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THE NEW TSARS INVADE CHINESE TERRITORY AGAIN

Beset with sharpening contradictions at home and abroad, the Soviet social-imperialists are becoming more and more belligerent. At this time last year they sent troops to invade and occupy Czechoslovakia. This year they are holding out open threats of invading Rumania. The new tsars of the Kremlin are deeply worried at the signs of the rapid disintegration of their neo-colonial empire and, mouthing slogans like "socialist community" and "international dictatorship," they are zealously seeking to preserve it. At the same time they are mortally afraid of Socialist China which is shattering their fond dream of dominating the world jointly with U.S. imperialism. For a long time the Khrushchovs tried to undermine the progress of Socialist China by carrying out political and economic blackmail. When all their machinations to force China to surrender failed, they egged the Indian reactionaries on to attack Tibet, a province of China, in 1962. Now, as the growing crisis tears off their mask of communism, their criminal acts, the number of which is legion, against great China are becoming more and more blatant. Since March 2 when the new tsars of the Kremlin sent troops to intrude into the Chinese territory of Chenpao island, they have become increasingly desperate and launched a series of attacks against Chinese territory on the long Sino-Soviet border.

Again, on the morning of August 13, the Soviet social-imperialists violated the Chinese border. A Soviet tank force, supported by tanks, armoured cars and helicopters, invaded the Sinkiang region of China and killed and wounded a number of Chinese soldiers and civilians. This fresh provocation came less than a week after the

Soviet revisionist social-imperialists had entered into an agreement with China on border river navigation. One marvels at the perfidy of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists.

For quite some time the Soviet social-imperialists have been itching for a major war against Socialist China. The border provocations seem to be part of an elaborate plan. During the last few years they have stationed a number of army divisions on the Sino-Soviet border. They concluded a so-called defence treaty with Mongolia in January 1966 and brought several divisions of Soviet soldiers, besides huge military supplies, all poised for attacking China. They have also set up 300 nuclear missiles in Mongolia aimed at the Sinkiang province of China. The new tsars of the Kremlin have been extending considerably their air base system in the Far East, notably in Siberia. Recently, Brezhnev and other Soviet revisionist chieftains visited Vladivostok and Khabarovsk to personally draw up a war plan against Socialist China. To whip up chauvinism and war hysteria they declared a state of emergency in Kazakhstan which borders on Sinkiang immediately after intruding into Sinkiang.

While intensifying their arms expansion and war preparations and brandishing nuclear weapons against China, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are trying hard to improve their relations with the U.S. imperialists and various other reactionaries of the world. Reporting on the international situation and Soviet foreign policy to the annual mid-year session of the Supreme Soviet on July 10 last, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko said that the Soviet government "favours the development of good relations with the United States....We should like those relations to become friendly relations. Preventing a collision between these two great powers and improving their relations is in the interest of all peoples." The new

tsars of the Kremlin have been constantly harping on the need for cultivating friendly relations with the U. S. imperialists, the chief gendarme of world reaction. They are also ceaselessly trying to herd together all the reactionaries of the world, the butchers of communists and other progressive elements, and fling them into the battle against Socialist China, Socialist Albania and revolutionary peoples of the world. While delivering his report, Gromyko also spoke glowingly of their friendship with the Indian reactionaries. Gromyko said: "As a result of strengthening of relations between the two sides, an atmosphere has been created between the Soviet Union and India in which all questions, which arise, are resolved in a spirit of confidence and trust, as it should always be, between good friends. The Soviet Union will do everything necessary to further develop and strengthen the friendly co-operation between our country and India, one of the great Asian nations." So, the Soviet social-imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and all other reactionaries are trying to be "good friends" and are colluding with one another to build up a ring of fire around Socialist China. The latest armed provocation against China is an attempt by the Soviet social-imperialists to reassure the U.S. imperialists and Indian and other reactionaries that they can depend on them in their fight against China, socialism and revolution.

Today, the hideous features of Soviet social-imperialism are exposed to the revolutionary people all the world over. They can clearly see that Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are the most ferocious enemies of the people of the world. Both at home and abroad the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is isolated. At home this clique is resorting to social-fascism and is cruelly exploiting and suppressing the Soviet people. Encircled by the world's revolutionary people, the Soviet social-imperialists, like the U.S. imperialists, are sitting on a volcano—the volcano of irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions.

If the Soviet revisionist maniacs dare to unleash a big war against the great people of Socialist China, who have emerged many times stronger after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they will only hasten towards their inevitable doom. The armed clashes on the border provoked by the new tsars are no isolated matters. They are part of the world-wide struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between socialism and capitalism, between Marxism-Leninism and all counter-revolutionary ideology. In this great struggle the Indian people, despite all the machinations of the reactionaries and the revisionists of various brands, are firmly on the side of Socialist China and the revolutionary people of the rest of the world. The revolutionary people of India, who have spurned the revisionist traitors, consider any attack against Socialist China, the red bastion of world revolution, as an attack against themselves and their own revolutionary struggle. The Indian reactionaries and their masters—the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists—will commit a blunder if they forget that 1969 is not 1962.

UNASHAMED TOOLS OF REACTION

History was made by West Bengal's policemen when, on July 31, several hundreds of them invaded the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, stormed into the Chamber, smashed the furniture that they could lay their hands on, chased the Speaker from the Assembly Chamber into his room, who ultimately managed to elude them by making a spectacular exit through the window. Besides at least one minister, several legislators had a taste of the beating by the men whose masters they are supposed to be.

Why did the policemen run amok on the afternoon of July 31? The supposed cause was the death of a policeman and injuries to four others, that occurred during a clash on July 29 with peasants led by the SUC, a constituent of the ruling 'United Front' at Bharatgarh in the Basanti

Police Station area in the 24 Parganas district. It is reported that these policemen had gone to the village at the behest of *jotedars* to arrest some poor peasants.

In West Bengal, especially in the 24 Parganas, not a day passes when there are no clashes between *jotedars* and poor peasants, between the police and poor peasants or between the poor peasants themselves. Alarmed at the impact which the Naxalbari peasant struggle has made on the peasantry, the different revisionist parties and the peasant organizations controlled by them are playing a diabolical game. As the peasantry is restive and wants struggle to end the intolerable conditions of their lives, the revisionist lackeys of the ruling classes have taken upon themselves the task of sabotaging the struggle. They never speak of ridding the countryside of the feudal elements. Far from attacking these elements, they have started a sham movement for occupation of lands vested in the government which are still under the possession of the *jotedars* and *benami* lands, i.e. lands held by them under fictitious names to evade the provisions of land legislations. The revisionist skunks know quite well that even if all such lands were distributed among the poor peasantry, the fringe of the problem would not be touched and the grip of feudal exploitation of the peasantry would in no way be relaxed. Their sinister purpose in starting the movement is rather to tighten this grip in two ways. First, this movement is intended to dupe the peasant masses and divert them from the path of Naxalbari, the path of armed struggle to rid the rural areas of the class enemies and to establish their own political power. Second, this movement is intended to split the poor peasantry. The revisionist parties of different hues and their peasant associations are setting one section of the poor peasantry against another. In the name of occupying vested or *benami* lands, they are trying to displace the share-croppers to whom the lands have been leased out by

the *jotedars*. Everywhere the *jotedars* have rallied under the banner of one of the ruling revisionist parties, whose support they enjoy. Invoking law and order, within the bounds of which this movement is carefully confined by the revisionists—law and order which the revisionists of all brands are tireless in extolling—the *jotedars* obtain the help of the police and the law court. And in the clashes that sometimes follow, the *jotedars* also receive the support of the share-croppers, the poor or landless peasants, who too are targets of the attack of the revisionists. So, the object of the revisionists is crystal clear. They want to serve the parasitic feudal class by disrupting the struggle of the peasantry, leading them along a blind alley and by plunging them into confusion and frustration.

But surely and inevitably the political consciousness of the peasantry is growing and contradictions between the peasantry and the revisionist traitors are growing sharper everyday. Though the revisionist scabs are skilled in double-dealing, the intense class war exposes their hideous features. Moreover, in order to pose as friends of the people, they are sometimes obliged to make scapegoats of ordinary policemen. This again fans discontent among ordinary policemen who are required under the present regime to commit all the crimes against the peasantry.

The revisionist traitors are quite aware that they are playing a dangerous game—dangerous for them too. Sometimes the movement they have started crosses the limits set by them. So they want to apply a brake to it. On July 25, the representatives of the big constituent parties of the so-called united front met to review the situation arising out of the "large-scale movement for seizure of *benami* land and fisheries" in the 24 Parganas. "After a two-hour discussion, the participants admitted that some excesses had been committed by the peasant organizations, which were not in keeping with the nature of the movement the United Front wanted." (*Statesman*

July 26). The *Statesman's* staff representative reported on July 30: "The Chief Minister felt that many of the clashes had taken place because of the impatience of some United Front constituents." At a meeting of the 'United Front' committee Ajoy Mukherji, Chief Minister, said: "These things, especially an incident like what occurred at Madhusudanpur can no longer be tolerated: these must be put a stop to." [At Madhusudanpur in the 24 Parganas district a procession of peasants led by the S.U.C. was fired upon by *jotedars* and two peasants were killed and several others were wounded. The peasants retaliated by attacking the houses of two *jotedars*.] "Marxist" police minister Jyoti Basu shrieked out: "What is happening is not peasant movement. The manner in which the murders have been committed is brutal. This is doing harm to the peasant movement itself." He also told the meeting that he was issuing orders to the police to adopt the sternest measures against the raiders. He added that all the anti-social elements, irrespective of their party affiliation, would be rounded up. (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, July 31)

Only a week after, this scab of scabs, who calls himself a Marxist, had threatened the peasants with the sternest measures, their central organ *People's Democracy* wrote in a long editorial:

"The agrarian areas of West Bengal were active as never before, with the mass of peasantry seizing initiative for wresting back lands illegally seized by the *jotedars*. The latter were using their licensed and unlicensed firearms on the peasants.... Sometimes they succeeded in getting the local police officials on their side who opened fire on the peasants killing the innocent." (*People's Democracy*, Aug. 10)

One only marvels at this amazing hypocrisy. One may ask: Has a single *jotedar* been arrested and punished for using his "licensed and unlicensed firearms on the

peasants" ? Has a single police official been punished for opening "fire on the peasants and killing the innocent" ? One may further ask : What prevented the "Marxist" police minister from doing so ? The answer is obvious. What prevented was the zeal to serve the interests of the classes whose lackeys Jyoti Basu and his party are.

On the day the West Bengal policemen demonstrated their anger by storming into the Legislative Assembly, that scab of a police minister, Jyoti Basu, had been waiting to place a wreath on the bier of the policeman who had died in the service of the *jotedars*. This shameless scab bragged that he was prepared to do something which no Congressman even had done before. While the scabs shouted that there had been a Congress conspiracy behind the police demonstration, they relied entirely on the Congress government at the centre to help them out of the situation. They sought and received the help of the Congress government at the centre to alert the army and to deploy the Eastern Frontier Rifles to keep watch on police barracks and armouries in four districts. *People's Democracy* wrote :

"It was a clear evidence that Congress conspiracy had corroded the bureaucracy and the police department—a warning that the conspirators might strike at any time through the police."

Is this not quite interesting ? It is interesting, chiefly, in two respects. First, it raises the bogey of Congress conspirators—"conspirators" who proved in actual practice to be the saviours of the U.F. government. Second, it declares that the Congress conspiracy had corroded the bureaucracy and the police department—the organs of the state which the Congress inherited from the British imperialists and which the United Front (of counter-revolutionaries) has taken over from the Congress.

The Ranadive brand of Marxists seems to hold that the British imperialists handed over the bureaucracy and the

police to the Congress in an uncorroded, undefiled state—as good servants of the country and the people !

In their anxiety to serve their masters—the U.S. and other imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the domestic reactionaries—the revisionists are forced sometimes to dispense with their Marxist phraseology. In an editorial in their Bengali organ *Ganashakti* of August 5, the Sundarayya-Ranadive variety of revisionists wrote denouncing the police invasion of the Assembly :

"Some elements among the police—the police whom we so long knew to be protectors of peace and order—were incited by these (the Congress, the vested interests and other reactionary forces), entered the Legislative Assembly and committed this mad act. Never before had such a thing happened...It is sad that a policeman was killed while on duty."

One may ask these self-styled 'Marxists' : "Whose peace and order do the police protect in this society ridden with acute class contradictions ? To whom, to which class, was the policeman doing his duty ? For these "Marxist" henchmen of imperialism and domestic reaction, the state has already ceased to be the organ of the class-rule of the exploiting classes.

Faced with a severe crisis, the like of which has never been seen before, the "Marxist" scabs are coming out more and more openly as champions of the existing 'law and order', as defenders of the present state machinery. In a statement issued on August 7, the secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee of the "Marxists" said :

"Efforts should be made to build up closer relations with the ordinary policemen...We must be vigilant lest provocateurs or anti-social elements should take advantage of the raid by a few policemen and help the reactionary conspirators by creating trouble against the ordinary policemen on duty...The movement should not encourage sectarianism or adventurism. At the same time, build up

✓ and strengthen a powerful volunteer force both in the urban and in the rural areas." (*Ganashakti*, Aug. 7)

To build up closer relations with the police, the police minister Jyoti Basu has already conceded most of their demands though the demands of primary teachers and others, whose conditions are much more deplorable, can wait. A police budget much heavier than in the years under the Congress regime has been adopted. Besides, the revisionist henchmen of imperialism and domestic ✓ reaction do not hesitate to employ their "volunteer" force, their neo-fascist bands, to break up strikes and other struggles of the people. Recently, such hoodlums, armed with lathis and bombs, were sent by Jyoti Basu-Promode * Dasgupta clique to break up the strike of teachers, students and workers in the National Medical College and Hospitals in Calcutta. These hoodlums did not hesitate to throw bombs into the hospital area while the police merrily fired tear-gas shells almost into the hospital wards. The collaboration between the police and the hoodlums, resulting in the death of a patient, was perfect.

But the ruling classes, whose tools the revisionists of all brands are, are enmeshed in an acute political and economic crisis. The contradictions within the ruling classes themselves are sharpening with astonishing swift-ness. The revolutionary armed struggle of the people that started in Naxalbari and is now spreading like wild fire is hastening this process. The room for manoeuvre by the revisionists is becoming narrower every day. The disintegration of the ruling parties will be even more rapid than now as the flames of armed revolution spread to newer areas. The revisionist running-dogs of Soviet and U. S. imperialism and of the Indian big landlords and big bourgeoisie shall perish in these flames in no distant future.

Flames Of People's War Burn Brightly In Srikakulam

TODAY, the flames of a People's War are burning brightly in Srikakulam. It is a revolutionary war waged by the masses under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Both on the hills and in the plains of Srikakulam, the people—men and women, old and young—are fighting resolutely to smash the counter-revolutionary offensive of the reactionary government. Here the Thought of Mao Tsetung has become a material force that is revolutionising society as well as remoulding individual men and women. Today they live not for themselves and their families but for others. They cherish boundless love for the great leader Chairman Mao and they have unshakable faith in the future. They know that they are not alone in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction. They feel close kinship with the great people of China, the red bastion of world revolution, and with the people who are fighting imperialism, revisionism and domestic reaction in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia and in the countries of Africa and Latin America. Far from being afraid of the enemy, who is many times superior to them in number and weapons, they themselves are on the offensive and are frustrating the enemy's plans to encircle and suppress them. As it will appear from the following reports in the reactionary press, it is the enemy that is seized with panic. In the campaign to wrest back "the initiative from the communist hands," the enemy talks of adopting a two-pronged offensive. On the one hand, the reactionary government is stepping up the counter-revolutionary war against the revolutionary people; the Central government and the governments of Andhra, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh are acting together to crush what is described as a "Naxalite menace"; they

are rushing more CRP battalions and carrying on joint operations against the revolutionary people who are led by the CPI (M-L). On the other hand, aping the policy pursued by their U.S. masters in South Vietnam, they have announced measures to "improve" the conditions of the tribal people. In this respect there is an interesting family resemblance between the policies of the Congress, the Swatantra Party and the modern revisionists of both the Dange and Sundarayya-Ranadive brands. When the storm of revolution is rising, the birds of the same feather are flocking together.

