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Liberation

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

OF THE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

POEMS BY MAO TSE-TUNG

COMMUNIQUE ON CPC NINTH CONGRESS

THE PARTY IS BORN

REPORT ON SRIKAKULAM STRUGGLE

CONFESSION IN AN IMPASSE

TELANGANA IS RISING AGAIN

KANU SANYAL ADDRESSES MAY DAY RALLY



CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

Speaking at the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

TWO POEMS

by

MAO TSE-TUNG

CAPTURE OF NANKING

A storm swept over Chungshan,
Our mighty army, a million strong,
has crossed the great river.

The city, a tiger crouching, a dragon curling,
Outshines its ancient glory,
In heroic triumph heaven and earth
have been overturned.

With power and to spare we must
Pursue the tottering foe, but not
Ape Hsiang Yu, the conqueror,
Seeking glory in vain.

Were Nature sentimental she, too,
Would pass from youth to age
But in mens' world seas
Change into mulberry fields.

SHAOSHAN REVISITED

(Chairman Mao Tse-tung left his native village in 1927 and revisited it only in 1959.)

Like a dim dream recalled
I curse the long fled past,
My native soil two and thirty years
gone by.

The Red Flag roused the serfs halberd in hand,
While the despots' black talons
held the whip aloft.
Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve,
Which dares to make sun and moon
shine in the new sky.

Happy I see wave upon wave
of paddy and corn,
And the heroes homebound
in the evening mist.

Communique of the All India Co-ordination Committee Of Communist Revolutionaries

Issued on 22nd April 1969

The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, which met in a plenary session from 19th to 22nd April, 1969, announces the formation of the revolutionary party, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) based on the thought of Mao Tse-tung on 22nd April 1969, the one-hundredth birthday of Great Lenin—a task it set itself eighteen months ago, in November 1967—and also announces its own dissolution after setting up a Central Organising Committee to hold Congress at an appropriate time.

Political Resolution

OF THE

Communist Party of India

(Marxist-Leninist)

THE events of the last eighteen months since we repudiated the neo-revisionists prove beyond doubt the correctness of our stand. They prove that the line of rejecting the parliamentary path and adopting the path of revolutionary struggle is wholly correct. During this period the people of India have seen the rank opportunism of all the bourgeois and revisionist parties and their total political bankruptcy. They have lost faith in all the bourgeois and revisionist parties and are convinced of the utter futility of the parliamentary path.

Indian society : Semi-colonial and semi-feudal

The events have also confirmed the correctness of our assessment with regard to the stage, nature and character of our society, state and government. While rejecting the revisionist understanding, we stated that India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, that the Indian state is the state of the big landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, and that its government is a lackey of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The abject dependence of Indian economy on 'aid' from imperialist countries, chiefly from U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the thousands of collaboration agreements, imperialist plunder of our country through unequal trade and 'aid', the utter dependence for food on P.L. 480 etc. go to prove the semi-colonial character of our society.

The increasing concentration of land in the hands of a few landlords, the expropriation of almost the total surplus produced by the toiling peasantry in the form of rent, the complete landlessness of about 40 per cent of the rural population, the back-breaking usurious exploitation, the ever-growing evictions of the poor peasantry coupled with the brutal social oppression—including lynching of 'harijans',

reminiscent of the mediaeval ages—and the complete backwardness of the technique of production clearly demonstrate the semi-feudal character of our society.

The fleecing of the Indian people by extracting the highest rate of profit, the concentration of much of India's wealth in the hands of seventy-five comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, the utilisation of the state sector in the interest of foreign monopolies and domestic big business, and the unbridled freedom of the landlords to plunder and oppress the peasantry with the help of the state machinery—all go to prove that it is the big landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists who run the state.

The political, economic, cultural and military grip of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism on the Indian state, the dovetailing of its foreign policy with the U.S.-Soviet global strategy of encircling Socialist China and suppressing the national liberation struggles, the recent tours of Latin America and South-east Asia by the Indian Prime Minister to further the interests of this counter-revolutionary strategy, the total support given by the Indian Government to the Soviet armed provocation against China, the tacit approval of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and its active collaboration with the U.S. imperialists against the national liberation struggle of Vietnam clearly show that the Indian Government is a lackey of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The rising tide of the peasant struggles in various parts of our country is further confirmation of our stand that the principal contradiction in our country at the present phase is between feudalism and the masses of our peasantry.

2) The Indian revolution at this stage is the democratic revolution of the new type—the People's Democratic Revolution—the main content of which is the agrarian revolution, the abolition of feudalism in the countryside. To destroy feudalism, one of the two main props

(comprador-bureaucrat capitalism being the other) of imperialism in our country, the Indian people will have to wage a bitter, protracted struggle against U.S. and Soviet imperialism too. By liberating themselves from the yoke of feudalism, the Indian people will liberate themselves also from the yoke of imperialism and comprador-bureaucrat capital, because the struggle against feudalism is also a struggle against the other two enemies.

Excellent Revolutionary Situation

The international developments that have taken place in the recent period vindicate our stand that a very excellent revolutionary situation prevails in the world today. The U.S. imperialists and their chief accomplice, the Soviet revisionists, are facing increasing difficulty in their dirty efforts to redivide and enslave the whole world. The growing intensity of the armed struggles in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation is destroying the very foundations of imperialist rule.

A new upsurge of struggles of the working class and the toiling peasantry has overtaken the capitalist countries and the reactionary ruling classes are facing insoluble contradictions at home.

An unprecedented wave of struggle of the Afro-American people against racial oppression coupled with working class action is dealing powerful blows at the rule of the monopolists in the United States. The revisionists headed by the Soviet Union are also confronted with an acute crisis and the people in the countries ruled by them are rising in revolt against the restoration of capitalism and national subjugation and for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the other hand, Socialist China is performing miracles of socialist construction. The great proletarian cultural revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in every sphere of life and created conditions

for the emergence of the socialist man. The victories of the cultural revolution have culminated in the triumph of the historic Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China. The thought of Chairman Mao is winning ever new victories. The international class struggle has grown more intense than before and the doom of imperialism and all other reaction is near. The world has entered a new era in history—the era of Chairman Mao's thought.

The events of the last eighteen months have also proved the correctness of our view that the revolutionary situation in India is quite excellent. Today, the ruling classes are enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crisis than ever before. Contradictions between imperialism and the people, between feudalism and peasants, between capital and labour, and between different sections of the ruling classes are growing sharper and sharper everyday. As feudal fetters on the masses of our peasantry have not yet been smashed and as a result of the intensified exploitation of our people by various imperialists, headed by the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, and their Indian compradors, the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie are victims of growing pauperisation and unemployment. At least ninety-five per cent of our people can no longer endure the poverty and wretchedness that are now their lot and are impatient for a fundamental change. At the same time 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.

Everywhere in India the people are rising in bitter struggles to remove the four mountains that weigh upon them heavily. These mountains are U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital.

Armed peasant struggles, which started in Naxalbari, have now spread to Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur

Kheri and are spreading to ever newer areas. Recently, the peasant revolutionaries of Kerala staged a heroic revolt. The revolutionary struggles of the Nagas, the Mizos and the Kukis, who have risen arms in hand, are also dealing hard blows at the reactionary regime. The resistance of our people, both in the rural and in the urban areas, is fast developing and bringing about a new upsurge in the agrarian revolution—the main content of the democratic revolution.

The reactionary ruling classes are resorting to brutal repression in order to beat back the rising tide of people's struggles. They are rushing their armed forces and police personnel to the areas where armed struggles have broken out. Police firing, lathi-charge, tear-gassing, arrest and detention without trial have become the order of the day. The ruling classes are everyday arming themselves with all sorts of Draconic legislative powers to crush the class struggles. At the same time every effort is being made to divide the people and disrupt their struggles. Communalism, casteism, provincialism and all types of parochialism are being pressed into service to destroy the growing unity of our fighting people. National chauvinism is being fanned against Socialist China and neighbouring Pakistan to dupe the people and suppress their struggles. In the name of national integration the ruling classes are trying to impose Hindi in the teeth of stiff opposition from various nationalities. Equality of all nations and national languages is being denied.

In such a situation when revolutionary struggles are advancing rapidly and when the ruling classes are making frantic efforts to suppress them, the revisionists and neo-revisionists have come forward to serve as the lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction. By presenting the so-called 'United Front' governments as "organs of struggle," by raising the slogan of "providing relief to the people," they are trying to create illusions among the

people in order to blunt their revolutionary consciousness and divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. These 'United Front' governments are in essence the answer of the reactionary ruling classes to the challenge thrown out by the people. The neo-revisionists have been shouting that "time is not yet ripe for revolution," "the people are not yet prepared for it" and that "the slogan of armed guerrilla struggle is an adventurist slogan." There is no doubt now that these lackeys of foreign and domestic reaction are only trying their best to dampen the revolutionary spirit of our toiling people in order to save their masters from the fiery wrath of the people.

Struggle Between Two Lines in the Party

The history of the Communist Party of India is the history of struggle between the line of class struggle and the line of class collaboration and treachery, between the proletarian revolutionary ranks and the bourgeois reactionary leadership. An appraisal of party history will show that the leadership has always acted as conscious traitors to the revolutionary cause of our people. It will also show that the revolutionary ranks failed to overthrow the treacherous leadership earlier because of their inability to make a concrete analysis of the classes in Indian society and of their role in the Indian revolution.

With the great victory of the Anti-Fascist War, in which the Soviet people led by Stalin, played the most outstanding role, and the glorious victory of the Chinese people, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, over Japanese imperialism, the fascist imperialist powers met with their doom, thus severely weakening imperialism as a whole. The world-shaking victory of the great Chinese Revolution under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung breached the imperialist front in the East and the world balance of forces underwent a change. It is during the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance that Comrade Mao

Tse-tung's theory of People's War was fully developed: it charted a new path—the path that all the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries like India must pursue to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism and domestic reaction. A storm of revolutionary struggles raged over various countries of Asia where the people followed the road indicated by Chairman Mao, the road of People's War. The pent-up wrath of the Indian people found expression in a wide-spread, heroic revolt against the rule of the imperialists. Led by the working class, India's peasantry took to the path of armed struggle; the peasants of Punnapra-Vayalar put up resistance against the reactionary armed forces; the peasants of Telangana rose arms in hand against the rule of the feudal lords; the peasants of Bengal waged the *Tebhaga* struggle against feudal exploitation. There was an upsurge of working class struggle all over the country. The revolt spread even among the ranks of the police, the army and the navy. But the revisionist leadership acted as the lackey of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries and betrayed these great struggles. (Alarmed at the revolutionary upsurge, imperialism struck a deal with the Congress that represented comprador capital and feudalism in India. The country was partitioned. The direct rule of the imperialists changed into their indirect rule. Together with all other political parties of India, the revisionist leadership committed this treachery against the people.)

The Second Congress of the Party witnessed the revolt of the ranks against the sordid betrayal. The Ranadive clique utilized this revolt to seize the leadership of the Party. The Secretariat of the Andhra Provincial Committee, which was then leading the Telangana struggle, correctly pointed out that the Indian revolution could win victory only by following the road blazed by China—the road of People's War. The Ranadive clique opposed this

correct formulation of the Andhra Secretariat and adopted the Trotskyite theory of accomplishing both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution at one stroke. Thus, this clique diverted the attention of the Party ranks from the agrarian revolution—the basic task of the democratic revolution. (Sectarianism led the Party members into adventurist actions.) Though the Ranadive clique followed this wrong and suicidal policy, the peasant revolutionaries of Telangana did not deviate from the path of struggle. They carried this struggle forward by adopting the tactics of guerrilla war. (The Ranadive clique formally abandoned the sectarian line when it was faced with a revolt of the ranks. The just intervention of the international leadership helped this process) but the same treacherous policy was restored with the adoption of the Programme of 1951.

The Programme and the tactical line of 1951 were adopted on the understanding that the Indian big bourgeoisie has a dual character. By this dual character was meant that the Indian big bourgeoisie has an anti-imperialist role as well as a proneness to compromise with imperialism. In other words, the Indian big bourgeoisie is regarded as the national bourgeoisie (though Comrade Stalin said as early as 1925 that the section of the Indian bourgeoisie which is big and powerful had already deserted to the camp of the imperialists and had formed a bloc with them. Yet, while swearing by the name of Comrade Stalin and adopting a programme of national uprising, the treacherous leadership of the Communist Party depicted the big bourgeoisie as the national bourgeoisie.) This enabled the revisionist leadership to describe the Indian state as an independent bourgeois state. (Though they held that the India Government is the government of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie closely linked with imperialism, they put forward the theory that the big bourgeoisie is the most powerful element in this combination and that it is they who

are building the Indian state as an independent bourgeois state.) Taking advantage of this theory the Dange clique adopted the political line that feudalism does no longer exist in India and capitalism has developed in agriculture. Thus, Nehru was described as the representative of the progressive bourgeoisie. The Dange clique adopted a liquidationist policy as they held that India's national democratic government would be set up by forming an alliance with the bourgeoisie. At the same time they preached that the more Soviet 'aid' India received, the more secure would be India's freedom. That is, Soviet 'aid' would enable India to move out of the orbit of imperialist domination. (We learn from the experience of the great Chinese Party that in 1927, after Chiang Kai-shek's rise to power, the Chinese Trotskyites declared that the Chiang Kai-shek clique had overthrown imperialism and feudalism and was treading the path of independent capitalist development. The Right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu followed this Trotskyite line. They held that with the completion of the democratic revolution, China had entered the stage of socialist revolution. They raised the demand "Set up the National Assembly," opted for legal movements and deserted the path of revolutionary struggle. They were opposed to all kinds of revolutionary struggle and were expelled from the Party.) The treacherous revisionist leadership of the CPI followed the same path and opposed every kind of revolutionary struggle. They forced Telangana's revolutionary peasants to surrender arms and stabbed the struggles of the peasants in the back wherever in India they rose in revolt.

When, in 1962, the India Government launched an attack against the Chinese frontier guards, the treacherous role of the Dange clique was clearly exposed before the Party ranks. The Party members rebelled against the renegade Dange clique. Taking advantage of this revolt, the Ranadive clique again seized the leadership of

the Party, as in 1948. (Even in the Programme adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1964, they have depicted the Indian state as an independent state. Assuming that the Indian big bourgeoisie has an anti-imperialist role, they have declared that Soviet 'aid' will safeguard India's freedom and lead to the sharpening of the contradiction with U.S. imperialism. The same Trotskyite theories have been adopted in the Programme of the Seventh Congress too. By describing the Indian revolution as the second stage of the People's Democratic Revolution, instead of directly calling it socialist revolution, the Ranadive clique has resorted to trickery.) No sooner had the Seventh Congress been over than it was declared on behalf of the Polit Bureau that the Party did not entertain any thought of armed struggle and that the Party would pursue the legal, parliamentary path. So, no revolutionary party but another bourgeois party emerged out of the Seventh Congress. And this party has today forged unity with world reaction by allying itself with the renegade Dange clique and has become a party hostile to the Indian masses — an instrument for suppressing the liberation struggle of the Indian people. Yet this period has witnessed increasing collaboration between Soviet and U.S. imperialism for joint world domination. Bourgeois dictatorship has been set up in the Soviet Union. In collusion with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is opposing every national liberation struggle in the world and has tightened its neo-colonial grip on India. Despite all this, the Ranadive clique not only sings praises of the Soviet Union as a 'socialist state' but is also loud in praise of Soviet 'aid.' Though the character of the Indian big bourgeoisie is essentially comprador and bureaucratic, the Ranadive clique propagates the lie that they are independent and sovereign and thus tries to make India's revolutionary struggle an appendage to the bourgeoisie. By underestimating the feudal exploitation of the peasant

masses they belittle the importance of the agrarian revolution and seek to lead the peasant struggles along the path of compromise. So, the most important task today is to build up a revolutionary Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Today the sparks of Naxalbari have spread to many states of India and will soon spread to newer and newer areas. Without overthrowing the enemies of the Indian people, —U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, India's comprador-bureaucratic capital and feudalism—there can be no solution of any of the problems of the Indian people, the reign of darkness over India cannot be ended, nor can India advance one step along the road of progress.

Task Before the Revolutionary Party

While this revolutionary Party is formed in India, it should be borne in mind that the Indian Party may commit both Right and Left deviations because the Party of India's working class has never before given serious consideration to the role of the peasantry in the agrarian revolution. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we shall definitely achieve success in our revolution and shall not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution." If the poor and landless peasants, who constitute the majority of the peasantry, the

firm ally of the working class, unite with the middle peasants, then the vastest section of the Indian people will be united and the democratic revolution will inevitably win victory. It is the responsibility of the working class as the leader of the revolution to unite with the peasantry—the main force of the revolution—and to advance towards seizure of power through armed struggle. It is on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance that a revolutionary united front of all revolutionary classes will be built up. As the Party of the working class, the Communist Party must take upon itself the chief responsibility of organizing the peasantry and advancing towards seizure of power through armed struggle. To fulfil this task the revolutionary Communist Party must study Chairman Mao's thought, for it is only Chairman Mao's thought that can bring the peasant masses into the revolutionary front and Chairman Mao's theory of People's War is the only means by which an apparently weak revolutionary force can wage successful struggles against an apparently powerful enemy and can win victory. The basic tactic of struggle of the revolutionary peasantry led by the working class is guerrilla warfare. We must bear in mind the Chairman's teaching: "Guerrilla warfare is basic but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions." Our tactics as described by Comrade Lin Piao are: "You fight in your own way, we fight in ours. We fight when we can win and move away when we can't." The task of the Party of the working class is not merely to master these tactics but also to rally all the other revolutionary classes behind the basic programme of the agrarian revolution. The revolutionary Party will be able to carry out this task only when it educates itself in the thought of Chairman Mao, adopts the style of work taught by him and practises self-criticism.

It is the delay in India's democratic revolution that enables U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to

unite the reactionary forces of the world and to oppose the liberation struggles in the different countries of the world. The U.S. and Soviet imperialists are using India as a main base for carrying out their strategy for joint world domination. India is also the centre of conspiracies against Socialist China, the base of world revolution, the hope of the exploited people of the whole world. That is why it is not merely the patriotic duty of the Indian people to accomplish the Indian revolution, it is also their internationalist duty. The international significance of the Indian revolution is very great. Great Lenin dreamed of the day when revolutionary India would unite with revolutionary China and bring about the collapse of the world imperialist system. That is why at the time of the formation of the Party the Indian revolutionaries must resolve that they shall unite with the great people of China and thus forge unity with the liberation struggles of the various countries, that they shall build up a revolutionary united front and destroy world imperialism and its chief accomplice, modern revisionism. Chairman Mao has given the call :

"People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices ! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."

Our task is to prepare ourselves to respond to this call.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE NINTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

April 24, 1969

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China came to a victorious close on the afternoon of April 24.

The great leader Chairman Mao attended today's session. Vice-Chairman Lin Piao presided over today's session.

The Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was elected at the Plenary Session today. An extremely enthusiastic, revolutionary atmosphere prevailed throughout the process of voting in the election. When the names of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao were pronounced in the announcement of the list of the elected members at the session, prolonged thunderous applause resounded throughout the hall and the delegates burst into prolonged hearty cheers : "Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China !" "Long live the united and victorious Ninth National Congress of the Party !" "Long live invincible Mao Tsetung Thought !" "We wish the great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life !"

After the Congress took up the third item on the agenda on April 15, the delegates set to work conscientiously and with a great sense of responsibility. In accordance with the rules laid down by the Presidium of the Congress, candidates for membership and alternate membership of the Central Committee were first nominated by the delegations freely. The Presidium, after collecting the opinions of the delegations, proposed a preliminary list of candidates and

handed it back to the delegations and a list of candidates was worked out after full consultation. A preliminary election by secret ballot was then conducted. After such repeated, full democratic consultation from below and from above, a final list of candidates was decided upon, and it was submitted by the Presidium to the Congress for final election by secret ballot. The process of the election of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was a full manifestation of the Party's democratic centralism and mass line.

Among the 170 Members and 109 Alternate Members elected to the Central Committee, there are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation of our Party and new proletarian fighters who have come forth in the great proletarian cultural revolution; there are leading cadres from the various fronts of the Party, Government and Army, outstanding Party members working at production posts in factories and rural areas, combat heroes of the People's Liberation Army safeguarding our motherland, communists engaged in cultural and scientific work and outstanding men and women communist fighters of various nationalities. The delegates say that the composition of the Ninth Central Committee forcefully shows the unprecedented vitality and revolutionary unity of our Party under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Seated in the front row of the rostrum today were: Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, Hsieh Fu-chih, Huang Yung-sheng, Wu Fa-hsien, Yeh Chun, Wang Tung-hsing and Wen Yu-cheng.

Also there were: Comrades Tung Pi-wu, Liu Po-cheng, Chu Teh, Chen Yun, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen and Yeh Chien-ying.

The delegates happily said: Holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the Congress has seriously and conscientiously studied

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, summed up the great victories and basic experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country and decided upon our Party's tasks and policies for both domestic affairs and international activities, and it has elected the new Central Committee today. Thus politically, ideologically and organizationally, it has successfully realized Chairman Mao's call to make the Congress "A CONGRESS OF UNITY AND A CONGRESS OF VICTORY." The Congress will surely have a most far-reaching influence on the history of our Party. We are certain that after the conclusion of the Congress, "STILL GREATER VICTORIES WILL BE WON THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY" under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and of the Ninth Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader.

