at the near-by town of Siliguri.

Since the publication of Comrade Kanu Sanyal's report on the peasant struggle in the Terai region (which appears in this issue of *Liberation*), the class-enemies had been screaming for intensified action against the leaders of the struggle. Bourgeois newspapers carried slanted news items and reports, mostly fantastic stories, to sow confusion among the people and urge the police to be still more active. The state apparatus worked frenziedly to capture the leaders of the struggle in collusion with all the reactionary parties and groups including the SSP, the CPI (M) and the Bhoodanists, who entered the area on the pretext of providing relief to the flood-stricken people. Parts of our area were badly affected by the flood in the beginning of this month and Comrade Kanu Sanyal moved among the peasantry to see them through this calamity caused by the class policy of the reactionary ruling classes. The enemies quite naturally took full advantage of the conditions created by the flood.

Like thieves in the night, the police stealthily went to the area and quickly left it after making the capture.

They drove our comrades away to the Bagdogra Police Station. When, as the news spread, hundreds of peasants and other people gathered at day-break before the police station, the police took them to Bagdogra air-port and then to the Shukna Forest Bangalow to meet the Inspection General of Police. Instead of producing them at the Sub-divisional court at Siliguri, the police officers thought it prudent to send them to the far-away Darjeeling jail.

Comrade Kanu Sanyal had gone underground some eighteen months ago when the 'United Front' government, of which the 'Marxist' leader Jyoti Basu was Deputy Chief Minister, issued warrants for his arrest and ordered the police to shoot him at sight.

All the counter-revolutionaries, particularly, the leaders of the CPI (M), can scarcely hide their glee at the fulfilment of their long cherished desire. The communist revolutionaries and the revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari dared the enemies to do their worst. Revolutionaries hate to function only under conditions permitted by the reactionaries. As Marx said, they never make a secret of their views. It is true that the enemies have succeeded in dealing a blow at the revolutionary movement. But such attack, whatever the reactionaries may dream of, cannot and shall not stop the struggle of the heroic peasantry of Naxalbari. It will only increase the anger and hatred of the people towards their enemies and make them more resolute and dedicated fighters. No power on earth can crush the people who are awake.

"Problems Ahead For Vietnam"

A friend of ours has received the following letter from the CHINA POLICY STUDY GROUP, *Broadsheet*, London:

"Thank you for your letter of the 29th October. I'm afraid that the publication 'Problems Ahead for Vietnam' is indeed a forgery. We had a duplicated letter from Anna Louise Strong denouncing it, dated September 2, 1968. She says in her letter that 'it seems clear that the forgery has been done not by any individual but by an organisation well supplied with funds and staff and seeking to injure both China and Vietnam.' She asks if any copies of the forgery come to hand that they be sent to her with the envelope or wrapping.

"In my view, for what its worth, the document is a cleverly disguised attack on both China and the Vietnamese — 'waving the red flag to oppose the red flag.'

"We can appreciate your embarrassment and desire to do what's best. Our suggestion can only be to let your readers know that this vicious trap was laid and your wish to warn them against it. We all make mistakes and it is just something we have to face when it happens!"

The above letter confirms that the document (published in our September issue) was a heinous forgery. We tender our sincerest apologies to Anna Louise Strong and to our readers for allowing ourselves to be duped by this monstrous fraud. We feel deeply grieved that we have

unintentionally wronged the heroic people of Vietnam and the great Chinese people.

We assure our readers that in future we shall be more vigilant.

THE PEOPLE ARE RISING IN REBELLION :

Adivasi People Hit Hard At The Oppressors

Together with the people in other parts of India the Adivasi people of Chotanagpur, Bihar are rising in revolt against the vicious policy of the reactionary ruling classes. For generations the imperialists, landlords, money-lenders and merchants have carried on ruthless exploitation and oppression of the Adivasi people. Today, the government of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords are trying ruthlessly to maintain the age-old system and drown in blood any opposition to it. But the people are indomitable. That the Adivasis are hitting hard at the common enemies of the Indian people will be evident from the following reports culled from bourgeois newspapers :

"Ranchi, Oct. 28—Police fired 23 rounds on a violent Adivasi mob which last night attacked and set fire to the Chainpur police station, about 100 miles from here, in Gumia sub-division.

"Section 144 has been promulgated throughout Ranchi district from noon today.

"Late at night a mob of 8,000 Adivasis stormed the Chainpur police station in an attempt to rescue those arrested. This led to the police action. "At least three Adivasis were killed and 11 injured in the police firing... The condition of some of the injured, who are being sent to Ranchi under police custody, is stated to be precarious."

"Ranchi, Oct. 29—A police constable was stabbed, a private jeep set on fire and State Transport Buses were stoned here today by angry Adivasis, who are agitated over the police firing at Chainpur last Sunday in which three persons were killed."

This is the third police firing in Ranchi district since June 8 when a big clash occurred between the police and the Adivasis. Six Adivasis, according to government reports, were killed in the firing on that day.

Develop Peasants' Class Struggle Through Class Analysis, Investigation And Study

—Charu Mazumdar

[First Published in the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI, October 17, 1966.]

THE revolutionary tactics for developing peasant movements in the rural areas can never be the same as the revisionist tactics. The manner in which we have tried to develop peasant movements for all these years can be called nothing but revisionist tactics. Revisionism works in peasant movements with a view to keeping the Party's activities open and relies for the movements on the Party leaders who belong to the intelligentsia. Consequently, they begin their movements with speeches by top leaders, by organising peasant squads and through open propaganda campaigns. Naturally, such movements are wholly dependent upon the big leaders and, as a result, they end whenever those leaders belonging to the intelligentsia choose to withdraw them. Moreover, as the entire agitation and movement are carried out openly, the entire organisation becomes helpless in the face of repression.

The tactics of the revolutionaries for organising peasant struggles must be entirely different from the revisionist tactics. The foremost duty of the revolutionaries is to spread and propagate the thought of Chairman Mao and to try to intensify the peasants' class struggle. Consequently, the Party organisation must organise propaganda by means of secret meetings. It may be that the peasants, acting under the influence of their old method of working, will ask for meetings and demonstrations. In such cases, the

Party organisation may help organise one or two such meetings or demonstrations.

But meetings and demonstrations can at no time become our main instrument of struggle. To master this revolutionary method is indeed very difficult. But this can be done if the revolutionary intellectuals start working in the underground from the very beginning. Only then will they be compelled to become dependent on the peasant revolutionaries. It must be realised that the people are not yet ready so long as the peasant revolutionaries do not take the initiative themselves. And naturally, we are not to impose our views on the peasant masses. The second deviation occurs when the peasant cadres want to do something, but the intellectual comrade attaches greater importance to the view of the most backward comrade and would have it accepted as the general opinion. This gives rise to a Right deviation.

So, the first principle is that we must not impose anything at all against the will of the masses. If we forget this, we shall commit many deviations which may be variously termed as sectarianism, Castro-ism etc. To avoid this we must ceaselessly carry on political propaganda among the peasants. As a result of such propaganda, we shall be able to raise political cadres able to carry on political propaganda. The secret organisation of such cadres will become the Party of the future. In building this, organisation we must follow the principles on which Party committees are run. Every such Party committee must have a definite area in which it will work, and must learn how to make a class analysis in that area and how to assess the wishes and thinking of each section of the population by means of investigation and study. This method of investigation and study can be learnt only through long practice. So, it is evident that in the beginning these committees will commit many deviations. But we need not be afraid of this. For, Chairman Mao

has taught us that we should learn warfare through warfare. The Party committees will learn how to take correct decisions from these deviations if they follow democratic principles.

There are both an advanced section and a backward section among the revolutionary classes also. The advanced section can quickly grasp the revolutionary principles while the backward section naturally requires more time to assimilate political propaganda.

That is why economic struggles against the feudal class are necessary, not only in the present, but in the future also. That is why the movement to seize the crops is necessary. The political consciousness and organisation in a given area will determine the form that this struggle will assume. This struggle will naturally be directed against the feudal class, that is, against the non-cultivating landowners, that is, against the zamindar class and never against the middle peasants.

If we do not try to develop a broad movement of the peasants and to draw the broad masses into the movement, the politics of seizure of power will naturally take a longer time to get firmly rooted in the consciousness of the peasant masses. As a result, the struggle will be dominated less and less by politics, and the tendency to rely more and more on arms alone is likely to grow. Guerrilla warfare is a higher form of the peasants' class struggle under political leadership. Consequently, only by the successful application of the four weapons—class analysis, investigation, study and class struggle can we create areas of peasants' armed struggle.

Rich peasants in our country rely mainly on feudal exploitation. So, our relation with them will be mainly one of struggle. But as they are subjected also to the exploitation of the imperialist market, it is possible to unite with them at certain stages of the struggle. Apart from these rich peasants, all other peasants can be mobilised not

merely as supporters but also as participants in the struggle. The landpoor and landless peasants, under the leadership of the working class, can build up the fighting unity of the broad peasant masses. The more rapid such unity is achieved, the quicker will the struggle assume a revolutionary character. We must bear in mind the teaching of Chairman Mao: "*Revolutionary war is a war of the masses. It can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them.*"

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are intensifying their oppression and exploitation in India and the burden of their exploitation ultimately falls upon the shoulders of the broad peasant masses. Poverty and starvation have made the life of the peasants absolutely unbearable and it is natural that spontaneous outbursts of discontent are taking place. Similarly, the oppression by U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has given rise to discontent among other classes also, which, in turn, influences the peasant masses. On the other hand, all the existing political parties in India have today turned into parties of the ruling classes, and each one of them is presently trying to keep the masses quiet by means of various tricks and devices. The Dangeite traitorous clique and the neo-revisionist clique are the most skilled in doing this. They are trying to confuse the masses by wearing the mask of Marxism-Leninism and indulging in all sorts of pseudo-revolutionary talks. But the Soviet revisionists' fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia has torn off their mask and with each passing day they will be clearly shown up as mere lackeys of the Soviet Union, which is today a pedlar of neo-colonialism and one of the aggressive powers of the world. The more these people are exposed, the more will the flood-tide of the resistance struggle of the masses be unleashed and the possibility of a broad mass movement of the peasants be turned into reality. So, the working class and the revolutionary intelligentsia are today faced with

the task of making the peasants class-conscious and of organising broad class struggles. The day is not far off when the creative powers of the millions of Indian peasants will build wide areas of armed struggle in the countryside and the revolutionary masses of India will take their rightful place in the ranks of all the revolutionary liberation fighters of the world. All revolutionaries must without delay plunge into the work of translating into reality Great Lenin's dream—the dream that the unity of the fighting peoples of Great China and India will dig the grave of world imperialism.

Soviet Revisionists—Enemies of the Soviet Workers

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique, arch enemy of the Soviet people, is at present perfecting a device to carry out retrenchment and increase the work-load of Soviet workers in a big way. The following report appeared in *New York Herald Tribune* (International Edition) of October 3, headed "Soviet Planning Chief Wants Fewer Workers Doing More" and is based on a report in *Pravda*.

Moscow, Oct. (NYT). The Soviet economic planning chief, Deputy Premier Nikolai K. Baibakov, yesterday endorsed a potentially controversial plan to encourage dismissal of surplus workers by allowing managers to make use of resulting wage savings to increase the pay of remaining employees.

The plan, now being tested in a chemical plant near Tula, raises sensitive questions, in a society that shuns unemployment, about retraining of workers, reassignment and transfers to other regions of the country.

Measures to eliminate widely prevalent over-staffing and inefficient use of workers are urgently needed, Mr. Baibakov explained, because labor reserves are diminishing as the economy continues to expand. The solution he said, is to encourage fewer employees to do more work.

Communist Revolutionaries Meet

RECENTLY, the All India Co-ordination Committee met and reviewed the developments both within and outside the country, that had taken place since its last meeting in May, 1968. The Committee noted that the revolutionary movement is surging forward in various countries including India. Armed peasant struggles have already broken out in different parts of the country besides Naxalbari. In the world outside, imperialism and revisionism have received further set-backs. In the very citadels of imperialism—the U.S.A., France etc.—the toiling people have dealt heavy blows to the enemy. The naked aggression against Czechoslovakia by the Soviet social-imperialists has further intensified the contradictions in which revisionism is enmeshed. The Committee hailed the epoch-making victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

Various reports on the recent meeting of the All India Co-ordination Committee have appeared in bourgeois newspapers. Most of these reports contain many fantastic inventions. Their one purpose is to sow confusion among the people.