Some idea of the fear, anxiety and intensified activity of the ruling classes may be obtained from the following reports and statements.

On July 30, *Indian Express* (Vijaywada edition) reported :

"Mr M. V. Narayana Rao, Deputy Inspector General of Police (C I D and Railways), and Mr Abdus Salam Khan, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Eastern Range, Vishakhapatnam, returned here [Visakhapatnam] after an intensive tour of Naxalite-infested areas of Srikakulam district...

"Meanwhile, two more battalions of C R P [Central Reserve Police] men are moving into the troubled area to counter the Naxalite menace....

"The Orissa police are co-operating with Andhra police in combing operations. Raids are being conducted jointly by Orissa and Andhra police in the border areas of Farvatipuram agency."

On August 6, *Indian Express* (Vijaywada edition) bewailed :

"The tour of Srikakulam district planned for this weekend by the Home Minister, Mr J. Vengal Rao, and four other ministers to study the Naxalite menace there pinpoints the immediate need to deal with the problem.

"In the process, it tends to throw the public both within and outside the State off-guard by giving them the impression that the Naxalite danger is confined to the Srikakulam area.

"The fact is much otherwise. Naxalites have begun rapidly to build up in the Telengana districts of Khammam, Karimnagar, Warangal and Nalgonda."

A report from Bhubaneswar, that appeared in *Hindusthan Standard* of August 10, 1969, says :

"Naxalite violence in the Andhra-Orissa-Madhya Pradesh borders has taken such a serious turn that a joint strategy by these States has become necessary....

"The Orissa Government is learnt to have deployed a battalion of the Central Reserve Police stationed in Orissa in the combing operations in Koraput district.

"The Government of Orissa has in the meantime realised the futility of attempting to curb the Naxalite menace only by police action. So it has drawn up a strategy of two-pronged attack against the Naxalites.

"Apart from using the police to stop the activities of the extremists, the Orissa Government is trying to improve the economic conditions of the Adivasis. The backwardness of these people was described by some as 'gruesome'..."

In this drive to "improve" the economic conditions of the Adivasis, the Congress government of Andhra does not lag behind the Swatantra government of Orissa. "The Andhra Pradesh government", reported U. N. I., "has launched a two-pronged drive in the Agency areas of the State to wean the tribal people from the growing influence of Naxalites....

"Fully realizing that a comprehensive economic programme should be undertaken along with security measures if peace is to prevail in these areas, the Directorate of Tribal Welfare has initiated certain measures aimed at the tribals' economic development." (*Statesman*, Aug. 11)

During the visit to "Naxalite-infested areas" in

Srikakulam by the five Andhra ministers and high officials, the Home Minister "said that besides the police job of law and order, they had to immediately concentrate on ameliorative measures to improve the lot of the tribals by giving pattas to the lands occupied by them and supply bullocks to enable them improve their lands, and to free them from the exploitation of all kinds. *This work must be done on 'war footing'.*" (*Indian Express*, Vijaywada edn., Aug. 12)

On the same day *Indian Express* reported from Visakhapatnam :

"An inter-State conference of top officials of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh held this evening decided to have a closer liason between the States for effective control of Naxalite activities in border areas. The meeting lasted three hours and a half and reviewed the general situation in the Naxalite-infested areas of the States' borders. It decided to have monthly inter-State meetings hereafter at the deputy inspector' generals' and collectors' levels to formulate plans to curb Naxalite activities. It was felt that combined operation of police of these States is better than individual effort."

What role are the Dange and Sundarayya-Ranadive cliques playing in this "two-pronged attack" the counter-revolutionaries have mounted against the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary peasants? While pretending to criticize the killing of peasants by the reactionary government, N. Rajasekhara Reddy, Secretary of the Andhra Committee of the Dange party, said: "The Communist Party of India is known for its opposition to the ideas of Mao Tsetung and we condemn the Naxalite tactics as fruitless adventurism....The Government must withdraw this circular, stop this brute repression and immediately attend to the urgent problem of land, cruel evictions and merciless exploitation of the contractors that have made the tribal people restive." (*Indian Express*, Aug. 7)

The Sundarayya-Ranadive clique shows no less solicitude for the "gruesome" conditions of the Adivasis. In a statement issued in June their Polit Bureau, while seeming to criticize police repression, denounced the revolutionary armed struggle of the people as dacoity, banditry etc. and advised them to forsake the path of armed struggle and merely to agitate for the redress of their grievances.

Is the stand of the leaders of the Nagi Reddy group essentially different from the stand of the revisionist traitors? No, it is not. During an interview Nagi Reddy said that the methodology of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) "has no relation to the people's demands, their struggles and their participation."...He said that while his group believed in armed struggle as a resistance to "landlord goondaism and Government's repression", the Naxalites believed in "offensive actions". "For us it is a matter of resistance, for them it is a matter of offensive", he added. One will find in this thesis a not-so-strange family resemblance with the thesis put forward by Harekrishna Konar immediately after the Naxalbari armed struggle started. Nagi Reddy disapproves of all the actions of the revolutionary peasants led by the Marxist-Leninists in plain areas generally because in his jaundiced eyes, there was neither people's movement nor people's participation which could sustain those actions and develop into a people's movement and *armed struggle later*. He exposed his real features more fully when he added that in the process of various struggles of the people for their demands, "we would use different methods of struggle, including the lowest forms of struggle such as signature campaign, deputation and demonstration with the clear understanding that *eventually, they would develop into a movement of resistance against landlords and Government repression.*" (*Statesman*, Aug. 6)

Though armed revolution has been facing armed counter-revolution in India since 1967, since the

beginning of the Naxalbari struggle, and intensifying the crisis of the ruling classes, Nagi Reddy talks of armed struggle as a distant perspective and in the meantime emphasizes the necessity of signature campaign, demonstration and deputation! Nagi Reddy swears by Chairman Mao but never talks of ridding the countryside of the class enemy, of smashing the present state and building up people's political power. When the people's war for establishing people's red political power is winning significant victories in one part of Andhra and rousing and rallying the people of other parts behind it, the alarmed Nagi Reddis have started with great fanfare a struggle for occupation of government *banjar* (i.e., waste) lands in the right Harekrishna-Promode Dasgupta style to save the tottering feudal order in the rural areas. It seems that a new species of revisionists who pretend to swear by Chairman Mao's Thought has arisen! **"Sham is sham, and the mask must be stripped off."**

When counter-revolutionaries of all hues are frantically trying to crush or sabotage the revolutionary armed struggle now raging in Srikakulam and different other areas of Andhra and Orissa, the flames of people's war burn more brightly than before. Following is a brief account of the guerrilla actions and encounters with the police that have taken place since we last reported in this journal.

On June 19, a hated merchant of Akkupalli village of Sompeta area was punished to death by 500 people led by guerrilla squads. Huge quantities of paddy, clothing, medicine etc. were confiscated. People expressed their intense hatred for this class-enemy by painting slogans with his blood.

On July 5, a notorious landlord named Samant Ray of Dolagovindapuram of Sompeta area was shot dead by a guerrilla squad with the assistance of the people. Owner

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Long Live the Communist Party of China

—In Commemoration of the 48th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

THE Communist Party of China, personally founded and nurtured by the great leader Chairman Mao, has lived through 48 glorious fighting years.

Without the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, there would be no New China. For nearly half a century, our Party, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, has led the Chinese people in advancing wave upon wave and fighting heroically in the protracted struggles to seize political power and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat by armed force. Twenty years ago, we won the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China. Since then, we have won a series of great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, turning the poor and backward old China into a socialist state which has attained initial prosperity. With the development in depth of the socialist revolution, our Party has led the masses in their hundreds of millions in carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has won great victories.

Mao Tsetung Thought is the new development of Marxism-Leninism in our era. All the achievements of our Party are the result of Chairman Mao's wise leadership; they are victories for Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, the

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epoch-making Ninth National Congress of the Party comprehensively and systematically summed up the experience of revolutionary struggles of our Party over the past 48 years, particularly the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines within the Party since the beginning of the period of the socialist revolution, and set forth the great fighting task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The extremely important speeches made by Chairman Mao at the Ninth Party Congress, and the political report of Vice-Chairman Lin and the *Constitution of the Communist Party of China* which were unanimously adopted by the congress, have inspired the revolutionary fighting will of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country and illuminated the road for our continued advance.

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental guiding thinking in our efforts to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote all our work, to strengthen the great unity of the whole Party and the revolutionary people throughout the country, and to "unite to win still greater victories." It is also the fundamental guiding thinking for further building the revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

In the past 48 years, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines represented by the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi. During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao insisted that the Chinese revolution must be led by the proletariat, that it was necessary to form a strong worker-peasant alliance, build rural base areas and seize political power throughout the country by armed struggle, and that it was necessary to advance without stop and make the transition from the

new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Since the beginning of the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao has insisted on carrying out the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts simultaneously with the socialist revolution on the economic front, he has firmly upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat and insisted on the prevention of a capitalist restoration, and he has set forth the theory, line, principles and policies for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus victoriously smashing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and shattering his bourgeois headquarters. Historical experience has testified to this truth: Marching forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our revolution will be crowned with victory and our Party will develop and grow in strength; departing from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our revolution will suffer setbacks and our Party will sustain losses.

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tsetung Thought is the fundamental guarantee for the victory of our cause. **Without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party no revolution can succeed.** It is under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao that we have won great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China is the vanguard and the highest form of organization of the working class. The working class exercises its leadership through the Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, which was elected by the Party's Ninth National Congress, is the sole centre of leadership for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole

country. The whole Party must observe unified discipline and be subordinate to the Central Committee. The organs of state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the People's Liberation Army, and the Communist Youth League and other revolutionary mass organizations, such as those of the workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the Red Guards, must all accept the leadership of the Party, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and carry out to the letter the line, principles and policies of the Party's Central Committee personally formulated by the great leader Chairman Mao. On this question, it is necessary to guard against sabotage by the class enemy and continue to criticize the reactionary theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre." And all individuals and organizations must pay attention to the point that they should on no account put themselves in a wrong position in relation to the Party.

At the First Plenary Session of the Party's Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao taught us: **In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, some tasks have not yet been fulfilled and they should now be carried on, for instance, the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation.** We must act in accordance with this instruction of Chairman Mao's and continue to sum up experience, carry out the policies, further consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance on the basis of different fields of work and different units, further consolidate and develop the revolutionary three-in-one combination, carry on revolutionary mass criticism in a deep-going way and continue to do well the work of purifying the class ranks. In units where the purification of the class ranks is by and large completed, it is necessary to take firm hold of the work of consolidating and building the Party and other tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"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 a summing-up of our Party's experience in Party building over the past decades and a great programme for consolidating and building our Party.

The consolidation and building of the Party means first of all to consolidate and build the Party ideologically. We must use Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on Party building to thoroughly criticize Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on Party building, his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*, and his "six sinister theories," namely, the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," the theory of "docile tools," the theory that "the masses are backward," the theory of "joining the Party in order to climb up," the theory of "inner-Party peace" and the theory of "merging private and public interests," and further eliminate their pernicious influence. We should arm our Party with the great thought of Marxism-Leninism which Chairman Mao has creatively developed and build our Party into a still greater, still more glorious and still more correct Party.

We have won great victories. Our dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army have the mighty strength to smash all the counter-revolutionary plots of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. But on no account should we slacken our vigilance. We must fully recognize the protracted and difficult nature of the socialist revolution. The struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is by no means over. Throughout the historical period of socialism, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and modern revisionism. We must be vigilant against sabotage by the handful of counter-revolutionaries

and their attempts to reverse the correct decisions passed on them. It runs counter to reality and is very harmful to think that "since we have seized power, the task is accomplished" and it is "time for a rest."

All Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres must continue to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, study hard Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and study his *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. They must have faith in the masses and rely on them and give full play to the Party's good style of work fostered by Chairman Mao, namely, integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism. They must display the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," maintain the system of cadre participation in socialist productive labour, and continue to make revolution and march forward. Both veteran and new Party members should strive to remould themselves and temper themselves into vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To those who do not work for the great unity of the working class and the revolutionary people but are infatuated with sectarianism and the mountain-stronghold mentality, to those who style themselves heroes, refuse to make progress, seek a comfortable life and fight for high positions, to those who are infected with anarchism and ultra-democracy but are unwilling to correct their mistakes, and to those who play double-dealing tactics, indulge in petty and mean actions and refuse to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and diligently, we would like to put this question: Comrades, are you going to continue to make revolution or do you think that you have reached the end of the revolution? If you want to continue the revolution, you must respond to Chairman Mao's great

call to "fight self, criticize revisionism," carry on revolutionary mass criticism, criticize revisionism, the bourgeoisie and the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of all exploiting classes, strike down all bourgeois ideas of "self," strengthen the proletarian Party spirit, overcome bourgeois factionalism, serve the people wholeheartedly, and fight courageously for the revolution, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the complete emancipation of the proletariat and all mankind.

In consolidating and building the Party, it is most important to make a good job of consolidating and building the leading bodies. In the revolutionary committee at every level, according to its own specific conditions, a strong core of Party leadership must be gradually formed, which is armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, exercises unified leadership and maintains close ties with the masses. Only thus is it possible to do well in consolidating and building the Party in accordance with Chairman Mao's line on Party building and go on to fulfil all the other tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in a still better way.

Chairman Mao's directive on "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh" reflects the law of necessity governing the development of the political party of the proletariat. To consolidate the Party means, first of all, to consolidate it ideologically. The organizational consolidation of the Party must be carried out, and it must be carried out prudently. Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien-class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted. With regard to those who have made mistakes, or even serious mistakes, we should, in line with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, act on the principle "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient," and give them more deep and painstaking ideological education.

At the same time, we must work conscientiously to ensure that the truly advanced elements of the proletariat who have been tested in the great storms of revolution are admitted into the Party, so as to add fresh blood to the Party. A positive and serious attitude should be adopted in this work.

Speaking of the consolidation of the Party, Chairman Mao gave us this instruction: "Every Party branch must reconsolidate itself in the midst of the masses. This must be done with the participation of the masses and not merely a few Party members; it is necessary to have the masses outside the Party attend the meetings and give comments." We must follow this latest instruction of Chairman Mao's, have complete faith in the masses and carry out open-door Party consolidation. Party members and the masses must be thoroughly acquainted with Chairman Mao's thinking on Party building. Party members should modestly listen to the opinions of the masses while the masses should help the Party members warm-heartedly so that through Party consolidation, the close ties between the Party and the masses will be further strengthened. The work of Party consolidation must be carried out in every single Party branch in a meticulous way and not in a crude and careless way. Work on the consolidation of the Communist Youth League should also begin.

The Communist Party of China, which has been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is arming itself further and strengthening its unity with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party, together with the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people throughout the world, is contributing all its efforts with even more vigorous revolutionary militancy to the great cause of communism and to the complete burial of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their running dogs. The Party's Ninth National Congress solemnly

declared: The Chinese Communist Party, nurtured by Chairman Mao, always upholds proletarian internationalism. We will fight alongside the revolutionary people the world over until "the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."

Let us rally closely around the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and carry the revolutionary cause of the proletariat through to the end!

Unite to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and win still greater victories!