The Congress holds that it is essential to further unfold a great mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought throughout the country, to study conscientiously the extremely important speeches made by Chairman Mao on several occasions at the Congress, the Political Report made by Vice-Chairman Lin and the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, and to study the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines within the Party over the past 48 years, particularly since the beginning of the period of the socialist revolution. Through such study, a clear understanding of the situation, tasks and politics should be acquired, Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line further criticized and its pernicious influence eliminated so that UNITY IN THINKING, POLICY, PLAN, COMMAND AND ACTION will be achieved under the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities

throughout the country. This is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the various tasks set forth by the Congress and for the achievement of still greater victories.

The Congress calls on the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all the nationalities of our country resolutely to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, continue to strengthen and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry through to the end the revolution in the superstructure including every sphere of culture such as education, literature and art, the press and health, and fulfill all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation as set forth in Vice-Chairman Lin's Political Report. We should trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. We should fulfill those tasks in every single factory, every single school, every single commune and every single unit step-by-step and in a deep-going, meticulous, down-to-earth and appropriate way. We should make concrete analyses of the conditions in different places and, taking into account the unevenness in the development of the movement, draw up the necessary plans in order to fulfill the tasks for all the stages in struggle-criticism-transformation throughout the country.

The Congress calls on the leading cadres at all levels in the Party and the Army and on the broad revolutionary masses to bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that POLICY AND TACTICS ARE THE LIFE OF THE PARTY and conscientiously carry out all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should, under the leadership of the proletariat, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, re-educate the intellectuals and win over and unite all people that can be united with to fight concertedly against the enemy. We should pay attention to the trends in the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, fight against the handful of counter-revolutionaries who vainly attempt to stage a come-back, fight the "left" or right erroneous tendencies which run counter to Chairman Mao's

policies and combat all manifestations of the bourgeois world outlook.

The Congress urges all the comrades of the Party and the revolutionary committees at all levels conscientiously to carry out the mass line, adhere to the Marxist scientific method of investigating and studying social conditions initiated by Chairman Mao, and analyse and resolve contradictions by means of the materialist dialectics of one dividing into two. We should be good at distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and should properly handle the different types of contradictions by different methods. In solving a problem, we should note both its positive and negative aspects; when taking notice of one main tendency, we should also pay attention to the other tendency which may be hidden; we should take full notice and get firm hold of the main aspects and at the same time solve problems of the minor aspects one by one. Leading comrades at all levels must understand the whole situation, be good at grasping typical examples, sum up experience, closely follow the trends, do their work in a deep-going and meticulous way and overcome the tendency of falling into generalities. In a victorious situation, comrades must maintain the style of arduous struggle and plain living and the style of being modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness, and must guard against the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and its attempts to corrupt and split our Party and the revolutionary ranks.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China extends a warm proletarian revolutionary salute to the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals all over the country, who have made remarkable contribution in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to the commanders and fighters of the

People's Liberation Army, who have done meritorious service in safeguarding the sacred territory of our motherland and in the work of supporting industry, supporting agriculture and supporting the broad masses of the left and exercising military control and giving political and military training. The Congress sends warm regards to the broad sections of the patriotic overseas Chinese and our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, to our compatriots in Taiwan, who are under the oppression and exploitation by the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries and to all those who support socialism and love the motherland and have for many years done useful work for the revolution and for the construction of the motherland. The Congress calls on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the people of all nationalities in our country to persist in building socialism **INDEPENDENTLY AND WITH INITIATIVE IN OUR OWN HANDS AND THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE**, and by going all-out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, help bring about a new high tide in revolution and production by the concrete action of **GRASPING REVOLUTION, PROMOTING PRODUCTION AND OTHER WORK AND PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR** and score new achievements in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China extends a warm and militant salute to the heroic Albanian Party of Labour and the genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations all over the world, to the revolutionary people of the five continents who are waging valiant struggles against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and the reactionaries of various countries, and to the heroic Vietnamese people who persist in carrying through to the end

the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Congress solemnly declares: The Communist Party of China, nurtured by the great leader Chairman Mao, always upholds proletarian internationalism and firmly supports the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world. We are determined to unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninists all over the world and the broad masses of the proletariat and of the revolutionary people in all countries, thoroughly smash the plot of U.S.-Soviet collusion to re-divide the world and carry through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionaries throughout the world are all paper tigers. They cannot escape their doom. Their difficulties are insurmountable. The revolutionary cause of the people the world over will definitely triumph. We are fully aware: there will still be difficulties and twists and turns on our way forward, and the reactionaries, at home and abroad will still put up a last-ditch struggle. But all this can not stop the victorious advance of our great cause of socialism. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are invincible. We are determined to liberate Taiwan! We are determined to defend the sacred territory and sovereignty of our great motherland! All the schemes, sabotage and shameless aggression by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionaries abroad and all the schemes and sabotage by the domestic reactionaries are bound to be smashed to smithereens by the iron fist of the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army who are fully prepared! Ours is an era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory, a great era in which Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought triumphs all over the world.

Let us closely follow the great leader Chairman Mao and advance valiantly to win new and greater victories !

Long live the victory of the Ninth National Congress of the Party !

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution !

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat !

Workers of all countries, unite !

Proletarians, oppressed peoples and nations of the world, unite !

Down with U.S. imperialism ! Down with Soviet revisionism ! Down with the reactionaries of various countries !

Long live the great unity of the people of all the nationalities of our country !

Long live the great unity of the people of the world !

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought !

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

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

NOTES

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS PARTY IS BORN

On April 22, 1969—Great Lenin's birth-centenary—was formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). It was indeed a great day, for the formation of the Party fulfilled the demand of history. The so-called CPI and CPI (M) have degenerated into social-chauvinist bourgeois parties, anxious to defend the present system and to serve the ruling classes faithfully. They have openly forsaken the path of revolution and their only purpose is to divert the struggles of the working people along the futile parliamentary path. So it is the great responsibility of the newly rebuilt Party of the working class to rouse the 350 million peasants of India and lead the Indian revolution to victory along the path blazed by China under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The Party will be a Party of the new type, a Leninist Party, built on the revolutionary theory of Mao Tse-tung thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism of the present era. It is the task of the Party to integrate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution. The party firmly believes that only Chairman Mao's thought can lead the Indian revolution to victory. It is not accidental that the Dange clique as well as the Ranadive-Sundarayya-Namboodiripad clique has always been bitterly opposed to Chairman Mao and the great Communist Party of China ; for, without denigrating Chairman Mao and the CPC they cannot serve their masters—imperialism and domestic reaction. The very announcement about the formation of the Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought has caused consternation among the ruling classes and their

agents while it has created a wave of hope and enthusiasm among the revolutionary people.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has emerged in the course of a long struggle. The history of the Communist movement in India is a history of struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionist and other reactionary ideologies, between proletarian internationalism and social-chauvinism, between proletarian revolutionary ranks and bourgeois reactionary leaders. In the past all revolts of the ranks were utilized by one clique or another to usurp the leadership. Only after Naxalbari the revolutionary ranks repudiated the revisionist leadership and set up the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries—the first stage in the process of building the Party. Now, through a bitter struggle, the Party has purged itself of the revisionist renegades—lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction.

The fight against revisionism is not over. It will continue as long as class struggle exists in our society. Revisionism will appear in various garbs and try to wrest the leadership of the Party. It is only by adopting the mass line and using the method of criticism and self-criticism that the danger of revisionism can be fought successfully. The Party will grow, develop and strengthen itself by waging struggle against revisionism both inside and outside the Party.

Today there are many petty bourgeois groups which pay lip-service to Chairman Mao's thought and even to Naxalbari. The Party holds that many of these groups represent a counter-revolutionary current within the revolutionary movement. They preach the "historical inevitability of groupism at this stage", "building the Party from below" and other anti-Marxist-Leninist ideas. Thus they try to leave the task of building the Party to spontaneity and deliberately seek to prevent the formation of a revolutionary Communist Party at a time when comrades leading armed struggles in different areas feel the acute

necessity for it. They seem to forget Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching:

"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

While appealing to all true revolutionaries to rally behind it in the interest of the Indian revolution, the Party will carry on an ideological struggle against all anti-Marxist-Leninist trends.

The Party will adopt a style of work wholly different from that of the revisionist parties—a style of work which, in the words of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, "essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism." It must consciously fight against "such evils as dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work" for "they alienate us from the masses." As Chairman Mao Tse-tung said:

"We should pay close attention to the well-being of the masses, from the problems of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt.....We should help the masses to realize that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution."

Our Party is a contingent of the international communist movement of which the great CPC is the leader.

Today the entire imperialist system is proceeding inexorably towards its doom while the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the world and the people of various countries is surging forward. As Comrade Lin Piao said at the great Ninth National Congress of the CPC, "*Today, it is not imperialism, revisionism and reaction but the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries that determine the destiny of the world. The genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries, which are composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, are a new rising force that has infinitely broad prospects. The Communist Party of China is determined to unite and fight together with them.*"

A great new era in the history of the world has begun. The victory of world revolution is in sight: a radiant future awaits the people of India and the world. From the historic Ninth National Congress of the CPC, Comrade Lin Piao gave the call:

"All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, unite and form the broadest possible united front and overthrow our common enemies!"

Confident of ultimate victory, the toiling people of India under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) will respond to this great call: they will join the revolutionary united front of the world's people led by China and redouble their efforts to destroy all ghosts and monsters—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their stooges.

**THE REVOLUTIONRY INDIAN PEOPLE
ACCLAIM THE NINTH NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF THE CPC**

Amidst the rejoicings of hundreds of millions of people in China and the world, the historic Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China was held in

Peking from April 1 to April 24. Chairman Mao Tse-tung made extremely important and inspiring speeches at the Plenary Sessions on April 1 and April 14. The Political Report made by Comrade Lin Piao on behalf of the Central Committee and the new Constitution of the CPC were unanimously adopted by the Congress on the afternoon of April 14.

This Congress was indeed a Congress of victory as Chairman Mao described it. In China, the bourgeois headquarters headed by the revisionist scab Liu Shao-chi was smashed, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line triumphed. The great proletarian cultural revolution inflicted a crushing defeat on revisionism and counter-revolution and wrested back that part of the power which the counter-revolutionaries had usurped. It consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat not only in economic and political spheres but also in other spheres of life and eliminated the danger of capitalist restoration. The dream of ages is coming true. Chairman Mao's call "Combat self, fight revisionism" is remoulding Chinese society and generations of new men, socialist men, who dare to storm the very heavens, are arising. Seven hundred million people of China are taking a new great leap forward in science, in technology, in all realms of socialist construction.

Under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought the Chinese people have achieved an ideological and political unity the like of which no country has ever seen before. This great unity achieved under the firm leadership of the proletariat is based on worker-peasant alliance. Truly, as Chairman Mao said, this Congress is a Congress of unity—unity forged through a grim struggle against imperialism and its close ally, revisionism.

The Ninth National Congress of the great CPC was held at a time when the Marxist-Leninist forces, after a brief confusion caused by the attack of modern revisionism,

rallied under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and passed on to the counter-offensive. As a result, the revisionist camp headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is in complete disarray: as the all-conquering banner of Mao Tse-tung thought is unfurled by revolutionaries all over the world, the revisionist camp, beset with contradictions, hastens towards its doom.

Great victories have already been won but greater victories are yet to be achieved. Imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction will in no distant future be completely wiped out. In the beginning of the next century the whole world will celebrate the festival of the triumph of socialist revolution throughout the earth, the festival of the victory of Mao Tse-tung thought. The Ninth National Congress of the CPC is the Congress of pledge for achieving these victories all over the world. It will no doubt unite more closely the revolutionary fighters of all countries under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and lead them in the decisive struggles for the overthrow of imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction.

We in India are grateful to the great CPC for their unstinted support to the Indian people's revolutionary struggle. In the struggle against imperialism and the ruling classes and their revisionist and neo-revisionist running dogs, this support has already proved invaluable. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, has emerged out of a long struggle against traitors and scabs within the Indian communist movement. Under its leadership a revolutionary united front based on worker-peasant alliance is already building up and the flame of armed struggle of the peasantry is swiftly spreading to newer and newer areas. Indeed, the Indian people are on the eve of very big changes. Both internationally and nationally, "the enemy", as Chairman Mao said, "rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily". The Indian people will

forge rock-like unity with the great Chinese people and all other revolutionary peoples of the world and fight shoulder to shoulder with them for their own liberation and the liberation of all mankind.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said:

"The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." Under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the revolutionary people of India will surely respond to this great call of Chairman Mao. They will unite and hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought; they will "be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." A new India and a new world free from oppression and exploitation of man by man will arise on the ashes of the old.

TELANGANA IS RISING AGAIN

Heroic Telangana is again rising in revolt. From one end of Telangana to another the people are on the march. The cry "We want a separate Telangana state" resounds throughout the nine districts, now a part of Andhra Pradesh.

One recalls the great struggle that the brave peasantry of Telangana waged from 1946 to 1951 against feudal landlords, the Nizam's fascist hordes and Nehru's army. Large areas of Warangal, Nalgonda, Khammam and other districts were liberated from the yoke of vicious landlord-rule and people's power replaced there the rule of the feudal lords and the comprador bourgeoisie. The people of Telangana then tasted power as never before. But this glorious struggle was betrayed by the revisionist renegades like Ranadive, Sundarayya and Ajoy Ghosh. "In over a

thousand villages of the Telangana district," wrote U. S. ambassador Chester Bowles in *Ambassador's Report*, "among a million or more people"¹ this [forcible occupation of the land of the feudal landlords and its distribution among landless families] happened and the landlords and officials of the Nizam who did not flee were murdered. At this point the Indian army crossed the border, the Nizam agreed that the state of Hyderabad would become part of the Indian Union, and the Indian army moved against the Communists in Telangana.....

"Despite firm Indian army occupation, newly built roads which for the first time permitted rapid patrolling by armoured cars, concentration camps filled with captured Communists, police outposts every few miles and in some places very ruthless suppression, guerrilla fighting continued spasmodically until the Communists themselves changed their programme of violence two years later."

What the landlord's private army and the armies of the Nizam and Nehru failed to accomplish, was achieved by the revisionist traitors and scabs then leading the Indian Communist Party.

The brutal oppression and exploitation from which the Telangana peasants suffered under the Nizam's rule is still their lot. Rather, their conditions have grown worse and still more unendurable during the last two decades of Congress rule. Even the 'safeguards' which Telangana was promised when it was made a part of Andhra Pradesh have been trampled underfoot. Under the present regime not only the peasants and workers but also students and petty bourgeois youth are faced with a bleak future.

For more than four months the people of Telangana have been carrying on a courageous fight against the Government to win their demand. The ruling classes have

(Continued on page 122)

¹ The numbers of both villages and men were no doubt much higher.—Ed. Liberation.

The Italian Party Congress

—N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary,
Ceylon Communist Party

THE recently concluded Congress of the Communist Party of Italy¹, which is claimed to be the largest communist party in Western Europe, has attracted a lot of attention in the bourgeois press. The *Ceylon Daily News*, which is generally considered to be the watch-dog of reaction in this country has editorially lauded the Communist Party of Italy.

This is a strange phenomenon and it behoves us, Marxist-Leninists, to find out the reasons that have earned for the Communist Party of Italy the plaudits of the *Daily News*. We can learn from negative examples.

The Congress of the Communist Party of Italy did two main things. It condemned the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia although this was done in different keys by different leaders of the party. The Party Congress also gave vociferous support to the condemnation of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia by the delegates from Yugoslavia and Rumania. But it never heard a speech analysing the Czech events from a Marxist-Leninist angle.

At the same time, it reiterated the notorious thesis of the late leader of the Communist Party of Italy—Palmiro Togliatti—about the separate road to socialism and all his anti-Marxist prattle about structural reforms. This Congress went on this road a little further and affirmed the Party's willingness to work with the Roman Catholics in the Christian Democratic Party.

Such is the lust of the modern revisionists for parliamentary power that they will compromise with the Devil himself. It has, of course, been known for some time that

¹ By the 'Communist Party of Italy' Comrade N. Sanmugathan means the party of the Italian revisionists.—Ed. Board, LIBERATION.

the general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy and successor to Togliatti, Signor Longo, attends mass every Sunday morning in order to attract Catholic voters. This reminds us of the volte-face of our own ex-left leaders like Drs. N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and S. A. Wickremasinghe who have now turned pious Buddhists and offer flowers at the statue of Lord Buddha on all important political functions in an attempt to cheat both man and God.

But what really commends the Communist Party of Italy to the *Daily News*—and it makes no bones about this—is the fact that it has forsaken the revolutionary path and opted to play the parliamentary game and deceive the masses with the opium of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. All the talk of independence, of poly-centralism and a separate Italian road to socialism is nothing but a camouflage to bury the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and to practise out and out social democracy and modern revisionism—both of which are nothing but the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement, as Lenin pointed out in his day.

If you tell a Buddhist that the Buddhist doctrine must be suitably amended or changed to suit the local conditions in each country, he will be aghast! How can you do such a thing! Buddhism, like all other religions, is a universal religion. Its tenets are applicable as much in Burma as in America or as much in Thailand as in Africa.

But tell him the same thing about Marxism-Leninism which is an exact science and whose adherents are as anxious about spreading it to other countries as are the Buddhists, he will not readily agree.

The truth is that there are certain universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, which are fundamental and cannot be revised to suit local conditions. Such things are the laws of class struggle, of revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of the

State. These are unalterable scientific truths. But these universal truths must be applied to the concrete conditions in each country, which might vary from country to country. This is a matter of tactics to be followed by each communist party as to how to apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the concrete realities existing in its own country. This is not a separate road to socialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, once said that Marxist-Leninist theory is like an arrow. But it must be aimed at the concrete conditions i.e. reality in one's own country, which is the target. If we do not aim at the target, the arrow will go astray. Nor can you hit the target without the arrow. Therefore, applying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in one's own country is quite different from abandoning the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought—denying even the necessity for revolution—and calling it independence or a separate road to socialism.

There are no separate roads to socialism. There is only one road and that is the road of revolution. Togliatti and his successor Longo have become such darlings of the bourgeoisie because they did their damndest to steer the Italian working class away from the path of revolution.

Today, the Communist Party of Italy, even from the time of Togliatti, is more to the right of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its demand for poly-centralism is in reality a refusal to accept the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and a claim to revise them as they wish in pursuit of parliamentary power, which, however, has always eluded them.

It was Togliatti who put forward the theory of structural reforms in Italian society. In other words, he declared that, without destroying the bourgeois repressive state machinery and replacing it with the state machinery of the working class which Marx and Lenin called the dicta-

torship of the proletariat, structural reforms could be introduced into the existing state machinery so as to bring about changes favourable to the working class. Needless to say, the Italian working class is still waiting to see the realisation of these reforms!

This is nothing but a complete perversion of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The repressive bourgeois state machinery is the weapon by which the capitalists and the landlords exploit the workers and peasants and keep them suppressed. The main forms of this state machinery are the armed forces, the jails, the judiciary, the highly paid bureaucracy etc. In other words, the State is the weapon or machinery by which one class exploits the other. Without the guns in the hands of the armed forces and the police, which are the watch-dogs of imperialist-feudal-bourgeois exploitation, exploitation cannot continue for one moment. That is why every government maintains, at such great cost, trained armed forces to protect its class interests.

That is why Marx and Lenin and Stalin and Mao Tse-tung have taught us that if the toiling masses are to be free, they must smash the existing repressive bourgeois state machinery and replace it by their own state machinery. This cannot be done through Parliament and the Public Services Commission.

At the end of the last war, the prestige of the Communist Party of Italy was very high as a result of their brave underground fight against Mussolini-fascism. It had a sizeable army under its command. It captured Mussolini and shot him like a dog—very deservedly—and hung him feet up.

But, at the end of the war, Togliatti arrived from a long sojourn abroad and ordered the arms to be surrendered and opted to play the parliamentary game which resulted in his becoming the Leader of the Opposition for life. This was the same sad story of betrayal that was

carried out in France by Thorez. The brave French Communists who had liberated Paris from the Nazis on their own before the Anglo-American armies could reach them were made to surrender arms in return for a Vice-Premiership to Thorez. But the American imperialists saw to it that it lasted only a short time.

The seeds of modern revisionism were already there inside the Communist Party of Italy even before Khrushchov formulated them into a theory. But, since then, the Italian Party has travelled very much to the right and has become an example of everything that a genuinely revolutionary party should not be.

The very fact that it holds its Congresses openly in full glare of bourgeois publicity and announces its plans openly demonstrates that it has become part of the established system and has been accepted as such. The purpose and aim of a genuinely revolutionary communist party is to capture power by force through a revolution. Such a party, if it is serious, cannot conduct its activities openly under the nose of the police. The reactionaries permit bourgeois democracy only to keep the revolutionaries under surveillance and decimate them at one stroke—as they did in Indonesia—when the need arises. **Therefore, revolutionaries must not be fooled into exposing all their cadres, revealing all their plans publicly and carrying on their activities openly.** That would only invite disaster. In any capitalist country, irrespective of whether the party has been banned or not, it must always organise itself as a secret party which carries out certain activities openly.

