

II

VOL. 2

SEPTEMBER, 1969

Liberation

FIGHT REVISIONISM

PARTY'S CALL TO STUDENTS AND YOUTH

SRIKAKULAM—GOING THE WAY PREDICTED
BY COM. CHARU MAZUMDAR

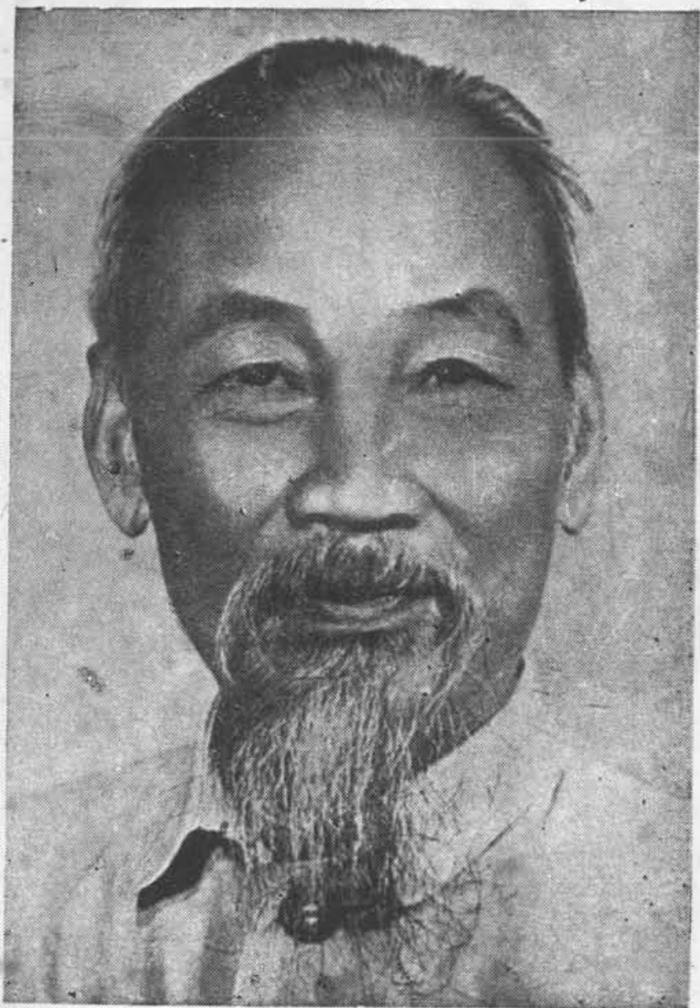
On The Passing Away Of PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

RESOLUTION OF CPI (M-L)

INDIA—SPECIMEN OF
SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALIST PLUNDER

COMMENTS ON STANISLAVSKY'S "SYSTEM"

CRISIS WITHIN RULING CLASSES



LATE PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

*Founder of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and great
leader of the Vietnamese people, who passed away
on September 3, 1969 at 9.47 A. M.*

CPI(M-L) Deeply Mourns the Death Of President Ho Chi Minh

Following is the message of condolence sent by the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) to the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in New Delhi at the sudden death of
PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH :

WE are shocked at the news of the death of Comrade HO CHI MINH. Vietnam is the spearhead of struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation all the world over and has instilled in the oppressed masses of the world new confidence and hope of defeating the imperialist powers, however small a country may be, with the ever-conquering Thought of Mao and people's war. Vietnam is passing through a critical period when U.S. imperialists with the help of Soviet social-imperialists are practising all sorts of deception—peace-talks, withdrawal of armed forces etc.—in order to confuse the world and maintain the occupation of South Vietnam.

President HO CHI MINH's bold call on the last Vietnam Day "to carry on and step up the resistance war with firm resolve to fight and win, till the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops and till the total collapse of the puppet army and administration" is not only a beacon-light to the Vietnamese people but also inspires revolutionary fighters the world over.

Comrade HO CHI MINH's death is a great blow not only to the Vietnamese people but to the international proletariat as well. We pledge ourselves to remain a faithful ally and friend of the Vietnamese people in these days of their grave trials.

Long live the heroic fighters of Vietnam !

Down with U.S. imperialism !

Down with Soviet social-imperialism !