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

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

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

July 1, 1969

(From *Peking Review*, July 4, 1969)

Hold Aloft The Banner of Unity of The Party's Ninth Congress And Win Still Greater Victories

Following is the full text of a joint editorial of the *People's Daily*, the *Red Flag* and the *Liberation Army Daily* :

The strong East Wind of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China has swept the vast expanse of our motherland. People throughout the country are enthusiastically studying the documents of the Congress, acting in accordance with its spirit and carrying out the policies it laid down and the fighting tasks it set forth. This movement is giving impetus to our country's great cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and making it advance with still greater vigour.

From the opening of the Ninth Congress to the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao repeatedly issued the great historic call: **Unite to win still greater victories.** It epitomizes the basic spirit of the Ninth Congress and embodies a great strategic plan of Chairman Mao's. Chairman Mao said: **"In speaking of victory we mean to ensure that the masses of the people throughout the country are united under the leadership of the proletariat to win victory."** **"Unite for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school."** These latest instructions of Chairman Mao's point out the direction of advance for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in consolidating

victory and carrying it forward. All regions and units in the country must resolutely carry out these instructions.

After three years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our great socialist motherland is unprecedentedly united and the great revolutionary unity of our people is stronger and broader than ever. This great unity is based on the great Mao Tsetung Thought which has spread among the 700 million people to an unprecedented extent. In the struggle to destroy the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, the revolutionary masses have tremendously raised their consciousness of class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines and have formed a mighty revolutionary army. The participation of the People's Liberation Army in the work of "three supports and two militaries" (*i.e.*, support industry support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) has further strengthened the unity between the army and the people. The revolutionary cadres have tempered themselves and forged closer links with the masses. The establishment throughout the country of Revolutionary Committees, which combine the representatives of the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary masses and the Liberation Army and unite the forces of all quarters, has strengthened centralized leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was in this situation, characterized by unity and revolutionary vigour, that the Party's Ninth National Congress was convened.

The Congress was convened after ample conditions had been prepared for it politically, ideologically and organizationally. It successfully carried out Chairman Mao's call to make it **"a congress of unity and a congress of victory."** It elected the new Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. And the new Constitution of the Party

clearly reaffirms that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking and clearly stipulates that Comrade Lin Piao is the successor to Chairman Mao. This is a new victory brought about by the unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and of the whole Party.

The excellent situation in the revolution has become still better as people throughout the country have been encouraged and stimulated by the spirit of unity for victory of the Party's Ninth Congress. With Chairman Mao's call "unite to win still greater victories" as the focus, the Revolutionary Committees at all levels and Mao Tsetung Thought study classes of all types are summing up experience, finding out shortcomings and taking further measures to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. All positive factors are being brought into play and the struggle-criticism-transformation movement is advancing in depth; the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination are being further consolidated and developed and changes are taking place in some units which have "long-standing, big and difficult" problems. The far-reaching influence of the Ninth Congress on the history of our Party has begun to manifest itself and will be felt to an increasingly great extent.

Although we have won great victories and successes, the enemies at home and abroad are not reconciled to their failure and doom. The class struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is by no means over. We must heighten our vigilance at all times.

The fighting tasks set before us by the Ninth National Congress of the Party are glorious but arduous. The socialist revolution will continue to advance. We still have a great deal of work to do in consolidating and developing the new-born Revolutionary Committees, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure through to the end.

And great efforts still have to be made to fulfil the tasks for each stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in every single factory, single school, every single commune and every single unit in a conscientious and meticulous way.

Moreover, we should abide by Chairman Mao's teaching "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack", and seriously deal with the plots of aggression of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction, and make preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. The great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought is a sure guarantee that we will fulfil our fighting tasks and defeat our common enemies.

Our unity is a great, broad revolutionary unity under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It is a great revolutionary unity under the guidance of the principles of Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them." The working class must act according to Chairman Mao's teachings and strengthen the unity of its own ranks, firmly unite with its allies, unite, educate and remould the intellectuals and unite all forces which can be united with. It should, in accordance with the Party's policies, unite with all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland, with those who committed serious mistakes but are not incorrigible, and with those who committed the errors characteristic

of the capitalist-roads in power but are not absolutely unrepentant.

All comrades taking the revolutionary road should unite. It is fine for one to be among the earliest rebels against the capitalist-roads in power and act as a vanguard in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, we must understand that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a broad mass movement, in which some people may recognize the significance of the revolution and take part in it earlier than others, and we should warmly welcome those comrades who have caught up from behind. Some comrades who stood on the wrong side at the early stage of the movement should be encouraged once they rectify their mistakes. It is entirely wrong to keep calling those who committed mistakes but have rectified them "conservatives" and refuse to recognize their progress.

Some of the earliest rebels against the capitalist-roads in power may also commit mistakes in the tortuous course of the revolutionary movement and they, too, should conscientiously correct them. It is wrong to think of oneself being "the only revolutionary" and "the only Left". This does not conform to reality and is harmful to unity and the revolution. In making revolution, is it better to unite with more people or with fewer people? Of course it is better to unite with more people.

On the question of unity, the leading comrades in the Revolutionary Committees at all levels should resolutely implement the principle of unity stressed at the Party Congress and do their work well. It is necessary, first of all, to strengthen the unity of the core of leadership, conscientiously carry out democratic centralism and strengthen collective leadership. The revolutionary three-in-one combination should be consolidated. Cadres of the armed forces, local cadres and representatives of revolutionary mass organizations, who form the three-in-one

combination, should trust, help, learn from and support each other. We should boldly assign work to those cadres who have been "liberated" and should not take up their old misdoings with them and overthrow them again once they commit a new mistake. It is necessary to treat the revolutionary mass organizations equally instead of being warm to one grouping and cold to another, and to prevent the situation in which some support one grouping while others support another. It is essential to engage in painstaking ideological-political work and help the revolutionary mass organizations overcome bourgeois factionalism and strengthen their unity on the basis of different fields of work, trades and school classes. They should be persuaded not to draw together a group of people and set up a new faction. The revolutionary masses should cherish and support the Revolutionary Committees, promote and help to strengthen the unity between the veteran and new cadres on the Revolutionary Committees. The masses should adopt a correct attitude towards the shortcomings and mistakes on the part of the Revolutionary Committees, which may occur in the course of their advance. They should allow the veteran and new cadres to rectify their shortcomings and mistakes and not keep nagging at them when they make mistakes.

Chairman Mao teaches: "We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same views as we but also with those who hold different views. There are some among us who have made very serious mistakes; we should not be prejudiced against them but should be ready to work with them." In this very respect, our great leader Chairman Mao sets us the brilliant example. He has included in the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat the ability to unite with the overwhelming majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their

mistakes. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the Party also stipulates that members of the Party must meet this requirement. All Party members and other proletarian revolutionaries must make demands on themselves accordingly.

Our revolutionary cause advances in a continuous process of resolving contradictions. We should apply Chairman Mao's materialist dialectics of **one dividing into two** in analyzing and resolving contradictions. We should be good at distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. In the case of contradictions among the people, we should handle them according to the only correct formula of **"unity-criticism and self-criticism-unity"** which Chairman Mao advocates, we should proceed from the desire for unity and, through criticism and self-criticism, through the practice of heart-to-heart talks and particularly through doing more self-criticism, resolve the contradictions involved and thereby achieve new unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the kind of criticism and self-criticism we advocate should conform to materialism and dialectics. What we mean by conforming to materialism is to proceed from reality and reflect things as they are. What we mean by conforming to dialectics is to adopt an analytic attitude towards ourselves, other people and everything in line with the dialectics of one dividing into two, to look at a problem all-sidedly, and to avoid regarding everything either as all positive or as all negative. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative."** It is impossible to consolidate unity if one-sidedness in thinking is not overcome.

Chairman Mao told us long ago and has repeatedly reminded us recently that there is one main tendency in a

given period and it may cover up another tendency. While opposing the Right erroneous tendency, the "Left" erroneous tendency may appear; while opposing the "Left" erroneous tendency, the Right erroneous tendency may appear. Therefore, we should not be careless in our attitude towards work. One should not forget oneself in one's excitement. We must at all times follow Chairman Mao's teaching: **Be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness.**

In short we must closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and resolutely carry out his latest instructions. We must always make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions in all places and units. We should be prudent and pay attention to overcoming one-sidedness.

To persist in unity and to stick to principle is not contradictory with each other. The unity we speak of is the revolutionary unity based on Mao Tsetung Thought and not unprincipled unity. The principles we speak of are the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which include unity in the struggle against our common enemy.

Chairman Mao teaches us: Our Party is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard organization of the proletariat and the militant organization armed with Marxism-Leninism. We stand on the side of the masses who make up more than 95 per cent of the total population and will on no account stand on the side of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who constitute about four or five per cent of the total population. Internationally, likewise, we want to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and with all revolutionary people, but will never unite with the imperialists, the revisionists and all reactionaries who oppose communism and the people.

In his report at the Party's Ninth National Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin called on us: "Let the whole Party

unite, let the whole nation unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!" Let us hold aloft the banner of unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, unite with the revolutionary people of the whole country to do a good job in struggle-criticism-transformation, to grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and to strive for still greater victories!

—*Hsinhua*, June 9, 1969

The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchov is finished. And the successors to Khrushchov revisionism will fare no better. The imperialists, the reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists, who have all set themselves against people's war, will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people.

—LIN PIAO,

Long Live the Victory of People's War

Our Country Is Now a Socialist Country Without Internal Or External Debts

—Tsai Cheng

OUR respected and beloved Vice-Chairman Lin Piao made an extremely important and inspiring report at the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, a congress which was presided over by our great leader Chairman Mao and which has a far-reaching influence in our Party's history. Vice Chairman Lin solemnly declared in his report: "By the end of 1968 we had redeemed all the national bonds. Our country is now a socialist country with neither internal nor external debts."

This is a great and inspiring event in our country's political and economic life. It is the result of our adherence to Chairman Mao's great principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**. It is the result of the fact that the hundreds of millions of plain-living and hard-working Chinese people, exerting vigorous efforts to make their country prosperous, have adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and smashed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi. It is a great victory for invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

A Country Without Debts

// At the birth of New China 19 years ago, the Kuomintang reactionaries left to us a country in an utter mess: production in ruins, mass impoverishment, inflation and skyrocketing prices. The imperialist reactionaries alleged that

China's financial and economic difficulties were insurmountable. However, the remarkable achievements in construction made over the last 19 years by the Chinese people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought have given the lie to the predictions by the imperialist reactionaries once and for all.

What force should we rely on in carrying out socialist construction in conditions of extreme economic and cultural backwardness? With genius, our great leader Chairman Mao solved this question. He teaches: **"On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength and that means regeneration through one's own efforts."**

Since the founding of New China there has always been a sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines over the question of what force should be relied on in building socialism. Our great leader Chairman Mao wisely sets forth the principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**, relying on the strength and arduous struggle of the Chinese people to build their country through diligence and frugality. But the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, in his wild opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, did his best to peddle his slavish comprador philosophy and doctrine of national betrayal. He tried in vain to take the road of relying on foreign aid for building factories and for "construction." He went all out to advocate the capitalist method of financial management in an attempt to develop capitalism by exploiting the labouring masses and thus reduce China to a colony or a semi-colony again. Our great leader Chairman Mao severely criticized this counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi's. The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, and smashed its sinister plot to restore

capitalism in China. This ensures that China's socialist construction will continue to advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Adhering to the consistent teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao, China obtains most of her funds for socialist construction through her socialist economy's internal accumulation. The income from state-owned enterprises makes up more than 90 per cent of the country's total revenue. In the course of building the country through self-reliance, China, at one time, issued national bonds in order to utilize the people's idle money to expand socialist reproduction. This was a supplementary measure used by China to raise capital funds. From 1950 to 1958 China issued six national bonds with a total value of 3,840 million yuan. Together with 980 million yuan payable in interest, the sum reached 4,820 million yuan and was paid off by the end of 1968.

In the early years of the Chinese People's Republic, particularly during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, the Soviet Union, which was then led by Stalin, extended some loans to China, the principal and interest of which totalled 1,406 million new rubles. China consistently discharged her obligation of repaying these foreign debts on time and, moreover, redeemed them all in 1965 before they were due.

China is now a country without any debt. This great achievement fully proves that Chairman Mao's principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts** is the only correct one for building socialism.

Guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary people of all nationalities in China, through arduous efforts in the past 19 years, have brought about earth-shaking changes in China's national economy. Compared with the early days of the People's Republic of China, one hundred per cent to several hundred per cent

increases have been registered in the production of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops and other agricultural crops and in the number of hogs, sheep and other animals. The total output value of the country's industrial production has gone up more than tenfold. China has set up new branches of industry, such as aircraft, motor vehicles and tractors, electronics, petroleum and chemicals. An independent, fairly comprehensive, modern industrial system is taking shape in China. The country's scientific research, education and health work have made considerable advances. China successfully exploded her first atom bomb in 1964 and set off a new hydrogen bomb last year. On the basis of increased production, the material and cultural life of the Chinese people has improved enormously, markets are thriving and prices are stable.

While expanding her national economy rapidly, China, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, has done what is within her power to actively support the revolutionary people of the world in their struggles and to assist some newly independent Asian and African countries to develop their economy and carry out the line of regeneration through one's own efforts.

Two Kinds of Debts Which Differ in Character

In the world today, there are two kinds of debts which are fundamentally different in character. One is the debt of capitalist and revisionist countries. The other is that of socialist countries. The debts under the two fundamentally different social systems differ completely from each other in character, purpose and function and in the way they are incurred.

The national bonds China issued and the loans she obtained from the Soviet Union in the past had the following characteristics :

First, these bonds and foreign loans were used for socialist production and construction and for the well-being

of the labouring masses. Whenever the Chinese Government made public its decision to issue national bonds, it immediately won the enthusiastic support of the masses of the people. They vied to buy the bonds, which were oversubscribed within a few days.

Second, both the national bonds and the foreign loans were regarded as only supplementary financial measures in a given period and were strictly limited in amount. During the period of rehabilitation of her national economy and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, China was confronted with temporary economic difficulties. Even under such conditions, the Chinese Government issued only a limited amount of national bonds and contracted small foreign loans. Along with the steady growth of her financial and economic foundations, China soon stopped issuing national bonds and getting foreign loans, and quickly paid all internal and external debts.

Third, China adhered to the principle of repaying her debts as scheduled. China never put off the time for paying the internal or external debts and generally honoured them in advance. During the three successive years of natural calamities from 1951 to 1961 in China, the perfidious Soviet revisionist renegade clique suddenly stopped its economic and technical assistance to China and withdrew the Soviet experts, causing great losses to China's economy. Even under such difficult conditions China continued to pay her debts on time. As stipulated in the agreement, the time limit for paying off the Soviet loans should have been December 1965; but China had paid off all the loans ahead of time by the beginning of that year.

Debts in countries ruled by imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries are completely different from those of a socialist country in the following three aspects :

First, in countries ruled by imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction debts are predatory and reactionary.

in nature. For these countries, floating bonds and obtaining foreign loans is a main financial source for war expenditures. A large amount of the borrowed capital is used for military orders and munition production. This results in the monopoly capitalist class reaping huge profits. The few persons in the privileged stratum amass enormous wealth while the burden on the labouring people grows heavier and heavier. For instance, on the eve of World War I, the share of the national debt borne by the labouring people in the United States averaged 14 dollars per person; during World War I, this figure increased to 80 dollars. During World War II, it jumped to more than 1,300 dollars; and now during the war of aggression against Vietnam, it has shot up to more than 2,000 dollars.

Second, these countries live on debts which grow increasingly heavier. Take imperialist U.S.A., which claims to be the richest in the capitalist world, for example. Its debts are shocking. According to figures that have been disclosed by the United States, its unpaid internal debts in bonds up to the end of July 1968 totalled 351,700 million dollars, more than twice the U.S. financial revenue for 1968. U.S. external debts up to the end of May 1968 had reached 33,100 million dollars.