But this is what the Communist Party of Italy and all other revisionist parties are not doing. Revisionist theory is supplemented by revisionist organisational practice. Today, the Italian Communist Party has become a "respectable" party like the Social Democrats. At one time, the social democrats performed the functions of acting as a prop to Italian monopoly capitalism. Today,

they can no longer perform that function by themselves. They stand too much exposed. That function of acting as a prop to the tottering regime of Italian monopoly capitalism is today being performed by the modern revisionists of the Italian Communist Party.

But all is not lost. During the recent strikes and demonstrations called by the revisionist-led trade union federation, we heard the voice of the new generation of Italian revolutionaries shouting "Long Live Mao Tse-tung! Long live Stalin!" That way lies the future. The Italian Communist Party is only a putrefying corpse. The newly founded Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) will carry forward the torch of revolution.

Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy.....

Lin Piao,

Long Live The Victory Of People's War

Communist Party of Spain (M-L) Adopts Political Line and Programme

DESPITE the extremely difficult conditions of underground work and constant persecution by the Franco fascist dictatorship, the Communist Party of Spain succeeded in holding its Central Committee's 2nd Plenum not very long ago. A number of documents on the outcome of the Plenum were recently published by REVOLUCION ESPANOLA, the Party's theoretical and political organ. Meanwhile, "Vanguardia Obrera" publishers, the Party's publishing centre in Madrid, released a document outlining the political line and programme of the Party for the Spanish National democratic revolution, which the Plenum had adopted.

THE document reiterated in explicit terms the Party's infinite loyalty to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the peak of Marxism-Leninism in our time, and its firm resolve to use it as its guide to action in carrying out its historical mission of leading the Spanish revolution toward victory. They warmly hailed the great historic victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which ensured that China, the most powerful and reliable bastion of world revolution, would never change its political colour.

The documents underlined the splendid situation of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people all over the world against imperialism, headed by the US, modern revisionism whose centre is the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and against the forces of reaction. They extolled the prominent role which the heroic people of Vietnam were playing in the world struggle of the peoples against US imperialism and pointed out that the victories of the Vietnamese people, while shattering to

smithereens the myth of the invincibility of US imperialism, laid bare the ugly face of the Soviet revisionists and their sinister plots with US imperialism to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the people's war in Vietnam. The documents acclaimed the heartening development of the national liberation struggle of the people in all parts of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Welcoming the armed struggle being waged by the Indonesian revolutionary people under the leadership of the PKI to overthrow the fascist military dictatorship, the CP of Spain (M-L) declared in the documents: In Indonesia, the Communist Party, after having published an exemplary self-criticism for its mistakes in the past, has embarked upon armed struggle in a number of important rural areas on the Indonesian islands against the clique headed by Suharto and General Nasution.

The documents confirmed the truth that, as shown by the general trend in the present international situation, ours is an era in which imperialism is moving rapidly towards its complete doom, and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. While reaffirming the favourable conditions of the struggle of the peoples, the document reminded that the enemies of the peoples—imperialism, Khrushchov revisionism and reaction—would stop at nothing in their desperate fight for survival.

The documents vigorously exposed and repudiated the treacherous role being played by the Soviet revisionists as faithful accomplices of US imperialism, this enemy number one of mankind, in attempts to undermine and check the revolutionary upsurge of the peoples. They laid bare and severely condemned US-Soviet collaboration for world domination as well as their schemes to divide the world into "spheres of influence."

The documents called on the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples of the world to maintain and strengthen their solidarity with the People's Republic of China

and the People's Republic of Albania against the global strategy and tactics of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism. They cited facts showing that US imperialism, with the help of the Khrushchov revisionists, were directing its main spearhead against China. They stressed: The solidarity with the People's Republic of China, as well as with the People's Republic of Albania, constitutes today a task of first importance; it is the touchstone to distinguish genuine Marxist-Leninists from fake ones and from opportunists of all hues. This solidarity must be concrete and active.

The documents of the CP of Spain (M-L) underlined the indispensability for the Spanish Marxist-Leninists to study and creatively apply Mao Tse-tung's thought and described every success and progress achieved by the Party during the last three years since its inception as another victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They pointed out: It is only by implementing a wider and more profound study and by creatively applying Mao Tse-tung's thought that our Party will be able to fulfil its new responsibilities and tasks, to further develop and temper itself for new successes in the revolutionary struggle against the Yankee-Franco dictatorship. Hence, the fundamental guarantee for our Party to strengthen and consolidate itself rests on the study and correct application of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The documents voiced wholehearted support of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and underlined it as a most important event in our time. They warmly praised the magnificent role played by the masses of the Chinese people in exposing and repudiating the capitalist roaders within the Party and the necessary measures to prevent socialist China from sliding back to capitalism. The Spanish Marxist-Leninists, the documents declared, just as those in the rest of the world, have faith in the inevitable victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung's

thought, that is Marxism-Leninism which has been enriched and developed so as to meet the needs of our time, is invincible; it opens up new horizons for those peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism. Having accepted Mao Tse-tung's thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our era, the Spanish communists defend and apply it in their struggle against fascism, against the Khrushchov revisionists of the Carillo-Ibarurri clique, against unprincipled opportunists, who, having betrayed the Party, are indulging in slanders and criminal practices against it.

Spain—A U.S. Colony

The documents dwell at great length on the present national situation in Spain, which is marked by a grave crisis as a result of the Franco fascist regime's big sell-out to US imperialism. They analysed the militant and heroic struggles put up by the people, the workers in particular against the crisis, lockouts, under-employment and against the brutal oppression by the Franco dictatorship. For more than a decade, the documents continued, the US imperialists have tightened their grip over the country in many spheres, in the economic, political and military fields. This domination has been carried out "peacefully"—thanks to the betrayal by the financial oligarchy, the landlords and the generals that have usurped power and that have thrown the door wide open to US financial and military gangsters. The local revisionists, represented by the Carillo-Ibarurri clique, have all along tried to cover up this bitter fact.

The documents cited a great many facts showing how the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has tried in many ways to prop up the Franco fascist regime, which for the last thirty years have subjected the Spanish people to sanguinary oppression. In their efforts to help the US imperialist keep ultra reactionaries in power, the Soviet

revisionists as well as those of other so-called "socialist" countries were establishing links of all sorts with the fascist rulers, they added. This was being done with the consent and approval of the Carillo-Ibarurri clique, which had said and done nothing to condemn this Franco fascist-Khrushchov revisionist concubinage. In so doing they expected that in the future they might be rewarded with some posts in the "royal court" or, at least, be allowed to take part in "elections" or in similar frauds.

The documents said that since 1953, the year in which the Franco fascists concluded their sell-out agreements with the US imperialists, Spain had become an occupied territory of the US imperialists. The US had set up in the country dozens of military installations and stationed their 65th air force division. The total of US troops occupying Spain is more than 15 thousand men, they added. In exchange for the military and economic "aid" given it by US imperialism the documents went on, the Franco fascist dictatorship had given a free hand to US financial capital to carry out colonialist penetration into the country. This was the reason why the US multi-millionaires had, especially during the last few years, strengthened their control over Spain's industrial, financial and commercial undertakings.

The US imperialist colonialisation of Spain, the documents said, had led to the super-exploitation of the working class and other sections of the working people, the ruination and the proletarianization of vast sections of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie as well as to the aggravation of the crisis of "super-production", unemployment and the exploitation of the whole country by US investors.

Describing the way US imperialism exerted its control over the fascist state apparatus, the documents said: "While putting the main repressive instruments, the army and the civil guard (armed police) under their control,

the US imperialists are also actively interfering in all sectors of the Franco state administration and have placed their agents in a good number of key positions.

Tasks In National Democratic Revolution

Bearing in mind the characteristics of the present national situation, the CP of Spain (M-L) concluded that the task of the Party was to raise the national banner of anti-US imperialism, strive for the unity of the entire people in a broad and powerful revolutionary national democratic front against US imperialism and its lackeys, the Franco forces. They pointed out: Our Party must give prominence to the patriotic anti-US imperialist struggle, mobilise the masses under the slogan of anti-imperialist struggle and kindle the patriotic spirit of rebellion against US imperialism.

Revisionists Have No Place In United Front

They said: At its present stage the Spanish revolution is a popular revolution, with a national democratic character and an anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist and anti-feudal content. Its objective is the establishment of a people's democratic power under working class leadership. The principal means by which to strive for the achievement of this goal are the application of a correct mass line, the establishment of a united front [the leadership?—Ed. *Liberation*] of the working class and of a revolutionary national democratic front and people's war.

Referring to the mass line the documents laid special emphasis on the necessity to raise the political consciousness of the masses, on the imperative need for the Marxist-Leninists to integrate with the masses like nail and flesh, and on the conscious participation of the masses in any struggle. As has been taught by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the document stressed that the Party's policy must be

translated into action by the masses. They further noted the existence in Spain of objective conditions for a revolutionary situation and that it was up to the Marxist-Leninists to create the subjective conditions.

The documents of the 2nd Plenum of the CP of Spain (M-L) pointed out the imperative necessity to fight and defeat the local Khrushchov revisionists as well as other bourgeois tendencies in the ranks of the workers' movement—this would ensure the Spanish proletariat of a hegemonic role in the national democratic revolution. They called on the Spanish Marxist-Leninists to rid the masses of the pernicious influence of the Carillo revisionists and their close allies—the Vatican trade unionists—who are both the chief detachments of the pro-imperialist oligarchy in the labour movement. This, they added, would strengthen the militant unity of the working class.

The documents also attached great importance to the vanguard role which must be taken up by the Marxist-Leninists and their participation in struggles for economic and political gains (reforms), while carrying out a persevering struggle against the revisionists and other bourgeois reformists. It was in the objective interest of the masses, they added, that in such struggles they should steel and strengthen themselves in order to be prepared for revolution. The documents also laid great emphasis on the necessity for the communists to carry out propaganda work among the masses in order to raise their political consciousness to the level of that of the revolutionary class.

Continuing, the documents said: The Khrushchov revisionists are plotting with the various forces of the Franco fascists, first and foremost with the Vatican forces, with the aim of taming the workers' movement and combating the revolutionary influence of the Marxist-Leninist communists. It is therefore the task of the Party to strengthen the working class united front, unite closely with the vast proletarian masses and keep them away from

the leaders of the Carrillo revisionists and other yellow trade unionists.

Referring to the work of building a revolutionary national democratic front in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist-Franco fascist dictatorship, the documents underscored the indispensability of the work to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the front. After having been assured of a strong alliance with the masses of the working peasants and the lower strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the documents went on, the working class must win over the middle-of-the-road forces (the middle peasants, the upper sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie) in order to form a broader revolutionary national democratic front.

People's War

The documents described the universal law of all revolutions in history: the use of revolutionary violence in order to defeat the reactionary ruling classes and to institute the power of the revolutionary classes, the destruction by force of all military instruments and the apparatus of the bureaucracy of the reactionary ruling classes. They pointed out that the general law of all people's revolutions called not only for the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus by way of people's armed struggle, but also, in general, for a protracted people's war. This is because of the fact that the repressive apparatus is so strong, so centralised and well organised, that it cannot be defeated by a single blow or in some engagements, they added. The documents stated that in order to defeat the bourgeois repressive apparatus, it was necessary to have a people's army, which could only emerge and develop in a revolutionary war.

They continued: While these laws assume a general character, in the case of Spain the need of a people's war is more obvious, bearing in mind that Spain is languishing

under a ferocious and sanguinary fascist dictatorship, which is an instrument in the service of U.S. imperialism. In Spain the dictatorship of the pro-imperialist oligarchy is being exercised in its most violent form through the Yankee-Franco state with the support of a monstrous apparatus of terrorism. Through this state, imperialism and the oligarchy carry out the most brutal suppression of the people, commit barbarous suppression against any action by the masses.

The documents pointed out that the revolutionary armed struggle could only be a result of a tenacious political agitation and propaganda work among the people. It is only by propaganda work by the Party that the masses will be able ideologically to understand the necessity to rise in arms against the Yankee-Franco dictatorship. The armed struggle cannot arise nor develop in isolation from the struggle of the masses.

After pointing out the necessity to associate the armed struggle with the struggle of the masses, the documents stated that the initial forms of struggle, such as strikes and demonstrations, must be gradually elevated to higher forms of resistance: violent encounters with the forces of the dictatorship, assaults etc. Within the fold and in the heat of these struggles of the masses, the documents went on, the armed struggle must be started first in the remote rural areas because it is such areas that could get rid most quickly of the control of the pro-imperialist oligarchy. It is only by armed struggle in the countryside, the documents continued, that it would be possible for the revolutionary forces to expand and temper themselves, win one victory after another over the enemy until he is defeated, and, with the support of the general armed uprising of the entire people, liberate the country from the yoke of the Yankee-Franco dictatorship and establish people's power.

—From *Red Flag* (Ceylon), Feb. 1, 1969

Class Analysis of Three Villages In The South of 24 Parganas

—Biru Mandal

(Continued)

THE second village, let it be named Y, is in the Sundarbans region, which is a surplus region. There are 148 families in the village. The average yield per bigha [$\frac{1}{3}$ acre] is 8 maunds. The picture of feudal exploitation becomes clear from the disposition of the exploiting class of the village.

[A] Only 7 families of this village control the economic life of this village and of a few other neighbouring villages. These 7 families own among themselves 3100 bighas of land. Of these 7, two families own 600 bighas each, two other 400 bighas each and the other three 500 bighas, 350 bighas and 250 bighas respectively. Let us consider the income and expenditure of two families.

(i) Of the two *jotedar* families owning 600 bighas each, one *jotedar* has 75 bighas of land in his own name and the rest 525 bighas as *benami*,¹ which he leases out for sharecropping. This family has 9 members. The eldest son is a quack doctor and lives in the village while the third and the youngest sons are students and live in the hostel in Calcutta. The head of this family is the vice-chief of the anchal panchayet. This *jotedar* also owns two husking machines and 17 rickshaws which ply at a ferry-ghat 20 miles north of the village. The man invests Rs. 37,000 in 'legal' and 'illegal' money-lending business, at the high rate of interest of 30% per month. The man has 20 ploughs, 40 bullocks and 2 good milch cows. Moreover, every year he sells at auction the fish obtained from his tanks.

The man's annual income from 2,700 maunds of paddy

¹ That is, held illegally.

obtained from the 600 bighas of land is Rs. 189,000 (at Rs. 70 a maund). He earns another Rs. 133,200 from his money-lending business; yearly profit from the two husking machines is Rs. 36,750 (he gets $\frac{1}{8}$ maund of paddy for husking 2 maunds of paddy. During the season he collects between 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of paddy per day at this rate while in the lean season the daily collection is $\frac{1}{2}$ maund. The machines do not work for one month in the year. The profit has been calculated after deducting costs for oiling and repairing the machines.) The auction of his 6 tanks fetches at least Rs. 6,000. The income from hiring out 15 ploughs for 100 days is Rs. 7,500 at Rs. 5 per day for each plough. Sale of hay fetches Rs. 15,000 at Rs. 15 per *kahan*. The eldest son, in addition to practising as a quack, sells medicines imported from cities at very high prices. His total income thus comes to not less than Rs. 3,600 a year. So, the family's total annual income is Rs. 391,050.

The family's annual expenses are: cost of seeds Rs. 1,400; the cost of maintenance of 8 members at Rs. 80 per month per head and Rs. 150 per month for another member is Rs. 10,440; the annual wages of a man employed to look after the cattle is Rs. 360; cost of maintenance of 40 bullocks is Rs. 14,500; the wages of 35 labourers employed for 2 months at Rs. 45 per head is Rs. 3,150; allowing another Rs. 1,000 for miscellaneous expenses, the family's total annual expenses are Rs. 30,850. So the family has an annual surplus of Rs. 360,200.

(ii) Of the seven families, one family owns 250 bighas of land—75 bighas legally and 175 bighas illegally, that is, as *benami*. The *benami* land is rented out for sharecropping. Apart from this, the man has additional income from his 7 rickshaws and 4 boats which are hired out; the man has invested Rs. 10,000 in money-lending business. He has 2 cows and 8 ploughs and bullocks. The family has eight members.

The annual income from paddy is Rs. 91,000: from sale

of hay Rs. 7,350. The 7 rickshaws and the 4 boats fetch Rs. 3,150 and Rs. 2,160 respectively. Income from the 2 cows is Rs. 1,800; from the 3 ploughs each hired out for 100 days at Rs. 5 per day, Rs. 1,500. So the total annual income is Rs. 142,960.

The expenses are : Rs. 1,400 for seeds ; maintenance of 8 family members at Rs. 80 per head per month, Rs. 7,680 ; the wages of the man who looks after the cattle—Rs. 240 ; Rs. 5,000 for maintenance of the cattle ; wages of 15 labourers employed for 2 months at Rs. 45 per month are Rs. 1,350 ; other expenses Rs. 1,000. So, the total annual expenditure is Rs. 16,670. This leaves an annual surplus of Rs. 126,290.

These jotedars are the mainstay of the feudal set-up in the villages. Their attitude is similar to that of the people mentioned in [A] of the village X (See *Liberation*, Vol 2, No. 6, p. 39). Those in (i) above are even more ruthless than those in (ii), and are, all along, enemies of the owner-peasants and landless peasants, and are, at times, enemies of the rich peasants also.

[B] The man who can be placed next to the jotedar owning 250 bighas of land, in respect of land-holding, has only 7 bighas of land. Another 19 families of this village own from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 bighas of land each. The man owning 7 bighas of land owned 30 bighas of land three or four years back. He is being rapidly reduced to a semi-owner peasant.

(i) This family has 8 members and works on another 5 bighas of land (sharecropping) apart from their own 7 bighas. They possess no bullock or ploughs, though they own one rickshaw which they hire out. The annual income is : Rs. 5,320 from paddy ; Rs. 435 from the sale of hay ; Rs. 540 from the rickshaw. The total annual income thus comes to Rs. 6,295.

The annual expenses are : Rs. 360 as wages for working for 4 months ; Rs. 240 for seeds ; Rs. 4,800 for the main-

tenance of the 8 family members (at Rs. 50 per month for each) ; Rs. 240 as the hire-charges for plough ; Rs. 500 as *salami* (bribe) for securing the right to work as share-cropper on the 5 bighas of rented land ; another Rs. 1,000 which has to be paid to the money-lender as rent for those 5 bighas (at Rs. 200 per bigha). So, the total annual income is Rs. 7,150, which leaves a deficit of Rs. 855 even in a year of good harvest. This family, a victim of exploitation, has been almost reduced to the status of a semi-owner peasant, and with this its class attitude has undergone a change. This family will rally behind the rural proletariat to overthrow the exploitation and rule of the jotedar and the money-lenders.

(ii) Of the 19 families owning between $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 bighas of land each, one family of 6 members owns 4 bighas of land and works on another 6 bighas of land (sharecropping) rented from a jotedar of a neighbouring village. In addition to cultivation it deals in toddy (fermented palm-tree juice) which the family members collect and prepare themselves. This fetches Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 per day as net profit. This business runs for about 4 to 5 months a year. The family has one plough and a pair of bullocks.

The family's income is : Rs. 3,920 from paddy including the share of crops from the 6 bighas of rented land ; Rs. 270 from the sale of hay ; Rs. 450 from the sale of toddy. So, the total annual income is Rs. 4,640.

The annual expenses are : Rs. 360 as wages for working for 4 months ; Rs. 150 for seeds ; maintenance of family members Rs. 3,600 ; maintenance of the two bullocks Rs. 500 ; Rs. 600 and Rs. 1,200 as *salami* and rent respectively for the 6 bighas of land (sharecropping) . So, the total annual expenditure is Rs. 6,410.

This leaves a deficit of Rs. 1,770 even in a year of good harvest. They belong to the semi-owner peasant category.

[C] There are 30 families in this village who own no land at all but work as sharecroppers on rented land,

between 1 to 7 bighas each. They have no implements but borrow bullocks and ploughs, the hire-charges of which they pay by putting in unpaid labour for the owners of these articles.

One such family of 5 members works as sharecroppers in 7 bighas of rented land. The family's income is : Rs. 1,960 from paddy ; Rs. 300 as wages earned by the man and his wife both of whom work as day-labourers for 2 months (quite often such labour is 'mortgaged labour'). Total income : Rs. 2,360.

The expenses are : Rs. 700 as *salami* for the rented land ; Rs. 140 for seeds ; maintenance of family members Rs. 2,100 ; Rs. 350 as wages for working for 4 months ; Rs. 500 as rent for the land (this is the first instalment. Three such instalments have to be paid in a year). Total expenditure : Rs. 3,790.

So, the family is burdened with a deficit of Rs. 1,440 at the very beginning of the year. No matter what happens, the family must without fail pay up the other two instalments of rent (Rs. 500 each). So, Rs. 1,000 has to be borrowed in that same year. But they can never get the entire sum in cash as loan. What generally happens is that they get loans, if they are fortunate, just enough to keep their body and soul together for 5 or 6 months in the year. This again has to be paid off by putting in unpaid labour for the money-lender.

[D] There are 91 families of agricultural labourers in this village. They are employed in cultivation for 5 months at the most in a year. Of this as much as 3 to 4 months' labour is 'mortgaged labour.' For the rest of the year they engage in various odd jobs like 'earth excavation, fishing, collecting honey, wood cutting etc. to maintain themselves. By working in such jobs they earn only a pittance which can see them through for one month or so. For the rest of the year they have to live on all sorts of edible and inedible things or starve.