We reproduce below the resolutions adopted by the Committee.

The following are the full texts of the Resolutions :

ON THE INDIAN SITUATION AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASK

India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's tour of South-east Asia followed by her recent tour of Latin American countries as well as the Finance Minister's visit to the U.S.A. portends a new danger. It is a clear indication that the Indian ruling circles, who have already become the principal instrument in carrying out the U.S. and

Soviet imperialist design against revolutionary China, against the Vietnamese people and against all other peoples fighting for liberation, are going to step up their offensive against the Indian people. This means more hunger, more suffering, for the Indian people. It also means greater and greater suppression of the Indian people's revolutionary struggles which have broken out and are breaking out everyday. The reactionary Indian ruling circles at the bidding of their U.S. and Soviet masters have had recourse to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of violent suppression of these struggles and blunting people's revolutionary temper and consciousness with the bait of elections, ministries etc. Intensification of violent suppression and intense efforts to foster parliamentary illusions are going hand-in-hand. In this nefarious game of the reactionary ruling classes of India, the revisionists and the neo-revisionists and all the so-called non-Congress and anti-Congress parties have become willing partners. They are straining their every nerve to divert the revolutionary people from the path of revolutionary struggles into the death-trap of parliamentarism, into the death-trap of elections.

Since our last meeting in May last, the Naxalbari peasant struggle has already entered its second stage, the stage of guerrilla war, and in various parts of India—Bihar, U.P., M.P., Andhra—armed peasant struggles have already broken out under the inspiration of the Naxalbari struggle and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This has made panicky the reactionary ruling circles of India and their hirelings, revisionists and neo-revisionists, who are clamouring for the counter-revolutionary suppression of these struggles, and are, at the same time trying to strengthen parliamentary illusions with vengeance.

So, the time has come for us, revolutionary Communists, to plunge ourselves more resolutely and more deeply into the peasant masses and to build up revolutionary bases

in the countryside. This is our major task, basic task. Other tasks, developing class struggles among other sections of the people, are undoubtedly important; but they should be contributory and subordinate to this basic task. This is imperative not only in the interests of the Indian people's liberation, but in the interests of the world revolution as well, because India has become a bastion of world reaction, a base of aggression of U.S. and Soviet imperialism, against the peoples of the world. So, by liberating themselves Indian people will perform their sacred internationalist duty as well. We are confident, revolutionaries and the revolutionary people of India, guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung will perform this world revolutionary task and, together with a great Chinese people and other revolutionary peoples of the world, will overthrow the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists and reactionaries of all kinds.

ON CHINA'S PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries hails the great revolutionary people of China and the great Communist Party of China on their world historic victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. After twenty months' intensest revolutionary battles they have been able to implement fully and completely Chairman Mao's historic directive to proletarian revolutionaries to unite and seize power from a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. With the establishment of revolutionary committees all over China excepting Taiwan province, the seizure of power is now completed and Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, is raised to a further new height. This great world historic victory of the Chinese people, this great world historic victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, is a stunning blow

to imperialists and revisionists all over the world, particularly U. S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, who are jointly hatching a most sinister plan against world revolution and its centre, revolutionary China, and its leader, Chairman Mao. In our country this great victory of the Chinese people has made the reactionary ruling circles and their hirelings, revisionists and neo-revisionists, shaky and panicky beyond measure. For this victory means a tremendous fillip to the revolutionary struggles of the people of India, which are a component part of the world revolutionary struggle now being carried on under the ever-growing inspiration of Chairman Mao's thought. We, Communist revolutionaries of India, solemnly pledge to carry forward these battles resolutely and fearlessly to their final consummation under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Long live the victory of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China !

Long live the great Communist Party of China !

Long live Chairman Mao !

ON SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries records its profound hatred and indignation at the dastardly act of imperialist invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and their four Warsaw Pact partners. It has provided another irrefutable positive proof that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has long degenerated into social-imperialists and social-fascists out to divide the world with their partners-in-crime, U. S. imperialists. The despicable capitulationist role of the Czechoslovak revisionist ruling clique, which has already restored capitalism in their country, is also a

grave pointer to those people who are still harbouring illusion about revisionist demagogues. On the one hand, they are selling out Czechoslovakia's national interests to Soviet plunderers; on the other hand, they are suppressing with impunity Czechoslovak people's growing resistance against Soviet imperialist occupation and domination. We, Indian Communist revolutionaries, extend our all-out support to the Czechoslovak people in their heroic fight against Soviet invaders as well as against their own revisionist renegade ruling clique. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will come out victorious in this battle and will be able to restore socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ON THE SOLIDARITY WITH THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries greets the great and heroic people of Albania led by the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha on their renouncing and withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact, which, led by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has degenerated into an imperialist war-pact like the NATO, their latest act of invasion of Czechoslovakia being a blatant case in point. Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour the heroic people of Albania, faced with the threat of Soviet aggression, are determined to fight back and defend their freedom and socialism. We are confident that if the Soviet social-imperialists dare to invade Albania, they will meet their doom at the hands of the great Albanian people who are today in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The Albanian people are not alone in this fight. The international working class movement and all other anti-imperialist forces, including the anti-imperialist forces-

of India, under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought will solidly stand behind the Albanian people in case of aggression against them.

HOMAGE TO COMRADE BABULAL BISWAKARMAKAR

The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries pays its revolutionary homage to the sacred memory of Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar who gave his life to raise the great Naxalbari peasant struggle to a higher phase, the phase of guerrilla war and showed us how a true revolutionary should live and die.

X Lackeys of Indian Reaction

A PTI report from Trivandrum dated October 22, 1968, states:

"Mr. Namboodiripad said [in the Kerala Assembly] that 207 cases had been registered by the police in connexion with Central Government employees' strike for offences like 'illegal strike', 'abetment' obstruction, intimidation and wrongful restraint. He said that 233 people had been arrested in connexion with the strike.The Chief Minister said it was decided to give protection to Central Government establishments, to remove obstructive picketing and give protection to loyal workers.....The Chief Minister said that the police had used force at Trivandrum and Trichur on the strike day." (*Statesman*, October 23, '68)

Report on the Peasant Movement In the Terai Region

—Kanu Sanyal

Translated from the Bengali original, which first appeared in the weekly DESHABRATI, October 24, 1968.

After about 18 months, we, the Communist revolutionaries of the Siliguri sub-division,¹ met at a convention on September 15, 1968, under quite unfavourable conditions.

Why am I speaking of unfavourable conditions? This is because during these 18 months attempts have been made to crush the revolutionary peasant movement of the Siliguri sub-division and to annihilate the Communist revolutionaries there through 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns. Who started the campaigns of 'encirclement and suppression?' On May 22, 1967, the leaders of the 14-party United Front government led by Ajoy-Jyoti-Harekrishna-Biswanath² threw hundreds of peasants and workers into jail and inflicted physical tortures on them, had their homes looted by the police and shot, bayoneted and killed 18 peasants including men, women and children with a view to crushing the revolutionary peasant movement.

The leaders of the 14-party United Front were unable to

1. In the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Naxalbari lies in this sub-division.

2. Ajoy Mukherji, a veteran Gandhite, anti-communist reactionary and chief minister of the former UF govt.; Jyoti Basu and Harekrishna Konar, neo-revisionist chieftains, deputy chief minister and minister for land and land revenue respectively, and Biswanath Mukherji, a leader of the Dangeite clique and irrigation minister in the UF government.

prevent their fall even though they had submitted slavishly to Indira Gandhi, the political boss of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords and *jotedars*. This is because the Congress Party, the political organisation of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords, toppled the 14-party UF government after having made that government do what it (the Congress Party) needed. It dismissed the U. F. Government in order that it might use the UF again whenever necessary to serve its purpose. The 'encirclement and suppression' campaign that the reactionary UF leaders had started on May 25, 1967⁴ against the revolutionary peasant struggle is being followed up by the regime of Dharam Vira, the governor, as clearly shown by the murder of Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar, who was shot dead on September 7 this year.

We met at a convention under unfavourable conditions like these with a view to assessing the experience of the revolutionary peasant struggle of the last 18 months and carrying this struggle forward firmly along the path illumined by the thought of our beloved leader and great teacher, Chairman Mao.

Naturally, we shall place our views before the comrades on the basis of the lessons that we have drawn from the heroic struggle of the Terai peasants.

We have not yet been able to learn well the thought of Chairman Mao. So there will be shortcomings in our views. We shall learn anew from the discussions of the comrades.

3. The 9-month old reactionary UF govt. in West Bengal was dismissed by the Central government in November, 1967.

4. On this day the reactionary police of the UF govt. shot down in cold blood 9 peasant women and children in the Prasadujote village near Naxalbari, at the instance of the reactionary and neo-revisionist leaders of the UF, who co-operated closely with one another in suppressing the peasant struggle of Naxalbari.

THisism could maintain its previous position. The struggle of the Terai peasants tore open their masks and forced them to take sides. The struggle of the heroic peasants showed that all the leaders of the the 14 'Left' parties including the so-called Marxist party, who had managed to secure ministerial *guddis* for themselves, were serving the state of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords, like the Congress Party. The struggle made it clear that, like the Congress Party, the leaders of the 14 'Left' parties including the Dangeite clique and Sundarayya & Co. are enemies of India's democratic revolution, that is, agrarian revolution. The struggle of the Terai peasants proved that the agrarian revolution can be led to success only by waging a relentless and uncompromising struggle against them.

The struggle of the Terai peasants acted as a midwife in the revolutionary situation prevailing in India. That is why a single spark of the Naxalbari struggle is kindling widespread forest-fire everywhere. In a word, the struggle of the heroic peasants has brought to the forefront quite forcefully the role of the peasants in India's democratic revolution overcoming the fierce and active opposition put up by all the reactionaries and revisionists.

ESTABLISH THE PEASANT COMMITTEES AND GET ORGANISED

^{18 March} 1967 The Siliguri sub-division peasant convention gave out the call to—(i) establish the authority of the peasant committees in all matters of the village, (ii) get organised and be armed in order to crush the resistance of jotedars and rural reactionaries and (iii) smash the jotedars' monopoly of ownership of the land and redistribute the land anew through the peasant committees.

The convention further declared that the peasants' struggle against feudalism would have to face the repression of all reactionaries, be it Indira Gandhi's government in New Delhi or the UF government in West Bengal. So, all

their repression must be resisted by force of arms and by carrying on a protracted struggle.

The call of the sub-divisional peasant conference instantly created a stir among the revolutionary peasant masses.

How did the revolutionary peasants of Terai translate this call into action? To put this call of the conference into effect the revolutionary peasants first of all laid stress upon the task of creating armed groups of peasants in the villages. In every village we heard the words: "**Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.**" This is because every single struggle, however small, whether for stopping usury or on any other issue has been invariably met with lathis and guns. That is why this call worked like magic in organising the peasants.

Almost all the villages got organised during the period from the end of March to the end of April 1967. Whereas, previously, the membership strength of the Kisan Sabha could not be increased beyond 5 thousand, the membership now jumped to nearly 40 thousand. About 15 to 20 thousand peasants began to do whole-time work and built up peasant committees in villages. The young men of the villages who had never before been seen in the front ranks of the Kisan Sabha now occupied the place of veteran peasant cadres. With the speed of a storm the revolutionary peasants, in the course of about one and a half months, formed peasant committees through hundreds of group meetings and turned these committees into armed village defence groups. In a word, they organised about 90 percent of the village population. This action of the peasants completely changed all our old ideas about organisation. Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The masses have boundless creative power. They can organise themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy.**"

We came to realise more profoundly the significance of this teaching of our great teacher Chairman Mao from this action of the Terai peasants.