Britain's domestic debts in bonds alone at the end of March 1968 were 33,500 million pounds, almost treble her 1968 financial revenue. In addition, her foreign debts amounted to 5,600 million pounds last June.

According to figures published by the revisionist renegade ruling clique in the Soviet Union, during the three years 1964-66 the Soviet foreign trade bank alone borrowed 1,000 million rubles from capitalist states.

Controlled by the Mongolian revisionist clique, Mongolia became a colony of Soviet revisionism long ago. According to statistics, from 1958 to 1966 Mongolia borrowed 6,000 million old rubles from the Soviet Union, averaging 5,500 old rubles per capita. This makes

Mongolia one of the most heavily indebted countries in the world.

As to the reactionary Indian Government, which is under the wing of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, it would collapse if it were unable to get loans. As disclosed by the Indian press in March last year, the national debt unpaid by the Indian Government was to reach 119,500 million rupees at the end of last year, a sum four or five times India's annual financial revenue.

Third, these countries make it a constant practice to delay repayment of loans. Their credit is exceptionally low. The amount of unpaid U.S. federal bonds is so large that the new bonds issued every year are insufficient to cover the interest on the old bonds. As a result, repayment is deferred from year to year.

The Soviet Union which is ruled by the revisionist renegade clique has postponed repayment of principal on bonds issued before 1958 by 20 to 25 years. This is an underhand method of welshing.

The sharp contrast shown above vividly reflects the absolute superiority of our country's socialist system, and the enormous vitality of New China which is illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought. The absolute majority of the countries ruled by imperialism, revisionism and reaction are heavily in debt, and their deficits are piling up. They are confronted with growing political and economic crisis. Their vicious oppression and exploitation of the labouring people politically and economically have aroused ever greater discontent and resistance from the masses of the people. In the end they are bound to perish in the flames of the people's revolution.

[Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily." This is the most vivid, the most profound and the most comprehensive scientific thesis

made by Chairman Mao on the international situation of our time. It is an objective law of historical development independent of man's will.

**Take the Road of Maintaining Independence,
Keeping Initiative in Our Own Hands and
Relying on Our Own Efforts**

Our great leader Chairman Mao always teaches us the principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts.** It was by adhering to this principle that in the early days of our People's Republic, our people shattered the economic blockade by U.S. imperialism, speedily overcame the severe difficulties arising in the course of economic rehabilitation, and brought about a fundamental turn for the better in the country's financial and economic situation.

It is again under the guidance of the principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts** that the Chinese people have engaged in socialist economic construction and made one great achievement after another. The fact that China has become a country without any debt also represents a glorious achievement in implementing this great principle.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** Our country, with hundreds of millions of industrious and brave people, with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and with the wise leadership of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, will certainly be able to rely on her own efforts in accomplishing great feats unimaginable to our predecessors, and build our country into a still stronger socialist state.

(From *Peking Review*, May 23, 1969)

Theories of "Limited Sovereignty" and "International Dictatorship" Are Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialist Gangster Theories

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been colluding as well as contending with U.S. imperialism for a long time in carrying out aggression and expansion everywhere in a vain attempt to redivide the world in partnership with U.S. imperialism and establish its own social-imperialist hegemony over the world. The fascist theories it recently fabricated, such as "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship," are a new big exposure of its wild aggressive ambition. These fallacies once again show that like the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are a bunch of out-and-out fascist gangsters who are aggressive by nature.

Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialists' Rapacious Expansionist Ambition

To provide a "theoretical" basis for the wolfish expansionist ambition of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, Brezhnev, chieftain of Soviet revisionism, brazenly stated last November that once the "security" and "common interests" of what it calls the "community"—meaning the colonial empire it has erected in some East European countries and Mongolia—are "threatened," "that becomes a problem not only for the people of the given country" and the Soviet revisionists are entitled in that case to adopt "military measures" against a given member of the "community" and carry out naked fascist armed intervention. The Soviet revisionist press raved that the "interests of the community" represent the "highest sovereignty" and that the "common interests" of the "community" must be put "in the first place," while the sovereignty of

its individual members is "limited." It also alleged that the "community" which is controlled single-handedly by Soviet revisionism, or rather its boss the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, is in a position to "determine decisively" the "destiny" of the "community" members, such as "the destiny of their sovereignty."

Meanwhile, K.T. Mazurov, another chieftain of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, sang the same tune last November and clamoured for transforming "the dictatorship ...from a national into an international one." He alleged that "this is dictated by life itself, by the common tasks." He also clamoured for "further perfecting" the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" and "the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance"—neo-colonialist tools of the Soviet revisionists to control, oppress and plunder the members of the "community." The Soviet revisionist press also loudly advertised that the "defence" of the "community" had at present "acquired an ever deeper international character" and that members of the "community" were to be "safeguarded by the common efforts" of the "community."

It can be seen from these fascist howls of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique that the theories of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" flagrantly trample underfoot the universally acknowledged principle of state sovereignty and entirely serve the criminal aim of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to dominate the world. According to the gangster logic of the Soviet revisionist renegades, other countries can only exercise "limited sovereignty" while Soviet revisionism itself assumes unlimited sovereignty. The sovereignty of other countries must be subordinated to the needs of this clique for carrying out expansion and aggression abroad and establishing social-imperialist world hegemony, and must be subject to violation by Soviet revisionism as much as it likes. Should any of these countries be disobedient or even resist, Soviet revisionism will take measures of "international

dictatorship", armed intervention included, against that country. Isn't this the typical fascist argument that "aggression is justified" ?

New Tsars' Fig-Leaf and Fascist Junk

These theories of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are nothing new, merely the shop-worn junk picked up from the ideological arsenal of the Russian tsars and fascists and imperialists of all descriptions. The only difference is that the Soviet revisionist renegades have given this junk a "socialist," "internationalist" fig-leaf. Under the pretexts of "protecting the legal government" and "promoting the welfare of humanity," the Russian tsars ganged up with other European powers to ride roughshod over Europe, interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and trampling their sovereignty underfoot. To invade other countries, the German, Italian and Japanese fascist bandit gangs also created fantastic arguments, such as "maintaining" the "new order" in the Far East or in Europe, promoting "co-prosperity," and so on and so forth. With a view to establishing its world hegemony, U.S. imperialism has, since the end of World War II, openly called for "limiting national sovereignty." The notorious politician John F. Dulles and his kind time and again brayed that concepts of sovereignty "have become obsolete," that the people of all countries should not put "their own national rights and interests above the need of the whole society of nations," and that, instead, they should accept U.S. "leadership" and "subordinate national interests to the interests of the world community." Dulles and his like even advocated the establishment of an "international government." Now the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also trying to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in a big way. It alleges that "the contents of sovereignty must not be reduced to something purely formal" and that

"the national interests of separate countries" must not be "opposed" to the "common" interests of the Soviet revisionist "community." The theories of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" concocted by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are one and the same with the theories of "limiting national sovereignty" and "international government" peddled by the U.S. imperialists. It is crystal clear that the Soviet revisionist renegades, like the U.S. imperialists, aim to build up their own world hegemony.

Doing What Imperialism Does Under the Signboard Of "Socialism"

"What about the Kuomintang? Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future." This brilliant thesis of our great leader Chairman Mao is essential in understanding the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's evil designs behind these "theories" and the nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Iron-clad facts have proved indisputably that in its foreign policy the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely inherited the mantle of the Russian tsars and developed it further. Under the signboard of "socialism," it has long resorted to imperialist villainy, sparing no effort to expand its colonialist influences in a vain bid to establish its own hegemony over the world. In Asia, it has turned the People's Republic of Mongolia into its colony; in Europe, it treats a number of East European countries as its dependencies, violating their independence and sovereignty at will. In the name of the "international division of labour" and "specialization," it strives to achieve so-called "economic integration" in the "community", subjecting the economy of these countries to its own needs, turning them into its economic appendages and plundering their wealth. It

has converted the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" into an instrument for realizing its social-imperialist designs. Under the pretext of "safeguarding European security," it has put the armed forces of certain East European countries under its control and even not hesitated to send several hundred thousand troops into some East European countries. In August last year, it sent troops to brazenly invade and occupy Czechoslovakia, staging a most clumsy social-imperialist spectacle which glaringly exposed its fascist features.

Since its armed invasion of Czechoslovakia has been wrathfully condemned by the people of the whole world and has aggravated the contradictions within the revisionist bloc with Soviet revisionism as its centre, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has become more and more zealous in peddling such sinister goods as the theories of "international dictatorship" and "limited sovereignty" in a vain attempt to justify its armed invasion of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, it is trying to create public opinion for further military expansion at the expense of the members of the "community" and for colonial control over them, thereby carrying out its social-imperialist actions in a still more undisguised and unbridled manner.

Still more sinister designs lie behind these gangster arguments of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Since it could exercise "international dictatorship" over the members of the "community" under the pretext of "joint defence of our own vital interests" and being "dictated by the common tasks," who then could guarantee that the clique would not create other high-sounding pretexts for exercising "international dictatorship" over countries outside the "community"?

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique holds that for the "defence of the socialist gains," the "limited sovereignty" of the individual members of the "community"

should be subordinated to the "highest sovereignty" of the clique, what then is there to prevent it from demanding under such pretexts as, say, "safeguarding the interests of world peace," "safeguarding national independence" or "defending" the "gains" of one thing or another, that countries outside the "community" place their sovereignty under its control and from even sending its aggressor troops to countries outside the "community" and occupying their territory?

Nature of Soviet Revisionism Will Never Change Till Its Doom

Chairman Mao has said, "When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom." Facts have proved that the nature of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists will likewise never change, and that they will never become Buddhas. There are no bounds to the aggressive and expansionist ambitions of this handful of fascists. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has recently carried out armed provocations against China by repeatedly sending troops to intrude into Chinese territory Chenpao Island, and at the same time, it is frantically whipping up anti-China hysteria at home. This is a big exposure of its rabid aggressive ambition and imperialist nature. The revolutionary people all over the world must maintain high vigilance against the Soviet revisionists who are a pack of ferocious social-fascist gangsters. The revolutionary people must deal with them in the same way as they deal with all imperialists. As pointed out by Chairman Mao, "The only course is to organize forces and struggle against them," fully expose them and deal them heavy blows until they are completely wiped out!

(From *Peking Review*, March 28, 1969)

Trade War Between Imperialist Countries At Its Fiercest

WESTERN countries are sharpening the struggle between themselves for markets. This cut-throat struggle is going on at a time when the general political and economic crisis of capitalism is continually deepening, especially when such major capitalist powers as the United States, Britain and France are bogged down in grave financial and economic difficulties. The fact is that the broad masses of the labouring people in the Western world are becoming more and more impoverished. Almost without exception, the capitalist countries are weighed down with a shrinking market at home, and are relying more and more on expanding exports to put off the "over-production" crisis. This has given rise to the bitterest scramble for what is a constricted market in the capitalist world since the end of World War II.

Sharp competition first broke out between such major capitalist countries as the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan. Hit hard by last year's financial and monetary crisis in the capitalist world, the United States, Britain and France particularly want to shift their difficulties elsewhere by increasing exports. But facts show that their plans have fallen flat. Trade with other countries is even worse than in 1967. This in turn has plunged them deeper into the whirlpool of financial and economic crisis and made it all the more difficult for them to get out.

As the biggest exporting country, imperialist U.S.A. not only has to dump its industrial and farm products abroad to palm off the "over-production" crisis. It badly needs big sums of foreign exchange from increased exports to make

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up huge international payments deficits and back up the tottering dollar. But unprecedentedly serious inflation and soaring prices in the country have greatly curtailed U.S. monopoly capital's competitive power in markets both at home and abroad. The rate of growth in U.S. exports lags more and more behind imports. U.S. trade surplus has been dropping drastically year after year since 1964, and the situation last year was markedly worse. The U.S. Commerce Department had to admit that, excluding the government's 2,400 million dollars worth of goods in "foreign aid," the country was actually saddled with an unfavourable balance of 1,700 million dollars in 1968. This was the first post-war U.S. deficit in foreign trade. In the first three months of this year, the United States showed another trade deficit, the biggest in any quarter for 20 years.

For the United States, the going has become increasingly difficult in Western Europe and the Far East, two major markets which respectively absorb one-third and one-fifth of U.S. exports. The United States always had trade surpluses with West Germany and Japan in post-war years. But in 1968 it ran up deficits of 500 million and 1,000 million dollars with West Germany and Japan respectively. Despite all the barriers put up by U.S. monopoly capital, steel, cars, textiles, etc. poured into the United States unabated from West Germany and other West European Common Market countries and Japan. Farm products, which figure prominently in U.S. export trade, are conspicuously hit, thanks to the discriminative policy of the West European Common Market bloc.

Britain's position is even worse. The devaluation of the pound in November 1967 has not brought the "change for the better" on which British monopoly capital had banked. The adverse 1968 trade balance went up to 705 million pounds, or 156 million pounds more than 1967, the highest trade deficit since 1951. The deficit for the first

four months of the current year is about 190 million pounds.

France fares no better. Since the franc was pummelled by last November's monetary storm, France has been running up a trade deficit of about 200 million U.S. dollars every month. The position of its international payments has continued to deteriorate and the franc is shakier than before.

This rapid decline in foreign trade has thrown U.S., British and French ruling circles into consternation. U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon openly admitted in mid-May that he found the U.S. foreign trade situation "very disturbing." The U.S. Government has adopted a series of measures, such as favourable tax and credit terms, to boost exports. On the other hand, waving the big stick, it has tried to press Western Europe and Japan into easing restrictions on imports from the United States and "voluntarily" slashing exports to the United States. U.S. monopoly groups facing stiff competition from foreign goods in the domestic market are the most impatient in raising a hue and cry for restrictions on foreign imports. U.S. Secretary of Commerce Stans revealed at the end of May that 300 bills had been submitted thus far this year to the U.S. Congress to limit or control foreign imports. Such moves by U.S. monopoly capital to benefit itself at the expense of others have aroused vehement opposition from Western countries. They made it unmistakably clear to the United States that if laws are passed to restrict foreign imports, there will be "reprisals" in kind. Both the British and French Governments have also taken a series of measures to boost exports and curtail imports.

It stands to reason that the intensification of both the trade war and the struggle between the imperialist countries in the financial and economic spheres will find expression in politics. Of late, the tangled skein of contradictions in the political and military spheres between the United States and France, between the United States and West Germany,

between the United States and Japan, between Britain and France, and between France and West Germany has sharpened to a great extent. Some of these contradictions have erupted into recrimination of unprecedented intensity. All this shows that at the critical hour when the leaking ship of capitalism is being violently buffeted by the storm, the imperialists on the ship captained by the United States are all fighting desperately to clutch at any straw. But the fiercer this free-for-all struggle, the quicker will this rickety ship sink and the sooner will all on board go down with it.

(From *Peking Review*, June 27, 1969)

We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts.

—MAO TSETUNG

An Investigation Into the Nature and Forms of Exploitation :

A Report of Class Analysis of a Village in Murshidabad

—A Peasant Organizer

(The earlier portion of this report appeared in the June issue of LIBERATION)

2

LANDLESS PEASANTRY

There are 80 families of landless peasants in the village forming about 37.9% of the total number of families. They are the rural proletarians. They have neither land nor agricultural implements of their own: if they have any, it is very insignificant—a few *cottahs* of land, a sickle and spades at most. The landless peasants have to sell their labour for subsistence. In a year they are employed only for two or three months at a stretch. Employment for the rest of the year is totally uncertain. So, they have to spend their days in starvation or semi-starvation, often they have to manage on very scanty food. When unemployed many of them manufacture *bidis*, build earthen walls for others and take up excavation of earth as casual work. The infirm and the old live by begging. power

The landless peasants are associated with agricultural production in various ways. They work in landowners' farms in different capacities:—(1) as daily paid labourers, (2) as contract labourers, (3) as servants on yearly payment basis (*mahindars*) and (4) as *kisans*.