One such family has 5 members. Both the man and his wife work, and together earn Rs. 180 by working (mortgaged labour) for 3 months. Working for two months at the current wage-rates, they earn Rs. 300, and another Rs. 300 by engaging in odd jobs like fishing etc. Their total annual income is thus Rs. 780. But they require Rs. 1,800 a year merely to maintain the 5 members of their family. So, they have a deficit of Rs. 1,000. That is, they have to live on all sorts of edible or inedible things or starve for about 7 months in a year. Moreover, they do not get new loans until they have paid up their old debts. Generally, they have to pay off their loans by agreeing to work for the money-lender (mortgaged labour).

* * *

Take the third village Z, which lies next to the Y village. The yield in these two villages is the same, which is, 8 maunds per bigha. This village Z is in the surplus area and 51 families live here none of which is a jotedar, or a rich peasant or a middle peasant family. There is only one semi-owner peasant family in the village owning 3 bighas of land. No other family owns more than this or even this much. The entire economic life of this village is controlled by the jotedars and money-lenders of the neighbouring village Y.

(i) This semi-owner peasant family also works as sharecroppers in another 5 bighas of rented land.

The income of this family is : Rs. 3,080 from paddy and Rs. 230 from the sale of hay. Income from a tea-shop owned by the family—this is the only tea-shop in the village—which can do business for 4 months only, i.e., during the tilling and harvesting season, is Rs. 400. In addition, the family earns Rs. 550 annually from the sale of *bidis* made by it. So, the total income is Rs. 4,260.

The annual expenses are : Rs. 150 for seeds ; Rs. 360 as the wages for working for 4 months ; Rs. 160 for hiring plough ; Rs. 3,000 for maintaining the family members

(5 members); Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 as *salami* and rent respectively for the rented land. The total expenditure is Rs. 5,160. This leaves a deficit of Rs. 900.

(ii) There are 12 families in this village which work as sharecroppers in lands (between 1 to 7 bighas each) rented out by the jotedars and money-lenders of the village Y. These sharecroppers suffer the same kind of exploitation and oppression as those in Y. The same is true of the agricultural labourers of this village. The only difference is that the percentage of agricultural labourers to the total rural families is higher here (there are 18 families of agricultural labourers constituting 75 per cent of the total number of families) than in Y.

From the above it becomes clear that both in the surplus and in the deficit areas, it is the people placed in [A], each of whom owns 50 bighas of land or more, that control the economic life in the villages. They constitute 4.2 percent of the total number of families living in the three villages. Jotedars and money-lenders like these are the main exploiters in our villages. Though they have huge quantities of cash money in their possession accumulated over the years, they invest only an insignificant portion of it in industry or developmental works. These people are diehard opponents of any basic reform in agriculture. They are opposed to all progressive measures beneficial to the country. They are loyal lackeys of imperialism which prevents agrarian reforms, that is, keeps a country dependent in the matter of food production, and thus forces it to submit to imperialist domination. This imperialist machination finds its champions in the jotedars and money-lenders in the villages.

The capital that the jotedars and money-lenders invest in the countryside is very much larger than that invested by the government. Most of them are hoarders and, moreover, by means of the huge surplus of land that they possess, they exercise full control over the foodgrains

market. They are the most privileged class in the villages, and are intensely anti-communist and most of them propagate the 'democracy' of the 'free world.' They also control the cultural life in the villages by using religion. A considerable portion of the bureaucracy comprises of people who belong to this class. Moreover, the local police and bureaucrats like the BDOs and the JLROs are their faithful cronies. Politically, they support the Congress Party though, lately, 'wise' elements among them are shifting their loyalty to the parties of the 'United Front' like the Bangla Congress, the SSP etc. They constitute the diehard reactionaries and counter-revolutionary force in the countryside.

Owner peasant or middle peasant : There are, in all, 8 families in the three villages (2.2 per cent of the total number of families) owning between 5 and 15 bighas of land each. They hope to become rich peasants but circumstances exclude the possibility. On the other hand, they are being reduced to the status of semi-owner peasants or even to that of a poor sharecropper. Exploitation forces them to realise that the world is no longer what it was, yet they harbour all sorts of misgivings or distrust about the eventual victory of the revolutionary classes. So they prefer to remain neutral rather than to oppose the revolution. They constitute the third largest group in the three villages, coming next to the agricultural labourers and the semi-owner peasants. They also have an opportunist aspect. Whenever the struggle reaches the point of boiling over they try to hold it back. This class at present largely follows the counter-revolutionary revisionist parties. But their condition is getting worse from year to year, and their burden of debt is increasing. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said : "When the tide of the revolution runs high and the dawn of victory is in sight, not only will the left-wing of the petty-bourgeoisie join the revolution, but the middle section too may join, and even right-wingers, swept forward

by the great revolutionary tide of the proletariat and of the left-wing of the petty bourgeoisie, will have to go along with the revolution."

Semi-proletariat : Families owning between 1 and 5 bighas of land constitute 13.2 per cent of the total number of families living in the three villages. Further, a large section of the peasants of these villages has no land of their own and work as sharecroppers. They constitute 19.5 per cent of the total number of families living in the three villages. "The overwhelming majority of the semi-owner peasants together with the poor peasants constitute a very large part of the rural masses. The peasant problem is essentially their problem." (Mao Tse-tung). The semi-owner peasants and the sharecroppers together constitute 32.7 per cent (13.2 and 19.5) of the total number of families of the three villages. They are forced to borrow at a given time in the year. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said that when "the old stock is consumed, they borrow at exorbitant rates of interest and buy grain at high prices; their plight is naturally harder than that of the owner-peasants who need no help from others, but they are better off than the poor peasants....The semi-owner peasants are therefore more revolutionary than the owner-peasants, but less revolutionary than the poor peasants. The poor peasants are tenant-peasants who are exploited by the landlords. They may again be divided into two categories according to their economic status. One category has comparatively adequate farm implements and some funds. Such peasants may retain half the product of their year's toil...Thus their life is harder than that of the semi-owner peasants, but they are better off than the other category of poor peasants. They are more revolutionary than the semi-owner peasants, but less revolutionary than the other category of poor peasants. As for the latter, they have neither adequate farm implements nor funds nor enough manure, their crops

are poor, and with little left after paying rent, they have even greater need to sell part of their labour power. In hard times they piteously beg help from relatives and friends, borrowing a few *tou* or *sheng* of grain to last them a few days, and their debts pile up like loads on the backs of oxen. They are the worst off among the peasants and are highly receptive to revolutionary propaganda."

After the rural proletariat this class is the most revolutionary in the countryside. They need revolution as much as the proletariat. While they have a tradition of spontaneously struggling for land, they have also tasted bitter defeats in struggles which lacked leadership or were led in a wrong manner. But in the final analysis, they are revolutionary and loyal to revolution, and always realise the need of making revolution.

Rural proletariat : About this class Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "By rural proletariat we mean farm labourers hired by the year, the month or the day. Having neither land, farm implements nor funds, they can live only by selling their labour power. Of all the workers they work the longest hours, for the lowest wages, under the worst conditions, and with the least security of employment. They are the most hard-pressed people in the villages, and their position in the peasant movement is as important as that of the poor peasants."

In our country, they have suffered at different times as a result of wrong leadership and spontaneous struggles led astray. In this respect, they have the same experience as the semi-owner peasants. Yet we find that they are most receptive to revolutionary propaganda.

Report on Peasants' Armed Struggle In Srikakulam

COMRADES,

TODAY we are in the midst of armed struggle. The path we follow is that of people's war. The method we adopt at present is that of guerrilla struggle. We know that the building up of revolutionary rural base areas, and the seizure of towns at the end are the primary tasks to be achieved through people's war. We can raise the consciousness of the peasants only by intensifying armed class struggle in villages and thereby annihilating the class enemies. By this method, we think, we can lay the foundations of the rural bases. This method of people's war is necessarily applicable against the ruling classes in all backward, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This method of protracted armed struggle was first victorious in semi-colonial semi-feudal China. It is Chairman Mao who mapped out this revolutionary path of people's war. By indicating this path of people's war Chairman Mao developed Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. People's war has become a great force to destroy the reactionaries and their henchmen, the revisionists, who are now on their death-bed. The imperialists are continuing their exploitation of backward countries by substituting the neo-colonial method for their old direct colonial rule. This plunder is being proved in practice to be the most dreadful. In addition to this, the Soviet social-imperialists are joining hands with other imperialists who are led by the U.S. imperialists. These two super-powers have extended their monstrous hands into the backward countries and are continuing their plunder. They have

become a big obstacle to the progress of the people in these countries. As a result of that, the progress of the people here is stopped. People have become victims of cruel poverty and misery. If the people in these countries are to advance on the path of development it is inevitable that they have to fight against the main international exploiters, the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. But what is the path of struggle? There is none other than the path of people's war indicated by Chairman Mao, which has led the Chinese people to victory. Since the victory of people's war in China, people in the backward countries firmly believe that it is only people's war that is to be adopted in these countries for their liberation. The material conditions in these countries also make the people here realise this truth. Today, guerrilla struggles on the lines of people's war based on Chairman Mao's thought are getting intensified in most of the backward countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The walls built up by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in these countries are cracking. These enemies of the people are panic-stricken. Under the leadership of People's China, the revolutionary storm-centre, inspired by Chairman Mao's thought, the people in these backward countries are dealing powerful blows at the crumbling walls of the enemy forces. The present era is most unfavourable to the imperialists and their henchmen—the reactionary ruling classes of these countries. It is most favourable to the people's revolutions in oppressed countries. This is the time when the conditions are mature for the democratic revolutions in the backward countries. In these conditions any single spark anywhere against the reactionary ruling classes will start a prairie fire and all the reactionary ruling classes will be consumed by that fire. So it is the central task of a revolutionary party and individual to make conditions suitable for the kindling of that spark.

Ours is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

People's war is inevitable in this country and it has already started: the armed struggle that raged in Naxalbari in 1967 inaugurated the people's war. Among many contradictions in our country the one between the feudal landlords and the peasantry is most acute, and this is no doubt the principal contradiction today. Only by resolving this contradiction can we advance towards a bright future. This contradiction can be resolved through the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. That means, we are in the stage of democratic revolution. We have to complete the stage of democratic revolution through peasant revolution headed by the proletariat. This is the immediate task before us in this country.

This is our clear opinion regarding the national and international situation. Basing on this opinion only, we analysed our movement in the district, repression by the ruling class on our movement and our method of struggle. We decided that the repression of the ruling class should be resisted and that the resistance should be one of struggle for seizure of political power. Firmly believing in Chairman Mao's dictum "**Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**", we decided that the struggle for seizure of political power is possible only by taking firm hold of the gun. Only after this we distributed a leaflet in the name of the District Communist Committee in which we appealed to the people "to support the peasant struggle, to build up rural revolutionary base areas and declared that the communist party with the help of other progressive forces will do its best to make the peasant revolution a success and that the district peasantry have taken up Chairman Mao's thought as their guide."

We decided to develop the initiative of the people in seizing the property of the landlords in an organised way, to carry forward the people's programme of annihilating the landlords and in this context to resist the police and build

up rural revolutionary base areas. We hold that this method of struggle is correct and makes the people conscious. So we began to implement this programme. In accordance with this programme, started on 25th November 1968, hundreds of people participated in seizing the properties of the landlords; in the course of the guerrilla struggle, sixteen police constables including a Circle Inspector were killed. Though it has to face some troubles, this struggle is continuing at present in an unhindered way. Viewed from the understanding of protracted war the victories are minor. Yet for a small Party with no past experience of struggle, taking up only ordinary weapons—that, too, small in number—to achieve such victories in such a short span of time over the government's armed forces is significant. In addition to this, though we started our struggle very recently we gained many experiences regarding the struggle. There is a proverb in Telugu: "Unless we go into the waters, the depth of it is not known." How truthful is our proverb! After starting the struggle we have gained invaluable experiences. We could not have gained so much experience, if we simply sat formulating theories, waiting for auspicious days and fortunate stars. It became necessary for us to move forward boldly and independently.

In this context we will have to explain one more thing. Would it not have been better if we started the struggle earlier? It will not be useful to our movement to complete this report without answering this question.

Did the leadership or the Party have the same understanding regarding the present struggle from the very beginning of repression on the district Girijan movement? It is a fact that the majority of the party members and most of the leadership did have this understanding. But it must also be said that the leadership did not have clear-cut opinions, and it was vacillating. Among the present leadership, none was against armed struggle. But the

leadership could not come to a decisive opinion on the problem of starting the struggle at the time when repression started. Twenty years of parliamentarism and revisionism had sapped the revolutionary vitality of the Communist Party. Due to this, many bad traditions and evil features sneaked into the party. Our district leadership was guided by faith in individuals comprising the provincial leadership. This became an obstacle to realising in time the treachery of the higher leadership on ideological and political issues, their treachery to struggle. Our movement in the Agency became quite militant on many occasions. But we confined the whole struggle to a fight for economic demands only. We could not place before the people the problem of seizing political power and the problem of armed struggle linked with it.

The task of arming the party for the armed struggle and taking necessary steps for reshaping the organisation to suit the needs should have been completed by the time the repression on us started. The then conditions were also favourable to this task, yet we could not complete the task. Renegade Sundarayya and his clique were the main cause of our failure. Due to confidence in him we could not see through the treachery of this clique. Only after the Naxalbari peasantry, led by the local Communist Party, started the armed revolutionary liberation struggle, the eyes of the revolutionary comrades were opened. The treachery on ideological questions and the counter-revolutionary policy of Sundarayya and company became exposed. It is a great turning-point in the entire history of Indian politics. Our eyes also were opened. We totally opposed Sundarayya and his clique. Besides us, a large majority of members in the Marxist Party in Andhra Pradesh opposed this clique. Important persons within the Andhra party leadership were among them. The period in which this change was taking place was exactly the period when repression was let loose on

us. Landlords used their gun and killed two of our comrades at Levidi on 31st October 1967. After this incident the Girijan peasantry rose in a big way against the enemy classes with great indignation. This was a new turning-point in our movement. The peasantry began to seize the properties of landlords, the Girijan Sangham began to solve all the problems in the villages. Wherever the people moved, they moved heroically with arms in their hands. This movement created a great stir in the entire district. We could read from the people's faces their courageous despising of the enemy and their confidence in themselves, their faith that they are invincible. Naturally the ruling class could not sit idly by at seeing the militant movement. So it sent its armed bands in a big way and began its campaign of suppression on 3rd March 1968.

With hope and anxiety people looked up to our party for guidance. People wanted to beat the police back. The district leadership was also in favour of giving resistance. We hoped the provincial leadership which criticised the neo-revisionist betrayal would place a correct programme of action before us. At that time the forces of people's resistance were also clearly visible. The people of Pedakarja village took up arms. They resisted the raiding police bands openly. The police resorted to the use of machine guns also. In this fight two of our comrades lost their lives. If we could organise the people's resistance force on guerrilla lines we would have seen the effect. But we were not prepared for resistance. It must be said, however, that the provincial leadership which was criticising Sundarayya and his clique was mainly responsible for this. Till then we were all continuing in the so-called Marxist Party. Yet in practice we demarcated ourselves from Sundarayya and his clique. So nobody could prevent us from formulating the programme of struggle to suit the changes in our district and according to our

views. Yet this leadership also did not find it necessary to think of our movement. These people were mainly engaged in the ideological polemics with neo-revisionists. In addition to this, these people concentrated their efforts upon winning over a majority of members of the Marxist Party to our side. The principle of organising them through struggles was completely ignored. When they saw a majority of members opposing the neo-revisionist politics, this leadership began to gloat over this fact as if it was a victory for their line. To speak the truth, the main cause of the growth of the revolutionary political consciousness was nothing but Chairman Mao's thought, the flow of invaluable ideological information from China and the Naxalbari peasants' liberation struggles. It must also be said that the Madurai draft, prepared by the anti China neo-revisionist leadership, was first opposed by the party members and cadres at lower levels. In this respect the leadership lagged behind in the beginning and came forward later on. In the Madurai session of the Central Committee, the C.C. member Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao supported the draft and Pulla Reddi opposed China. This can be known from Pulla Reddi's letter to P.B. These people have failed to encourage members and cadres at lower levels to go into practice. While simply opposing the neo-revisionist theories these people hesitated to break with them. By holding general body meetings and making protracted speeches, they tried their best to convince the rank and file. That is why they pressurised the cadres to participate in Palakollu and Burdwan Plenums. In our district nearly all of us opposed their policy. We categorically said to them that we should break with the neo-revisionists and, wherever possible, should build up a revolutionary Party through struggles, with the rebellious comrades participating in them, and that we should not attend the Palakollu plenum. The leadership then said like this: some comrades while accepting our policies and

theories were not prepared for an organisational break. We should not lose them by our hasty methods. These were the reasons advanced by the leadership. Our opinion was that while advancing these reasons these people had taken up only an organisational programme of building up another opportunist party. We conveyed our opinion to them. After the exposure of the neo-revisionist clique as traitors who tried to drown Naxalbari in blood, it became clear that there was no Communist Party in the country though there were individual communist revolutionaries. The task before us has been to prepare for armed struggle and to build the Party on that basis. But it is a fact that these leaders have only accepted this in words, but never in practice. They thought that our programme should be in such a way as to win over a majority of party members to our side. Does not this thinking amount to one of recognising the existence of a Party?

In this way these people had confined their efforts to ideological polemics and building up an opportunist party. They did not attempt to carry forward the already surging struggles by giving them an ideological orientation. We, too, only opposed their policies on all occasions, but could not break with them. We waited for their orders. Due to this reason, we lost the opportunity of starting resistance even after repression had started. Because of our non-resistance we lost many arms which had been in the possession of our people. We could not reap the fruit of our break with neo-revisionists in practice. Repression continued. At the end of March 1968, all the important comrades in our district, except Ramalingachari, said that guerrilla squads should be organised even then and that struggle should be started with those arms still with us. But these leaders rejected this. The reasons they advanced were as follows:

- Till today, we are not at all prepared.
- It is not correct to start without receiving training.

--This is not the season to start the struggle.

We thought that this leadership had much experience. Yet the reasons they advanced were not to our satisfaction. What is the meaning of Mao's teaching: "Learning warfare through warfare"? People were determined to fight the class enemy. We can learn target-shooting only by aiming at the heart of the enemy. The required natural advantages (mountains and forests) for the struggle are also present. So training is possible only through waging war against the enemy. We have to apply Chairman Mao's teaching in this way. But on the other hand, if we think of starting a war of resistance only after receiving training which is comparable to that of the enemy's force, to what extent should we get trained? When do we start war? Concerning people's war, we think that the understanding about the necessity of prior training is basically wrong. When we referred to Mao Tse-tung's teaching, the P.C. member R...remarked, "Does it mean that Mao said anything against training"? They took up the training programme at a place hundreds of miles away. The training given was very meagre. In view of the later developments, we could not but oppose their farcical method of training. Ultimately, we refused to go to the place of training. Later, it was proved that the training given was useless.

We opposed this method of training, not only because the method was wrong, but because of many other reasons too. If we deeply analyse what these leaders say, write and do after our break with neo-revisionists, there could be no justification whatsoever for a break. Their open letter to party members, their circular to Party Committees, Nagireddy's press statements, Pullareddy's articles etc. are ample evidence of this. More important than all these are their methods of work which are unrelated to struggles. We thought there was basic difference between the thinking of these leaders and that of ourselves regarding the implementation of Mao's thought. They said in their

open letter: "Neo-revisionists are propagating that we are calling for an immediate armed struggle. This is completely false." Is not a struggle inevitable between those who think that call for immediate armed struggle is necessary and those who are opposed to such a call? In addition to this, these leaders had been hesitating to join the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. Among others in Andhra Pradesh we also got alarmed at their methods. As a result of all this we had to look at these leaders in a new light.

Regarding the struggle in our district, these leaders used to advance before us the following arguments: "There is slackness in government repression. We have the opportunity to go to the masses and work legally. We should utilize this. We have to mobilise the masses on the issues like wage-rates, problems of farm-labourers, food etc." This was their suggestion. We replied to this in this way: "If the people have to take up any activity it is linked with the question whether we resist the police or not. Whatever the problem we may take up, the police will be present. So our programme of action should be in such a way as to resist the police." We mean by this that resistance war must be started on guerrilla lines. To this they said, "You can beat or kill landlords and their agents. But you should not resist the police. Because its consequences would be different. If it becomes inevitable you can resist the police but guns should not be used. Only bows and arrows and country-made guns may be used. Even the resistance should be in such a way as to recover the lost gains. If we do like this, the enemy will not have the opportunity of charging us with creating chaos and thus whipping up false propaganda against us." It is clear from the above that these leaders did not have the idea of resistance on the lines of people's war. They put these things in their circular also in a very naked way.

After the repression, people were in panic regarding

Sangham work. But at the same time immense confidence was being expressed by the people in the Party. The ruling class has not been viewing our movement as an economic struggle only. It is not even possible for it to view it in that way. To keep its existence in tact it has to inevitably view our movement only as a struggle. So, if we have to carry on our activity on any people's issue our struggle should be higher in form aimed at seizing political power; it should be an armed struggle. The present national and international conditions are also favourable to it. So our opinion is that we should start armed struggle with an open declaration. Only then, as Chairman Mao taught us, we shall be able to boldly arouse the masses and make them jump into the struggle.