The great Lenin said: "Revolution is a festival of the masses." What it means in reality was witnessed by us during the struggle of the Terai peasants. While the so-called Marxist pundits, Indira Gandhi and all and sundry were rending the skies with loud talks of national integration, we found how the revolutionary activities of the peasants united all the peasants irrespective of their nationality, religion, language and caste.

Alto
reference
to the
historical
conference
(May 7)
1967:
see
Frontier
Anthology
II, p.
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The revolutionary peasants, through their actions, made their decrees the law in the villages:

1. A blow was dealt at the political, economic and social structure in the villages based on monopoly land-ownership, which dragged the peasants more and more into the depths of pauperisation. 'No, not the deeds and documents—what is required is the order of the peasant committee,' declared the peasants. They marked out all the land in Terai with their ploughshares and made it their own. They declared that all land which was not owned and tilled by the peasants themselves was to be re-distributed by the peasant committees. By carrying this out in practice, they struck a blow at the main political and economic basis of the jotedars. The old feudal structure that had existed for centuries was thus smashed through this action of the peasants.

2. All the legal deeds and documents relating to the land had been used to cheat them. They held meetings and burned all the receipts, acknowledgements, plans, deeds and documents.

3. The jotedars and money-lenders, taking advantage of the poverty of the rural folk, got them committed to unequal agreements relating to the mortgage of land and bullocks. The peasants declared all such agreements as well as the huge burden of interest imposed on them null and void.

4. The hoarded rice which is used as capital for carrying on usurious and feudal exploitation was confiscated

by the peasants and distributed among themselves. Apart from this hoarded rice, other things like oil, atta, [coarse flour], bullocks, cows, a huge number of domesticated animals owned by the jotedars, agricultural implements, even articles meant for their personal use were confiscated and distributed.

5. All jotedars in the villages who were known for a long time as oppressors and those who tried to oppose the peasant struggle were all subjected to open trial and sentenced to death.

6. The wicked, ruffian elements and flunkeys who are used to preserve the political, economic and social authority of the jotedars in the villages and those who co-operated with the police were all brought to open trial. In some cases, death sentence was given; in others, the fellows were paraded through the village streets with shoes strung around their necks and with fools' caps on their heads, so that they would not dare commit crimes in future.

7. Realising that their struggle against the jotedars, the landlords and the money-lenders would be subjected to armed repression by the state apparatus, they armed themselves with their traditional weapons like bows and arrows and spears as well as with guns forcibly taken away from the jotedars, and organised their own armed groups.

8. Lest the general administration of the villages should suffer, they arranged for night watch and shouldered the responsibility of running the schools in a smooth way. The peasant committees announced that severe punishments would be awarded in cases of theft and dacoity, and took measures to inflict such punishments in some cases.

9. In every area they created regional and central revolutionary committees and established the peasants' political power.

10. They declared the existing bourgeois law and law-courts null and void in the villages. The decisions of the

See p.
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regional and central revolutionary committees were declared to be the law.

In addition to these ten great tasks the peasants also did many other things which wiped out of the villages the old feudal system that had existed for centuries. How intense was the class hatred of the peasants can be seen from the fact that during a raid on the houses of two jotedars, which lasted for two days, they not only ate up the cooked food of the jotedars but also helped themselves to the meals prepared with all other foodstuff left there. In this struggle we witnessed the festival of the revolutionary peasants overthrowing feudalism.

Whenever the peasants became conscious of any shortcomings during these revolutionary actions, they at once came to the peasant committee for their rectification. This means, the peasant committees were not something imposed on them. On the contrary, these committees were wholly their own. That is why the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai was able to hit the jotedars and the vested interests.

The leadership of this struggle was, naturally, in the hands of the landless peasants, who are the most militant section of the peasantry. The reason why these revolutionary actions could become so far-reaching and so vast in their sweep is that the leadership of the struggle was in the hands of the poor landless peasants, who constitute 70 per cent of the peasantry. After the conference, it was the poor landless peasants who realised before all others that the resolutions of the conference were beneficial to their own interests more than to anyone else. It is only because of this that the work of organising the movement assumed such a broad and militant form. From the experience of their own life the poor peasants realised that any compromise with feudalism would make their future even more miserable than before. That is why, in their fight against the jotedars, the money-lenders, the

ruffians and the police it is the poor peasants who have not shrunk from making sacrifices ever since May 24 and 25, 1967. The truth of this is being proved even today through struggles.

Just after the conference, the middle peasants, who constitute 20 per cent of the peasantry, looked with suspicion at the call given by the conference. So, they were not active in the first phase of the struggle. It was only when they came to realise that their interests would be served by the struggle and that the main target and enemy of the struggle was the jotedars, landlords and money-lenders, that they came forward. With the joining of the middle peasants the sweep of the struggle increased manifold and it grew even more intense.

The rich peasants, who constitute only 10 per cent of the village population, at no time thought the declaration of the conference and this struggle to be beneficial to their own interests. Rather, they, particularly those rich peasants who carry on feudal exploitation in considerable portions of their land, apprehended that it meant danger for them. So, after the conference they took the role of critics and opposed the struggle in the first phase and sometimes even acted as spies for the jotedars. But as soon as the middle peasants joined the poor peasants, their movements underwent a change. After the jotedars and the wicked people had been punished and they had fled to the towns and business centres, the rich peasants gave up the path of opposition and criticism and began to demand justice from the peasant committees. And the peasant committees considered every case on its merit and did justice to them. As a result, the rich peasants generally became neutral and even took an active part in the struggle in quite a few instances.

The small jotedars split into two sections in the course of the struggle. One section comprising those jotedars who were able neither to develop themselves as

they desired owing to the oppression by the government of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords nor to maintain their existing standard of living, took part in the struggle. Another section, comprising those who realised that it was not possible for them to resist, turned inactive hoping to take revenge in future.

The struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai demonstrated through practice how to build peasant unity though, it must be admitted, the task was often found to be not at all easy. Real peasant unity can be built only by not making any compromise with feudalism, only by intensifying class struggle against it and by directing the spearhead of attack against it. The peasants proved this in practice. A look at the past and the present revisionist Kisan Sabha convinces one that intense class struggle against feudalism can never be developed by convening such conferences as the 'jute cultivators' conference' or by avoiding class struggle for the sake of unity. A vigorous class struggle against feudalism not only helps to build peasant unity but also guarantees the establishment of the peasants' political power through such peasant unity. This we have learnt from the peasants of Terai.

All the so-called Left parties joined the Congress Party in their mad crusade to vilify the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai. But all their vilification can never hide the fact that the peasants of Terai have overthrown feudalism root and branch, a feat which could not be done through any legislation or any other thing during all these hundreds of years.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao teaches us: "I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still

better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue: it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work." The truth of these words of Chairman Mao has been vindicated through practice during the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai.

Merely
ARMED STRUGGLE—NOT FOR LAND,
BUT FOR STATE POWER

The struggle of the Terai peasants is an armed struggle—not for land, but for state power. This is a fundamental question, and the revisionist thinking, which has been prevailing in the peasant movement for the last few decades, can only be combated by solving this question.

From the bourgeois parties and newspapers to the leaders of the so-called Marxist party, all have been saying the same thing, that it is quite just for the peasants of Terai to struggle for land but that the acts like arming the peasants and the forcible taking away of guns are dragging the struggle into a wrong path. By making this one statement all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, including the Congress and the so-called Marxist Party, have ranged themselves on the same side and made themselves agents of India's ruling classes.

We all know that every class struggle is a political struggle and that the aim of political struggles is to seize state power. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

In our country also, we can succeed in overthrowing the regime of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and

landlords only by arming the peasants and by building up guerrilla groups and a regular armed force.

The peasants of Terai have taken up exactly this work, and this is the reason why all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties including the Congress and the so-called Marxist Party have become so furious.

The so-called communists dressed up as Marxists have unmasked themselves by hitting away at this. They want to keep the anti-feudal struggle pegged to the question of mere distribution of land. Like all other bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties the so-called Marxist Party also looks at the question of land distribution from the standpoint of social injustice towards the peasants. This is what they have been doing in reality, whatever may be their subjective motivation. That is why they become panicky whenever they see armed peasants or hear the slogan 'Vietnam's path is our path'. And they stage like a true bourgeois the farce of setting up committees with pro-jotedar bureaucrats in order to distribute land.

It would be relevant to mention here what our respected leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, had told us. He said, 'Whatever little concessions the UF government may be able to give to other classes, it is not possible for them to give any concession whatsoever to the peasants.' We set down this statement in our local election review but were not able to realise its significance at that time. But later the peasant movement in Terai has cleared up our thinking.

As in the other states of India, the peasants of Terai are also being oppressed by the regime of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and feudal jotedars. And this oppression is carried on in the villages by preserving the political, economic, social and cultural structure that serves the jotedars and through feudal exploitation. The heroic peasants are every day realising this in their lives. That is why they accurately hit at the proper place.

The first thing the peasants of Terai did was to arm

themselves and then carried out the ten great tasks and thus wiped out at a stroke the old feudal system that has continued for centuries. Furthermore, relying on the armed revolutionary strength they established a new political power, that is, the rule of the revolutionary peasant committees in their area.

By carrying out these ten great tasks the heroic peasants have taught us that the struggle of the peasants is not merely a struggle for land. On the contrary, in order to end the monopoly of land ownership and feudal exploitation of the landlords in the villages, which are being preserved by the Congress Party, the political party of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords, with the help of the political, economic, social and cultural structure that serves the landlords, a new political, economic, social and cultural structure must be created by establishing a new political power. This political power can be established by arousing and arming the peasants, by organising guerrilla groups, by creating liberated areas, by building a regular armed force, and by protecting and expanding this force. Such a political power, no matter in how small an area it is established, is the embryo of the future people's democratic state power in India.

It is never possible to overthrow the rule of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords, who have come to terms with imperialism, without arming the peasants in the anti-feudal struggle, without leading their struggle courageously, without building their guerrilla and regular armed forces. This is so because in our country, the feudal landlord class is the main social base of the imperialist and comprador-bureaucrat bourgeois exploitation, and the peasants are the main force and the basis of this struggle. Herein lies the distinctive feature of the Naxalbari path, that is, the Naxalbari struggle. It is precisely because the Naxalbari struggle is not merely a struggle for land that it could not be stamped out.

Without this consciousness, any struggle for land, no matter how militant it may be, is militant economism. Such militant struggle for land generates opportunism in the peasant movement and demoralises the majority of the fighting section as happened during the struggle for seizing the benami lands. Such militant economic movement leads one into the blind alley of revisionism. This means in other words, becoming, consciously or unconsciously a bourgeois reformist. The bourgeoisie tries to gain this object of theirs, sometimes through their laws and sometimes through a Vinoba Bhave. When they fail in this, they depend on the present-day social-democrats who disguise themselves as Marxists. Marxism has nothing in common with this. In short, the question of making the agrarian revolution victorious in our country is not the same as the question of ensuring social justice to the peasants.

UNITED FRONT AND ITS LEADERSHIP IN THE ANTI-FEUDAL STRUGGLE

An important aspect of the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai is its success in gaining the support of the tea-garden workers and other toiling people and, thus, intensifying the struggle still further by building a united front in the anti-feudal struggle. This is the most important task. The struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai has solved this problem.

The Terai peasants began their struggle against the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords, who have come to terms with imperialism, have prettified feudalism and are carrying on their rule and exploitation through the Congress Party, which is their political organisation. The fact that the reactionary leaders of the so-called United Front were able to instal themselves on the ministerial *guddis* did not change the class character of the state.

While the heroic peasants of Terai were smashing the

foundations of feudalism in the villages by performing the ten great tasks, the tea garden workers realised from their innate class consciousness that this class struggle was a struggle to overthrow the rule of the Congress Party, which represents the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords. That is why the tea garden workers could not be kept away from the struggle of the peasants in spite of the fact that the unions of teagarden workers were mainly controlled by the so-called communists.