(1) Daily Paid Labourers :

They are not attached to any particular *Jotedar's* farm. They are employed during the sowing and harvesting

season^s. Unless they get employment within the village for fifty to sixty days on the basis of daily wage they usually seek employment outside. During the harvesting season many of them go to Burdwan district in search of agricultural employment. The *jotedars* and the rich peasants exploit them mainly by paying low wages and by exacting high rate of interest and very often by denying them wages for extra labour. At the beginning of the year when they are unemployed, they borrow money from the *jotedars*, rich peasants or middle peasants at high rates of interest. Afterwards they have to sell their labour power at low wage and have even to do unpaid labour to repay the debt—both principal and interest. Let us, for example, suppose that a landless peasant borrows an amount of Rs. 60/- at the beginning of the year. He has to repay Rs. 90/- i.e. Rs. 60/- as principal plus Rs. 30/- as interest. This amount he pays back by selling his labour power on the landowner's farm. The landowner would engage this landless peasant for working in his farm according to his own requirement, usually during the sowing and harvesting seasons. At that time of the year the prevailing rate of daily wage is Rs. 3'00; so, for the repayment of his total debt to the landowner the landless peasant is to work for 30 days. But the landowner would actually employ him at the rate of Rs. 1'50 per day since that was the rate prevailing at the time when the landless peasant actually borrowed the amount. So, for the repayment of an amount of Rs. 90/- at the rate of Rs. 1'50 per day the landless peasant would have to work for extra 30 days i.e., for a total of 60 days. During this period he is not free to sell his labour power elsewhere since at the beginning of the year he mortgaged his labour to the landowner. In this manner he has to pay an interest of Rs. 30/ for a loan of Rs. 60/-; over and above, he has to render unpaid labour for extra 30 days as labour rent.

During the busy season the *jotedars* often engage the

landless tribal peasants who come from the Santhal Parganas and reduce the rate of wages. The daily-paid labourers belonging to the village are then compelled to work at that low rate. The wage being inadequate even for bare subsistence, they have to survive somehow by mortgaging personal effects, by eating lower grade cereals and herbs. As a result, they drudge on until the end with shattered health.

(2) *Contract^s Labourer^s* :

Their condition is no better than that of the daily paid labourers. But they work for particular *jotedars* or rich peasants throughout the year on daily wage basis. They are paid at the rate of Rs. 1'50 daily. For the whole of the year they get three maunds of paddy and 300 bundles of straw. Usually the contract is made during the winter months. They are never allowed days off and the working conditions are almost slavish. At the time of appointment they are paid about Rs. 60-70 in cash and during winter they repay the amount by working without wages. In case they fail to work on account of illness, they have either to starve or to borrow at exorbitant rates of interest. As they do not have any resources to fall back upon, they have to repay the debt by working again without wages.

(3) *Servants on yearly payment basis (Mahindars)* :

Landless peasants engaged by *jotedars* and rich peasants to work in their farms throughout the year on yearly payment basis are called *mahindars*. Conditions of employment for them are almost similar to those of the contract labourers and they too are appointed during the winter months. But these *mahindars* are forced to work more than the contract labourers. They are required to work for about 16 hours a day. They work from 6 in the morning to 8 at night; besides, they have to keep themselves awake at night, protect the crop for the *jotedars* and guard their

houses. They live like veritable slaves. Usually the landowner forces each one of them to till about 4 acres of land. Moreover, they have to look after the cattle, prepare fodder for them, fetch water and do all the work of the house and the field. For all this work how much do the *Mahindars* earn? They are given food thrice daily and small boys get Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 yearly, whereas the adults earn Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 yearly. So, however efficient and hard-working a landless *mahindar* may be, he can never expect to earn more than 50 paise to 75 paise per day. Instead of taking all the three meals in the *jotedar's* house, they carry at least one meal home for the rest of the members of their family. In return for three meals and a wage of 75 paise per day, a *mahindar* will work for 16 hours like a slave. They are never free to work elsewhere, nor are they entitled to any holiday. They do not live like human beings, they do not enjoy rights of any kind. On the other hand, in their own interest the *jotedars* nowadays prefer engaging *mahindars* only and in this society they do enjoy the right to make slaves of the landless peasants.

(4) *Kisans* :

The landless peasants tilling the land of the *jotedar* as share-croppers with the agricultural implements provided by him are called *kisans*. Usually the *kisan* shares one third ($33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent) of the total produce while two-thirds ($66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent) are enjoyed by the *jotedar*. The *kisan* has to bear all the expenses of cultivation. Usually, a *kisan* is required to till about 4 acres of land. Whatever may be his share according to the prevailing custom, a *kisan* can never enjoy more than 10 per cent of the produce because of the exorbitant rate of interest charged by the rural moneylenders and also because of the severe exploitation of the *jotedars*. When employed by the *jotedar* in this manner, a landless peasant has often to borrow money from

him for the daily maintenance of his family. Of course, a *kisan* can never expect to get more than 15 mds. of paddy equivalent to 10 mds. of rice and Rs. 60 as cash loan in a year. The interest charged on this loan is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the principal. The *jotedar* provides the *kisan* with the necessary expenses for cultivation as well, and after harvesting, the *jotedar* realises all this amount plus the interest at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the principal from the *kisan's* share of the crop. The following is an account of such a transaction :

The details of the total cost for the cultivation of 4 acres of land that a *kisan* is required to till are given below :

(i) Rs. 60 towards cost of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mds. of seeds at the rate of Rs. 40 per md.

(ii) Rs. 600 towards the total wage for 200 hired labourers at the rate of Rs. 3 per day for ploughing, sowing, weeding etc.

(iii) Rs. 45 towards the cost of 15 cart-loads of compost fertilizers at the rate of Rs. 3 per cart-load.

(iv) Rs. 72 towards the cost of other types of fertilizers. The landowner in this case bears half of the total cost amounting to Rs. 144 at the rate of Rs. 16 per md. for nine mds.

So, the total cost would come to about Rs. 777. Out of this amount the *kisan* renders the labour of 100 persons himself, and thereby saves Rs. 300, the cost of labour being Rs. 3 per day per head. The rest of the amount, i.e., Rs. 477 he has to borrow from the *jotedar*. Besides all this, he has already consumed 15 mds. of paddy. So, after the realization of the amount of loan plus the interest by the *jotedar* things would stand as below :

The total quantity of crop produced in 4 acres of land would be at least 100 mds. The *jotedar* deducts $22\frac{1}{2}$ mds.— $1\frac{1}{2}$ times of the 15 mds. of paddy given previously as loan. He realizes Rs. 710 against the loan of Rs. 477 and the amount is equivalent to 24 mds. of paddy. Thus the total towards repayment of loan and interest—if paid in kind—

would amount to $46\frac{1}{2}$ mds. of paddy. This quantity of paddy evidently exceeds the 33 mds. of paddy the *kisan* is due to get as his share out of the 100 mds. of paddy produced. So, instead of getting any share whatsoever, the *kisan* would once again owe the *jotedar* about 15 mds. of paddy, which is exactly the quantity he had borrowed during the lean months. Now to repay the out-standing loan of about 15 mds. of paddy, the *kisan* has to do unpaid labour, i.e., to render his labour as rent. Firstly, the *kisan* has to perform all the work associated with the cultivation of an extra one acre of land owned by the landowner. This does not come within the purview of share-cropping. This is a kind of feudal exaction (*salami*) realized by the *jotedar* for allowing the *kisan* to till his land. The *kisan* does not get any wage in exchange of this labour. Secondly, the *kisan* has to cut wood for fuel in the landowner's house and has to drive carts for carrying the *jotedar's* people. Thirdly, female members of the *kisan's* family and even his children have to repay the *jotedar's* debt by doing unpaid labour in the *jotedar's* house. But debts are never fully repaid, they go on accumulating and ultimately the homestead land and even the members of the *kisan's* family are mortgaged to the *jotedar*. Thus the landless *kisans* are born in debt and die in debt, too.

Political consciousness and the urge for struggle :

The landless peasants have an intense urge for struggle. In the initial stages of organization they are not active enough. But the more the struggle and, along with it, the organization develop, the more they come close to the organization and play a leading role. Of the landless peasants, the *mahindars* and *kisans* do not come forward in the beginning. Unlike the other peasants, they find little opportunity of doing so as they work hard from morning to evening under the supervision of the landowners. They return home at night after exhausting their entire energy

in the service of their masters. So, they seldom attend the group-meetings of the peasants. But they have intense class hatred. With the progress of struggle they would take their place in the forefront of the struggle.

In respect of class analysis, the landless peasants can best distinguish between the rich peasant and the middle peasant. The middle peasants are victims of liberalism. But the landless peasants follow the path of uncompromising struggles. So, naturally, as a class they will lead the agrarian revolution.

How the landless peasants maintain their families ?

All the members, young and old, of a landless peasant's family have to work. The young ones often work as cowboys or *mahindars* under *jotedars*, rich peasants, middle peasants or non-cultivating rural middle class people.

The female members of the landless peasant's family work as maidservants besides performing their household work. Apart from working in well-to-do households, they usually husk paddy and make varieties of fried rice, e.g., *muri*, *chira* etc. Thus they can at best earn their own meals. Husking 5 seers of paddy they get 5 chataks i.e., $\frac{1}{16}$ portion of rice only as wage. Nowadays as numerous husking mills have been set up in the neighbourhood, they too are getting no employment. Women belonging to the landless peasantry are taking much interest in the struggle against feudalism, since the burden of prevalent feudal exploitation is crushing them.

This investigation into the actual conditions in the countryside reveals clearly how 90 per cent of the peasants in the rural area, of whom 70 per cent are landless and poor peasants, are being exploited and oppressed under the feudal system.

This form of exploitation under which labour is demanded as rent, that is, poor or landless peasants are

made to do unpaid labour, is the original form of mediaeval feudal exploitation. From a visit to the rural areas of Murshidabad one can well realize how cruelly this particular form of exploitation is sucking the blood of the poor, landless peasantry.

Yet the revisionists of all hues, keen on serving imperialism and domestic reaction, deny the existence of feudalism in India's countryside. Both the Dange and Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Ranadive cliques, lackeys of Indian comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and feudal landlords, are loud in claiming that the so-called land reforms under the Congress government have dealt mortal blows at feudalism in India's rural areas, that capitalism has developed in agriculture. They contend that the rapid increase in the number of landless peasants is due to the working of the general law of capitalism. They try to depict the landless peasants as free wage labour—the landless peasants who, cruelly exploited and oppressed by the *jotedars*, virtually lead the lives of serfs. Their main aim is to hide the real enemies from the wrath of the people and sabotage the agrarian revolution. From time to time they issue hypocritical calls for a struggle to defend *democracy*—democracy that is yet to be achieved in India by overthrowing feudalism. But antics of these agents of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, can no longer deceive our people. Already the peasants of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Warangal, Khammam, Lakhimpur Kheri, Muzaffarpur and other places have taken up arms to smash the feudal fetters that bind them. The Indian peasants' revolutionary armed struggle is spreading fast to the different parts of India and no power on earth can stem the tide. **"The dawn is ahead, we must exert ourselves."**

Anti-fascist Struggle Shakes Franco's Spain

—M. L.

THE fascist regime of dictator Franco backed by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has time and again tried to drown in blood the anti-fascist struggle of the revolutionary people of Spain. All political rights are suppressed. Strikes and political demonstrations and rallies are banned. The Franco regime nakedly rules with the bayonet.

The Spanish people suffer ruthless exploitation and oppression by both the domestic reactionaries, the Spanish fascists, and by their master, U. S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionists have also spread their tentacles to Spain within the framework of U.S.-Soviet collaboration, and are riding on the back of the Spanish people alongside U.S. imperialism.

The economic situation has rapidly deteriorated. The people are suffering great hardships and live a miserable existence. Millions of workers are unemployed and one million Spanish workers are forced to seek employment abroad. Growing numbers of pauperized peasants are driven off their lands. The bleak prospect of unemployment face the university students when they graduate.

The Spanish people's revolutionary mass struggle is waged under the most difficult conditions of fascist suppression. Fascist dictator Franco's secret police, called the "Social Brigade," penetrate into every corner of Spain. All workers' organisations are banned. Only the government "trade union" rigged up by the fascist regime is 'legal.' Students are forbidden to have contact with workers on pain of arrest. Under such difficult conditions and in the face of revisionist betrayal, workers and students have

built up revolutionary underground organisations. The Marxist-Leninist Party of Spain, formed in the midst of fierce struggles, is in the forefront of the anti-fascist struggle waged by the Spanish people today.

The recent months have been a period of intense struggle and reorganisation for the Spanish people. It saw a new upsurge in the Spanish workers' struggle against fascist oppression and for their vital demands. In Spain, as in France and Italy, the progressive university students have merged their struggle against fascism and against the decadent bourgeois educational system, with the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The progressive students' movement developed by leaps and bounds in Spain in the past months. The flames of student revolt burnt high and spread rapidly through the country, turning the university campuses into centres of struggle against fascist oppression.

The students of the University of Madrid, which contains half of the entire student population of Spain, were in the forefront of the struggle. Greatly inspired by the "Storm of May" in France and by the militant struggle of the Italian workers and students, the Spanish students, braving fascist persecution, staged militant demonstrations on May 16th and on May 18th last year protesting against an unjust ban on rallies. They held high placards inscribed with the slogans: "Down with Franco!", "Workers and students, unite!", "We want democracy, no dictatorship!", and "Liberty." They courageously defended themselves against the brutal attacks of the fascist police, who were armed with clubs and hoses, by building barricades, and fought back with stones, bottles and fire-bombs.

The movement spread rapidly to the University of Barcelona. For several months the two universities were forcibly closed down by dictator Franco's fascist regime.

The progressive Spanish students are realizing, as are the progressive students in other countries, that their

struggle against fascist oppression and against the decadent bourgeois educational system can be successful only by the overthrow of the capitalist system which breeds these evils. They also realize that in order to achieve their goal they must merge their struggle with the working class movement and the revolutionary struggle of the Spanish people.

Defying the threats of the fascist authorities, the progressive Spanish students have held demonstrations proclaiming solidarity with the revolutionary working class in their struggle against fascist oppression and for their vital interests. On October 24th, '68, for instance, 1,200 students of Madrid joined the metal workers' demonstration against a government-imposed ceiling on wage increases.

On October 18th, 2000 coal-miners of Asturia province went on strike over unjust sanctions taken by the capitalists, the Empresa Hulera Del Nonte Company in holding back their pay for attending the funeral of a worker killed in an accident. The strike spread to 8 mines.

In the month of November the struggle of the Spanish students swept across the land with the force of a tidal wave. Students of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao held many militant demonstrations and protest rallies defying the ban of the fascist authorities. The fascist regime sent armed police and shock troops to put down the student movement by brute force. The university campuses were turned into flaming battle-fields of student revolt as the courageous students battled fiercely against the fascist police. Many police officers were injured in the battles and police jeeps were set on fire in Madrid as the students' resistance mounted. Franco's portrait was publicly burnt and, in Barcelona, Franco's statue was smashed by angry students shouting "Liberty" and "Franco Assassin". In Barcelona University 2000 angry students smashed up the furniture and telephones, and chased the reactionary rector out of his office. They draped a large banner on the wall

demanding a "university of the people". In Madrid, for several days the red flag of revolution fluttered high over the university. Students fiercely denounced the Franco government as fascist. Slogans such as "police out of the university" were pasted on the walls. According to bourgeois press reports, already by 28th November, more than 150 students were imprisoned without trial and several hundred arbitrarily arrested. On December 4th, 30,000 students marched through the streets of Madrid in angry protest against the fascist persecution.

In his New Year Day address this year, fascist dictator Franco threatened the Spanish people, especially "those...enrolled in the service of subversion", in much the same words as de Gaulle threatened the French people in his New Year Day address. Unable to hold back the surging mass struggle, the fascist regime panicked. Within a month, on January 24th, an alarmed Franco announced a "state of exception" (or "emergency") for a period of three months in a desperate attempt to further suppress the Spanish people's mounting, heroic resistance.