Is not the difference between them and us like that between the east and the west? So, after considering all these things we began to think in a completely independent manner. We ventured to start contacts with the All India Co-ordination Committee. In view of all these things only, we opposed their method of training after this leadership also joined the All India Co-ordination Committee.

Comrade Charu Mazumdar compared our movement before the repression with the Hunan peasant movement. In fact, our movement had similarities with the Hunan peasant movement. This we realised later on. The idea which Comrade Mazumdar brought to our notice inspired us tremendously. But this provincial leadership not only did not bring it to our notice, but has been covering it up. We suggested that Chairman Mao's report on Hunan peasant struggle be published and circulated. Pullareddy brushed it aside by saying "What is there in it?" Comrade Mazumdar suggested to us that we "build up guerrilla squads and start struggle immediately." He also suggested to us that we concentrate our actions on annihilating the class enemies and in that context destroy police forces. Comrade Mazumdar's views coincided with those of ours.

What we learnt here more clearly and concretely was that we should start first with the annihilation of class enemies. Since we accept this, the provincial leadership is advancing the following argument: "We too suggested the annihilation of the class enemies. Mazumdar also said just the same." Thus they are trying to derive self-satisfaction. But it is not difficult to distinguish between what these leaders on the one hand and Comrade Mazumdar on the other said. Comrade Mazumdar told us to start people's war immediately and placed before us a concrete line of struggle. The provincial leadership suggested the annihilation of landlords without reference to people's war. Then too they asked us to annihilate one or two landlords as an experiment. Is it not self-deception to think of both as one and the same?

Comrades, we came to an independent decision—whether right or wrong—to learn through our own experience. In the preceding period the leadership committed acts of ideological betrayal on different occasions. Our faith in individual leaders became an obstacle to the advance of our movement. At the same time, we have been continuously overcoming these obstacles. This process we have seen in the preceding pages. In this respect, from the time of the split in the communist party after the Sino-Indian border clashes in 1962 till the exposure of the ideological betrayal of Sundarayya and his clique, our cadres and members were always thinking sharply and exhibiting self-initiative on all the ideological issues without being misled. After the break with Sundarayya and his clique and the setting up of the Provincial Co-ordination Committee, party members played a more important role in all the developments in our movement than the leaders. Initiative and consciousness which our comrades displayed have played a very significant role in helping the leadership to take an independent decision regarding our struggle. The district committee

is very happy to see this. But at the same time one important point has got to be brought to the notice of our comrades. The improvement in the methods of work, initiative and sacrifice are not to be seen in some comrades to the extent to which they have shown ideological awareness. It is necessary to make up this deficiency quickly for the advance of our future movement. Already we are making much sacrifice, undergoing many hardships and working with revolutionary consciousness. As a result of this, peasant revolutionary armed struggle has started, and it is continuing in our district. People, mainly peasants, have risen like a storm and it is now blowing like a whirlwind. We have to take this forward through to the end. We have to continue the class struggle on guerrilla lines in a much bigger way. The district committee firmly believes that our cadres and members will carry out this task with discipline. It also believes that they will lead the fighting people in annihilating the enemies with death-defying spirit.

We want to remind our comrades of one more thing here. In view of the great tasks that we have to discharge in future, our present political, ideological and military knowledge is not sufficient. Our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is very much limited. There is much to be learnt. Marxism is a science which is ever growing. The distance we have to travel yet is more difficult and protracted than the distance we have already travelled. We know that it is strewn with more complications. We cannot say that the bad experiences of the past, which we faced, will not be repeated. We have overcome them with unflinching courage as we have been doing so now. For this, we have to study Marxist-Leninist literature more deeply; specially, we should never forget the study and application of the thought of the great Marxist-Leninist teacher and great leader of the world's people, Chairman Mao. We should acquire experiences. The lessons learnt

from every struggle should enable us to move further in our struggle. In any movement there may occur mistakes.

We should not stop working for fear of committing mistakes. Whether we are right or wrong will be proved in practice. We should never hesitate to take initiative on the pretext of lack of experience. We must always be ready to admit and correct our mistakes. Otherwise, we shall become useless. Chairman Mao taught us "That correcting our mistakes is learning Marxism-Leninism through criticism and self-criticism."

Comrades, we in our district are now waging an armed struggle for the seizure of political power. The Communist Party is leading the struggle. We started this recently. We have noted earlier the many developments that had taken place before we started the struggle. We have to carry this struggle forward. So we have to review the period of struggle however short it may be. We decided on a programme of action for 25th November, 1968. Prior to this, we formed guerrilla squads with militant cadres. We conducted training camps for guerrilla squads for giving them knowledge in the handling of the gun. Police raids were usually continuing in the villages while the training camps were going on. Yet we could fulfil this programme successfully. For this training there was no need to go to a distance of hundreds of miles. We had the idea of giving training in the Agency area itself from the very beginning but the provincial leadership did not encourage our idea. Taking advantage of our attitude of depending on them, they utilised their farce of training to implement their line of delaying the struggles. They arranged training camps for batches at a distance of hundreds of miles. Because of this, we had to waste time, money and energy. If we had not daringly decided to give training in the Agency itself and rejected their method, we would have incurred many more losses. We would not have come out of the rut.

After giving training we prepared the guerrilla squads to help the people's initiative in seizing the properties of the landlords, to help intensify the people's desire to annihilate the class enemies and to help implement the programme of 25th November, 1968. Though we failed to implement a part of this programme, we were on the whole successful. Though some cadres showed some backwardness in the course of implementing this programme, people demonstrated tremendous class hatred against the landlords. People moved in hundreds to confiscate the properties of the landlords. People were not prepared to leave even a single piece of thread or needle for the landlords. Seeing the surging tide of people's movement, some comrades expressed doubts about the government repeating the repression. They lagged behind in discharging the tasks entrusted to them. They behaved in an indisciplined manner. This caused some anxiety to us. Yet we know that Chairman Mao has said that the Party can be strengthened only through struggles. So we cherished confidence in the people and in the Party organisation to be built up through struggles. We brought those points exhibited during the course of the struggle to the notice of all the cadres. Later, we again continued our programme. As regards the impact of the programme of 25th November, 1968, it created a great stir and panic in the hearts of the Agency landlords. They were terribly panic-stricken. Exploiting classes in the country began to tremble. More special armed police were sent to the Agency area. They began to intensify the repression already started in a much bigger way. We began to resist the police bands on the lines of guerrilla struggle. At that time we used those guerrilla squads organised previously. The squads were not active in the beginning. Only one squad moved actively. This was the situation till one month after 25th November, 1968.

But now the situation is different. Militant peasants

from the villages are coming forward with great enthusiasm to join the guerrilla squads. The number of squads which are quite active is increasing day by day. We have made many new changes in the organisation of squads. After our taking up the gun there was great enthusiasm among the people. On December 20th, 1968, in the Balleruguda struggle of Aviri area, the victories achieved by the people roused great enthusiasm in all the nooks and corners of the Agency. It also roused the fighting spirit of the cadres.

On December 20, 1968 the police entered the Aviri area to make raids. The resistance put up by the people shook the whole mountains. People saw the movements of the police in the morning on that day. People climbed up the mountains and called on the people from the villages nearby. Nearly five hundred people rallied to Balleruguda. The police and landlords nearing about two hundred went there. The people took up bows and arrows, stones and one country-made gun. They did not allow the police to enter the village. The police turned back. Then the people pursued them and attacked them with bows and arrows and stones. While the police were climbing down, the people shot at them and hurled down stones. They expressed their heroic indignation. The police were scattered and they fled each taking his own way. In their panic they shot wildly in different directions while fleeing away. But the people got no injuries. The people used big rocks and trees as defence. They continued their attack on the police till the latter went to Pedagottili, a village at a distance of 3 miles. Two police constables and one Circle Inspector were killed in the battle. Later, we explained to the people that the method of fighting in which the masses stood face to face with the police and fought was disadvantageous to us. We reminded them of the losses in the fighting at Altiguda. We convinced them of the necessity of fighting by guerrilla methods. The police

again entered the Aviri area on 23rd December 1968. The people, hiding themselves, waited for the enemy. One police constable fell on the ground when one of our guerrillas shot with the gun. The police again were scattered; Again there was great enthusiasm among the people. With this, self-confidence among the people increased; they were attracted to guerrilla methods of fighting in a much bigger way. Previously, at Dakshini on December 4, 1968, and at Santhoshpuram on 6th December 1968, The people with arms in their hands mobilised in greater numbers and resisted the police. On those occasions also, we explained to the people the need of the guerrilla method of struggle. The culmination of all these struggles was the struggle on 20th and 23rd December at Balleruguda. This marked a new turning-point. With this, our struggle entered the guerrilla stage.

As a result of this, guerrilla squads began to move more actively. Immediately following this, they attacked the police and killed some of them. There was an atmosphere of great enthusiasm everywhere. Peasants began to come forward in waves to join the guerrilla squads.

The Mood of The People

The mood of the people after the struggle started is not at all comparable with that after the last repression in March 1968. During that period of repression when the police went to villages to make raids, the people used to stay there and got arrested. But now the people are not to be arrested. They are leaving the villages and climbing up the mountains. They are safeguarding their little properties. The police are coming in hundreds and making searches. But during these raids nobody, except the old and the disabled, that too one or two, is being caught. On some occasions the people have made the mountain-tops their dwelling-places. The police are not able to make arrests. Previously, some people even thought of getting

rid of the police atrocities by handing over the leaders of the masses to the police, though they never did it. Today, that idea even does not occur to them. On one side there is the fire of repression on the people; on the other side, tremendous new enthusiasm is being exhibited. Whenever people know about the existence of our cadres and squads, people in large numbers gather there. They never go there without something in their hands, either rice, vegetable or fruit. Our contacts with those villagers, previously cut off because of repression, are now being improved. The people feel joy at the very sight of us. Now the cadres and people feel the atmosphere of the days before the first repression. Those cadres who thought that the attacks on the landlords would intensify repression and that people would be kept away from us have now begun to realise that repression would only rouse their political consciousness and class hatred and make the class struggle more intense. Though some people showed in the beginning some vacillation in confiscating the properties of the landlords, they are now showing tremendous initiative. Some seventy arrested peasants belonging to Aviri area escaped from the Elvinpet Police camp en masse at midnight. Qualitative changes are no doubt taking place among the people and cadres. Only after taking up arms and giving a call for that we are able to observe this heartening situation. After taking up the gun and starting the struggle our guerrillas killed sixteen of the police enemies. It is a feast to the eyes of the people when they see dead bodies of policemen being carried away. They are forgetting the repression when they see this. Another very significant thing is that the people themselves are making arrangements for providing food to our guerrilla squads. Sometimes villagers on the mountain-tops are giving food to even thirty to forty members. Hundreds of people from the nearby villages know where our guerrilla squads and our cadres are. Even

though the police camps are very near, no secret information is leaked out to the enemies. This shows the immense confidence of the people in our party.

Situation of the Enemy Classes

After our taking up the gun, and giving the call for people's war the hearts of the police in the Agency area trembled. When the police began to die in the hands of the guerrillas the morale of the police was shattered. Hearing the roar of the guns mid way the police become nervous. They feel afraid whenever they have to travel along village routes. Unlike on the previous occasion, the police are not able to go for searches in groups of twenty or twenty-five. They do not feel confident unless they are larger in number. "Why should we go to make raids and die? Let us write reports as if we have gone." Unless accompanied by a big officer, the police are not usually prepared to go for searches. Previously the police used to raid the villages day and night. But now usually night-raids have been stopped. Searches are being started at five in the morning and stopped by three in the afternoon. They return to their camps by that time. Even these raids are not being conducted except in the presence of landlords and some other people. People are being taken forcibly to help their searches. It can be said that at present we have seized nights from the enemies' hands. Even during the day-time there is generally no obstacle created by the enemies to our free movement in a large area. The truth of Chairman Mao's saying that "All the reactionaries in the world are paper tigers" is proved to us within a short span of time. Yet the enemy may concentrate its big forces and try to attack us. Our cadres and people should develop such mental calibre as to face the difficulties with undaunted courage and learn such tactics as to beat back the enemy's offensive on the lines of protracted war from now onwards.

At present, the enemy is adopting new tactics and trying to create conflicts between the two tribes in the Agency i.e. Savara and Jatapu and also among the Jatapus and the Savaras themselves in a bigger way than in the past. When the police go to raid they force some Savara and Jatapu people to accompany them and to burn the houses and loot the properties of the people. This had its effect on our people. Our people said that we should kill those Girijans who burn down and loot our villages and that we should burn down their houses also. The hatred of the people is thus sought to be diverted from the landlords and police to the people themselves. This we realised and took appropriate precautions. We never allowed our people to resort to such methods. We made efforts to see that the people's hatred is not diverted from the class enemy and that they do not forget their task—the annihilation of landlords.

In this context one more experience has got to be narrated. The landless peasants are struggling with death-defying spirit without any compromise or vacillation. It is this class which leads the struggle. By educating them in Mao's thought the Party should help them to discharge their leading role more successfully.

The number of people forced to take part in the searches is getting reduced day by day. Such people begin writing letters to us now. "The police are forcing us to follow them during the searches. If we refuse they are beating us. We are undergoing many sufferings. Please save us." This is what they write to us. The enemy is getting more panicky at seeing this. Recently we concentrated our main efforts on annihilating the class enemies. With the annihilation of a landlord on 6th February, 1969 and serious injury inflicted on a police agent, there is consternation among the enemies. Surging enthusiasm is seen on the people's faces.

Peoples confidence in the guerrilla methods of struggle

is increasing day by day. They have been demanding bombs and arms to defend their villages. The repression let loose on the people will strengthen their determination to fight harder. The people seeing us starting the struggle, annihilating the enemies and sharing the peoples' difficulties are not able to forget us. The people see doctors and some other comrades from other districts coming over here and working for the people. They express great joy. "Assistance has come to our struggle from a very long distance." There is no doubt that these comrades become very useful to the struggle.

But at the same time, we have suffered some losses. A doctor comrade was arrested while he was suffering from fever. A member of a guerrilla squad and party worker—was shot by the police and captured. During our struggle till now these two comrades along with some other comrades have been arrested. The other comrades were arrested for not taking sufficient precautions. These are the losses we have suffered during the course of the struggle.

Comrades, the present conditions are very hopeful for carrying our struggle forward. We have reviewed our movement, the present situation and the conditions we faced before and during the struggle. Basing on this, we formulate our tactics of struggle and advance along the path of struggle. We achieved many victories within a very short period of time. Let us be prepared for more arduous struggles in the future. In this context all of us must make efforts to help every party member and cadre to observe discipline, make sacrifice and stand firm. Our great leader Chairman Mao said, "The Indian nation is a great nation. The Indian people are a great people. Indian reactionaries and their masters, U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, are all paper tigers. The Indian people can achieve complete liberation through their own struggle". So we place tremendous confidence in our nation. This

Advance of Armed Peasants' Guerrilla Struggle in North Bihar

From Our Own Correspondent

Ranchi, April 20 :—Seven months have passed since the revolutionary peasants of Mushahari in Muzaffarpur district of Bihar led by the Communist revolutionaries rose in armed revolt. Since then the reactionary government and the landlords have been claiming that the backbone of the Communist revolutionaries and the revolutionary peasants in North Bihar has been broken. The Dange clique and the neo-revisionists along with other enemies of revolution faithfully took up the tune set by their masters, the feudal landlords, and began to slander the heroic struggle of the revolutionary peasants as "adventurist". Just when these wretched renegades were convincing themselves of their ability in drowning the

nation following the thought of Mao Tse-tung has begun its struggle against the reactionary ruling classes. We must remember that we have become participants in this great struggle. Comrades, whether we live or die, it must be for the people, revolution is our ultimate goal. There is nothing greater in life than this. Let us build up a revolutionary base area. Let us build up the people's army, because "People have nothing without the people's army" as Chairman Mao has said.

With revolutionary greetings,

Srikakulam

February 25, 1969

District Communist
Committee.

revolutionary peasant movement in slanders, the revolutionary armed peasant movement has burst forth with new vigour in Paru and Baribaj thana areas in Muzaffarpur district under the leadership of the Communist revolutionaries of North Bihar belonging to the Bihar State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries.

Paru and Baribaj thanas lie on the border of the Champaran district of Bihar. Feudal exploitation and oppression are extremely severe in these areas. On the other hand, the peasants here have a proud record of many heroic struggles. Last month, the poor and landless peasants started a vigorous struggle against the landlords and forcibly harvested the crops of 14 acres of land. The land is now in the possession of the peasants. They have resolved to annihilate the tyrannical landlords.

The Communist revolutionaries have, through their propaganda, roused and activated the peasants of twenty villages, small and big, the total population of which is fifty thousand. Throughout the area Krishak Sangram Samitis [Peasants' Action Committees] and Gram Rakshak Dals [Village Defence Groups] have been organized very quickly. Guerrilla units are also being organized. Courageous and fighting young peasants with firm conviction are being recruited for these units. The entire area is at present like a volcano which may erupt at any moment. Stricken with fear, the local landlords are desperately organizing themselves for launching counter-attacks, and are trying to carry out surprise armed attacks against the peasant leaders and workers. On April 17, the landlords' men carried out such an attack with guns and other lethal weapons. To resist this the revolutionary peasants made a vigorous counter-attack as a result of which a notorious goonda of the landlords, Babulal Bhagat, was killed during the action while the other goondas fled for their lives. This incident has tremendously enthused the common peasant masses. The landlords, on the other hand, have

been greatly demoralised and have sought the protection of the police. Despite all the attempts of the police, all the leaders and workers are safe and the police cannot find them. The police searched the huts of 19 landless peasants and arrested them. As the news spread to other villages, peasants there feel enthused and are now contacting the Communist revolutionaries. It may be noted in this connection that these Communist revolutionaries led the earlier struggle at Mushahari. They have now plunged themselves with redoubled vigour into the work of rousing the peasants and are trying, through struggles like this, to build Krishak Sangram Samitis as the organs of people's political power. The Gram Rakshak Dal is being formed in every village to carry on the administrative work there. People's courts are also being established to deal with the bullies and the goondas. They have already organized guerrilla squads composed of landless and poor peasants and activated them. These squads and their activity provide the basis on which Samitis, Dals and people's courts can be built. The number of such squads will gradually increase. The aims of these squads are : (1) to annihilate the landlords and their goondas ; (2) to seize forcibly the properties of rich people ; and (3) to establish people's rule in the villages.

Sparks Today —Raging Flames Tomorrow

THE rapid and persistent spread of revolutionary peasants' struggle led by Communist revolutionaries in the countryside has become the most important new and developing feature in India today. This has struck fear in the hearts of India's reactionary rulers and revisionists and their masters—the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists—all of whom want India's workers, peasants and other toiling people to suffer the increasing exploitation and oppression without protest. The Danges, Namboodiripads, Jyotis and Sundarayyas have openly joined Indira Gandhi, Chavan and company in viciously decrying all attempts by the people to vigorously resist the intolerable burden of exploitation and oppression. They are particularly furious at the growth of the revolutionary peasant struggle which, guided by the thought of Chairman Mao and led by the Communist revolutionaries, aims at overthrowing feudal exploitation and oppression, the main social basis of U.S. and Soviet imperialists and their Indian lackeys, through revolutionary guerrilla warfare. This fact alone has completely exposed the ugly renegade features of the Dange clique and the neo-revisionist clique headed by Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu-Sundarayya & Company, and has showed them up as the running dogs of the US and Soviet imperialists and their Indian lackeys. The following reports which appeared in the Indian reactionary press show the growth of the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasants.

On the night of April 17, peasant guerrillas, led by Communist revolutionaries, raided the houses of several landlords in five villages in the Purgampad taluk of Khammam district in Telangana, and seized firearms and

gold and silver ornaments. On the night of April 19, two notorious agents of landlords were shot dead by guerrillas in Srikakulum district.

On the night of April 23, peasant guerrillas led by Communist revolutionaries raided the houses of landlords in two villages in Khammam district and carried away from one of the villages cash and ornaments worth Rs. one lakh.

On the night of April 24, revolutionary Girijans led by Communist revolutionaries raided the house of a landlord in Padmapuram and seized firearms, cash and ornaments.

Trial of a Usurer In a People's Court

The Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi of revolutionary peasants in Srikakulum district has reported the trial of a usurer by a people's court set up by the armed revolutionary peasants organized in the Samithi. As is known, the revolutionary peasants here, led by Communist revolutionaries and guided by the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have been carrying on armed guerrilla struggle to annihilate and overthrow, by force of arms, the feudal landlords and their agents in the villages and to establish revolutionary people's power there. The peasant guerrillas have already annihilated many class enemies and have followed it up by establishing their own revolutionary authority through the Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi and Gram Raksha Dals, which in turn have established people's courts to mete out justice in a revolutionary way. The story of the trial runs like this :

The *shahukar* (usurer) who is also a merchant, came to the Agency area to collect tamarind from peasants who pay off their loans taken earlier from the *shahukar* by supplying tamarind. The list of borrowers which he brought with him showed that he had lent a total sum of Rs. 280 to peasants of four villages. Against this, he

proposed to collect from them 40 *Kavidis* (bundles) of tamarind, which, at current market rates, are worth Rs. 1,600. That is, the peasants are to pay back nearly 6 rupees for every rupee they borrowed! This had been the normal practice till the revolutionary peasants established their own authority through guerrilla struggle. The man was arrested by the peasants and taken to their base area for trial. The man confessed before the people's court that he had been exploiting the peasants and promised never to exploit again. He also promised to obey the rules and regulations of the Samithi and live a just life without exploiting anyone. He begged that one opportunity be given to him for proving his sincerity.