From their own experience of class struggle the tea garden workers of Terai realised that the peasants were their most faithful friend and ally. That is why they not only participated in the struggle of the peasants but were in the forefront of that struggle. They went on strike and arming themselves they have taken part in every struggle since May 24, 1967. The struggle of the Terai peasants helped the tea-garden workers to come out of the mire of trade unionism and economism. This happened in spite of the fact that the so-called communist trade union leaders were opposing the struggle. And from this anti-feudal struggle there grew up a genuine worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the tea-garden workers.

At the present time every anti-feudal armed struggle is certain to be opposed by imperialism. There are many instances today to bear this out. In the propaganda being carried on by the bourgeois papers representing different imperialist interests, by the Voice of America and by the BBC, we are witnessing this opposition in an embryonic form. The object of their propaganda is to crush the struggle without delay, and the reactionary UF leaders are diligently working to this end under the leadership of the Congress. As soon as the anti-feudal struggle of the workers and peasants of Terai grows more intense, it will have to face direct opposition from imperialism. All the anti-imperialist strata and classes will then naturally join the alliance of workers and peasants.

The struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai has taught us the lesson that a united front of all anti-imperialist anti-feudal elements that can be united can be built only on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance carrying on armed struggle. This united front of workers and peasants can never be built through any so-called 'turn to the villages' or by taking a few demonstrations towards the villages.

Any other front that can be built is the United Front of Ajoy-Jyoti-Harekrishna-Jatin¹, which can function as ministers or bureaucrats within the existing bourgeois structure but which is unable to give leadership to the People's Democratic Revolution.

The question of leadership of this front has also been solved. No so-called Marxist can lead this struggle or this front. This front will be led by the political party of the proletariat—a party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era—a party having its own army and able to build a united front of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie and of all those who can be united. Only such a party can successfully lead the anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle.

OUR DEVIATIONS AND THE LESSONS WE LEARNT

Taken as a whole, internationally and nationally, the revolutionary situation in our country is excellent. The armed struggle of the peasants of the Siliguri sub-division has begun after the fourth general elections at a time when Anglo-U.S. imperialism, specially U.S. imperialism, finds itself in an acute crisis and the quarrel between the imperialists has become bitter, when the U.S. imperialist capital is unable to rely fully on the influence of the Congress Party in matters of investment, when all the hoax of economic planning of the Congress Party, the organisation

(1) Jatin Chakravarty, a reactionary trade union bureaucrat belonging to the RSP, a petty bourgeois party of the UF.

of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords, is falling into pieces, when the people are suffering from the effects of an acute economic crisis and when people's lack of confidence in the Congress has become even more pronounced, as reflected in the ending of the monopoly rule of Congress ministers in eight states.

We know that we must adopt an offensive tactic in our struggle when the enemy is beset with crisis and internal quarrels, and must adopt the tactic of advancing our struggle gradually when the enemy has gained some stability. Judged from this standpoint, the struggle of the peasants of Terai is just, timely and beyond reproach.

Why have we failed, though temporarily, to advance the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai? The reasons are: lack of a strong party organisation, failure to rely whole-heartedly on the masses and to build a powerful mass base, ignorance of military affairs, thinking on old lines and a formal attitude towards the establishment of political power and the work of revolutionary land reform. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings in discussing these matters. He teaches us: **"New things always have to experience difficulties and set-backs as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and set-backs or the exertion of tremendous efforts."**

By the lack of a strong party organisation we mean absence of a party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear self-criticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work. It is true that the revolutionary comrades of the Siliguri sub-division led by our respected leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, were the first to rise in revolt against the revisionists. But this does not mean that we fully assimilated the teachings of our great teacher Chairman Mao. That is, while we accepted

the teachings of Chairman Mao in words, we persisted in revisionist methods in practice. Though it is true that the worker and peasant Party members of Terai were in a majority inside the Party and that there was Party organisation in almost every area, yet in reality the worker and peasant comrades were led by the petty bourgeois comrades and the Party organisation in every area actually remained inactive. The Party members were all active at the beginning of the struggle but they were swept away by the vast movement of the people. We did not also realise that the Party had a tremendously significant role to play in advancing firmly the struggle of the heroic peasants. As a result, whatever might be the role the Party members played spontaneously at the beginning of the struggle, it was afterwards reduced to nothing in the face of white terror. To belittle the role of the Party in the struggle is nothing but an expression of the old revisionist way of thinking. The Party played no role in matters like deciding what are the needs of the struggle at a given moment, giving political propaganda priority above everything else, advising the people about what they should do when the enemy attacks, preparing the people politically to meet the moves of the enemy, and developing the struggle step by step to a higher stage.

We did not even politically assess, nor did we propagate among the people, the significance of the ten great tasks performed by the heroic peasants. As a result, there developed among us opportunism and escapism; and even the fighting comrades began to show signs of a lack of firmness.

So, we are of the opinion that we must carry on a sharp struggle against the revisionist way of thinking and fulfil certain definite tasks. These tasks are: to form a Party unit in a given locality and elect its leader; to train these Party units, which must be armed ones, to observe secrecy. The tasks of the Party unit will be to propagate the thought of

Chairman Mao in a given locality and to develop and intensify class struggle in that locality; to act as a guerrilla unit and attack and eliminate class enemies by relying wholly on the people; and, whenever possible, to take part along with the people in the work of production. We have now started implementing the above programme.

We were unable to raise the struggle firmly to a higher stage because we failed to rely wholly on the people and to build a powerful mass base. We now admit frankly that we had no faith in the heroic peasant masses who, swift as a storm, organised themselves, formed revolutionary peasant committees, completed the ten great tasks and advanced the class struggle at a swift pace during the period from April to September 1967. We did not realise that it is the people who make history, that they are the real heroes, that the people can organise themselves and can amaze all by their own completely new style of work. We failed to realise that comrades like Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali, Barka Majhi, Babulal Biswakarmakar and the ten peasant women of Naxalbari are the real heroes and organisers, and so we failed to move forward.

Though we repeatedly recognised this in words during the period from April to September 1967, in reality, however, we, the petty bourgeois leadership, imposed ourselves on the people. Whenever the heroic peasant masses took the initiative and wanted to do something, we of the petty bourgeois origin opposed them. The reason is, we did not understand, nor did we even try to understand, the actions of the masses. On the contrary, under the influence of old revisionist habits we arbitrarily set limits as to how far they should go. This resulted in thwarting the initiative of the masses and blunting the edge of the class struggle. Having worked in a revisionist party, we were used to bourgeois laws and conventions and so, tried to convince the masses about what was right and what was wrong. So, when the people wanted to attack the police,

we prevented them on the ground that our losses would be heavy. We looked at the people's attitude towards the jotedars and the police from the angle of bourgeois humanism. As a result, we failed to organise the large masses, who numbered more than 40 thousand, and were thus unable to build a powerful mass base during April and May 1967.

Therefore, during the second stage of our struggle, we have resolved, we must link ourselves with the needs and wishes of the people, go to the people with boundless love and respect in our heart and integrate ourselves with the people. We must learn from them and take the lesson back to them again through practice. In other words, we must not impose anything from above. Mistakes may be made owing to this, but it is possible to correct such mistakes. The most important thing is—never to allow the initiative of the masses to be suppressed. Our duty is to develop their initiative.

IGNORANCE OF MILITARY AFFAIRS AND OLD WAY OF THINKING

The struggle of the heroic peasants of the Siliguri subdivision was not a movement to realise certain demands in the old sense. This was a struggle to establish a new political power, the peasants' power in the villages after abolishing feudalism there. So, we shall discuss the reasons for our failure in this struggle both from the political and the military viewpoint. Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful". If, in any struggle, we happen to over-estimate the enemy's strength politically, it will never be possible to gain victory in that struggle. In other words, if we do not have, from the strategic viewpoint, the courage and firmness required

to defeat the enemy, we shall inevitably face defeat. If we fail to realise that in the final analysis it is the people who are powerful, we shall not be able to achieve victory in any struggle. It is this consciousness that lends firmness to the struggle, urges one to make supreme sacrifice without fear and teaches one to undergo all kinds of hardship in order to win victory. We believed that we had assimilated this teaching of Chairman Mao. But the course of the struggle made us realise how superficial was our understanding. Today, our continued participation in the struggle makes us feel with every passing day that this teaching of Chairman Mao has to be realised anew every day, every moment and this realisation has to be tested through our own practice. The day when this realisation is translated into reality, we shall be able to shatter the much boasted strength of the armed forces of India's reactionary government and march forward undeterred.

The encounter with the police on May 24 and 25, 1967 and the action of the people in coming forward undauntedly both during and after the shooting down of unarmed peasant women by the police, and the boundless heroism and self-sacrifice of Comrades Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali and Barka Majhi—how can we explain all these things if not by the fact that they are the expressions of that realisation? And we of the petty bourgeois origin failed to recognise this very thing and so, at times, either underestimated or over-estimated the enemy's strength.

In the first stage of the struggle we under-estimated the enemy's strength and thought of everything in the old way, and being in a revisionist party we indulged in idle day-dreaming. Sometimes we imagined that 'the UF cannot go so far or that it will be difficult for it to go so far.' On the one hand, we viewed the revisionists from a purely petty bourgeois standpoint while, on the other, we under-estimated the enemy's strength and kept the people unprepared in the face of the enemy, that is, we did not

prepare the people regarding the measures that the enemy was likely to take. This is nothing but revisionist attitude.

Again, when the people were ready to launch attacks on the enemy, we over-estimated the enemy's strength and subjectively magnified the likely effects of such attacks. The people fought with determination and created model heroes whose heroism we belittled. As a result, the people found themselves in disarray in the face of widespread terror, the intensity of the struggle diminished and escapism increased. Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar, by sacrificing his life on September 7 this year, has enjoined us to advance along the path pointed out by Chairman Mao.

This is a struggle to seize state power and, as such, it demands of us to prepare the party and the people militarily to the fullest extent. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Without a people's army the people have nothing."** We have come to realise the truth of this teaching of Chairman Mao deeply through the struggle in Terai. Though we had known that as soon as this struggle started it would be met with suppression by the Central government and the reactionary leaders of the West Bengal UF government, yet we failed to take the programme of action which should have been taken eventually. We had a wrong understanding of Chairman Mao's teaching in that we turned strategic defence into passive defence.

When all the population armed themselves, the jotedars, the vested interests and wicked persons fled from the villages, and so we concluded that we had already created the base area. We mistook the armed people for the armed force and adopted the tactic of resisting and attacking by means of broad mass mobilisation as the main tactic of our struggle. The one or two small armed groups which were formed to take away forcibly guns from the jotedars were not recognised by us as the main instrument of struggle. On the contrary, we assumed that

guerrilla groups would eventually grow out on the basis of the spontaneous actions of the broad masses. In many cases, fooled by the display of revolutionary ardour in vagabonds, we made them leaders for organising armed groups. Again, when we found armed rich peasants and a section of small jotedars by the side of armed poor peasants and middle peasants we concluded that together they constituted the united armed force of the entire peasantry. We totally forgot that the rich peasants and that section of the small jotedars could desert to the enemy at the first opportunity. We learnt in the course of the struggle that a few rich peasants and small landowners might take an active part in a big struggle that was raging. But as soon as counter-revolutionary terror started, these people would desert to the enemy camp spreading fear among the poor and middle peasants. In short, our total ignorance of military affairs is the root cause of the temporary set-back in our struggle.

What we have learnt from the struggle of the Terai peasants is that we must deeply study the political and military theories of Chairman Mao, apply them in practice and then study them again. Our greatest responsibility is to make arrangements for our worker and peasant comrades to study the thought of Chairman Mao.

Furthermore, we have learnt from the experience of our struggle that the armed groups formed after arousing the people in the villages and arming them will become the village defence groups.

We must acquire knowledge of guerrilla warfare by arming the peasants with conventional weapons (bows and arrows, spears etc.) and by organising assaults on the class enemies.

We are to build up liberated zones gradually by forming peasant guerrilla groups and by carrying on their activities. It would not be possible either to form guerrilla groups or to carry on their activities for long, if we do not,

at the same time, persevere in building liberated zones also. We must keep in mind the fact that only the liberated zones or those areas which can be transformed into liberated zones form the rear of the guerrillas. We must lay utmost stress on building a people's armed force. To build a people's armed force we must form centrally organised groups of armed guerrillas. These, we think, will be the embryo of the people's armed force.