Since the emergency, thousands of workers, students, peasants, lawyers, journalists and university professors have been imprisoned without trial, tortured or exiled to various remote parts of Spain. A fascist terror reminiscent of the notorious Inquisition has been unleashed by the Franco fascists. News is strictly censored. But already tens of thousands of workers, students and the various strata of Spanish people have risen in resistance defying the fascist emergency laws and exposing the paper tiger nature of the Franco fascist regime.

One day after Franco's declaration of "emergency", the revolutionary Spanish proletariat rose to deal hammer blows at the reactionary fascist regime of dictator Franco. In the city of Bilbao alone 20,000 steel and dock workers went on a protracted strike to protest against the fascist oppression and for their vital demands. Three major plants

of this industrial city—Altos Hornos Iron and Steel Works (which produces 40% of Spain's iron and steel), the Babcock-Wilcox Engine, Boiler & Machine Factory, and the Constructora Naval Shipyard—were closed for weeks after the emergency due to the workers' strike. Hundreds of workers in this city were thrown into prison without charges by the fascist regime and many were tortured and exiled. But the fascist persecution has served only to increase the resistance of the workers. Defying the fascist police, the workers are building up revolutionary underground organisations and preparing for a protracted struggle. They have demanded an end to dictator Franco's emergency. They have refused to recognise the official government trade union and resolutely maintain that the workers' demands can only be negotiated with the real workers' representatives, the underground workers' committees, which the fascist regime is brutally suppressing.

On February 4th, tens of thousands of workers in Barcelona joined the striking workers of Bilbao to protest against the declaration of emergency.

Today, the heroic working class of Spain is in the forefront of the Spanish people's anti-fascist struggle. Braving mass arrests, torture and exile it is mounting furious attacks on the dictator Franco's fascist regime.

The revisionists of Spain have actively collaborated with the fascist authorities in suppressing the brave struggle of the Bilbao workers. In a number of factories the revisionists have participated in the government "trade union elections", rigged up by the fascists, and hold positions in this fascist "trade union". They tried feverishly to "persuade" the revolutionary workers of Bilbao to give up their struggle and "return to work". The Spanish workers kicked aside the treacherous revisionist scabs and resolutely carried on their heroic struggle. The struggle of the workers of Bilbao has once again exposed

the Spanish revisionists as the running dogs of fascism and U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet revisionists and their Spanish hangers-on have been doing their utmost to spread illusions about the ruling fascist regime in Spain. They have hailed Franco's liberalisation and say that Franco's regime "is not what it was". The revisionist scabs maintain that under the people's pressure etc., it is "more relaxed" and no more fascist. Within the framework of U.S.-Soviet collaboration, the Soviet revisionists are daily strengthening their ties with the fascist regime. Numerous cultural and trade contacts have been made. Recently, a new naval agreement was reached by which Soviet ships can visit Spanish ports. Similarly, the Soviet revisionists have formed strong ties with other reactionaries all over the world. They and the Spanish revisionists openly praise the fascists while at the same time pretending to condemn the emergency.

The Marxist-Leninist party of Spain, which is in the van of the anti-fascist struggle and is being tempered in its flames, have vehemently condemned the declaration of "emergency", and the attempt of the Spanish fascists to suppress the Spanish people's revolutionary struggle with terror and brute force. In its Third Ordinary Plenum held at Malaga recently, the Marxist-Leninist party of Spain hailed the glorious struggle of the revolutionary people of Spain and thoroughly exposed the betrayal by the Spanish revisionists.

Carry Forward The Guerrilla War

Following is the Declaration of the Srikakulam District Organizing Committee, CPI (M-L), on the atrocious murder of Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy by the reactionary government. This declaration was published on June 15 and widely distributed throughout Andhra. Originally in Telegu, this has been retranslated from Bengali :

Red Salute to the great Revolutionary Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy and his revolutionary Comrades-in-arms !

Exterminate the hated, oppressive police and other agents, the compradors and landlords !

Carry forward the Guerrilla War !

Comrades and Friends,

On 27 May 1969 the revolutionary people of Srikakulam lost a great revolutionary leader and six other revolutionary comrades at the same time in a single event. Who was this great revolutionary leader ? And who were his six revolutionary comrades-in-arms ? They no longer need any detailed description. The revolutionary people of every State in India irrespective of age or sex are deeply mourning the death of this great leader and his revolutionary comrades-in-arms. Innumerable letters from grief-stricken people are pouring into our Party office. Even in distant villages of our district, people have held big condolence meetings and taken the vow to avenge the murder of the great revolutionary leader and the other revolutionaries. Determined to take revenge, people come in thousands to our Party office trudging their way from far-away places. Among them are old determined peasants, students, young men and others. In the 17 days between

May 29 and June 15, thousands of people came to our Party office determined to avenge the brutal murder of our revolutionary comrades by the class enemies. Class struggle against feudalism and the ruling classes has now reached a higher stage.

At a time like this, coming to our Party office means risking one's life. Yet caring little for the vigilant watch of the enemy and the armed police, thousands of people are coming to our Party office. From this very fact we can realise that the people have lost their most beloved leader. We share the grief of our great people. On behalf of the Party of the great revolutionary leader and his revolutionary comrades-in-arms, we offer our revolutionary greetings to the people.

Comrades, friends and our great revolutionary people,

How did this tragic event take place? The class enemy had come to know that the deathless hero Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy and six revolutionary peasant youth, his comrades, would get off the train at Sompeta (Kanchili) railway station on May 27. As soon as the comrades got down, the hated police surrounded them. At that time our great heroes were unarmed. Had they been armed, they would have exposed the enemy's real strength. But on that day they had no arms. Binding their hands, the pet butchers of the Congress government—the hated police—took these great revolutionaries to a place near Jalantarkota village and shot them. The morning air in Jalantarkota trembled with the powerful slogans of our great revolutionary comrades:

“Long live the CPI (M-L)!”

“Long live Revolution!”

“Long live our beloved leader Comrade Mao Tsetung;

A long, long life to him!”

“Long live the Red Flag!”

“Revolution shall forge ahead in my India!”

Rending the air of revolutionary Srikakulam with these slogans our beloved comrades fell. They shall live forever in history. The people of Srikakulam lost their invaluable leader and his comrades-in-arms. In the history of the struggle in the Srikakulam district, the 27th of May 1969 is a day of sorrow.

Friends and Comrades-in-arms,

We know that since we have been born, we must die. There is an old Sanskrit saying in our country: “Yatasya Maranam Dhrubam”, which means “What is born must die.” We know it is very easy to die. That is why, instead of dying for small, petty interests, we shall die for a great cause. There is nothing greater than dying for the liberation of our motherland. To work for the country is the most important thing. The great Telegu poet Gurajara had a wonderful saying, which means “The country does not mean the soil, it means the people”. Thus, to work for the country means to work for the people of the country. By people we generally mean the poor, oppressed people. Bearing this in mind and inspired by the thought that to serve the people is a great duty, many heroes have sacrificed and are sacrificing their precious lives for the cause of the liberation of the Indian people. Comrade Krishnamurthy was one such brave hero. This invaluable saying “What is born, must die” is in vogue in every country. But the saying becomes real when millions of people of a country are inspired by the idea that there is no work greater than dying for the motherland. In today's world Chairman Mao has given true significance to this statement: “What is born, must die”. Chairman Mao teaches us: Death is a very common occurrence in man's life. So, dedicate your life to the service of the people, not to the service of the enemies of the people. He has said: “To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work

for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather."

This teaching of Chairman Mao has created millions of sacrificing, selfless persons in his country and transformed China into a great country. Not only has he made his own country great, he is striving nobly to make the whole world great. In the world today, inspired by the Thought of Chairman Mao, millions of people are waging struggles against imperialism, revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism. The flames of these struggles are spreading to wider and wider areas. Many people have sacrificed their precious lives in these great struggles. Our Comrade Krishnamurthy is one of those great men who are in the van of the struggle and sacrifice everything. Comrade Krishnamurthy worked for the people; to serve the people he gave his life. He was a great revolutionary, true communist and very good disciple of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Comrades,

People's war to establish people's democracy in our country has begun. The great future of the people of this country depends on the victory of this people's war. Our country groans under terrible oppression, tyranny and exploitation. We must end this oppression, tyranny and exploitation. We must put an end to the exploitation by foreign as well as domestic reactionaries, which weighs heavily on the back of our people. For this, not only Comrade Krishnamurthy but thousands of brave revolutionaries have to shed their blood; thousands of lives must be offered.

In our country today, innumerable brave youths are advancing on the crest of the mounting wave of revolution. Go forward, Comrades, prepare yourselves—and move further onward. For ages the Indian peasants have suffered oppression silently, now they are raising

their heads high. They are advancing like a torrent to overthrow the feudal class in the great class-struggle. Comrade Krishnamurthy's hope shall not be belied—no, his hope shall in no way be disappointed. No force can any longer prevent the establishment of socialism and communism in our country.

Comrade Krishnamurthy was born in a poor peasant family in Belaman village of the Srikakulam district. With great difficulty and hardship he passed his M. A. examination. When he was a student he was very active as a worker of the Student's Federation. He studied Marxism. He strongly believed that in our country Marxism was the only path to the salvation of the proletariat. He never thought of getting a job. To lure him away from politics, many people offered him big jobs. But they could not influence him. Attracted by the greatness of Marxism, many highly educated persons of the rich classes join the Communist Party. But when troubles appear, when the question of sacrifice arises, most of them leave the Party thinking of their own personal interests. But Comrade Krishnamurthy went forward as troubles piled up—he did never retreat. He was in the forefront of those who organized the communist movement in our district. Within a very short time he became the most beloved leader of the people of this district. Any mention of the rich classes roused hatred and disgust in Comrade Krishnamurthy. Comrade Krishnamurthy became a member of the Central Organizing Committee and Andhra State Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (M-L) after its formation. Comrade Krishnamurthy was lovingly called P. K. by the people of our district.

Though Comrade P.K. was very highly educated, he was free from all trace of pride. He never, even by mistake, made a display of his learning lest his comrades should feel embarrassed. Comrade P. K. was always pleasant and serious. He could suffer a great deal of hardship and

trained his comrades through arduous work. When anyone advised him to live comfortably by taking a big job, Comrade P. K. would reply: "Of the four brothers, two are employed. What would happen if everyone took jobs? I will serve the people. This will enhance the prestige of my parents."

Friends,

Among the comrades who gave their lives with Comrade Krishnamurthy were Comrades Tamava Chinnababu, Bainapalle Pappa Rao, Dunna Gopal Rao. They were peasants from Baddapadu village of Sompeta taluk. Comrade Srungarapu Narisimhulu was a peasant from Lakkavaram village. Comrade Ramachandran Pradhano was a peasant from Mathmasharia village. And there was Comrade Niranjan Rao. Except Comrade Narisimhulu, all were young men whose age varied between 13 and 20 years. Comrade Chinnababu was a cultural worker. He was the chief singer of a cultural group named "Tatajij Mukulkatha." Comrade Chinnababu spread the story of the peasant struggles of the Srikakulam district and inspired lakhs of people all over Andhra by means of his great dancing, singing and acting. This revolutionary youth did no other work except the work of the revolutionary Party. Comrade Pappa Rao had studied upto the school final level. He never left unfinished any work he undertook or decided to do. Comrade Pappa Rao was a student leader and became a communist while he was a student. Comrade Dunna Gopal Rao was studying in the school final class. Thrice he was captured by the police but, inspite of all the tortures of the police, he escaped every time from the clutches of the police to return to the revolutionary Party. Comrade Dunna Gopal Rao was a great revolutionary.

Comrade Niranjan Rao and Comrade Ramachandran were also very conscientious in doing revolutionary work. They too were great revolutionaries. Even while taking his

meal, Comrade Niranajan Rao read out the quotations of Chairman Mao to his mother.

Comrade Narisimhulu was a landless peasant. Oppressed by the landlord of his village, Comrade Narisimhulu joined a guerrilla squad with his daughter. Comrade Narisimhulu thought that without a Communist Party the proletarian revolution cannot be carried out. That is why he joined the Communist Party.

These six comrades were active members of the great People's Army of our district.

Various people in society have various ideas. But these six comrades met death in the service of the people, for the sake of the people. They were born in poor peasant families. But their self-sacrifice in the revolutionary peasant struggle has endowed them with greatness. The ruling class and its agents had tried to murder them a long time ago, but the people of our district protected them with great care. It is for this reason that the people of our district are so deeply grieved at the death of these gallant comrades. That is why the people are unable to forget them.

Comrades,

The ruling classes and the oppressor, hated policemen hired by them are resorting to oppression in order to maintain their rule and their exploitation. As the end of their rule and exploitation draws nearer, their oppression will become more and more fierce. They will be like mad dogs. There is only one way to finish these animals—the path of armed struggle. This great armed struggle is now in progress. This is the only revolutionary struggle. There is no room for mercy and kindness towards the class enemy in this great struggle. No quarters shall be given. We must build up more and more of this sort of mentality in order to carry on the struggle. Though we have lost our great revolutionary comrades in this struggle, yet we know that finally, inevitably, we shall win—victory shall be ours. It

will be wrong to think that we shall not suffer in this struggle.

Since the beginning of the people's war, the fighters have exterminated 12 class enemies and their agents; 36 oppressor policemen have been annihilated.¹ Our great people, moved forward by great class hatred, wounded many more policemen who indulged in oppressive acts. The ruling classes are afraid of publishing the news of our struggle—they are becoming increasingly weak in the course of the people's war. That is why the government and police of the hated ruling classes murdered our unarmed comrades and then, to hide their weakness, began shamelessly to scream that they did so in 'self-defence' after our comrades had fired at them. But the fact is exactly the opposite. The contemptible police are even murdering innocent villagers when they capture them and announce that the victims died in encounters with the police. From this all can understand how weak, cowardly, impotent they have become.

However, the reactionary government can hardly suppress the fact that an armed struggle is going on in our district and has to admit this. No matter what tyrannical oppression they may carry on, we will have ample opportunity to pay them back manifold. The peasants and the broad masses of the people are on our side, while the oppressors, landlords and anti-people elements consider us as their enemies. We shall never allow the reactionary police and the army to escape punishment at the hands of the people. We must never fail to act accordingly.

Our beloved Comrade P. K. was killed by the tyrant members of this police force. Comrade P. K., who was an outstanding leader of our country, our province and our district, inspired a great number of people in our district and helped us to overcome the fear of death. The death of this comrade is a glorious one. Very few people can die like this. A great change has come over us through

1. Till June 15—the day this Declaration was issued.—Ed. LIBERATION

the death of Comrade P.K. and other comrades who were killed along with him. This event has opened up a new horizon in the armed struggle in our district.

This event has greatly influenced the people in our district. This fact has struck fear and consternation in the heart of the ruling class. So they are mobilising an increasing number of policemen—their running dogs. They have declared the areas in our district where struggles are going on, "disturbed areas."

Beware, oppressor ruling class!

The death of one hero gives birth to thousands of new heroes!

Beware, oppressor ruling class!

You fight in your own way and we fight in ours.

You will be swept away into oblivion like a tiny straw by the oncoming tidal waves of the great Indian revolution. The old days are gone, and a new era has begun. So, beware!

Comrades and revolutionary masses!

Listen, oh, you peasant youth! A large number of martyrs have laid down their lives with the red flag in hand in order to usher in a state which is not based on exploitation, in our country. There is no other way than this—the road made wet by the blood of our martyrs. Holding aloft the red flag we will surely fulfil the hopes of our martyrs. We will establish socialism and communism in our country. There can be no other task more glorious and greater than this in our life. We will never and on no account allow the great revolutionary torch we have lighted to be extinguished. This is how we offer our salute—our revolutionary red salute—to Comrade P.K. and the other martyred comrades. The people are sure to triumph. The ruling class is faced with inevitable doom. We are taking this oath.