After listening to what he had to say, the people were consulted in order to verify his past record, how he had treated the peasant borrowers, etc. On verification it was found that, compared with other landlords, he had seldom acted brutally. On the basis of this finding and in view of the man's repentant attitude, he was finally set free, on the understanding that he would act in accordance with the promise he had made before the people's court.

The man, who had been taken in by the slanders propagated by the class enemies that the peasants are killing all, was very much impressed by the trial. He never thought that he would be treated so justly by the peasant masses. He was held in the custody of the guerrillas for only one day. Before he left, he gave the ring on his finger to the Samithi and cancelled all the loans given by him. The guerrillas provided all possible facilities to the man while he was held in their custody.

The Central Budget And the Agricultural Wealth Tax : Some Comments

—Manish Basu

Cannibalism, which is an inherent feature of all exploiting classes, is everyday becoming more blatant amongst the ruling classes of India. The latest manifestation of this perverse but inevitable vice is the budget of the Government of India. For the Indian revolutionaries this budget has three important aspects : It confirms our characterisation of India as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries where the big capitalists are enemies of the people, being comprador or bureaucratic.¹ The budget reveals the acute political and economic crises of the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters. Finally, by their reactions to the budget the Dange clique and the neo-revisionists have further exposed themselves to be what they are—lackeys of the Indian ruling classes.

Before discussing the budget we give below the salient facts of the budget, so that our readers might be in full possession of the facts.

Burdens placed upon the people by the budget :

Description	Expected Revenue	Comment
Customs Duty on Lubricating oil	2.6 crores	The increasing cost of manufacture will be passed on to the people by the industrialists.
Excise duty : Prepared and Preserved foods	1.5 crores	} This the people will have to pay directly
Suger	27.5 "	

Description	Expected Revenue	Comment
Excise duty : Motor spirit and Superior Kerosene	28.4 ,,	The increased cost of transportation will be passed on to the people.
Excise duty : Others	3.5 ,,	
	<u>63.5 crores</u>	

Burden on the Middle classes :

Customs Duty : Dry fruits and dates	3.0 crores	
Excise Duty : Pilfer- proof Caps	0.5 crores	Mainly in medicines
Excise Duty : Cigarettes	15.8 crores	Prices of cheaper varieties have gone up
Excise Duty : Jute Manufacture, Rayon and Synthetic Fibres	12.2 crores	Cheaper blankets, clothes
Total	<u>31.5 crores</u>	

Concession to the poor and middle classes : Nil

Net Burden 95.0 crores

Burden on Upper Middle Classes :

Excise Duty : Fertilisers	22.0 crores	} Mainly on the rich peasant
Excise Duty : Power-driven Pumps		
Excise Duty : Domestic Electri- cal Appliance	2.0 ,,	

Description	Expected Revenue	Comment
Income Tax On those who earn between Rs. 880- 960 per month	21.5 ,,	
Increased Tele- phone and Tele- gram charges	6.5 ,,	
	<u>54.0 crores</u>	

Actually, by virtue of their closeness to the ruling classes and their positions within the bureaucracy, the upper middle classes will pass some of their burden to the poorer classes.

Concessions to the Upper Middle Classes :

Dividend Income upto Rs. 1000 exempted from tax ;
Foreign Income of Intellectuals 25% exempted from tax ;
Car Maintenance Allowance upto Rs. 2400 per annum
exempted from tax ;
Life Insurance premium exempted from tax upto 25%
of Income.

Burden on the Ruling class : On Feudals :

Wealth Tax on
Agricultural Land
worth more than
Rs. 1 lakh 5 crores This is laughable, since it is
nothing but a gesture.

On Comprador and Bureaucratic Capital :

NIL—except on Imported Motor Cars—Rs. 60 Lakhs

Concessions to the Ruling Classes :

	Amount
Export duty on agro-based industries Reduced—Jute, Tea, Raw Wool, Mica...	23.0 crores
Excise Relief—to Nylon, Rayon etc. manufacturers	10.9 crores
Incentives—Tax holiday, cotton and jute to get special depreciation and development Rebate as "Priority" Industries, Life Insu- rance given more exemption. Indian companies' earnings from supply of Techni- cal know-how exempted to 45% of such income.	8.0 crores
Total	<u>41.9 crores</u>

Immediately after the budget great controversy erupted over the Agricultural Wealth Tax. In the course of the controversy the parliamentary political parties (i. e., those that swear by the "Sovereign Republican Democratic Constitution" of India) have indicated their class loyalties. Within the Congress, Swatantra and Jana Sangh, some have opposed it. The most **honest** of the lot, have openly proclaimed their loyalty to the feudals and rich peasantry and opposed the measure. Others, operating behind a smoke-screen of clichés about the "Green Revolution" have done the same. The Dange clique has flaunted its class base² by demanding that instead of taxing agricultural land valued at Rs. 1 lakh and above, the ceiling should be raised to Rs. 3 lakhs. (Since the above was written, the ceiling has been raised to Rs. 2.5 lakhs—Ed.)

The neo-revisionists are the most cunning. Its class-base being no different from that of the other constitutional political parties, it has to oppose the Agricultural Wealth Tax. But, then it has a role to play as a traitor and collaborationist. It must retain its "revolutionary" image before the masses, so that it can betray the people more successfully. It is for all these reasons that we find the neo-revisionists taking a stand which would be funny if it was not so treacherous. *People's Democracy's* editorial on the budget (9. 3. 69), after much bluster about Morarji's "Big Business Budget", finally delivered this piece of wisdom: the agricultural wealth tax hits the "*small peasant*", "It was a deliberate attempt to pass on the **main burden** of the tax to the **poor strata**." This is indeed wonderful! In a country where 5% of the rural households have **no** "wealth", the next 50% hold only 7% of the total "wealth"; where 81% of the rural households hold less than 10 acres of land per household, Wealth Tax on agricultural land of over Rs. 1 lakh will hit the "small peasant"! One has to ask these imposters as to what is their definition of the "small peasant". In India, 6 crores

of people can spend only **Rs. 11 per month** and 16 crore persons a maximum of **Rs. 15 per month**. Surely, 'Comrade' Ranadive, you are talking of another country or another "poorer strata" when you weep on their behalf for having to pay Agricultural Wealth Tax on land valued at **Rs. 1 lakh or more**. Perhaps, your heart aches for the 10-15% of the rural households that hold 66% of the cultivable lands, these perhaps are your "poorer strata". Or, may be, you feel for the "small peasants"—the 1% who hold 16% of the agricultural land!³

As we have said, one could feel amused at the performance of these neo-revisionists if one did not find their treachery so nauseating.

There are some who claim that this agricultural wealth tax is an attempt by the Indian big bourgeoisie to squeeze the feudals. It is strange that this opinion should be shared by as wide a section of opinion as the *Economic Times* (owned by Dalmia-Jain comprador group), *Link* operated by the 'Russian lobby' and even some in the revolutionary ranks. This opinion is wrong. It is wrong because objectively this tax would not even **touch** the feudals. In this age of dying imperialism and People's Democratic revolution, no national bourgeoisie has the **strength** even to attempt to touch the feudals. The compradors and bureaucrats certainly shall not do so.

The proposed Agricultural Wealth tax seeks to tax a wealth of which no one knows the value. How very "little" it is can be understood from the fact that it is expected to yield Rs. 5 crores in a budget of Rs. 4,980 crores from the income of the rural sector which was estimated in 1964-65 to be Rs. 10,000 crores!

Let us remember that tax on agricultural wealth has been frequently proposed by the best friends of India's ruling classes.⁴ In 1953 Professor Kaldor suggested it, later the Bhoothalingam Committee and the Planning Commission concurred. They also suggested that

Agricultural Income Tax and Land Revenue should be on a rising scale. Quite naturally, nobody took these suggestions seriously. Agricultural Income Tax and Land Revenue as collected today is a farce. The former is in operation in only 13 States and is largely imposed on plantations which can pass the burden on to the people (as 'cost of production' deductible from income tax). The total collected in all States under this head is only Rs. 12 crores out of the States' total revenue of Rs. 2,587 crores. Similarly, land revenue in all States yields only Rs. 120 crores. The income from land revenue as a percentage of the States' income has been steadily diminishing :

The 'democratic' Congress, SSP, PSP as well as the 'heroes' of the revisionist camp have quite carefully "overlooked" this source of revenue and have thus left the feudals untouched. 'Comrades' Namboodiripad in Kerala and Basu and Konar in West Bengal have not even spoken of increasing land revenue. Instead, they have opened their strongholds (like Burdwan) to U.S. imperialist-sponsored IADP [Intensive Agricultural District Projects] schemes which have further enriched the landed gentry and pauperised the rural poor.⁵

NOTES

1. Comprador & Bureaucratic Capital :

In March 1926, in his writing "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," Comrade Mao Tse-tung described the comprador capitalist as : one who depends upon imperialism for growth and survival, who always sides with imperialism and was an extreme counter-revolutionary.

The footnote of the same article further adds : Who

served foreign economic interests and had close connection with imperialism and foreign capital.

(It will be recalled that Comrade Lenin, without actually using the word 'comprador', described the species in his report to the 2nd Congress of Comintern in July 1920 : That section of the bourgeois of a colonial country which has come to an understanding with the imperialist countries and which, while appearing to support liberation movements, is hand in glove with the imperialist bourgeoisie and which opposes revolution.)

As concrete situations developed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung added further descriptive elements to the character of the comprador :

- * In semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, the compradors control the cities (October 1928)
- * The bourgeois democratic revolution must eliminate the compradors from the cities (Nov. 1928). Along with big bureaucrats, they consider revolution to be a worse enemy than imperialism. (Dec. 1935)

With Japanese imperialist aggression the principal contradiction in China underwent a change. In December 1939, in *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung (following Comrade Stalin) described the development of the comprador as follows : The merchant-usurers who operated a network of trading posts for imperialism became comprador. They have a close link with the feudals. Further, the acuteness of inter-imperialist contradictions has split the comprador camp into two sections, one of which shall for a **certain** time oppose Japanese imperialism. The people's anger against Japanese barbarism will make the compradors hide their capitulationist tendencies. Hence, Comrade Mao Tse-tung developed a **dual** policy : strike down the capitulationists and confiscate their capital, unite and also fight the others. He, however, warned that even the latter shall turn against the revolution the moment their imperialist masters do so.

As the war against Japan neared its victorious end, Comrade Mao spoke of **Bureaucrat Capital** (*On Coalition Government*, April 1945). This was because some of the comprador groups had, during the war, merged with state power and used it to concentrate monopoly power in their hands and to confiscate the assets of the defeated Japanese, Germans and Italians. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung increasingly used this term to identify one of the chief enemies of the Revolution. Finally, in December 1947 (*Present Situation and Our Tasks*) he defined it as comprador, feudal, state monopoly capitalism.

2. Since the Dange clique has already proclaimed itself to be on the side of rich peasants and "progressive" landlords masquerading as rich peasants, the Dange clique's betrayal has been quite unashamed and open :

* Its Midnapore Kisan conference openly proclaimed concern for the *jotedars* and landlords and urged that this clique and the U. F. must gain the confidence of these classes.

* In Maharashtra they joined the landlords to oppose a Government cooperative and fought the agricultural labourers quite openly.

* In Gujrat, they have been trying to wean away the rich peasants of Swatantra party, are now putting up Rao Himmatsinghji Thakur of Mansa (a native prince) as a "leftist" candidate in the Banaskantha Lok Sabha election. Thakurji is not only a landlord and princeling but also a director of Asoka Hotel and the Film Finance Corporation. Surely he shall add new glory to the 'National Democratic Revolution' as envisaged by this clique.

3. All data from the National Sample Survey and Rural Credit Survey of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. See also *Link* 16.3.69. See also Appendix in 'Tasks on the Kisan Front,' the neo-revisionist C.C.'s Resolution, 1967.

4. All data in this para are taken from *Economic Times*, 20.3.1969.

5. See Charan Gupta on IADP in *Frontier* of 16.3.'69.

Revolutionary Struggle Of Indian People Grows in Depth

ON a wider scale and in a greater depth, the Indian revolutionary people kept up heroic struggles against the Indian reactionaries and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism—in 1968. They constantly summed up experience, consolidated their ranks and gathered strength while taking advantage of every favourable opportunity to strike hard at the Indian reactionaries.

Extensive Dissemination of Revolutionary Truth

In 1968, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, spread far and wide in India. Proceeding from the concrete conditions in the country, the Indian revolutionaries stressed the necessity for the Indian people to take the revolutionary road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing political power by armed force. They forcefully repudiated the "parliamentary road" which the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party and the Dange renegade clique had trumpeted to benumb the Indian people.

The Indian revolutionaries have translated and published large quantities of Chairman Mao's brilliant works and carried Chairman Mao's writings and quotations in their own publications. They carried revolutionary teachings to the masses, especially to the poor working people who are the most brutally oppressed and exploited. Many *adivasi* (native) peasants living in the Chota Nagpur area, Bihar State, can now recite quotations from Chairman Mao, the Indian press has revealed.

The Indian revolutionaries have also spread the revolutionary truth among the people by painting huge slogans and posting leaflets clandestinely. Revolutionary slogans have appeared in increasing numbers on village, town and city walls. These include: "Political power grows out of

the barrel of a gun," "Without a people's army the people have nothing." "Not ballots but bullets needed for revolution!" "Boycott elections!" "Long live violent revolution!" "Armed struggle, yes, yes!" "Down with the Yankees!" "Red salute to Naxalbari!" "Liberation is possible only by smashing the bourgeois state machinery!" "Mao Tse-tung zindabad! (Long live Mao Tse-tung)." A huge slogan "Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!" appeared in November on a wall near Calcutta's Dum-Dum International Airport. "Down with elections!" and other revolutionary slogans were painted all over the walls of a back street in Bombay, India's second biggest city, on the night of December 17. These actions by the Indian revolutionaries dealt the reactionaries heavy blows.

Peasants Mobilized to Seize Land and Resist Repression

The Indian revolutionaries have been working hard to integrate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution. They have paid great attention to going to the rural areas and mobilizing the peasants in the revolutionary struggle. Summing up their experience in rural work, the Indian revolutionaries underlined the importance of investigations in the rural areas and of applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in making class analysis. They pointed out that this is indispensable for "distinguishing between the enemy and ourselves," a question of primary importance to the revolution. An article on an investigation of two villages published by the Indian weekly *Deshabrati* (Patriot) cited numerous facts to expose the extremely cruel feudal exploitation in the countryside and refute the modern revisionists' fallacious claim that capitalism is dominant in India's countryside.

With the daily awakening of the Indian peasant masses, their armed struggle against brutal repression and their

struggle to seize land have risen in successive waves in various parts of India. The people of Naxalbari, West Bengal State, persevered in their struggle. In February, the peasants in Srikakulam, Andhra State, launched several attacks on the reactionary troops and police with home-made guns and bows and arrows. In July, 5000 peasants in the northern part of Uttar Pradesh seized back more than 20,000 acres of land from the landlords. In August, the peasants in Muzaffarpur district, Bihar State, heroically repulsed attacks by the police and armed bands of landlords and there exercised control over an area for three days.

In a recent proclamation, the reactionary Indian Government asked the state governments to strengthen secret service establishments and intensify suppressive measures against the revolutionary peasants. It also instructed these governments to send police as quickly as possible to the "trouble spots" and promised central government aid in case of necessity. Home Minister Chavan told parliament in great alarm on December 5 that the revolutionaries were very active not only in West Bengal, but also in eastern Uttar Pradesh, northern Bihar, Andhra and Kerala. He screamed that this "threat" cannot be underestimated and must be dealt with.

No matter how desperately the Indian reactionaries may try to wriggle out of their difficulties, the woe-stricken Indian peasants who number nearly 400 million are bound to rise up in struggle and get rid of their shackles. This is a historical trend that no reactionary force can stop.

Reactionary Regime Hit by Urban People

Throughout 1968, the struggles of the workers, students and teachers continued to hit reactionary rule in India. In September, 4 million government employees, including railway, postal and tele-communication workers, called a strike. Unprecedented in scale, it hit the Indian central

government with a force more direct and powerful than that of all previous government employee strikes. Student and teachers' struggles spread to several states by the end of 1968. Even newspaper workers, who seldom joined strikes before, stopped work for two months.

During the year the urban people's struggle was more and more clearly directed at U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionary Indian rulers. When McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defence and now President of the World Bank, arrived in India in November, Calcutta citizens staged a mammoth anti-U.S. demonstration. This so frightened McNamara that he left the international airport by helicopter. While a Soviet revisionist renegade clique delegation was holding talks with the reactionary Indian Government in New Delhi in September, revolutionary people put up many slogans in the capital and its suburbs, saying "Neo-colonialists, go home!" and denouncing the Soviet revisionists for plundering the Indian people. Indignant masses showed their bitter hatred for the reactionary regime by besieging and stoning its bosses Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Deputy Prime Minister Desai on several occasions.

City people in India have shown a courageous and undaunted spirit in their struggle. Revealing its cruel fascist features in suppressing the big government employee strike, the reactionary and inwardly weak Indian Government ordered police to open fire on the strikers, killing ten of them; 10,000 people were thrown into prison and over 10,000 people were discharged or suspended from their jobs. However, the employees and workers of the posts and tele-communications departments carried on in various forms their fight against the reactionary government. "Pen-down" strikes and "slow-down" struggles continued for more than a month after the big strike, and greatly embarrassed the Indian reactionaries.

Indian Reactionaries Doomed to Destruction

Under the blows of the people's struggle, Indian reactionary rule which is already beset with difficulties at home and abroad has become shakier than ever. In the words of an article which appeared in the November issue of the Indian revolutionary monthly *Liberation*, the Indian "ruling classes have been enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crisis than before. Their economy, an appendage to imperialist economy, is afflicted with a mortal disease from which there is no hope of recovery." "As the contradictions between the people and the exploiting classes grow sharper, the Congress Party, the main party of the Indian landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, can hardly deceive the people any longer with talk of economic planning or of building socialism. It is also a house divided against itself. A dog-fight is going on between different factions and parties of the ruling classes, which have linked their fate with that of the U.S. or British imperialists or of the Soviet neo-colonialists. Their fight for power and super-profits among themselves and their masters is making the political crisis even more sharp."

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "The Indian nation is a great nation, and the Indian people a good people." The Indian reactionaries and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism—are all paper tigers. The Indian people will certainly win complete emancipation through their own struggle!

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Confession in an Impasse

A Comment on Nixon's "Inaugural Address" and the Contemptible Applause by the Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique

By Commentator of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"

LYNDON Johnson has stepped down and Richard Nixon has taken over. This happened in the last year of the 1960s. On January 20, this jittery chieftain of U.S. imperialism delivered an "inaugural address" amid angry roars from the American people. No sooner had it been broadcast than it drew gloomy public comments in the capitalist world to the effect that the address made in a "cold grey" plaza was "very low keyed" and "vague," and the tone "more muted than bold," that it reflected "almost superhuman difficulties" and "near-insuperable difficulties" and was "a grim warning." In short, even in the capitalist world it was keenly felt that the "low-keyed" address reflected the difficulties of U.S. imperialism which finds itself at the end of its rope and is closer to its doom. It was a confession by the U.S. imperialists (and, in fact, by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and all the reactionaries as well) that they are beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and are in an impasse.

The U. S. monopoly capitalist class thrust Nixon into power with an eye to extricating the imperialist system from crisis. The event had been intended to be a joyful occasion. But it was run like a funeral. Secret service men and police ringed Nixon with protective cordons and even the platform from which he made his inaugural speech was screened off by bullet-proof glass. The Western press ridiculed Nixon's inaugural address as a "speech made from a glass cage." However, it serves as excellent

teaching material by negative example for the revolutionary people throughout the world. It enables us to see more clearly the very weak, paper-tiger nature of U.S. imperialism and helps us recognize the counter-revolutionary tactics that U.S. imperialism is going to adopt.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction." An outstanding feature of Nixon's address was that U.S. imperialism is relying more on the tactics of political deceit to cover up its military aggression. Nixon said: "In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words." His address was typical of precisely this "fever of words."

What are the "words" Nixon juggled with? First, "unity"; second, "peace" and third, "spirit."

Confronted by unprecedentedly fierce class contradictions at home, the rapidly mounting consciousness of class struggle of the American working class, students and other youth and the oppressed Black people, and the vigorously growing revolutionary mass movement of broad sections of the people, Nixon had to admit that U.S. imperialism is in "the valley of turmoil" (which should read: the angry torrents of the people's revolution). In mortal fear, he cried out in alarm: "We are torn by division." The "division" between the American people, who account for more than 95 per cent of the population, on the one hand and the monopoly capitalist class which oppresses and exploits them and its political system on the other is an excellent one. This "division" marks the people's awakening. It shows the big progress of the proletariat and broad sections of the oppressed people in the United States in their class struggle against U.S. imperialist ruling circles. It augurs a great proletarian revolution and will finally send U.S. imperialism into the "valley."