In some other areas, again, we may try to organise armed peasant revolts and build the people's armed force comprising those armed peasants who have risen in revolt.

In forming the guerrilla groups or the central guerrilla group we must lay utmost stress on the class standpoint. We have come to realise that only the poor and middle peasants must be the basis for forming the guerrilla groups.

Our failure in establishing the revolutionary political power and in carrying out revolutionary land reforms blunted the edge of the class struggle both during and after the struggle. The revolutionary peasants accomplished two tasks through mass mobilisation. They are: formation of central and zonal revolutionary peasant committees and distribution of land. And we turned exactly these two things into a most formal affair. Our petty bourgeois day-dreaming was at the root of it. We never seriously considered how deeply significant were these two tasks.

Had we treated these two tasks seriously and carried on political explanation campaign among the masses about their significance, had we been able to develop the initiative of the people to participate in carrying out these two tasks by educating them, they would have remembered for a long time the gains which they themselves had won through struggle, and would have fought unflinchingly in order to retain those gains.

As regards distribution of land, our policy was to confiscate the land fully and distribute the same entirely.

We did not give any importance to this work also. As a result, in many cases the rich peasants prevented this task being carried out under various pleas. In many other cases, the top section of the middle peasants, being in the leadership in some cases, managed to divert the emphasis from the confiscation of land to making raids on jotedars' houses, and thus deprived this work of its importance.

In some other cases again, there developed acute contradictions between the poor peasants and the middle peasants in matters of the distribution of land. *In the absence of a detailed agrarian programme*

In spite of all these mistakes, the people have been defending heroically the fruits they won through their struggle.

Therefore, we have taken the decision that, of the ten great tasks of the peasants, we must attach the greatest importance to these two tasks and turn them into a weapon for our propaganda.

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Resolution Adopted at the Convention of Revolutionary Peasants

The following is the resolution adopted at the convention of the revolutionary peasants of the area under the Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa police stations. The news of this convention was published in *Liberation*, October, 1968.

The Resolution, as translated from the Bengali text which appeared in the weekly *Deshabrati*, October 10, 1968, reads :

Comrade Babulal [Biswakarmakar], a heroic leader of the peasant struggle of Terai is the first martyr of this year. Comrade Babulal was a poor peasant himself. This fact has made the sacrifice of his life deeply significant. The death of Comrade Babulal has raised the peasant movement of Terai to a new stage. Comrade Babulal initiated the guerrilla war in Terai. He hit out at the class enemy and the police force. The question may arise that Comrade Babulal was unable to kill any enemy, nor could he collect any weapon. In that case we must realise that anything new that is born remains weak at the moment of its birth. And so, Comrade Babulal's success may not have been beyond expectation. We, the Communist revolutionaries, accept what is new. Not only that, we must shoulder the responsibility of carrying it forward.

Why do we call the fight that Comrade Babulal fought a guerrilla war? This is because Chairman Mao teaches us that the guerrilla war has two objects : first, to preserve one's own strength ; second, to destroy the enemy. We shall never be able to perform even one of these two tasks until we prepare ourselves to sacrifice our own lives for this purpose. Comrade Babulal saved the lives of his other comrades by sacrificing his own. He also dealt a blow at the enemy. What he proved with his life is that the

revolutionary policy becomes a material force when the revolutionary classes grasp it. Comrade Babulal, representing a revolutionary class, proved this truth with his life. Our class enemies must be made to pay with interest the blood debt they owe to Comrade Babulal, to Comrades Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali and Barka Majhi. And it is our bounden duty to make them pay that blood debt.

Comrades, the Naxalbari struggle has entered the second phase. It is our duty to carry forward that struggle. The comrades who are able to carry the struggle forward will have the honour of carrying the red banner of the People's Democratic Revolution. They are the true disciples of Chairman Mao, they are the great leaders of the Indian revolution. In order to carry the struggle forward we must form Party units, elect one leader for each of the units and specify a definite area for each of them to work in. The tasks of these units will be to spread and propagate the thought of Chairman Mao, to intensify class struggle and to carry out surprise attacks on the enemy as guerrilla units. Blows must be dealt at opportune moments against the hated class enemies, against police agents and against the reactionary armed force. We must keep in mind what Comrade Lin Piao has taught us : "You have your way of fighting and we have ours. 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." We must go forward by relying completely on the creative power and the revolutionary strength of the masses. There is absolutely no doubt whatsoever that we shall be able to make the second phase of the struggle a success. This is because the thought of Chairman Mao has become a material force in the Terai region.

Long live Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar !

Long live the Indian People's Democratic Revolution !

Long live Chairman Mao !

Our country has seven hundred million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the Great Cultural Revolution and in all fields of work. On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle.

Mao Tse-tung

Advance Courageously Along the Road of Triumph

NATIONAL DAY EDITORIAL OF THE "PEOPLE'S DAILY", THE JOURNAL "RED FLAG" AND THE "LIBERATION ARMY DAILY".

"ADVANCE Courageously Along the Road of Triumph" is the title of a joint editorial of the "People's Daily", the journal "Red Flag" and the "Liberation Army Daily", warmly celebrating the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The full text follows:

Amid the song of triumph in the great proletarian cultural revolution, our great socialist motherland, whose outlook is more magnificent than ever, is entering its 20th glorious year.

With profound proletarian feelings, we wish our great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life on this grand national festive day.

We extend our warm greetings and militant salute to the working class, the leading class in China, to the delegates of workers who have come from all over the country to attend the National Day celebrations, to the poor and lower-middle peasants, the most reliable ally of the working class, to the People's Liberation Army, the strong pillar of

the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the masses of the young Red Guard fighters, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and to the revolutionary people of all nationalities!

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we have weathered the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution during more than the last two years, have overthrown the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party represented by China's Khrushchov and their agents in various localities, and have taken back that part of the power of leadership which they usurped. Revolutionary committees have now been established in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country, with the exception of Taiwan Province. The proletariat and the revolutionary masses have taken the destiny of the country still more firmly into their own hands. Our state, which is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been further consolidated; it has become stronger and more vigorous than ever.

As Chairman Mao points out, the great proletarian cultural revolution is *a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes*. The great victory in this revolution has brought about profound revolutionary changes in China in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and other fields.

Chairman Mao's latest instructions and the orders issued by the proletarian headquarters today are rapidly disseminated among the hundreds of millions of people and translated into conscious action as never before.

With greater firmness than ever, the country's revolutionary people of all nationalities have rallied around the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, and are

waging a heroic struggle to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Tempered through revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the revolutionary masses have greatly heightened their awareness of the struggle between the two roads and the two lines. They adhere to the socialist road and hate the capitalist road, and regard opposing and preventing revisionism as their most important fighting task.

With the participation and support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the working class—the leading class in the dictatorship of the proletariat—has sent a mighty army of industrial workers to lead the struggle-criticism-transformation in all areas of the superstructure, and is bringing about further changes in the outlook of the schools and all other places where intellectuals are concentrated.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which made great contributions in helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving political and military training, has developed its glorious tradition of being simultaneously a fighting force, a political work force and a production corps, strengthened its flesh and blood ties with the masses, and become a great iron wall defending the country, defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and defending the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The masses of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals are in high spirits and high fighting morale. They *grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war* and have brought about a new leap forward situation on the industrial, agricultural, scientific and technological and revolutionary art and literature fronts.

It is indeed inspiring and gratifying that the great proletarian cultural revolution has brought about a cons-

tantly changing and an ever more flourishing situation in our great socialist motherland! It is indeed a happy and glorious thing that we can participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and being led by Chairman Mao!

Following the universal establishment of revolutionary committees throughout China, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new period—following Chairman Mao's great teaching: *Carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously.*

Chairman Mao points out: "*Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops.*" This instruction of Chairman Mao's is the main content and basic road of struggle-criticism-transformation in all units, departments and organizations.

Struggle-criticism-transformation means taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide and to carrying out, according to the proletarian image, thoroughgoing and universal transformation of all aspects of the superstructure that do not conform with the socialist economic base. It means blocking all channels to the breeding of revisionism politically, ideologically, economically and organizationally. It means consolidating and developing China's dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist economic base.

The working class must exercise leadership in everything. Chairman Mao says that *the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the field of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture.* Workers' propaganda teams set by the working class, in cooperation with the Liberation Army, have directly

entered the schools and all spheres of the superstructure. They are leading the struggle-criticism-transformation in these spheres in coordination with the revolutionary activists there. This great strategic plan was advanced by Chairman Mao after he had summed up the experience of the masses. Revolutionary practice has already proved and will continue to prove that this is a great pioneering undertaking in the history of the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class. The working class carries out its leading role through the leadership of the Communist Party. In the course of the struggle-criticism-transformation, we must give a very important position to the work of consolidating and building the Party.

Chairman Mao points out: "*The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.*" This is our great programme for consolidating and building the Party. We must follow this instruction of Chairman Mao's and arouse the masses to take part in Party consolidation in close coordination with the current class struggle.

We shall lay the basis for the work of consolidating and building the Party by conscientiously purifying the class ranks. It is essential to do a really good job in the work of purifying the class ranks. In the course of this purification and in the struggle-criticism-transformation, the renegades, enemy agents and all other counter-revolutionaries against whom there is unquestionable proof as well as the die-hard capitalist roaders must be firmly cleaned out. Only in this way can we purify the Party ranks and guarantee that all of Chairman Mao's great instructions concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution and socialist construction will be put into effect step by step. It is essential to actively and carefully admit

into the Party a number of outstanding proletarian revolutionary rebel fighters who have been tempered and tested in the great cultural revolution, primarily the advanced elements among the industrial workers, thereby infusing the Party with new blood and strengthening its fighting force. Communists who have stood firmly by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the great proletarian cultural revolution and revolutionary cadres who have a staunch proletarian class stand and revolutionary vitality should be selected to take part in the leadership of the Party's basic organizations and of the Party committees at all levels.

Chairman Mao is the great leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the great leader of the working class and the masses of the working people. Mao Tse-tung's thought is our Party's guiding thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most concentrated expression of the wisdom of the working class. It sums up the experience in struggle of the proletariat and the masses of revolutionary people. Exercising working class leadership means unifying our thinking and policy and coordinating our steps and action in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We shall be invincible by closely following Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

In celebrating the 19th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, we are deeply grateful to all genuine Marxist-Leninists in the world and the revolutionary people of all countries for their support to China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The Chinese people will not be unworthy of their expectations. A new era in history, an era of struggle against U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has now begun. The heroic Albanian people, who stand in the forefront of the fight against imperialism and revisionism, have contributed greatly to the international communist movement. The Vietnamese

people's great war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation, the national liberation movements now surging ahead vigorously in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the widespread revolutionary mass movements in Western Europe and North America are all developing to a new depth. Imperialism headed by the United States is full of contradictions and faces ever graver political and economic crises. The modern revisionist bloc headed by the Soviet revisionist renegades are fighting among themselves and disintegrating. The reactionaries whom the U. S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists fostered in all countries are beset with more and more difficulties. The stupendous struggles of the revolutionary people the world over have greatly inspired the Chinese people in their victorious march forward. We are determined to better fulfil our proletarian internationalist duty, learn from experience in the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and firmly support these struggles.

Because of the excellent victorious situation it is even more imperative to guard against arrogance and rashness. We should never forget class struggle and lower our vigilance. It is imperative to remain coolheaded and maintain a high revolutionary vigilance. We must be ready at any moment to wipe out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely all enemies who dare invade our country! We must liberate Taiwan—our motherland's sacred territory!

Let the U. S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and their lackeys tremble before the 700 million Chinese people who have tempered themselves in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Hold the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, complete the great historic task of struggle-criticism-transformation, and advance courageously along the road to all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

To Fight Imperialism It Is Necessary To Fight Revisionism

—M. L.

"The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray."—Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao teaches us that to distinguish real friends from real enemies is a question of the first importance of the revolution. U.S. imperialism is today the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world and of the Indian people. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is the ally and No 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism.