Our great leader Comrade Mao teaches us that it is easy to become a revolutionary for a few days, but to remain a revolutionary for the whole life is a great task. Our great heroic comrades carried out this task. We shall try to follow them and accomplish this task.

**Srikulam District Organising Committee,
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)**

Trade Unions : Capitalist or Workers' Organizations ?

Are the old-line trade unions primarily organizations of the workers or are they instruments of the capitalist class ? The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has been re-examining the present-day role of trade unions in Australia and has come to the conclusion that the unions have been "turned into their opposites," dominated as they are by a trade union bureaucracy whose policy is in the interest of the capitalist class and at logger heads with the interest of the masses of workers.

"It is completely utopian, unrealistic," says the February 6th issue of the Vanguard, Organ of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L), "to think that the trade union bureaucracy can be destroyed through the union ballot box. It is the same as thinking that the capitalist class can be destroyed through parliamentary elections." Further observations on this question are given below, reprinted from The Australian Communist, No. 32 theoretical journal of the Party, and the Vanguard.

Recently Vanguard received a letter from a worker on the subject of trade unions.

He pointed out that this year the congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions would be held, which would provide rank and file unionists with the opportunity to raise matters concerning the organizational structure of the trade unions with a view to turning them into more effective weapons in the struggle for socialism.

A central idea expressed in the letter was that if the emphasis was placed on rank and file organization and the unions did not confine themselves to their own economic demands but took up broader issues such as pensions,

prices, education, peace, etc., the struggle for revolutionary social change to socialism would be greatly advanced.

Vanguard was glad to receive the letter. Fundamentally it showed a desire to struggle, to get to grips with the job of getting rid of U.S. domination, overthrowing capitalism and winning socialism and independence.

The letter also showed a deep dissatisfaction with the trade union bureaucrats.

What the author of the letter wrote expresses a growing feeling amongst the Australian working people, a striving to find the revolutionary path forward.

In Australia the two main obstacles which divert the working class and other working people from the revolutionary path are trade union and parliamentary politics.

Trade union and parliamentary politics confine the working people to capitalism. They put blinkers on them, limit their vision.

Trade union and parliamentary politics generate the idea that social change can be achieved "constitutionally", that is, through peaceful negotiation with the capitalist class.

There are about three million Australian workers organized in trade unions. The large trade union apparatus in Australia continually stimulates the erroneous idea that the unions themselves can force the capitalist class to give way and hand over their factories to the working class.

Calls for strengthening trade union organization, for building job organization flow from this wrong idea.

The job is not to strengthen trade union organization for that only strengthens the hold of the capitalist class over the working class.

The job is to smash up the trade union bureaucracy by bringing revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung to the working class.

The job of lifting revolutionary class consciousness is at once the job of breaking with trade union politics. This means pointing out the limits of trade unions, showing how the capitalist class controls them through the union bureaucrats.

Today trade unions are necessary for the capitalist class. They are a burden on the backs of the working class. We do not want to make the burden heavier.

As we have said, the Australian working class is striving to find the revolutionary path. It is absolutely essential that its energies should not be diverted into "strengthening trade unions."

Rather it should be directed into **STRENGTHENING REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION.**

The Australian working class and other working people are rebelling. They are becoming more acquainted with the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung.

Let us devote all our efforts into getting this truth to wider and wider sections of the working people. In grasping this truth in struggle they will rapidly build their revolutionary organizations. The fundamental thing is to destroy capitalist concepts, capitalist ideology with proletarian revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung.

Influence Of Trade Union Politics Still Persists

In recent years the Australian working class movement has seriously reappraised many old ideas about the trade unions and trade unionism. The book *Looking Backward; Looking Forward* analyzed some aspects of this matter. But the influence of trade union politics and the mesmerism of militant trade union officials persist strongly as a trend even in left circles.

The simple fact is that the capitalist class has adapted the trade union apparatus and trade union officials to itself.

They have become instruments of capitalism. In the early days of capitalism the trade unions were true centres of revolt. They were illegal. They had to fight. The long battle for trade union legality taught the capitalists many lessons. But the fact that the trade unions were illegal, that there was a long hard struggle for their legality left a tradition amongst the workers which bound them to the trade unions.

Almost imperceptibly the capitalist turned these trade unions from being centres of rebellion into centres of submission. The loyalty of the workers to the centres of rebellion remained but it was now given to organizations which had become centres of submission.

In Australia (as in other capitalist countries) an elaborate trade union structure has been built up. This structure has the protection of the law. It is a thoroughgoing instrument for the administration of capitalism. The A. C. T. U., various Trades and Labour Councils and the individual unions are all conditioned on the maintenance of capitalism. Their officials serve capitalism.

It is true that unions go on strike. Rebellion some times arises from even these official bodies. That helps to preserve the illusion of rebellion that comes from the old illegal unions. But it does not take much thought to realise that in modern Australia these very unions of organized rebellion have turned into their opposite. In some cases it is clear as in the seamens' and waterside workers' co-operation with the state apparatus. The arbitration machinery rests on this very conception. It is not a question of its being good or bad or judges being good or bad or even the existence or non-existence of the court of pains and penalties. All this is merely evidence of the unions being centres of submission and not rebellion.

It arises from the contradiction between the bureaucracy of the trade unions' officialdom on the one hand and the membership on the other. The membership maintains its

loyalty to the union as the centre of rebellion. But rebellion has been stolen from it.

It is also true that the trade unions help their members in many ways. Sickness benefits, legal assistance, obtaining awards, social life, getting jobs and so on. They are important things. They have to be done. They have another side. By its very facility in doing it: in the very way it does it, the union apparatus provides evidence of its being an instrument of capitalism.

Then comes the question of trade union officials. In a sense everyone who works at all, helps to make capitalism work. The worker who is exploited, does so. The doctor who treats the sick workers and capitalists does so. The lawyer, even though he works only for the workers, does so. The architect who builds the buildings does so. And so on. The trade union official does so in a very special way because he works precisely in the field where the worker and capitalist potentially and actually clash. It is a delicate field for the capitalist. But because of the adaptation of the trade union apparatus to capitalism the trade union official, however good, is a prisoner of capitalism. In a certain way the better he is as a trade union official, the more service he does for capitalism.

There is for example a mystique around the late Jim Healy. He is revered for militancy. It is said if Healy were still alive he would be all right. Things would be different. But Healy was essentially a reformist. He never stepped beyond trade union limits. And he is only one example. There are today men who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung in official trade union positions. They agree that their position encircles and inhibits them. It can not be otherwise. This is a problem the Australian workers have not yet solved. It will not be solved at all until we dare to think about it: dare to do: dare to experiment: dare to challenge the sacred cows: dare to get experience.

It is almost heresy to discuss trade unions in any way that departs from the orthodox. This is only part of the hold of capitalism on us.

The present time is one when old ideas are being challenged and must be challenged. In the sphere of the trade unions and trade unionism there are more deeply laid fetishes than on any other single subject. It will take frank and harsh words and actions to destroy them.

They must be challenged and destroyed.

Workers Must Break Trade Union Shackles

Australian workers must break from the shackles imposed upon them by the existing trade union structure. The form and activity of the trade unions is considered to be beyond criticism, to be sacrosanct.

Trades and labour councils and the A.C.T.U. are spoken of as the parliaments of the workers. A whole mystique has been created about them. All sorts of restrictions are put on the thinking of the workers about these things.

But they must all be challenged and tested.

It is our contention that they are weapons, and powerful weapons at that, in the hands of the capitalist class.

In Australia, as one outstanding example the trade unions are tied to the arbitration system. However much they may protest, they are compelled to conform to arbitration processes. Even criticism, strong criticism of these processes and the penal processes associated with them, tend to obscure the real question of the need for complete rebellion amongst the workers against conventional trade unionism.

If the question is studied closely then facts show that trade union officials move without causing a ripple from their trade union jobs into positions as industrial officers employed by big business, or into positions as conciliation commissioners or other State jobs. There are many trade union officials throughout Australia who sit on this or

that commission, council, board or what have you. They are paid and looked after by the State. Essentially they are functionaries of the State imbued with the ideology of the capitalist State.

As a simple example, the leaders of the central trade union bodies are invited to all important State functions, to many functions promoted by the employers. Within specific industries the same thing goes for the officials of the unions within the specific industry. Systematically the trade union officials are "duched" or "duched". They are as much a part of the establishment as the governor.

Naturally enough, the employers, the capitalist class, maintain their contempt for these officials but they condescend to "promote" them; speak of them as "reasonable" men etc., etc. And many officials lap it up. The real aim of it is to control, subjugate the workers themselves.

The whole thing is an insidious process. (It is to leave aside the direct bribery which occurs.) And there are very very few who do not succumb. It all conceals the real class nature of society; it conceals the class war. It presents a picture of class peace.

Even the trade union official who speaks in militant terms may be permitted to maintain his militant terms but nonetheless be adapted to the master class.

Australian workers have had a very good lesson in all this. This has occurred through the actions of the revisionists. They came to office in the trade unions as Communists, militants, wagers of class war, but they ended up as timeservers, exponents of capitalist ideology. It was scarcely avoidable that this would occur because of the very character of the trade unions at this stage of the history of capitalism. If these leaders promoted revolution they would be promoting themselves out of good comfortable jobs. There is every reason for them, as they see it, to maintain the status quo and manoeuvre within it. Their

very position depends upon the permanence of capitalism: the permanence of its institutions including arbitration.

Almost every aspect of the trade unions in Australia reveals how deeply they are committed to capitalism. Many of them own buildings, have extensive investments, maintain a whole elaborate bureaucracy.

It is justifiably asked what then to do. It must be answered that there is no blue print: no panacea. In the recent French experience, the French workers stepped right beyond trade union boundaries. It was and is a very valuable experience. In Australia there must be study of this question: there must be explanation: propagation of the idea that the trade unions in their present activity can be and are a dead weight on working class struggle. Therefore there must be ideological preparation. The workers will find a way: they will dare to get experience: to sum experience up. History is putting all these things into the melting pot.

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The Fraud of Bank Nationalisation

—Manish Basu

INDIA's reactionary ruling classes and their masters—the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists—have no doubt one common aim. Their common aim is to destroy Socialist China and to throttle the revolutionary struggles of the people of India and the world. But within this framework of vile collusion there are arising contradictions among them, which are getting sharper and sharper with the passing of days. The Political Resolution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) correctly points out :

“...A dog-fight is going on between different sections and parties of the ruling classes, that have linked their fate with that of the U.S., Soviet or British imperialists.”

A grim fight is on between them all—a fight for super-profits and power. And what accentuates this contradiction between the stooges of U.S. imperialism and the other section of the ruling classes, that serves as lackeys of Soviet social-imperialism? It is the revolutionary armed struggle of India's peasantry which started in Naxalbari in 1967 and is now raging in different parts of India, especially Srikakulam, that has sharpened the contradictions within the ruling classes. Today the Congress Party, the main party of India's reactionary ruling classes, is disintegrating. It is the fast developing armed struggle of the Indian people that is making the political and economic crises in which the ruling classes are enmeshed more and more acute and causing the rapid disintegration of the ruling parties.

It is against this background that the Indian government's nationalisation of 14 Indian banks should be viewed.

It is no doubt true that bank nationalisation will not by itself advance the interests of one section at the expense of another. But it has without doubt been used in the fight for power as a kind of stick by the lackeys of Soviet social-imperialists to beat the stooges of the U.S. imperialists with. It has been used by the former to gain political prestige and to deceive the masses. It has been used as a weapon in the mad fight for a greater share of control over the state machinery and thus over bureaucrat capital. A product of the contradictions with which the ruling classes are beset, bank nationalisation will further sharpen those contradictions.

In the following paragraphs it will be our purpose to expose the fraud of bank nationalisation.

At the outset we must remember that the bank nationalisation was carried out by the neo-colonial Indian state, in semi-feudal, semi-colonial India. The individuals who carried out and supported the nationalisation are the enemies of India's working class, peasantry and the rest of the people. They are the enemies of our freedom.

How do Communists look at state intervention in economics and at nationalisation?

The state always intervenes in economics. Where a class is rising, its state intervention takes one form. When it is falling, the form is different. A rising bourgeois swept out feudalism and fought against feudal mercantile imperialism (American Revolution 1776). A rotten, moribund, parasitic, monopolist bourgeois suppresses democracy and practises imperialism. At first, the state was used to allow competition. Now it is used to stifle competition.

Therefore, state intervention or nationalisation is not by itself a sign of socialism or democracy. The vital question is : who—which class—holds state power?

In 1880 Engels forecast that capitalism is bound increasingly to take production and distribution under

state control. This will happen, he said, because of 5 reasons :

1. The economics of ever-increasing scale of production will lead to the necessity for huge investment of capital. Capital of this dimension can only be collected by the state, acting as the representative of the entire ruling class.

2. Nationalisation is an attempt by the ruling classes to overcome the repeated and widening crises that batter it. The ruling classes hope to survive by concentrating more and more economic power in the hands of its most powerful section.

3. There are some industries which form the basis, the infra-structure, on which other industries and businesses exist. These are Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Chemicals, Steel, Heavy equipment etc. These industries require huge amounts of capital. In poor countries these industries can only be started by the state or with state aid. Even rich countries struck by crises start building a "public sector." This "public sector" is nothing but getting capital by squeezing the people through taxes and letting the ruling classes enjoy the benefits of the industry. When the public sector suffers loss, the people are made to pay for it through more taxes, price increase and inflation. The facts of Hindustan Steel, Heavy Electricals, Heavy Engineering etc. prove the above.

4. By concentrating power in their hands the monopolists destroy the small and middle bourgeoisie. India is the motherland of many nationalities. The bourgeoisie of of these nationalities use the national and regional circumstances to expand their business. The monopolist, comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, who are oppressors of India's nationalities, use nationalisation to destroy the national bourgeoisie.

5. Nationalisation makes employees of individual bourgeois groups into employees of the state. So long as the reality of an oppressor state can be shielded by patriotic

emotion and the myth of neutrality, this allows the ruling classes to exploit the employees even more viciously. During this period of illusion and terror (wage increase, fear of loss of job, etc.), the state employees become convenient "voting cattle". The Congress government between 1952-62 and the U.F government in 1969 have demonstrated this truth.

The Indian bourgeoisie grew big under imperialist protection. Imperialist guns protected them and still do so. Imperialism is their source of technology and finance, the commander of their enterprise. They are compradors. Feudalism has been kept alive in India by imperialism. The compradors have close relationship with the feudals.

When these feudal-compradors launch state monopoly capitalism, it is called bureaucrat capitalism. Nationalisation in India is bureaucrat capitalism. Bureaucrat capitalism is the most sterile form of capitalism. Without any competition, without interest in the rate of production, bureaucrat capital is completely reactionary, parasitic, oppressive.

Yet the revisionists greet this bureaucrat capital's nationalisation as something 'progressive'. Engels warned us against such revisionists. He called them "spurious socialists degenerating into flunkeyism". Thus we find CPI calling this bureaucrat capitalism "anti-monopolist, anti-imperialist". (Paras 14-17, CPI-8th Congress Programme). Yet the same Programme mentions that even when India was a British colony, the public sector in India had Rs. 923 crores invested in it while the private sector had Rs. 800 crores. Does this mean that the British colonial rule was "anti-imperialist" as well ?