Nixon's fear of "division" reflects the alarm of the bourgeoisie at the great revolutionary forces of the people. What is to be done? Nixon shouts himself hoarse for "unity," for all to "go forward together" and for things "to be done by government and people together," and so on and so forth. How could there be "unity" between the masses of Black people and the racists, between the workers and the capitalists and between the broad masses and the reactionary ruling circles? Nixon wants to "go forward together" with the American people. Doesn't that mean "going forward" to the "valley of turmoil" which spells doom to imperialism? It is enough to make you laugh your head off to hear a wolf, while devouring a sheep, tell it: "Let's do something together!" This clumsy deception of class conciliation fully shows Nixon's feeling of impotence when confronted by "division," that is, by the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people, and, therefore, he could only utter nonsense to deceive people in a vain effort to lessen the wrath of the American people and give himself some consolation.

In the face of the surging angry torrents of revolution of the people throughout the world, Nixon helplessly said that the world is "falling into raucous discord" and "caught in war." He time and again used the word "peace," in phrases like "we are...wanting peace," on more than 10 occasions in all. There is indeed "raucous discord here on earth" and the world is not at all "peaceful," but the root cause of all this lies in imperialism headed by the United States plus modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, both of which having bought over a handful of running dogs, want to enslave and exploit the people the world over and to launch wars of aggression. There will be genuine peace in the world when U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys are overthrown and the system of exploitation of man by man is eliminated. Messrs. U.S. imperialists, are you that keen

to be "peacemaker"? Why don't you dump into the sea the over 80,000 million U.S. dollars of military expenditures used to slaughter the people? Why don't you withdraw your troops of aggression from the Taiwan Straits, from Vietnam, from Asia, Africa and Latin America and from all the places in the world you have occupied? Why don't you kick aside all your lackeys, big and small? If you do not do this, not only will there be "raucous discord here on earth," but there will be more big storms of proletarian revolution and people's revolution and more raging flames of revolutionary war until you and all other pests are swept away. Writing on the perspectives for the world situation this year, *U.S. News and World Report*, mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly capital, said: "No matter where the new U.S. president looks across the face of the earth, he will find troubles. Storm warnings are flying in country after country, in region upon region." It said that for the U.S. reactionaries, "few bright spots are to be seen on the global horizon." These statements reveal the background to Nixon's alarm and anxiety in our times.

Nixon alleged that "to a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit." Is your "crisis" just of the "spirit"? It is a general crisis in the political, economic, military and cultural fields as well as in the field of "the spirit." The fact is that American society is rotten to the core, its financial crisis grows sharper day by day, the economic situation continues to deteriorate, inflation is growing viciously, the international payments deficit is huge, the position of the U.S. dollar is shaky and an "overproduction" crisis is looming large. This series of danger signals is crystal clear to all. How can they be covered up by a couple of deceptive words like "abundant society"? Nixon's predecessor Johnson had to admit gloomily before he left office that the United States was in a grave financial and economic crisis and had met with "difficult" "challenge." Did this "challenge"

disappear in a flash immediately Nixon entered the White House? Nixon is trying to cover up U.S. imperialism's material and political difficulties with talk about "a crisis of the spirit." This ostrich trick is more stupid than that of the thief who posts a marker saying: "The missing treasure is not buried here." Nixon confessed that U.S. imperialism is "ragged in spirit." How true! The U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and all reactionaries in the world indeed are "ragged in spirit" to the extent of utter impotence. The great spiritual power of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought has awakened and is awakening hundreds of millions of the people all over the world to rise up in battle and to throw all the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes on to the garbage heap. Muttering incantations and asking God's blessing, Nixon racked his brains to dredge up such platitudes as "goodness," "kindness," "love," etc., only to evoke sneers from the people. How can his rambling block the victorious advance of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout the world!

As Nixon looks around the globe, he finds no kin to turn to, apart from the big and small reactionaries around the world and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique—number one accomplice of U.S. imperialism—on which he pins the greatest hope. In his inaugural address, Nixon took over the Soviet revisionists' slogans; he loudly preached "peaceful competition" with Soviet revisionism and pledged to "co-operate" with it and "go to the new worlds together," and so on and so forth. On its part, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pins its greatest hope on U.S. imperialism. This gang of renegades nauseatingly lavished the most shameless praise on the newly inaugurated Nixon, extending their "best wishes" and calling for "joint efforts...to solve the ripe international problems." As an inauguration gift and to curry favour, they lost no time in dishing up a "policy statement" on disarmament

the very day Nixon took office. In addition, they made special arrangements for a "noted" church head and "theoretical physicists" to "enplane for the United States" that day. The Soviet revisionist press went so far as to claim that Nixon "could allow American capitalism to finally get out of the most complicated crisis." This is the utmost servility and flattery!

"Fellow sufferers sympathize with one another." How true the saying is! The confession by Nixon of an impasse, in fact, also reveals the state of mind of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which is now at the end of its tether. The struggle of the Soviet working class and other labouring people against the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is growing day by day, and the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is like an ever-tightening noose it has put around its own neck. Things are getting tougher and tougher for the Soviet revisionist renegades. In these circumstances, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique lost no time in putting its hopes on support from the new U.S. imperialist chieftain in a futile effort to redivide the world through U.S.-Soviet collusion, so as to save itself from utter defeat. However, two drowning men tugging at each other only sink faster. The ludicrous performance by Soviet revisionism can only make the people of the world see more clearly its counter-revolutionary features as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, and accelerate its own downfall.

In 1947, when speaking of U.S. imperialism as outwardly strong but inwardly weak, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The strength of the United States of America is only superficial and transient. Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano." Chairman Mao also taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till

their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." Nixon's inaugural address, while reluctantly revealing U.S. imperialism's difficulties at home and abroad and its dire plight, indicates at the same time that U.S. imperialism intends to continue its death-bed struggle. Nixon did not hide the fact that he will continue to use the counter-revolutionary dual tactics both at home and abroad in a vain attempt to get U.S. imperialism out of its grave political and economic crisis and to carry out its counter-revolutionary global strategy. He made a lot of empty promises about "freedom" and "welfare" to the American people on the one hand, and on the other he blustered that "law" and "order" must be maintained with a view to suppressing the American people still more. While talking glibly about making "peace," he ranted: "We will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be." All this shows that Nixon is resolved to recklessly pursue the beaten path of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. The historical experience of class struggle tells us that whenever U.S. imperialism loudly sings about "peace," it is getting ready to take further steps for arms expansion and war preparations. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." We must heighten our revolutionary vigilance a hundredfold and carry the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction through to the end.

Up against the wall, Nixon had the cheek to speak about the future. It is curious that he even talked about the "beginning of the third millennium," and that "eight years from now" the United States would "celebrate its

200th anniversary as a nation." A man with one foot in the grave tries to console himself by dreaming of paradise. This is the delusion and the desperate struggle of a dying class. Our era is the great new era of world revolution, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Since its Declaration of Independence in 1776, the United States has gone through the process of rise and fall. During a history of nearly 200 years, U.S. imperialism has done all kinds of evil in the world and the U.S. dollar drips with the blood of the working people of the world. Now that U.S. imperialism is on its last legs, it can only rot day after day with "each generation worse than the one before." This determines that the plight of the Nixon administration can only be worse than his predecessor's, and the plight of Nixon's successor can only be even worse than his. No matter who is picked by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class to be "president" "eight years from now," his plight can only be still more gloomy than Nixon's. Such is the answer of reality. As to "the beginning of the third millennium," that is, the year 2001, it will be the brilliant festival of the worldwide victory of the proletarian revolution, the brilliant festival of the worldwide victory of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary people will use the prediction in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as their song of victory: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

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May Day 1969

(Resolution adopted at the historic May Day rally organized by communist revolutionaries in Calcutta.)

TODAY is May 1, 1969. On this day eighty-three years ago, in 1886, the courageous American workers fought a valiant struggle on the streets of Chicago. Their immediate demand was for an eight-hour day. But their struggle for this demand was only the first step in their struggle to attain the final goal. That is why the Second International resolved in 1889 at the congress in which it was founded, to observe every year this day, tinged as it was with the blood of the workers, as the day of uncompromising struggle against all forms of exploitation of man by man. It was resolved at that congress that, beginning from 1890, May 1 be observed by the workers and other toiling people of the world as the day of international solidarity. They would observe the day not in an ordinary manner, but as a day of struggle. That is why the main resolution of the congress asked the workers and other toiling people of the world to observe the day by participating in all possible forms of struggle against exploitation taking into consideration the concrete conditions and situation. That is why the American working class, while observing May 1 for the first time in 1890, resolutely declared that their fight would not end with securing an eight-hour day for themselves, but would continue with undiminished force till they were able to end forever all forms of exploitation of man by man. This declaration by the American working class in 1890 faithfully echoed the stirring call given out by Marx and Engels in their brilliant *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Since then all the genuine representatives of the world's working class took up the call and have been consistently and faithfully voicing the same on the international May Day. But there appeared renegades in the ranks of the working class also who tried to distort and pervert the militant call of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Bernstein and Kautsky were such renegades who appeared during the period of the the Second International. It was great Lenin who demolished the treachery of these renegades and translated into reality the great call of the *Manifesto*. The torch that the American working class, inspired by that call, lighted on May 1, 1886, began to blaze anew in the hands of Lenin and Stalin, and there emerged the socialist Soviet Union—the first bastion of world revolution. But with the death of Lenin and Stalin there emerged a new danger—the Soviet renegade revisionists, Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, successors to Bernstein and Kautsky, who were able to usurp power in the Soviet Union and temporarily to turn the first fortress of world revolution into a fortress of counter-revolution. But history, in the final analysis, upholds not the victory of counter-revolution but the victory of world revolution. So, while the counter-revolutionaries the world over were congratulating themselves for this temporary success and dreaming wild dreams of disrupting all the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world, it was the great genius of Chairman Mao who clearly, correctly and thoroughly saw through the game of the counter-revolutionaries with his ever vigilant far-sightedness keen as a mountain eagle's. The torch of revolution lighted by Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union is today blazing a thousand times more brilliantly in the hands of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It is Chairman Mao who has shown the tremendous revolutionary power of the peasants when they are led by the working class; it is he who has formulated and developed the earth-shaking theory of people's war; it is he who has shown the world-transforming revolutionary potential of the peasant masses and of the colonial people.

The torch of revolution of Lenin and Stalin now blazing in the hands of the great Mao Tse-tung is on the one hand reducing the revisionists from Khrushchov, Tito, Brezhnev

and Kosygin to Liu Shao-chi, Dange, Jyoti Basu and Namboodiripad into ashes, and, on the other, is helping the toiling people the world over who want liberation to become steeled. A new horizon is opening up in the radiant light of a new morning; the radiant red pinnacle of the new fortress of world revolution is now there for all to see. The red banner that is flying on top of it is tinged with the blood that the workers of Chicago shed, and on it are inscribed the great challenging words of the *Manifesto*, namely, "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

This great fortress of world revolution is strong as steel, and firm and impregnable as a mountain. This is because this fortress has been built by finally smashing the poisonous fangs of counter-revolution and by becoming steeled in the fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The glorious Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China is a great festival celebrating the victory in the founding of this fortress. This meeting, attended by hundreds of thousands of people, warmly and wholeheartedly sends its revolutionary greetings to the Ninth Congress directed by Chairman Mao, the great architect of the great fortress of world revolution. This meeting expresses its revolutionary resolve to vigilantly defend this great fortress of world revolution which has translated into reality the revolutionary dreams that the workers of Chicago dreamt in 1886. In India today, the vigilant defence of this fortress means, in terms of immediate and concrete practice, the successful completion of the people's democratic revolution. This meeting resolves to work to carry out this task.

Two years ago, in India, the Communist revolutionaries of the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, guided by the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and armed with his theory of people's war and revolutionary teachings, built up the Naxalbari struggle. The revisionist and neo-revisionist clique of Dange-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu joined

hands with U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Indian reactionaries to stamp out this spark of Naxalbari. However, their attempt ended in an ignominious failure. The sparks from Naxalbari have spread to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and to Srikakulam district in Andhra. The all-conquering revolutionary thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung is taking deep roots in the soil of India, and its study and practice are irresistibly spreading among the Indian people. The people's democratic revolution of India is advancing along the path of victory through the [peasants' armed struggle led by the working class. The Indian revolution, the victorious completion of which will guarantee and bring nearer the world revolution, has already begun.

We are observing this international May Day when the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China has come to a victorious close and tremendous victories have been achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, and when the Indian revolution has already begun its victorious advance. From this vast gathering we reiterate our revolutionary resolve to make supreme sacrifices in order to defend China, the giant fortress of world revolution, from the attacks of imperialism and all reactionaries; we reiterate our revolutionary resolve to carry forward the Indian revolution and bring nearer the liberation of mankind by achieving the liberation of the Indian people.

- * Long live the historic Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China !
- * Long live the unity of the workers of the world !
- * Long live the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung !
- * Long live the armed peasant war led by the working class !
- * Long live Naxalbari, Mushahari, Lakhimpur, Srikakulam !
- * Long live Socialist China, the impregnable fortress and ever vigilant defender of world revolution !
- * Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung ! A long, long life to him !

Historic May Day Rally In Calcutta

Comrades and friends !

I feel ashamed and embarrassed at the high regard that is shown to me. I am an ordinary cadre, a servant of the people, and my abilities are very limited.

The event that shook the whole of India nearly two years ago was the armed revolt of the peasants in Naxalbari. The reason why Naxalbari stirred the whole of India and the whole world is that it was a correct application of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the concrete conditions of India. It was our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, who pointed out the path along which Naxalbari developed; that is, it was under his leadership that the correct application of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the concrete conditions of our country was carried out for the first time and provided the basis on which the heroic peasants of Naxalbari rose in armed revolt against imperialism, feudalism, comprador capital and the old and new revisionists. This is how they advanced along the path blazed by the Chinese revolution and lighted the torch of Indian revolution, and thus proved in the concrete conditions of India that it is not men like Indira Gandhi, Morarji, Dange, Namboodiripad and Jyoti, but the people of India who are the really decisive force of history, it is the people who are the real heroes. So when people applaud me, I cannot but remember the faces of Comrades Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali, Appalaswamy Naidu, Rengim and Babulal Biswakarmakar¹, and realise how small I am compared to them !

1. Comrades Tribeni Kanu and Sobhan Ali were butchered by the police of the reactionary UF Government led by the renegade Jyoti Basu and Co. in 1967; Comrade Biswakarmakar of Naxalbari and Comrades Naidu and Rengim of Srikakulam were killed during guerrilla actions in 1968 and 1969 respectively.

It is a matter of great joy for me today that I have been able to come back again among the people, and have got the opportunity to serve the people once more. How has it been possible? It is not that Jyoti Basu and Harekrishna Konar and company are kind that this has become possible. Certainly not. It is not a matter of any gracious act of some ministers. This has become possible because of the law of history. Immediately after my arrest our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar told the newspaper correspondents that Kanu would come back before long. What Charuda² said at that time was not a matter of fortune-telling. We, Communists, judge the national and international situation on the basis of an analysis of national and international correlation of forces. Today, the national and international situation has reached a stage when the exploiting and reactionary ruling classes are unable to do tomorrow a thing that today they do or think of doing: things are changing rapidly every moment. This is because imperialism and revisionism have become weaker than ever before. No matter how frenziedly U.S. imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world, and its No. 1 accomplice, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique may conspire to dominate the world, they are becoming weaker and they are getting more and more exposed with every passing day, and the people of the world as well as the people of their own countries have forced U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique into a position, where, like scurrying rats driven out of their holes into the open street, they are being chased by the people to be beaten to death. There is hardly a place in the world where imperialism and revisionism can find a stable foothold. Even in India, which they cherished like a veritable gold mine, the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought has begun flying victoriously. In such a situation

2. "da" = elder brother (dada). Signifies warm affection, familiarity and respect when persons, not related, are addressed like this.

they cannot but try desperately to cling to their positions in India. While it is never possible for American and Soviet soldiers to keep a vast country like India subjugated under their heels, the people of India have already kicked out the Congress Party which had hitherto served them, and armed revolution has spread like wild forest-fire in India. So, they had to find out new agents who could be made use of for creating illusions in people's mind and install them in the place vacated by the old, worn-out and dead Congress Party. This is why the United Front government, which, in 1967, gave orders to shoot us at sight, had to release us unconditionally now in 1969. But however much they may try to create illusions, the circumstances are forcing them to expose themselves. Sri Promode Dasgupta³, who has chosen to deck himself out with the rotten rags of the notorious Atulya Ghosh⁴, thought of brushing up his image a little and ventured to talk of "bloody revolution." But it turned out that the reactionary rulers are in no mood even to allow the luxury of uttering revolutionary bombasts. The house of cards of the reactionaries is in such a pitiable condition that even a little breathing can cause it to collapse, not to speak of a storm. So, they are afraid even to breathe heavily. So, they have compelled Promode Dasgupta to swallow his bombasts. The irony of history is such that a foremost 'Marxist' pundit of the CPM, Namboodiripad, has to adopt the notorious precedence created by the British imperialists and indict Kumari Ajitha⁵ and others for trying to organize armed revolution guided by the thought of Chairman Mao!

3. Belongs to the revisionist leading clique of CPM: boss of West Bengal neo-revisionist clique.

4. Belongs to the reactionary leading clique of the Congress party; erstwhile boss of Congress reactionaries in West Bengal.

5. Played a leading role in the armed attacks on Police Stations in Kerala in November last year. Arrested, tortured and imprisoned by the reactionary UF Government of Kerala, led by the notorious revisionist renegade Namboodiripad.

And, just think, it is Dange, the arch revisionist and renegade and servile lackey of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, who comes forward and requests Namboodiripad to withdraw those charges! If Dange is so solicitous about Namboodiripad, it is because Namboodiripad is too reckless in dealing with the revolutionaries.

In the revolutionary situation which prevails in India today, class struggle has intensified to such a degree that the revisionists are finding it impossible to retain their deceptive mask—and yet, retain it they must! The revisionists and neo-revisionists, in their eagerness to serve their masters well have landed themselves in a fix, and do not know how to get out of it!

The other day the Police Minister Jyoti Basu told a conference of the top officials of West Bengal that his police would not intervene in struggles which are harmless, namely, hunger-strike, deputation etc., but, would intervene and suppress ruthlessly other struggles—and let it be noted, not merely struggles of the Naxalbari type, but all other struggles. The self-styled leader of the peasant movement, Harekrishna Konar, who serves the interests of the feudal landlords, in an attempt to mollify the impact of Basu's words, said that the problem of land was the most complicated problem and something other than taking police action has to be done about it. What Harekrishna Babu⁶ has done for the peasants has been enough to earn him universal notoriety. After all these years he has now discovered that the laws made by the Congress government do, indeed, contain quite a few good things which make it possible for them—that is, Harekrishna Babu and other do-gooders like him, who now adorn the ministerial *guddi* vacated by Prafulla Sen and company—to do some good to the peasants by liberally certifying seasoned old-time bureaucrats as "honest." The utterly shameless manner in which Harekrishna Konar and

6. "Babu" = mister, mostly used in north and north-east India.

company are serving the jotedars beats even the record of the notorious Congress ministers. Yet, as is to be noted, Jyoti Basu, the man who controls and orders about the police force and organizes police actions, chose to ignore even the advice of the landlords' man, Harekrishna Konar.

Then there are the Durgapur and Cossipore incidents.⁷ What a great noise did these leaders of the 'United Front' government make over these incidents and over the issue of the Central Reserve Police (CRP). All this they did for the sole purpose of deceiving the people. How else are we to explain the fact that they have chosen to remain silent over the presence of CRP units like the Gujrat Fourth Battalion, the Malabar Special Police etc. at Kadamtala, which is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Siliguri town in the Naxalbari area? Moreover, did not Jyoti Basu go to New Delhi and assure Chavan that he (Basu) would get the work of the CRP done by his own police force?

What happened during the one-day strike of the employees of the Reserve Bank (on 30th April—Ed.)? The employees assured in advance that they would remain peaceful and requested the UF government not to send police there. But Jyoti Basu did send his police because the Bank's authorities had asked for them.

Truly, the reactionaries the world over have grown so weak that they have to change their policy every other day. No matter how hard they try to deceive the people, they are very soon compelled by the prevailing revolu-

7. The central reserve police (CRP) units, controlled by the central government, shot down 3 workers and wounded many others in Durgapur on March 24. On April 8, four workers of the Gun and Shell factory at Cossipore (a suburb of Calcutta) were shot down by security force men in cold blood. To fool the people, Jyoti Basu and Co. talked loudly of securing withdrawal of CRP from West Bengal, but, within a few days, conferred with Congress reactionaries of the central government and agreed to the continued presence of CRP in the State.

tionary situation to attack the people, and with this, it becomes impossible for them to keep up their pretence any longer.

The great Communist Party of China has declared that by the year 2001, that is, only 31 years from now, the people of the whole world will be liberated from all kinds of exploitation of man by man and will celebrate the worldwide victory of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is no mere declaration, it is a historic directive. Through this the great Communist Party of China points out to the communists of the whole world how excellent the world situation is for making revolution, and, at the same time, directs all of them to march forward boldly. Also, the historic responsibility of carrying forward the Indian revolution has fallen on our shoulders.