**Central Organizing Committee,
Communist Party of India
(Marxist-Leninist)**

September 4, 1969

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CPI(M-L) Deeply Mourns the Death of President Ho Chi Minh

✓ On The Passing Away Of President Ho Chi Minh

THE Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) adopted a resolution on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh. The full text of the resolution is as follows :

The death of President Ho Chi Minh has come as a great blow to the world-wide struggle against U.S. imperialism. Vietnam today is the spearhead of the world-wide struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation and it was President Ho Chi Minh who made important contributions to people's war and created the present fighting Vietnam. He established in the specific and concrete conditions of Vietnam the truth of Chairman Mao's thesis that any nation, big or small, can defeat the strongest imperialist state in the world by relying on the masses and by persisting in people's war. The life of President Ho Chi Minh as he lived it as well as the people's war personally led by him will ever remain a source of inspiration to those who are fighting for liberation all the world over. His clarion call to persist in the resistance war until the last U. S. aggressor is driven out of Vietnam, which he gave before and during the hoax of peace talks organized by the Soviet revisionists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, will remain a guiding light for all the revolutionaries and the revolutionary people of the whole world who are fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national liberation.

Today, it is particularly necessary to remember what he said in his appeal issued on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements on

From Liberation, Vol. II, No. 11 (September 1969).

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Vietnam (July 20) only a few weeks before his death. He said in the concluding part of his appeal : "The defeat of the U.S. imperialists is already evident ; still they have not given up their evil design of clinging to the southern part of our country. Our armed forces and people throughout the country, millions as one man, upholding revolutionary heroism, and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, are determined to carry on and step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win, till the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops and till the total collapse of the puppet army and administration, in order to liberate the south, defend the north and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country." Undoubtedly, these words express the resolve of the 31 million Vietnamese people, and we know for certain that no power in the world, however cruel and crafty, can divert them from their resolve.

Death overtook President Ho Chi Minh at a time when the victory of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression is in sight. Death overtook President Ho Chi Minh, a great friend and comrade-in-arms of the great Chinese people, at a time when socialist China has emerged unprecedentedly powerful through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. President Ho's death occurred at a time when modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre, in collaboration with U.S. imperialism, is frantically making war preparations against socialist China, the centre of world revolution and the hope of all the oppressed people the world over. So, the death of President Ho Chi Minh at this crucial juncture has put the heroic Vietnamese people to a terrible test. But we are firmly convinced that they will surely be able to carry out the task laid down before them by their great leader before his death and to carry forward gloriously, as befits Vietnam, the great heritage which he has left behind him.

We, the Indian revolutionaries, are overwhelmed with grief at the death of President Ho Chi Minh, a great friend of the Indian people. We, the Indian revolutionaries, take this opportunity to express our full support to our heroic Vietnamese brothers in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation.

India has today embarked on the path of armed revolution. We know we can help our heroic Vietnamese brothers best and most effectively only here in India by developing and stepping up the revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian people against our common enemy. Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Indian people have already taken this path.

Party's Call To The Youth And Students

—Charu Mazumdar

IN India, which has been under imperialist rule and subjected to imperialist exploitation and oppression for two hundred years, the students and the educated youth represent the educated community. Imperialist exploitation has condemned the masses of our people to illiteracy and ignorance. Therefore, it is essential that this educated community takes part in the revolutionary movement. The youth and students are not only educated, they have also great enthusiasm and capacity to make sacrifices, and the ability to adjust themselves to every kind of circumstance. That is why it is only they who, arming themselves with revolutionary politics, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought, can spread this Thought among the broad masses of our people, and in particular, among the poor and landless peasants, and can help establish revolutionary base areas in the villages of India by integrating themselves with the masses of poor and landless peasants. They are educated; that is why they have to shoulder the major part of the responsibility of carrying Mao Tsetung Thought to the uneducated masses of our country.

At every stage of India's struggle for national freedom, the youth and students of India made enormous sacrifices, carried the call of freedom to the villages, resisted police repression, and discontinued their study and voluntarily destroyed the prospects of building a career

Translated from the original Bengali text as appeared in the weekly DESHABRATI of August 21, 1969.

for themselves in order to become whole-time political workers. There can be no doubt that, today, in the great new era that has begun, when imperialism is heading towards total collapse, when the flames of revolutionary struggle are raging in various countries of the world and have begun to spread in India also, from Naxalbari to Srikakulam, and from Assam to Punjab, the revolutionary youth and students of India will, as befits them, come forward to shoulder the important task that faces them, namely, the work of propagating revolutionary politics among the workers and peasants, and in particular, among the poor and landless peasants.

In their attempts to kill this revolutionary potentiality in our youth and students before it can develop, the imperialists and reactionary ruling classes have held out before them the bait of college unions. These college unions cannot solve any problem of education that confronts the students. On the other hand, the college unions fail to provide leadership to the youth and the students in their revolt against the existing education system. What the college unions hold out and advocate before the revolutionary students is basically an economist viewpoint. Thus, these unions destroy the revolutionary talent of the youth and students, and constitute a great obstacle before them preventing them from integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. Because of this, the union leadership, in most cases, is found to sink deep into the mire of opportunism and "careerism" begins to develop among them, while the temptation of staying on in leadership drags them into all kinds of opportunist "alliances" and thus destroys their revolutionary morality.