The CPI (M) Programme (7th Congress, paras 20-21) criticises the public sector for **functioning badly** but concedes it an anti-imperialist role. The CPI (M) 8th Congress Political Resolution complains of too much "waste" in the public sector. But there is NOT a word about bureaucrat

capitalism. In fact, Namboodiripad has declared that the public sector helps in bargaining with imperialism and in restraining the feudals. (*Economics and Politics of India's Socialist Pattern*, p. 127)

How strange is this formulation? The CPI (M) calls the Indian state semi-feudal. Yet nationalisation by the same state leads to "restraint" on the feudals! Both CPI and CPI(M) praise the public sector since it is based on the "selfless" help of the "socialist" states. This is untrue. In the name of giving aid, the new tsars of the Kremlin have tightened their grip over some vital sectors of India's industry controlled by Indian bureaucrat capital, like iron and steel, oil, electricity, machine building, and fleece the Indian people as ruthlessly as the other imperialists. There is another public sector where "socialist" Russia has given unceasing, and since 1965, monopolist aid. It is to the Indian army, navy and airforce. The army which is already fighting in Srikakulam.

It is because of such false attitude, such perversion of Marxism, that the CPI and CPI (M) are able to greet bureaucrat capitalism as a 'democratic' measure, though Engels had said that the more the capitalist state takes over production and distribution, the more people it shall exploit.

Engels declared state monopoly capitalism to be inevitable. He also pronounced its inevitable, ultimate destruction. **Concealed within state ownership are the technical conditions that form the elements of its toppling over.**

By concentrating economic power in the hands of the state—the representative of the ruling class—the **entire class** takes upon itself the crisis of each and every member of that class. The rot will spread faster, deeper, wider. The burden on the people will grow even bigger. Instead of amputating a gangrenous limb, the gangrene will be allowed to spread. In this age of the final destruction of

imperialism the gangrene is bound to spread every day. The burden will grow heavier every day. That is what Engels meant by "toppling over".

Besides maintaining uneconomic banks, the nationalised banks are expected to maintain the white elephants of the so-called "public sector". Hindustan Steel, Heavy Engineering, Heavy Electricals etc. have been losing money heavily. They need working capital desperately. The ruling classes hope to use the banks' funds for this purpose by diverting about Rs. 200 crores from the private sector. But the money will be rapidly drained away. Bureaucrat capitalism does not improve the rate of production, does not economise, does not raise the people's standard of living. Instead, it enables the imperialists and the compradors to earn fabulous profits at the cost of the blood and tears of the people.

Nationalisation wipes out the small and middle capitalists and concentrates power in the hands of those that directly control state power. There were 566 Banks in 1951. In 1967 there were only 91, of which 14 controlled 87 per cent of all deposits and banking business. The sharp fall in the number of banks is a direct result of the policies of the neo-colonial Indian state. In most cases the government-owned Reserve Bank of India **forced** smaller banks to merge with bigger banks. There have been 240 such mergers since 1960. So the monopolists against whom Indira Gandhi has suddenly declared a hypocritical crusade, are really the creation of the Government of India under her pseudo-socialist father and under herself.

Bank nationalisation itself is not a new thing in India. In 1948 the Reserve Bank of India was nationalised. In 1955 the Imperial Bank was nationalised and renamed State Bank of India (SBI). The SBI controls 80% of the total banking business in India. But who controls these **nationalised banks**?

Here is a list of some of the directors of the two nationalised banks. These are nominated by the government. Surely it is an indication as to who shall control the 14 nationalised banks.

Directors of Reserve Bank of India :

- L. K. Jha** ICS, belongs to a family of landlord bureaucrats who collaborated closely with the British before 1947.
- S. L. Kirloskar** One of the top monopolist compradors of India; President, Indo-American Chamber of Commerce.
- Bhaskar Mitter** Top man of the British-Marwari Andrew Yule group, a carefully trained collaborator. He is also a government-nominated director of Unit Trust, another government financial organisation, and LIC.
- N. A. Palkhivala** A Tata man, also member of Board of Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI)—another government concern.
- P. L. Tandon** Was long time head of Hindustan Lever, a British-Dutch monopoly. He is also a director of IDBI and Chairman of State Trading Corporation.
- Arvind Mafatlal** One of the top monopolist compradors of India. Also a director of IDBI.
- D. C. Kothari** A Birla son-in-law.
- C. P. N. Singh** A big landlord of Bihar. Also a director of IDBI.

Board of Directors of RBI for Eastern India :

- Bhaskar Mitter** See above
- A. K. Sen** Top bureaucrat of British-owned Indian Oxygen. Also till recently Government of West Bengal-appointed Chairman of Durgapur Chemicals.
- Abhijit Sen** Owner of Sen-Raleigh Cycles.
- H. S. Singhania** One of the top monopoly compradors—the J. K. group.

Some Directors of State Bank of India :

- V. T. Bahejia** ICS, trained and employed by the British
- D. P. Goenka** A monopolist comprador allied to Birla group
- J. D. Chokshi** A Tata employee
- K. K. Birla** A Birla chieftain
- Arvind Nurothan** Of the Mafatlal monopoly compradors

In the SBI Board for Eastern India

- D. P. Goenka** See above
- K. K. Birla** See above
- V. V. Parekh** A Birla employee
- K. C. Maitra** Managing Director of Guest Keen Williams, a British-U.S. concern.

These then are the men who are expected to lead nationalised banking to "anti-imperialist", "anti-monopolist", "progressive", "democratic" goals: There should be a limit to lying hypocrisy. 82% of the term loans granted by SBI have been given to the top 20 monopoly compradors or direct imperialist-owned concerns. The same figure for the government-owned LIC is 70%. Of the

total given by LIC, 12% is to Tata alone. Those who hopefully see signs of the "upsurge of the national bourgeoisie" in the act of bank nationalisation are living in fools' (or knaves') paradise. Who was the man who led the Banking Commission which recommended nationalisation? It was R. G. Saraiya—president of Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce, director of Tata Hydro, Tata Chemical, Sutley Cotton etc., vice-president of the U.S.-controlled International Chamber of Commerce. A socialist indeed! It was the Congress which unanimously adopted Indira Gandhi's "revolutionary" economic proposals.

Who moved the resolution on the P.M.'s note on economic policy? It was the India government's Home Minister Y. B. Chavan, a great democrat! Who were the men who met the P. M. 24 hours before the nationalisation of banks? J R D Tata (who is also chairman of govt.-controlled Air India), K. P. Goenka (jute and tea magnate, whose B. Sc.-qualified son was appointed by Indira Gandhi on the Atomic Energy Commission), Padampat Singhanian (of the J. K. Group), each separately, in secret. To know all this and claim nationalisation of banks to be a 'democratic' step forward, to beat the drums of Indira Gandhi and Congress "democrats", is devilry of the worst sort.

Nationalisation will hit the medium and small banks which are not nationalised. They must either restrict themselves to very small scale operations or be gobbled up by the big sharks. But the foreign banks which control 11-15% of the most vital section of Indian banking, which are all dens for currency smuggling, which finance collaborators and spray P L 480 funds all over the country, will not be touched. There is even no pretence of exercising control over them. They will continue to buy over the bureaucrats and compradors. (British-owned Chartered Bank employs one ex-deputy governor of the Reserve Bank—Diwaker, ICS; one ex-secretary, Commerce

and Industries, Government of India who is also an M. P.—C. C. Desai, ICS, MP; and one ex-auditor and comptroller-general of India—A. K. Chanda.) On the other hand, the comparatively smaller nationalised banks will also suffer. These banks took advantage of the problems of nationalities and regional economic disparity to expand rapidly in certain areas. The Syndicate Bank, for example, concentrated in the rural areas of South India, particularly south Canara. Its specially trained, local representatives went around villages giving small loans to farmers, weavers, shoemakers. As a result, whereas the entire banking sector has given only 2% of its total loans to agriculture, the Syndicate Bank has given 15%. These banks, therefore, grew rapidly. Bank nationalisation, no doubt, will sharpen the contradiction between the imperialists and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie on the one hand and the small and middle bourgeoisie on the other and further isolate the former.

The third implication of bank nationalisation is that it fundamentally alters the relation of bank employees with the state. The myth of a neutral, arbitrating, mediating state cannot survive this reality. Now the employees shall face the state **directly** as the exploiting employer. Every demand shall be a demand upon the state, every struggle must be against the state.

While the enemy must be despised strategically, he must be given due importance tactically. So we must understand precisely how the nationalisation of banks will—in the short term—help the oppressors of the Indian people.

In the sphere of economics, this measure will help the ruling classes to further concentrate power in their hands. As at 31.3.1967 the loans given by banks could be analysed as follows:

Major Purposes	As Percentage of total loans given by banks
Wholesale Trade	18
Cotton Textile	10
Heavy Engineering	8
Light Engineering	8

Small scale industry got only 7% of total loans, agriculture 2%. By nationalising, the ruling classes can influence control and direct the giving of loans to specific sectors. This power they will use to destroy all who oppose them.

It is possible though that "agriculture" will get more loans. But this money will be chiefly used to pay higher prices for foodgrains and raw materials to big landlords and feudal merchants. The government-owned Food Corporation will be a convenient tool. As a result, food and commodity prices will rise, the people will become poorer and more land will pass into the hands of the rich feudals.

Nationalised banks will also be used to finance the feudal money-lenders. Cooperatives have been used for this purpose and will continue to be used. The nationalised State Bank, in spite of having 2250 branches (many of which are in rural areas), has helped in the process. Facts prove that the hold of the feudal moneylender has **increased** rather than decreased.

The ruling oppressors vainly hope to consolidate and concentrate. The biggest monopolies, which have been unable to raise much money from the people hit by the rapidly growing crisis, even now depend upon banks and the government for the major part of their finance. The control of banks will allow the most powerful section of the ruling classes to channel finances **only** to their own companies and starve the rest. The companies of the ruling classes hope to get some breathing space. It will be cannibalism of a sort. Similarly, the so-called "public sector" companies want some time, though so little to pass their losses to the people, to buy US and Russian materials, to maintain a few more foreign 'experts' and fat bureaucrats. All this shall be done at the cost of the middle and upper middle classes. For it is their money that the banks invest. 56% of total bank deposits are in personal accounts. So not only would the poor be oppressed with fresh burdens of continuous losses,

the middle and upper middle classes shall see their savings rapidly wiped out by "investment" in losing concerns.

In the political sphere, a section of the ruling classes (who are quicker than the rest to read the writing on the wall) will use the act of bank nationalisation to prove themselves to be "socialists", "progressives", "democrats". Their agents will help. The Congress can no longer survive in power. It is exposed widely and well. The ruling classes need a new mask. The United Front at the Centre shall be an attempt at providing this new mask. This, they hope, will give them a few more years to carry on in the old way. (Let us not forget that it is far **cheaper** to rule and exploit by "democracy" than by military dictatorship. A bullet costs 1000 times more than a ballot paper. In the present times, after 1917 and 1949, it is **cheapest** to rule by a revisionist administration). The Russian social-imperialists have long advocated this tactic. The heroes of CPI and CPI(M) are already rushing forward to rescue the distressed heroine Indira Gandhi, singing songs of socialism and democracy. In the tradition of crude Bombay films, it is now a duet. A gigantic and disgusting fraud is being played upon the people. This UF at the Centre will be of even better service to the imperialists. But the question is, how long? Today all the contradictions have reached such an acute stage because the armed struggle of the peasant masses has started and has already reached the stage of People's War in Srikakulam. The more the struggle develops and extends, the sooner will the rule of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries crumble.

One more fact must be exposed before we conclude. Bank nationalisation will give the monopolists a little more of the people's cash immediately. Without losing their control over finance, they will, however, receive compensation. This compensation is to be calculated on the basis

of book value of shares of each bank. This book value is higher than both the value of the original purchase price or the present market price of the shares. Thus the bank owners will make a profit. The details are given below :

BANK	Controlling Group	VALUE PER SHARE		
		Paid Up	Market	Book
Bank of India	Tata	i. e. money originally paid Rs. 50'00	i. e. price at which the share is now sold Rs. 98'50	i. e. price which the Govt. will pay Rs. 129'61

That is, for each share, the government will pay Tata Rs. 31.11 MORE than it would have paid had the Government purchased the shares in the market. And Rs. 79'61 MORE than the money originally invested by Tata.

United Commercial Bank	Birla	Rs. 50.00	Rs. 69'50	Rs. 124'21
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i. e. Birla will make a profit of Rs. 54'71 per share on market price and Rs. 74'21 on his original investment.

It is the duty of revolutionaries to ruthlessly and widely expose the truth behind bank nationalisation and explain it to the people. We must expose the burdens it will place upon all classes, the dangers it carries for all the classes, the political fraud that will be attempted under its banner.

Flames Of People's War Burn Brightly In Srikakulam

(Continued from page 16)

of 2,000 acres of land and sarpanch of the village, he was the most hated landlord of the area.

On July 12, a notorious landlord named Pratapchandra Patro (alias Galibabu), sarpanch of Deenabhandupuram in Pathapatnam taluk and owner of 170 acres of land, was punished to death at Degalapoluru. He had cheated the Girijan peasants of their lands and committed atrocities on many occasions. The people's class hatred and anger found expression when they painted slogans with his blood and hung his head from the roof of the house.

On June 5, a party of 80 policemen was attacked by a village self-defence squad at Chinadodgi. One policeman was wounded and the others fled away.

On June 12, a landlord of Jagathipalli in the Palakonda agency area, named Sombara Naidu, was attacked by about 150 people of the area. 40 bags of paddy, goats and other property were confiscated.

On June 16, 2 police-agents named Gangamansam and Ramamurthy of Todipaiguda of Palakonda agency area were tried in the People's court. Two guns were confiscated and they were released after a stern warning.

On June 23, a village self-defence squad attacked a police party in Kakili area. One policeman was killed, another was seriously wounded and the others fled away.

On June 25, a village self-defence squad and a guerrilla squad attacked a police party of 150 in Padi area early in the morning. The policemen had looted the villages and were removing the property of the people. In this encounter 2 policemen were killed and the others fled away leaving behind the property looted by them.

On July 2, Deenabhandu, a police agent of Sirikonda, was tried in the People's court and fined Rs. 100/-

On July 3, a landlord named Sugreevudu of Jumbiri village was punished to death by the people. He worked for the reactionary police and against the people during the period of repression in 1968.

On July 4, a village self-defence squad attacked a police party at Sirikonda village. One policeman was killed, two were injured and the others fled away.

On the same day, one policeman was killed and the others fled away when a police party was attacked by a guerrilla squad at Kedarilanka.

On July 5, a police party was attacked near Nidagulla in Parvatipuram. Two policemen were killed on the spot and another died afterwards.

On July 7, a village *Karanam* (a village land revenue collector), known as Pollakaranam was executed by the People's court for his various crimes against the people.

On July 12, the hills resounded with the sound of exploding bombs and gunshots when a party of 53 policemen was attacked by guerrilla and village self-defence squads of Aviri area. 3 policemen were killed and many others were wounded.

On July 13, a party of 30 policemen was attacked by guerrilla squads at Jarada hills. All fled away carrying the injured with them.

On July 14, a party of 9 policemen was attacked by a village self-defence squad of Jarada area. One policeman was killed, another was injured and the others fled away.

On July 21, nearly 800 people marched to Malliveedu village in Palakonda. Two landlords were punished to death and their property was seized. Two guns also were confiscated from two other landlords.

On July 22, a party of 60 policemen was attacked by a guerrilla squad near Santoshpuram of Podi area. One sub inspector of Kurapam police station and a police agent leading the party were killed.

In the second week of July, another police party was attacked by a guerrilla squad of Sompeta area in Budari singi hills. Some of the policemen were wounded but they all managed to escape. The total number of policemen killed by the guerrilla and self-defence squads till the end of the third week of July was 54. The policemen killed between the fourth week of June and the third week of July, except the S. I. of the Kurapam police station, belonged to the para-military units of the Central Reserve Police.

Whatever the reactionaries, revisionists and renegade detractors may say, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is today waging the revolutionary war only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them. The counter-revolution cannot smash this true bastion of iron. The flames of people's war are spreading fast and will soon kindle the long-awaited prairie-fire throughout India.

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