Internationally and nationally, the reactionaries have grown so weak that they crumble wherever we hit them. In appearance they are strong but, in reality, they are only giants made of clay, they are truly paper tigers. They themselves have no reliance on their own strength; rather, it is we, who, unable to get rid of our old ideas, try to paint them in awe-inspiring colour and imagine them to be quite powerful. It can be quite confidently said that once we dare boldly to build up peasants' armed struggle in the rural areas with the poor peasants as the leader, such struggle is certain to develop more and more. In this new era, the characteristic feature of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India is that the peasants' armed struggle is the only main form of struggle which can rouse and unite all the revolutionary masses, and quicken the process of India's liberation. The reason why such struggles have not yet become widespread in all parts of the country is not that the reactionaries are very strong or that the revisionists still have a considerable potential for deceiving the people; the reason is, we have been rather late in understanding what particular task has to be

emphasized at a given moment, and old conservative ways of thinking are obstructing us at every step and preventing us from marching forward resolutely.

It is perfectly true that we cannot correctly lead a revolution forward unless there is a revolutionary party. Our great teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us that there must be a revolutionary party, because the world is full of enemies who exploit and oppress the people. The people want to overthrow their exploitation and oppression. So, Chairman Mao teaches us that in the era of capitalism and imperialism there must be a revolutionary party like the Communist Party, and without such a party it is impossible for the people to overthrow the exploitation and oppression of their enemies.

He further teaches us that such a party must be able to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought in the given conditions of the country, able to develop itself by using the method of criticism and self-criticism to correct its mistakes, and be intimately linked with the masses. Only such a Communist Party can lead the people for overthrowing the exploiting classes and their running dogs.

In India there never has been such a party. The agents of imperialism, feudalism and comprador capital have hitherto prevented the Communist Party from adopting a correct line. The Indian people have repeatedly risen up in revolt and the Indian peasants have repeatedly carried on valiant armed struggles against imperialism and feudalism. But all this heroism and sacrifice ended in failure, not because imperialism and its running dog Congress government could suppress the people with bullets and lathis; the reason for this failure lies in the fact that the old and new revisionist leading clique in the communist movement stabbed the people's movements in the back. From the very beginning, these revisionists, acting as faithful lackeys of imperialism, feudalism and comprador

capital, compounded revisionism with native Gandhism and consistently and cynically betrayed the country and the Indian people in their frantic effort to keep the mass struggles securely confined within the limits of parliamentary democracy. This is why the cause for which the heroic workers of the Punnapra-Vayalar struggle of 1946-47 shed their blood has remained unfulfilled to this day, this is how the heroic struggle of Telangana peasants (1946-51) was smothered by these renegades. Whenever the party ranks revolted against these treacherous actions this revisionist leading clique repeatedly managed to fool the ranks by substituting a 'new' individual from among their own clique for the discredited one and then frantically resumed once more, through this 'new' leadership, their old game of imprisoning the mass struggles within the musty dungeon of electioneering and parliamentary democracy. But how can a few flies ever shut out the blazing brightness of the sun? Similarly, it is not possible for a few traitorous renegades to stop the working of the inexorable laws of history. And so, we find that all the trickery and opposition of this traitorous leading clique of the communist movement could not prevent the victorious onward march of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought in India. Thus, the conditions for the emergence of a genuine Communist Party in India were created.

Of course, it has not been easy, nor smooth. When, in 1965, our respected leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar rebelled against the neo-revisionist leading clique of Sundarayya, Ranadive, Namboodiripad, Promode, Jyoti and company and called upon the revolutionaries in the CPM to build peasants' armed struggle, he was subjected to the vilest slanders. People like Promode Babu, Harekrishna Babu raved that he was a mad man, a man who was mentally sick, and in open statements termed him a police agent and created a fascist atmosphere inside the party with a view to preventing comrades from knowing

what Comrade Charu Mazumdar had written and from meeting Charuda. But what has been the result? Were these lackeys of reaction able to smother the revolutionary clarion call of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought? No, they couldn't. On the contrary, the call given out by Comrade Charu Mazumdar created a stir throughout India. The analysis made by Comrade Charu Mazumdar inspired us, the revolutionaries of Darjeeling district. When we went among the peasant masses in the Terai region with a view to applying through concrete practice the great teaching of Chairman Mao: "Learn warfare through warfare," we saw how eagerly the peasant masses accepted our views and how an idea was transformed into a material force—and thus was created Naxalbari—the Ching Kang Mountain of India! Having failed in their attempt to prevent the revolutionary application of Marxism-Leninism and seeing that the parliamentary path, which they had been so frantically peddling, was going completely bankrupt, the traitorous revisionist clique adopted the method of the notorious Congress reactionaries and madly tried to drown the Naxalbari struggle in blood. Cloaked as communists, this traitorous bunch of revisionists shot down 10 peasant women (altogether 18 peasants—men, women and children—were killed and hundreds were arrested, tortured and persecuted by the UF government in 1967—Ed.) In their mad attempt to smother the ringing call of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they even drowned the 13-year old son of a peasant in a well by tying a rope round his neck. But they failed all the same. Inspired by the success of the correct application of Mao Tse-tung's thought in India, the Communist revolutionaries all over the country, led by our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, formed the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) and, thus, laid the basis for building a genuine Communist Party in India. It is under

the leadership of the Co-ordination Committee that peasants' armed struggle has been organized in Srikakulam in Andhra, Lakhimpur Kheri in Uttar Pradesh, Mushahari in Bihar, Koraput in Orissa, that the Communist revolutionaries of Assam, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala, Punjab, Haryana, Tamilnad and Kashmir have rallied under the banner of revolution and boldly established throughout India the path of seizing power through armed struggle as opposed to the rotten and stinking parliamentary path peddled by the revisionists—and, were able to present before the international communist movement the decision that in the post-Second World War period boycott of parliamentary elections has become a matter of strategy.

The task before the AICCCR was to lay the basis for building a genuine Communist Party. That task has been successfully completed.

With great pride and boundless joy I wish to announce today at this meeting that we have formed a genuine Communist Party—the **Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)**. (*Prolonged and tumultuous cheers. Slogans like "Long live the CPI (M-L)!", "Long live revolution!" rend the sky.*) Our Party was formed on a memorable day of the international communist movement—the 100th birthday of the great Lenin. When our Party was born, the historic Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China was in session under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. I feel proud that the task of making this historic announcement has been given to me. I firmly believe that the great Indian people will warmly welcome this event, will realise the formation of this Party as a historic step forward for the Indian revolution and will come forward to raise the struggle to a higher stage under the leadership of the Party. On the other hand, I am also convinced that the announcement of the formation of the Party will strike terrible fear in the hearts of all the enemies of the people—open or

disguised. [Within a week of the announcement, Chavan, the Home Minister of the central government, branded the Party as "anti-national" and its formation "dangerous." He has proposed to consult all other political parties in suppressing the Party and the revolutionary movement.—Ed.]

The revolutionary situation in our country is very mature and the people are in a revolutionary mood, and lastly, our people have boundless loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao and the great Communist Party of China. Taking advantage of all these factors, various trends of petty bourgeois revolutionism have appeared as represented by individuals and groups. Whatever they may do or not, one thing is clear: by refusing to recognize the authority of the revolutionary party they are flouting the chief condition for making revolution. Thus they are, willingly or unwillingly, creating obstacles in the way of carrying forward the revolutionary struggle. This is a counter-revolutionary trend within the revolutionary movement. We must struggle against this trend and rally all genuine revolutionaries under the banner of our Party.

Comrades and friends!

A high tide of revolution is sweeping through the whole world. The Vietnam people's armed struggle is achieving one victory after another. The people of the whole world are realising through bitter sacrifice and bloodshed the great truth of Chairman Mao's words: "*Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.*" The raging flames of people's armed struggles are sweeping through the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggles of workers, students and youth are surging forward in the capitalist countries of Europe and North America. In the USA itself, the struggles of students and workers are on the upswing. In the Soviet Union, a revolutionary party has been formed and Soviet workers and people are rising up in struggle

against the Soviet social-imperialist clique. Students and youth are already rising up in revolt against the revisionist-capitalist rule in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era and the great teacher and leader, is at the helm of the world revolution which is being led by the great Communist Party of China. A heavy responsibility rests on us. The whole world is looking towards India with great expectation. We can achieve success only if we resolutely march forward ready to make every sacrifice in order to serve the people. The Chairman has said: "Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve, which dares to make sun and moon shine in the new sky." We will certainly be able to make a new sun and a new moon shine in the sky of our great motherland—India. It is certain that our great people of India, led by the newly-formed Communist Party, will march forward in unison with the people of all other countries and build a free, happy and prosperous India free from exploitation of man by man. The Chairman has said that he who defies death and remains undaunted in face of a thousand difficulties can make an emperor dismount. I am firmly convinced that we shall be able to achieve success.

The all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung has already struck firm roots into the soil of India, people's revolutionary struggles are bursting forth everywhere—from Kashmir in the north to Kumarika (Cape Comorin-Ed.) in the south, and from Assam in the east to Maharashtra in the west—and the sparks of Naxalbari are spreading far and wide. In such a situation we may justifiably hope that our cherished revolutionary dream will come true—the dream that India, our great motherland, will liberate herself by sending all the reactionaries to their graves. Shouldn't the revolutionaries dream? Yes, they should. As the Chairman has said: "**In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage.**" This is what is meant by dreaming revolutionary dreams. It is not enough for us to have such dreams ourselves,

we must encourage the people also to dream of a bright future. How was it possible for our heroic comrades like Tribeni Kanu, Sobhan Ali, Babulal Biswakarmakar, Barka Majhi, Naidu and Rengim to raise the banner of revolution higher still by shedding their own blood and to sacrifice their lives displaying total unconcern for their own selves? This was possible only because they had dreams—revolutionary dreams, dreams of liberating India and the people from exploitation and oppression.

I have spoken at length and there may well be some errors in what I have said. This is possible and natural because I have not yet been able to assimilate well the thought of Mao Tse-tung. I am sure you will help me rectify my mistakes by making criticism of my errors.

- * Inquilab Zindabad! (Long live revolution!)
- * Long live India's People's Democratic Revolution!
- * Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!
- * Long live the great Communist Party of China!
- * Long live Chairman Mao—the great leader of the world's people!

NOTES

(Continued from page 32)

been trying to drown the struggle in blood and many people have been shot dead by the police. But Telangana refuses to be cowed by brutal attacks by the Government. The storm is now raging throughout Telangana.

The Andhra State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries—the Marxist-Leninists—have supported the just struggle of the Telangana people and issued a call to them to intensify their struggle against feudalism and the rule of the landlords and the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, overthrow them and establish their own People's State in Telangana. Today, almost all the parties, including the revisionists and neo-revisionists, are trying hard to maintain the status quo—i.e., the class rule of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie—while the reactionary Congress leaders of Telangana like Nukala Rama Chandra

Reddy and Chenna Reddy are feverishly trying to direct the struggle along a wrong channel so that the Telangana landlords may have a bigger share of the loot. Talks and negotiations are going on intermittently at Delhi to solve the problem of Telangana. These are only conspiracies hatched in secret by the enemies of the people to suppress the just struggle and win a fresh lease of life for the exploiting classes.

No, the people of Telangana will not allow their fate to be decided at Delhi by their sworn enemies—the representatives of landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists. They are taking to the path of armed struggle to overthrow the rule of the landlords and other exploiting classes and establish their own state from which poverty, hunger and unemployment, exploitation and oppression, will be banished. It is only by following the example set by themselves in the forties and the example now being set by the Srikakulam peasantry that the peasants and other toiling people of Telangana can win freedom from poverty and oppression. Only through armed struggle can the people of Telangana liberate themselves once again from the feudal fetters that bind them. We are sure that in this great and glorious struggle the students, employees and other sections of the intelligentsia will unite with the working class and the peasantry, for that way alone lies their own salvation.

A great future awaits Telangana, nay, the whole of India. A mighty struggle, of which the armed struggle of the heroic Naxalbari peasantry was the prelude, is now about to sweep this country. The rule of the decadent feudal class and comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie is rotten to the core. It is certain that the brave people of Telangana will soon be in the van of that great struggle that will send these classes to their graves.

A HISTORIC DAY

The "CPI (M)" hoodlums were in action again in Calcutta on May Day. The Calcutta District Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries had announced that they would hold a rally on the Monument Maidan to observe

May Day. It was later announced that the rally would be addressed by Comrade Kanu Sanyal, one of the leaders of the heroic Naxalbari uprising. The very announcement struck fear in the hearts of the sham Marxists who declare day in and day out that the communist revolutionaries have been completely isolated and are no force to reckon with. The uneasiness of the ruling classes was reflected in the policy of the reactionary bourgeois press to keep their readers uninformed as far as possible about this rally. *The Statesman*, the organ of the foreign monopolies and their big Indian compradors, maintained scrupulous silence over it.

On the other hand, to scare people away, rumours were carefully circulated by the "Marxist" impostors that there would be clashes on the day between their supporters and the communist revolutionaries. Another meeting—on the Brigade Parade Ground—was convened for the day by various organisations which are led by all the ruling parties (excepting the Congress) from the "CPI(M)" to the PSP.

On the afternoon of the May Day, long processions wended their way through the Calcutta streets to the Maidan with large portraits of Chairman Mao in front. The sky was rent with the slogans: "Long live Mao Tse-tung," "Long live Naxalbari-Srikakulam-Lakhimpur-Mushahari," "Reject Parliamentarism, Follow the Naxalbari Path", "Long Live the Great CPC", "Long Live the Ninth National Congress of the CPC", "Down, Down with Revisionism", "Release Political Prisoners," "Scrap P.D. Act" etc. The Maidan turned into a sea of humanity quite some time before 5 P.M., when the meeting was due to begin.

Then, about 4.30 P.M., the attack from the neo-revisionist scum, as anticipated, came. They first attacked one of our processions coming from the south on the Chowringhee close to the venue of our rally. Then the hoodlums armed with lathis, iron rods, crackers and bombs advanced towards the Maidan to create terror there and disrupt our rally. There was perfect co-ordination between these hoodlums' plan and the plan of Jyoti Basu's police. The police fired numerous tear gas shells, all aimed at our

comrades who fought heroically to defend the rally. In its issue of May 3, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported: "...The police also fired several rounds of tear gas shells, all directed towards the Naxalites..... Supporters of the Brigade Parade Ground rally were seen breaking the loudspeakers installed at the Naxalites' meeting-ground at the foot of the Monument." It is reported that even plainclothes policemen took part in this attack on the communist revolutionaries. The tear gas shells were flung by the police to places quite close to the rostrum itself with the deliberate purpose of breaking up the gathering.

The plan of the counter-revolutionaries was foiled. It was foiled by the great courage displayed by our young militant comrades who, defying all risks to their lives, resolutely fought against the united hordes of "CPI(M)" hoodlums and police and gave a good account of themselves. Ignoring the injuries our young comrades suffered, they, full of intense devotion to the revolutionary cause and burning hatred for the counter-revolutionaries, taught them quite a good lesson and created panic among them. The courage and spirit of defiance of our comrades contrasted sharply with the cowardice of the counter-revolutionaries who advanced only under the protection afforded by the police. The comrades on the rostrum also played a courageous part. Not for a moment did they leave the rostrum even when tear gas shells were fired quite close to them. Not for a moment did the loudspeakers stop giving out revolutionary slogans and directions—slogans and directions that inspired our young comrades to beat back fascist hordes. The vast gathering was forced by the numerous tear gas shells to move away for a few minutes but it returned immediately when Comrade Kanu Sanyal came and stood on the rostrum. Comrade Kanu Sanyal received a tumultuous ovation. The meeting started in perfect calm with Comrade Asit Sen as president a few minutes after 5-30 P.M. In complete silence and with rapt attention the vast meeting heard Comrade Kanu Sanyal and other speakers. There was not a trace of panic or fear among the audience. It was a meeting unique of its kind—both inspired and inspiring.

On the other hand, the meeting of the neo-revisionists and their partners in crime presented a scene of confusion, disorder and panic. Jyoti Basu, that accomplished lackey

of foreign monopolies and Indian big bourgeoisie could not finish his speech and a resolution could not be moved on account of disturbances at the meeting. This scab was advising his followers to return home in groups, instead of singly, for fear of 'Naxalite' attacks. At the same breath this puny Hitlerite told his audience that though his government could crush the 'Naxalites' within a day (sic), he would leave the job to be accomplished by his 'people'. Who are this neo-revisionist chieftain's 'people'? By this time, the people of Calcutta and West Bengal know who they are. They are mostly rowdies and cutthroats who are chiefly interested in stealing cash, purses, wristwatches etc. and making murderous attacks on people with daggers and bombs, as they did on March 13 and 14 and on other days. They are good at robbing women of their jewellery and garments and at making physical assaults on them, as they did on April 6 at and near the Rabindra Sarovar Stadium. The people, the revolutionary people, of Calcutta and West Bengal, are learning how to tackle the neo-revisionist chieftain's 'people'—the menace presented by the neo-fascists.

At our rally the historic announcement was made by Comrade Kanu Sanyal that the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) destined to lead the Indian revolution to victory, had been formed on Great Lenin's birth-centenary. The announcement was greeted by the entire audience with spontaneous outbursts of great joy and enthusiasm. It sent a thrill of hope through the vast gathering of comrades and friends.

May Day 1969 came as a historic day. It was against the appropriate background of an intense fight against the neo-revisionist scum, it was only by defeating their vicious plot, that the formation of the truly revolutionary Party of the working class could be announced before the people. The message of May Day 1969 is one of both struggle and hope. It foreshadowed the bitter, protracted struggle that the Marxist-Leninist Party will have to wage against both the ruling classes and their lackeys—the revisionists of all hues. It also assured the Marxist-Leninists that a resolute, heroic struggle against all dark forces of reaction is destined to win.

THE CENTRAL RESERVE POLICE IN WEST BENGAL

For quite a long time the sham Marxists have been carefully cultivating the art of lying. The role they are playing demands this of them. It is a difficult role. They must serve the exploiting classes while mouthing claims that they are defenders of the interests of the exploited, toiling people. Unfortunately for them, the present economic and political crisis—an unprecedented one—hardly allows them to keep their mask on.

On March 24, a peaceful procession of members of the Security force, who were demanding, among other things, the reinstatement in service of 400 retrenched colleagues, was fired upon by the Central Reserve Police in the Durgapur Steel Plant area. Several persons were killed in the firing and more than sixty were wounded. The Durgapur Steel workers, enraged by this murder, fought bravely against the armed police for hours. The 'Marxist' trade union bosses tried all the time to stab the workers in the back: their only object was to stop the fight and save the high officials of the plant, responsible for the cold-blooded murder, from the wrath of the workers. Ultimately, Jyoti Basu's police came to the rescue of those officials. The police made a pretence of 'arresting' them and drove them away to safe places.

To escape all the responsibility for the murder, the Police Minister Jyoti Basu shrieked out from Calcutta that he had been unaware of the presence of the CRP at Durgapur and that he had issued orders a week earlier for their removal from West Bengal. That all this was a lie was evident. Central Home Minister Chavan insisted on the right of the Central Government to station the CRP anywhere they pleased. It was also known that the CRP units were also stationed at Farakka in West Bengal. Jyoti Basu and the 'CPI (M)' indulged in mock heroics about confrontation with the Centre on this issue. Later, Jyoti Basu and the U.F. Government did not dispute Chavan's right to send the CRP units to the State but only wished that the Central Government might consult them before posting them within the State. This was exactly

the same stand as Namboodiripad's when CRP units were deployed in Kerala on the eve of the strike of the Central Government employees in September last year. Jyoti Basu and Ajoy Mukherjee repeatedly declared that they were interested in harmonious relations with the Centre, not in any confrontation. All that bluster about confrontation with the Centre proved to be a mere bluff intended to deceive gullible people.

Deshabrati rightly pointed out that the U. F. and the 'CPI(M)' were not as innocent as they pretended to be. It was the previous U.F. government that had brought the CRP to the Naxalbari area to attack the heroic peasantry. It also pointed out that thousands of CRP men are still posted in and around Naxalbari. This was denied by an official spokesman of Jyoti Basu, the Police Minister. At the vast May Day rally Comrade Kanu Sanyal accused Jyoti Basu and the U.F. Government of trying deliberately to suppress the fact that the CRP units like the Gujrat Fourth Battalion and the Malabar Special Reserve Police, comprising several thousands of armed policemen, had built up permanent quarters and were staying at Kadam-tala, three and half miles from Siliguri.

Next day, in answer to a reporter's query, that arch-renege, Jyoti Basu, said that to his knowledge there was no posting of CRP unit anywhere except in Farakka [another lie, for CRP units have not been removed from Durgapur]. Then he mockingly added: "All guns are the same. Do they think that CRP guns are more powerful?" (see *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 3, 1969)

This is exactly what we are telling the people. We are telling the people that there is absolutely no difference between the guns of the U.F. government and those of the Congress government at the centre, that all these guns are aimed at the hearts of the workers, peasants and other toiling people. We are telling the people that there is no essential difference between one set of lackeys and another set, between the lackeys of the U.F. or 'CPI(M)' variety and the lackeys of the Congress brand, that both are inveterate enemies of the working people. And the people are realizing this truth from their own experience.

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