Soviet Revisionism—Enemy Of The Indian People

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is an enemy of the Indian people and the people of the world. The Dange renegades and the neo-revisionists are trying desperately to cover up the hideous features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, who in collusion with U.S. imperialism is plundering and enslaving the Indian people. The neo-revisionists are now trying to deceive the Indian people and their party ranks by claiming that, although the Soviet 'leadership' is revisionist, the Soviet Union remains "a socialist country" and "a member of the socialist camp." Hence, they ask, how can the Soviet revisionists "exploit" India or be an "enemy" of the Indian people? They say it is wrong to assume that the Soviet revisionists have "become an ally of U.S. imperialism or is working for sharing world hegemony with U.S. imperialism and for

division of spheres of influence in the world, as this is tantamount to nothing short of placing the Soviet Union outside the Socialist camp." (Madurai Draft Resolution).

The neo-revisionists shamelessly praise the Soviet revisionists' "aid" to the Indian reactionaries as "helping to preserve India's independence" (Programme, para 5). E.M. S. Namboodiripad, a neo-revisionist chieftain and the Chief Minister of Kerala, is even undertaking a trip shortly to Moscow with Thomas, his Minister for Industries (and one of the Dange renegade gang), in order to solicit Soviet "aid" for projects in Kerala.

Chairman Mao has said: "One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism." To fight imperialism it is necessary to fight revisionism. Our task is thoroughly to expose and to repudiate this pack of hypocritical double-dealers, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and their henchmen, the Dange renegades and the neo-revisionists. We must expose thoroughly their counter-revolutionary plan, hatched in collusion with U.S. imperialism, to sabotage the Indian revolution and to turn India into the base of counter-revolution in Asia. Ganging up with the Indian reactionaries, the Soviet revisionist clique is forming an anti-China cordon and a joint U.S.-Soviet military base in co-ordination with the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression against China, the base of the world revolution today.

The Aim Of Soviet Revisionist Military 'Aid' Is To Sabotage Revolution And To Oppose China.

As the organ of the Albanian Communist Party, 'Zeri-i-Popullit', clearly states: "All Soviet activities and those which are comparatively concealed or in other words, not in the open, are a component part of the vicious and big plot for forming an alliance between revisionism and the reactionaries of the United States and other countries to

encircle China militarily and for making preparations for a war against it."

It was the Khrushchov revisionists, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, who have from the very beginning encouraged the Indian reactionaries to launch military aggression against China. It was because of the instigation and support by Khrushchov and Kennedy that Nehru and the Indian reactionaries dared to launch aggression against China. Today also, the successors of Khrushchov and Kennedy are instigating and supporting Indira Gandhi and the Indian reactionaries in their policy of "containing China" and "brandishing weapons" against China. As recently as September last year, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists instigated the Indian reactionaries to launch fresh aggression against China on the Sino-Indian border. As usual, the Soviet revisionists tried to cover up the criminal aggression of the Indian reactionaries by echoing U.S. imperialism, and, at the same time supplied the Indian reactionaries with more economic and military "aid."

Since the Indian reactionaries' aggression against China in 1962, the Soviet revisionists have given actually more military 'aid' to the reactionary Indian Congress Government than did U.S. imperialism. This 'aid' amounts to 900 million dollars, which is almost three times that of the 340 million dollar military 'aid' which U.S. imperialism gave India over the same period. Further, the Soviet revisionists have assured the Indian reactionaries more 'aid' valued at 2000 million dollars, which is to be used mainly to help the Indian reactionaries build up an arms industry. This is intended to serve U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression against China. Especially now that the British imperialists are forced to withdraw from their military bases in that region (as in Singapore), "the Soviet Union is moving quickly to fill the power vacuum left in the Indian Ocean by the British withdrawal from East of Suez." (*Indian Express*, July 25 1968).

It must be pointed out that the massive Soviet military "aid" to the Indian reactionaries comes at a time when U.S. imperialism is being badly battered in its war of aggression against Vietnam, and weakened by the sharpening of the contradictions within the U.S. itself, and is unable to turn its attention elsewhere. This is great service to U.S. imperialism when it is facing its biggest political and economic crisis.

Today Soviet arms are being used by the Indian reactionaries against China on the Himalayan borders. Soviet weapons are also being used against the Naga, Mizo, and Kuki national minorities who are waging an armed liberation struggle to resist the brutal oppression by the Indian reactionaries. These Soviet arms will be used also to suppress the Naxalbari peasants and the entire Indian people, who are struggling to overthrow U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their domestic lackeys, the Indian reactionaries.

In an article entitled "Enslaving India," the *People's Daily* comments: "The Soviet revisionist clique is making an all-out effort to strengthen the Indian military apparatus to suppress the people's revolution. As a matter of fact, Soviet military "aid" has encouraged the Indian reactionaries to speed up their armament drive in total disregard to the plight of the broad masses of the Indian people. In the past five years, military expenditures have increased nearly five times. The reactionary Indian government, in its current budget set aside some 30% of its total expenditure for military spending. It has greatly increased the taxes on many daily necessities for the labouring people. This will cause another spiralling of prices. It is estimated that the cost of living for an average family will increase by some 30%. All this shows that the Soviet military "aid" to the Indian reactionaries is aimed at plundering and enslaving the Indian people."

The article further comments: "In backing up the Indian

reactionaries politically, economically, and militarily together with the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists aim to turn India into an anti-China advance-guard and joint Soviet-U.S. military base against China...."

By alternating threats with bribes, the Soviet revisionist clique, together with U.S. imperialism, tries to force the Pakistani ruling circles also to join the anti-China cordon. On the one hand, the Soviet revisionists arm the Indian reactionaries to the teeth, and on the other, they offer the Pakistani rulers economic "aid" and recently even military "aid" as bait to join the anti-China camp. (This 'carrot-and-stick policy' is the same as practised by U.S. imperialism in the sub-continent during the past two decades.) In this manner, the Soviet revisionist clique, together with U.S. imperialism, is trying to control the ruling classes of both the countries by making them increasingly dependent on them, economically, militarily, and politically, with the ultimate aim of establishing their joint rule on the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This is the essence of the "Tashkent Spirit" and is part and parcel of the U.S.-Soviet domination and plunder of the world.

Soviet Revisionist "Aid" Is No Different From U.S. Imperialist "Aid"

The Peking *People's Daily* comments: "Judging from their 'aid' given to India by the Soviet revisionists, it is clear that Soviet 'aid' is no different from U.S. 'aid'. Following the example of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist clique uses its 'aid' to foreign countries as a means to pushing ahead with its neo-colonialist policy. By means of its 'aid' it penetrates into recipient countries economically, politically and militarily, controls and manipulates their ruling cliques and plunders and enslaves their people."

The Soviet revisionist clique doles out economic 'aid' to the Indian reactionaries in order to gain control over India and to enslave and exploit the Indian people in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. While India has received Rs. 7,788 crore (including Rs. 1,422 crore from World Bank and I.D.A.) of economic 'aid' from U.S.

imperialism, the Soviet revisionist clique has doled out Rs. 1032 crore of economic 'aid' and become India's second biggest creditor and its biggest arms supplier.

In the last three years the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade clique gave India 750 crore rupees, the biggest amount of economic 'aid' given by the Soviet revisionists to any country. It is almost double of the 380 crore rupees in loans granted to the Indian reactionaries in ten years of Khrushchov's rule. Soviet revisionist 'aid' accounts for 13.7% of the total foreign 'aid' received by the Indian reactionaries. It ranks next only to U. S. imperialist 'aid'.

The Soviet revisionist economic 'aid' is concentrated in India's heavy industries, in the so-called 'public sector' run by India's bureaucrat capital. This gives the Soviet revisionists a strangle-hold over the most vital sector of India's economy and industry. The Soviet revisionists have now gained control over one-fourth of India's iron and steel smelting industry, one-half of its oil refineries, and one-fifth of its power generation by means of their economic 'aid' to the Indian reactionaries.

The establishment of the so-called 'public sector' enterprises, which accounts for 40% or nearly half the paid-up capital of all Indian firms such as steel mills, railways, port and hydro-electric projects, with 'aid' from the imperialists and revisionists, makes India increasingly dependent on them.

So dependent is the Indian 'public' sector on 'aid' from the Soviet revisionists, especially in the key sectors of industry such as steel and heavy machinery, that recently a proposal has been made to "dovetail the economic plans of the two countries in certain sectors", and for "joint economic ventures" (i.e. collaboration agreements). This will enable the Soviet revisionists to strengthen their control over India's economy and to increase their exploitation of the Indian people.

The so-called "industrial expansion in the state sector", which the neo-revisionists hail as the product of "disinterested aid from the Soviet Union" (Programme, Para 6), is mainly dependent on U. S. imperialist and Soviet

revisionist 'aid' for its loans and equipment. Most of the economic and financial 'aid' for the 'state sector' (i.e., the 'public sector') comes from the U.S.-controlled World Bank and the International Development Association and from the Soviet revisionists who are India's second biggest creditor.

With the expansion of the 'public sector' the reactionary Indian Government has become increasingly dependent for its expenditure on U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. By the close of the Third Five Year Plan, 33% of the Government's total expenditure was obtained from 'aid' given by the imperialists and revisionists. About 80% of India's foreign debt of Rs. 11,896 crore are government debts, over half of which is obtained from U. S. imperialism. These loans and other 'aid' from the imperialists and the revisionists, on which the 'public sector' enterprises depend, are instruments of neo-colonial exploitation, for which the Indian people have to pay a heavy price. India had to pay more than Rs. 3,000 million, or over 40% of her total export earnings for its foreign debt principal and interest alone in 1966-'67, according to statistics published in Indian press reports. "That is to say, imperialism and revisionism have robbed India by cunning or cajolery of nearly half of its exports." (*People's Daily*)

The so-called 'public sector' enterprises, established with 'aid' from the imperialists and revisionists, provide them with a market for the export of capital, technology, and equipment. Poor quality goods and equipment (such as machinery and spare parts) are dumped in India at exorbitant prices, far higher than the prevailing world prices. In this way, U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, through their 'aid' to the 'public sector' enterprises, jointly rob the Indian people and control the vital sectors of India's economy.

It is clear then that the so-called 'public sector', run by India's bureaucrat-capital, is "the tool by which the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionist clique control and plunder India". But the neo-revisionists and the Dange renegades, faithful lackeys of imperialism and Soviet

revisionism, try to paint the 'public sector' as progressive in order to cloak U.S.-Soviet neo-colonialism. In their Programme, the neo-revisionists claim that "The most outstanding feature of these plans is to be seen in the industrial expansion, particularly in the setting up of certain heavy and machine-building industries in the state sector. This noteworthy gain would not have been possible but for the disinterested aid from the socialist countries and mainly from the Soviet Union."

Exposing the real essence of the Soviet revisionists' "disinterested aid" to the Indian 'state sector', the *People's Daily*, in an article entitled "These Big Mountains Must Be Overthrown", comments: "Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: 'To serve the needs of its aggression, imperialism created the comprador system and bureaucrat-capital in China'. Is not imperialism doing the same in India? Today, bureaucrat capital in India is in fact the tool by which imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique control and plunder India. In recent years, U. S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique have energetically fostered India's bureaucrat-capital and secured control over its economic arteries by providing its so-called 'public sector' enterprises with loans and equipment. Thus, India has become more and more dependent on them economically. With such bureaucrat capitalism as its economic base, the Indian Congress Government has turned into a lackey of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism."

Recently, the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, a faithful lackey of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism openly admitted and defended India's growing dependence on 'aid' from the Soviet revisionist clique and declared that "the relationship between India and the Soviet Union is many-sided. They embrace many fields of our national endeavour."

And when a member of 'parliament' (who complained about Soviet military 'aid' to Pakistan) charged the Soviet revisionists with "dumping in India tractors which were so much junk, selling India nickel at twice the price it

offered other countries, forcing India to buy kerosene it could produce indigenously, giving an anti-biotic plant fit only to produce animal feed, pressurising India to buy uneconomic planes, and using India's offshore oil exploration work to gain experience for own advantage", Indira Gandhi in reply defended the Soviet revisionist clique's "aid" to the Indian reactionaries; and added significantly that, "the point to be considered was **the long term economic and political consequences rather than the terms of any particular deal**". (*Indian Express*)

The *Indian Express*, a mouth-piece of the imperialists and reactionaries, revealed that the Soviet revisionists were using pressure tactics to dump uneconomic TU-134 aircraft in India in exchange for Indian wagons. The Soviet revisionists have given a massive order for the purchase of Indian wagons in order to tighten their control over India's economy, and also to "help out" their lackeys and to prop up the rule of the Indian reactionaries, who are enmeshed in an ever-deepening economic and financial crisis. Quoting a spokesman of the Soviet revisionists, the *Indian Express* reports: "An official spokesman of the Soviet Embassy is on record as saying that India would be 'well advised' to buy the TU-134 'as a quid pro quo' for the Russian purchase of Indian wagons. The Russian argument is that the wagon deal was not merely a commercial one. It was also a political gesture to help India's wagon industry out of its recession. India should in return buy Soviet planes to help the Soviet aircraft industry." (*Indian Express*, May 30, '68).

The Soviet revisionists have recently expanded the volume of their trade with India alongside their economic expansion. They have reached third place in foreign trade with India after U.S. and Britain. There has been a phenomenal increase in trade between India and the Soviet Union over the last 15 years. The trade turnover has increased three hundred times from a value of 80 lakh rupees to 240 crore rupees between 1953 and 1968.

By means of unequal trade the Soviet revisionists further exploit the Indian people and increase their control over India's economy.

In these various ways, through its economic and military 'aid', the Soviet revisionist clique plunders and enslaves the Indian people, just as U.S. imperialism is doing today. As the *People's Daily* has summed up in an article entitled "What Kosygin was up to in India," "In collusion with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist clique is intensifying step by step its neo-colonialist enslavement and control over India."

The Dange renegades and the neo-revisionists are tools of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. In order to serve their masters and to deceive the Indian people, they are trying desperately to cover up the real essence of the Soviet revisionist clique's 'aid,' the instrument of neo-colonialism, just as they try to cover up U. S. imperialism's neo-colonialist enslavement of the Indian people.

The Soviet revisionists are scabs who have betrayed the revolution. They have brought about the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and have transformed the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the country of the first proletarian revolution led by the great Lenin. Flaunting the tattered banner of "state of the whole people", the Soviet revisionist clique has turned the Soviet Union into a capitalist state and has enforced a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the Soviet working people. Under the cloak of 'party of the whole people,' it has transformed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois party. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Soviet state which, today, is the machine for the suppression of the Soviet working-class and people by the bourgeois privileged stratum in the Soviet Union (which the Soviet revisionist clique represents) belong not to the socialist camp but to the camp of counter-revolution, neo-colonialism and imperialism; to the 'Holy Alliance' of

imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, headed by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, whose aim is to enslave the world's peoples, to sabotage revolution and the national liberation movement, and to oppose China.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is following the line of "co-operation" and joint world domination with U.S. imperialism. It is the line of dividing up spheres of influence between the two powers, of plundering and enslaving the world's peoples and of suppressing the revolution of peoples of all countries and the national-liberation movement. It is the line of bringing about capitalist restoration in socialist countries and of strengthening bourgeois rule in others.

The Indian people are coming to realise from their own experience that Soviet revisionism is no less dangerous an enemy than is U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionist renegades and their hangers-on in India can no longer hold back the Indian revolution. The Indian people, who have been awakened and aroused by the revolutionary armed struggle of the Naxalbari peasants, are guided today by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the invaluable weapon of all revolutionary peoples. They will surely see through and smash the counter-revolutionary deceptions and plots of the Dange renegades and the neo-revisionists. They will surely smash U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their domestic lackeys, the Indian bureaucrat-comprador capitalists and the big landlords. Final victory belongs to the Indian people.

Chairman Mao has said: "Let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite, let the revolutionary people of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of every country. A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without any system of exploitation is certain to be built."

Marxism-Leninism and Thought of Mao Tse-tung Are One

—Asit Sen

(Continued)

TO be more precise, it must not escape one's attention that Mao Tse-tung could elevate Marxist philosophy to this new and epoch-making height only because of the fact that he himself followed the process of starting from revolutionary practice and ending in revolutionary practice. With the universal truth already acquired by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Mao Tse-tung went on for resolving contradictions in Chinese society as a consistent revolutionary. In this pursuit he had to take up the peasant question as most vital. True, Marx himself was the first to give this pointer that the national liberation struggle and the struggle for democracy of a subjugated nation were essentially peasant struggles. We can have it from Marx's treatises on Irish and Italian problems. Not only that, the same source furnishes us with this truth also that the working class of the dominant nation must take the agenda of co-ordinating these peasant struggles with its own struggle for emancipation. And from Marx down to Stalin, this truth has been consistently reiterated. But no one before Chairman Mao had the occasion to turn this truth into a complete and solid theoretical edifice.

While proceeding to verify this truth by taking part in actual class struggles, Mao Tse-tung made a concrete analysis of the classes in Chinese society. In this Analysis, which first appeared in 1926 in the form of an article, lay the germ of a new theory which gradually developed and found its fullest expression in his *On New Democracy* in

1940. Throughout this period from 1926-40, there existed in China two political deviations, Right and Left opportunism. One concentrated only upon Kuomintang-Communist alliance and the other only upon the labour movement, but none of them paid any attention to the peasant question. Both the deviations persisted for a pretty long time and caused much harm to the Chinese Revolution. These could only be overcome through a relentless ideological battle waged and carried on by Mao Tse-tung in the course of practical struggle. By combining revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice his great genius not only proved the correctness of Marxism-Leninism but also added some new chapters to it. But for this creative development the fate of the Chinese revolution would have been otherwise. Though it emanated from the realities of Chinese society, the theory of New Democracy, as propounded by Mao Tse-tung, acquired a universal character which made it applicable to the whole colonial and semi-colonial world.

In his *On New Democracy* Chairman Mao wrote, "The politics of such a society are predominantly colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics; its economy is predominantly a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy, and its culture which reflects such politics and such an economy and occupies the dominant position, is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal culture."

This factual analysis led him to this conclusion, "Our revolution is precisely directed against these dominant political, economic and cultural forms. What we want to eliminate is precisely such old colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics and economy, and the old culture that is in their service. What we want to build up is their direct opposite, i.e. the new politics, new economy and new culture of the Chinese nation."

From this, Chairman Mao proceeded to formulate his classic theoretical abstraction which ran thus: "In the historical course of the Chinese revolution two steps must be taken: first, the democratic revolution, and secondly,

the socialist revolution; these two revolutionary processes are different in character. The democracy in question no longer belongs to the old category—it is not old democracy; it belongs to the new category—it is new democracy.”

It is not difficult to understand how indispensable this two stage theory is for effecting successful revolution in colonies and semi-colonies. With the development of this profound theory Trotskyism lost its last battle-ground. It is an effective weapon in the fight against all sorts of “Left” opportunism. But how to eliminate the danger of Right opportunism that will surely try to raise its head, particularly, in the first stage of revolution? The question could not escape the eagle eyes of Mao, the greatest revolutionary practitioner. So, when he writes, “The democracy in question no longer belongs to the old category...” he provides us with effective weapons to make it belong to the new category. The two chief weapons are the united front and the armed struggle. The united front is a revolutionary alliance of various classes for carrying on the armed struggle to storm and shatter the positions of the enemy. Mao Tse-tung teaches us that led by the proletariat such a revolution aims at establishing a new democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes, and that in the end, when the world capitalist front is rapidly collapsing, no revolution in a colony or semi-colony against imperialism can take place under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat alone can lead such a revolution, and so it no longer belongs to the old category of bourgeois democratic revolution, but to a new category which is a part of the proletarian world socialist revolution.

It is evident from the above teaching of Chairman Mao that the proletarian leadership is a necessary precondition to make the revolution belong to this new category. But the revolutionary leadership of a class can be exercised only through a revolutionary party. As Mao Tse-tung puts it, “It cannot be accomplished without a bolshevised Chinese Communist Party of nation-wide scope and broad

mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally. It is therefore the duty of every communist to take an active part in building up such a Communist Party.” This was written in 1939. Ten years later, having defeated the enemy in the first stage of the revolution, he draws our attention to the same lesson by saying, “A well-disciplined party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.”

But we all know that it was Lenin who first emphasised the role of the Communist Party in making a successful revolution. Then, wherein lies the importance of Chairman Mao's teaching in this respect? It lies in the fact that while the subject was covered by Lenin more from the standpoint of establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao had to study the problem from the standpoint of two stage dictatorship, the first one being the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat. So it is all the more important to learn from Mao Tse-tung if we have to make successful revolution in the contemporary world. It is indispensable not only to the revolutionaries of colonies and semi-colonies but equally indispensable to the revolutionary people of the whole world, as Chairman Mao long ago pointed out that any revolution in colonies or semi-colonies against imperialism is an inseparable part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It is not difficult to understand why the Khrushchovs of all countries are trying hard to belittle the role of the Communist Party and why Marxism-Leninism without being enriched by the thought of Mao Tse-tung cannot provide effective weapons to counter these counter-revolutionary renegades.

So Chairman Mao has taught us that the new democratic revolution exactly serves to clear the path for the

development of socialism and that in this stage the revolution is essentially an agrarian revolution which deals unrelenting blows to imperialism and aims at establishing a New Democratic Republic. "In the course of its progress", Chairman Mao teaches us, "such a revolution further falls into several stages because of changes in the enemy's conditions and in the ranks of its allies; but its fundamental character will remain unchanged." This fundamental character is that "A new democratic revolution is a revolution of the broad masses of the people led by the proletariat and directed against imperialism and feudalism." Such a revolution is therefore national as well as democratic in character and aims at overthrowing two main enemies, imperialism and feudalism. "Politically, it means the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes over the imperialists, collaborators and reactionaries,...Economically, it means nationalisation of all big capital and big enterprises of the imperialists, collaborators and reactionaries, distribution of the land of the landlords among the peasants, and at the same time the general preservation of private capitalist enterprises without the elimination of rich peasant economy." In such a revolution the peasantry is evidently the main force for the simple reason that the peasantry constitutes by far the largest percentage of colonial and semi-colonial population and is the mainstay of colonial economy. So, whether imperialist domination is direct or indirect, whether the tactics of the revolution are to conduct the revolution through revolutionary national war or through revolutionary civil war, it is imperative to draw the peasant masses into armed revolutionary struggle.

Thus it is Mao Tse-tung who formulated a fully-developed scientific theory on the peasant question in colonies and semi-colonies embracing all aspects—political, economic and cultural. It is from Chairman Mao that we have learnt about the course and significance of revolution in colonies and semi-colonies; we have learnt that the New Democratic stage of revolution is a necessary step to clear the way for the socialist stage, that the New Demo-

cratic revolution is basically an agrarian revolution directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador capital, and that, though national democratic in character, the New Democratic revolution is a part of the international proletarian-socialist revolution. Mao Tse-tung has also taught us how to translate this theory into practice. For all practical purposes we must have a united front of all revolutionary classes and groups. But the real basis of this united front must be armed struggle against the main enemy and the united front must be led by a bolshevised party having an army at its command.

What is more important is that while all his predecessors took up the question of national and colonial revolution more from the standpoint of socialist revolution in advanced capitalist countries, Mao Tse-tung had to look into the matter from the angle of opposition to imperialism, *i.e.*, the international bourgeoisie. As a result, the same inference that revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies have become part of the world proletarian socialist revolution bears different implication in Mao's teaching. Before Mao Tse-tung, the implication was that the proletariat of advanced countries should, in the course of their struggle for socialism, extend their co-operation and support to the revolutionary struggles of colonies and semi-colonies. But Mao's teaching has brought the whole question the other way round. What we learn from him is that in the era of the total collapse of imperialism revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies are the main axes of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. So it is the first and foremost duty of the world proletariat to adopt such measures as to accelerate the pace of these revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies.

But revolution is basically a war by which one class overthrows another. So, when Mao Tse-tung expounds a theory of revolution, he cannot but expound a theory of revolutionary war as well. This theory is the theory of People's War, which adds a new aspect, a military one, to Marxism's three aspects mentioned by Lenin, and creatively develops it.

The foremost teaching in his military theory is that "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." This is so vital that time and again he reminds us of the same, though in different words. Thus, when he says, "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them" or, "weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people and not things that are decisive," he tries to draw our attention to the richest source of power—the people.

Therefore, the primary task of a revolutionary is to mobilise and organise the people to wage a revolutionary war. To rely solely on a handful of people working in solitude cannot make a revolution successful. What we learn from Mao is that revolution must rely on the masses of the people as revolution is the highest stage of a class war when one class overthrows another. But this reliance on the masses of the people, getting them mobilised and organised does not in itself make the issue clear. So, Chairman Mao further teaches us that the masses, the richest source of power, should be mobilised and organised not by commandism, not by a few persons issuing orders but by disseminating the politics of revolution among the masses so that everybody can take a hand in revolutionary war. But to shun the path of commandism should not lead to the path of tailism either, "...because," as Mao points out, "in falling below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward it [tailism] reflects the disease of dilatoriness." So the matter of inter-relation of the masses and leaders cannot but be an element in Mao's teaching. Thus we get this brilliant piece from him: "However active the leading group may be its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organise their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." And as a corollary he teaches us the

method of combining these two through this lesson, "The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in unifying the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements."

But to grasp this truth means to be integrated with the masses and that in the most practicable manner. As Mao teaches us, "We should pay close attention to the well-being of the masses, from the problems of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt...All such problems concerning the well-being of the masses should be placed on our agenda...We should help the masses to realise that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution." This he wrote in 1934. The same was expressed in different language when he wrote in 1945: "Twenty-four years of experience tell us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong task, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably alienate us from the masses." And so, "It [our congress] should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and instead of standing above them to immerse himself among them; and according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organise themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place."

These long excerpts from Mao Tse-tung may seem redundant in discussing strategy and tactics of war; but if we are not to confuse a revolutionary war with a mercenary war, if we are to grasp his teaching—"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses"—then such instructive lines are not only not redundant but must be referred to again and again. So, what Chairman Mao teaches us is that the masses, the inexhaustible source of power, can be transformed into a real force to wage a revolutionary war only if imbued with the politics of revolution, that politics is the soul of every thing that politics must be put in command. But when he teaches all this, he does not intend to undermine the role of weapons, the role of military actions. What he wants is to make us understand the interrelation between the political and military aspects of a war and their relative importance.

Expanding the idea, "War is the continuation of politics by other means", he built up a complete theory that can effectively guide the people to carry on the revolutionary war to its culmination. Thus he writes, "In this sense war is politics and war itself is a political action: since ancient times there has never been a war that did not have a political character..."

"But war has its own particular characteristics and in this sense it cannot be equated with politics in general... when politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way...when the obstacle is removed and our political aim attained, the war will stop. But if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue till the aim is fully accomplished. It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed."

What one can learn from this piece of theoretical gem is that the purpose of military action is to achieve political victory, and so all military affairs must be subordinated to political tasks. This theoretical principle finds remarkable expression when he says, "Our principle is that the party commands the gun, and the gun must never be

allowed to command the party." As it is not merely a tactical manoeuvre in a particular war but a guiding principle for all revolutionary people's war, he had to emphasise this on various occasions and in various ways to correct any mistaken ideas in this respect.

But while asserting the primacy of politics, he does not forget to assert the other aspect also. It is he who teaches us most emphatically that "without a people's army the people have nothing." He clearly points out, "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution," and advances this powerful maxim, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He wants us to realise that the people's army is required for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution and that "military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks."

Thus the thought of Mao Tse-tung has freed the very concept of revolution and revolutionary war from the mire of all narrow mechanical notions. It is Mao's teaching that warns us against any adventurist or conspiratorial move to wage a revolutionary war. It eliminates such erroneous ideas that unless we can penetrate into the ranks of mercenary armies, unless we can procure a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, we can in no way wage a revolutionary war. To rely on the people to overthrow the enemy of the people should be the starting-point. And to rely on the people in colonies and semi-colonies means to rely on the peasant masses in the main. To draw the peasantry into class struggle, to imbue them with the politics of revolution, to kindle the flames of armed struggle among them, to organise guerrilla activities—all these are elementary for a revolutionary war. But what is most important and essential as pointed out by Chairman Mao is to establish red base areas, to build up political power according to plan, to deepen agrarian revolution, to form and develop the Red Army. To consolidate red political power even in a small area is a necessary condition to accelerate nation-wide revolutionary upsurge. The "theory that we should, on a nation-wide scale and in

all regions, win over the masses first and establish political power afterwards" is not tenable in the actual situation of colonial and semi-colonial revolution—that is what we learn from Mao's teachings. It logically follows from this that revolutionary war in colonies and semi-colonies will be protracted in nature and so he has given us a complete theory of protracted war also.

And in a protracted war, the war of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of a revolutionary army's military operations. To disrupt, to harass, to rout the enemy—all these are necessary, but it is still more necessary to advocate and fight battles of annihilation. As Chairman Mao has taught us, "A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one."

In this way the whole set of problems of a revolutionary war can have their effective solution through a study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is not possible nor is it intended to discuss the whole range of it. Some mention has been made only to show that in respect of revolutionary war his contribution forms a new content in Marxism-Leninism. In other words, it may be said that Mao's military writings have filled a long gap in Marxism-Leninism. It is not only a source of inspiration to the toiling millions to wage revolutionary war against any enemy, but is also a powerful weapon in the hands of the people for achieving victory.

Today, the storm-centre of world revolution has shifted to Asia, Africa and Latin America. The contradiction between the revolutionary people of these regions and the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism has become the principal one in the world arena. As imperialism and all the domestic reactionaries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are everyday trying to consolidate the position of armed counter-revolution, armed revolution is breaking out everyday, every moment, in these regions. Here the revolutionary people are more and more accepting the

thought of Mao Tse-tung as their friend, philosopher and guide. Conversely, it has become the sacred duty of the counter-revolutionaries of all shades to oppose or attack the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Acceptance or non-acceptance of Mao Tse-tung's thought has today become the criterion for distinguishing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries.

It is not difficult to understand why revisionists and neo-revisionists so allergically react to Mao Tse-tung's thought. They can somehow dupe or deceive the people and serve their masters, the imperialists and domestic reactionaries, even in the name of Marxism-Leninism, because they try to separate Marxism-Leninism from its vital component and highest development—the thought of Mao Tse-tung. To oppose Marxism-Leninism while swearing by it, they feel it necessary to sever it from the thought of Mao Tse-tung. But the enemies of Marxism-Leninism are bound to fail, for Marxism-Leninism is inseparable from Mao Tse-tung's thought. The thought of Mao Tse-tung, the highest stage Marxism-Leninism has attained in the present era, can alone solve the problems of world-revolution today.

To counter this vile attempt by the renegades, the revolutionaries of the world must take it up as their first and foremost duty to uphold the thought of Mao Tse-tung and constantly propagate it among the masses of people. We should realise that only by upholding Mao Tse-tung's thought we can defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and can use it as an effective guide to action.

In this connection we must recall that great epoch-making deed of Chairman Mao which has rocked the whole world, which has driven the reactionaries and revisionists to frenzy. This is the great proletarian cultural revolution led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The essence of this great revolution is that like all other revolutions it is also a class-battle for seizure of power and that under conditions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great genius of Mao Tse-tung not only took cognizance of the Marxist-Leninist truth that classes and class struggles still exist in socialist society, but having discovered the exact nature of this class antagonism, paved

the way also of conducting this struggle to final victory for the proletariat.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that for the whole of the transition period from socialism to communism firm dictatorship of the proletariat is a must because, as Marx observed, "...every class which is struggling for mastery... must conquer for itself political power in order to represent its interest in turn as the general interest, a step to which in the first moment it is forced." But what to do if class antagonism appears within the political power? Here Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism to a higher stage.

In his treatise on Feuerbach Marx wrote, "The class making a revolution appears from the very start, merely because it is opposed to a class, not as a class but as the representative of the whole of society; it appears as the whole mass of society confronting the one ruling class. It can do this because to start with, its interest really is more connected with the common interest of all other non-ruling classes, because under the pressure of conditions its interest has not yet been able to develop as the particular interest of a particular class. Its victory, therefore, benefits also many individuals of the other classes which are not winning a dominant position, but only in so far as it now puts these individuals in a position to raise themselves into the ruling class....Every new class, therefore, achieves its hegemony only on a broader basis than that of the class ruling previously, in return for which the opposition of the non-ruling class against the new ruling class later develops all the more sharply and profoundly."

So it happens when the proletariat seizes political power. Immediately on becoming the ruling class, its interest cannot all at once develop as the particular interest of the proletariat class. But as it goes on to assert its interest as the interest of the proletariat class, that is, as the interest for building socialism and communism, stiff opposition to the policy begins to manifest itself. Under conditions of socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat this manifestation cannot in the beginning take place in the sphere of material relations of production. Manifestation starts in

the realm of ideas, that is, within the authoritative bodies of the ruling class—the Party and the Government—which, if allowed to consolidate, can in turn jeopardise the very economic foundations of socialism. This is exactly what happened in the Soviet Union. But how to overcome this contradiction? By trying to argue with the opposition and convincing them? Or, by removing them from the authority by a majority vote? This is an oversimplified method, it cannot solve the intricacies involved in the problem, and as Mao's is a creative genius, it could find out the real way.

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it." (Marx on Feuerbach). Mao Tse-tung creatively applied this truth of historical materialism in solving the problem of struggle for seizure of power under conditions of socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat and further developed it. The way in which he led the whole struggle teaches us this great lesson that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie from political power, depriving them of the ownership of the material means of production, does not and cannot at one stroke dislodge them from the realm of of idea. A more important part of his teaching is that mere removal of certain individuals from certain positions cannot in reality shatter the rule of their idea. So long as the objective basis for the rule is there, danger of this rule persists unhampered. This objective basis lies in this that even after a successful socialist revolution the overwhelming majority of the toiling million do not yet grasp the socialist ideology and are thoroughly imbued with bourgeois ideology, because this ideology had been in force as a ruling idea for centuries together and it cannot die of itself even if the production relation is qualitatively

changed. This very objective basis must be shattered through conscious effort and that can only be done through another revolution, the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a revolutionary war between two class ideologies—bourgeois ideology and proletarian ideology. And as it is an intense class battle, the entire proletariat class should be drawn into the orbit of this battle, the toiling millions must be made to grasp the revolution and stimulate production—such is the teaching of Chairman Mao's thought. Only through such a revolution can proletarian consciousness grow and only by arousing proletarian consciousness in toiling millions can the last fortress of the bourgeoisie be smashed to pieces. This is a great teaching having no parallel in history.

When, taking advantage of the contradiction in the realm of idea, modern revisionists, under cover of the slogans of 'the state of the whole people' and 'the party of the whole people', have renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced it by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism, when the leader of the party and the government of the world's first socialist country have wrecked the very foundations of socialism there and become the lackeys of the international bourgeoisie, Mao Tse-tung has appeared as a saviour of the world proletarian socialist revolution. By correctly handling this contradiction he has solved it in such a manner as to complete the struggle for seizure of power and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has thus built a well-fortified centre of world revolution which no power on earth can destroy.

Let us learn from this greatest living revolutionary genius of our time. Let us wish him a long, long life to teach us more. To make revolution let us take up the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon of weapons. Let any attempt to snatch this weapon from us rouse our revolutionary wrath and intolerance. In the present era Marxism-Leninism means the thought of Mao Tse-tung; victory of revolution means victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought—let us not forget this universal truth.

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60A, Keshab Ch. Sen Street, Calcutta-9.

Edited and Published by Nimai Ghose from 60A, Keshab
Chandra Sen Street, Cal-9 and Printed by him from
Pragati Printers, 59A, Bechu Chatterjee St., Cal-9.