In the past also, the imperialists likewise held out the baits of 'union boards' and 'municipalities' and then of the 'legislative assembly' in order to pacify the restive Indian masses. The Indian bourgeoisie has never wanted a revolution to overthrow imperialism. That

is why they readily swallowed whatever baits the imperialists held out, and deceived the revolutionary masses with all sorts of fine words.

No so-called 'leftist' leadership in India ever stood up against this bourgeoisie either. That is why they have also readily swallowed the imperialist baits.

However, today, when we have got the brilliant Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the highest stage of the development of Marxism-Leninism, to guide us, it is imperative for us to judge everything anew in the light of Mao Tsetung Thought and build a completely new road along which to press on forward. We must resolutely repudiate the ugly path of the bourgeoisie—the path of capitulationism. The time has now come for us to uphold resolutely the vigorous path of the workers and peasants—the path of revolution.

The task that now faces the students and youth is to study the Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung, to repudiate the path of capitulationism, and to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants.

Hundreds and thousands of martyrs who fell in battle now call upon you, students and youth, to rise up and fight. The day has now come at last when we must settle their blood-debts, and overthrow the imperialists and the reactionary exploiting classes.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), therefore, calls upon the youth and students to go to the workers and the poor and landless peasants with firm conviction, because only they can end the present oppression and humiliation.

Today, the Party has only one appeal to make to our students and youth: Integrate yourself with the workers and the poor and landless peasants. Integrate! Integrate!

Fight Against The Concrete Manifestations of Revisionism

—Charu Mazumdar

NAXALBARI represents the first ever application of Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India. It was in Naxalbari that the peasants, for the first time, launched their struggle for the seizure of power. For this reason, Naxalbari symbolises the path of liberation for the exploited masses of the Indian people, thus ushering in a new era in the political history of India. This new political era in India can be understood only by what Comrade Stalin said about the Chinese revolution, that is, in India today armed revolution has begun its battle with armed counter-revolution. Waging revolutionary war has, therefore, become the only and main tactic of the revolutionary masses.

A correct leadership is essential for waging this revolutionary war successfully. It is precisely for this reason that the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been established. Unless we understand this new situation in India, we can have no understanding of the significance and work of the revolutionary Party. That is why our Party is the party of armed struggle, the party which will lead the Indian people's democratic revolution to victory.

It is the duty of every member and every front of our Party to carry forward this revolutionary civil war. So, our Party's work will always be directed towards carrying forward the revolutionary civil war.

The ways of doing things which were created and developed so far by the communist movement in India

Translated from the original text as appeared in the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI, September 4, 1969.

have become wholly and entirely useless in the present era. This is so because they are unable to serve the needs of the present era. The present revolutionary civil war can be carried on only on the basis of the Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung and only by creating a new style of work.

So, the Party members must first of all be able to grasp the revolutionary politics, and must give prominence to this politics in all their work.

Secondly, every Party member must show initiative in whatever he does. He must adhere to our Party's political line and general directive, study Mao Tsetung Thought, take initiative and thus be able to create ingenious ways of doing things. The practice of waiting for instructions to come from the Party leadership will rob this Party of its mobility and the Party will be unable to fulfil its revolutionary task.

Thirdly, every Party member must be highly vigilant. In this era, when imperialism is heading towards total collapse, world imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have turned India into their base and are hatching plots to destroy great China and the national liberation struggles of south-east Asia. The armed struggle in India led by the revolutionary Party will foil all their plots. For this reason, they aim, on the one hand, at destroying our Party through repression while, on the other, they aim at undermining its fighting capability by sending their agents into the Party, thus creating political disruption within it. Our old revisionist ideas and style of work are forces which help the imperialist scheme. That is why every Party member must be on the alert and vigilant against erroneous politics, and also against any attempt that may be made to undermine initiative in the name of carrying on "political struggle" within the Party. Our political consciousness and style of work are weapons with which we can prevent imperialist infiltration into our Party. So, every

Party member must also be on the alert against such infiltration.

Fourthly, every Party member must be industrious. Influence of bourgeois ideology breeds laziness and passivity. Having revolutionary consciousness means having unflinching zeal to do hard work and fulfil arduous tasks.

A great responsibility has fallen on our shoulders. We have to translate into reality the dream of making a revolution—the dream which has remained unfulfilled during the forty years of communist movement in India. We can fulfil this task only by mobilizing our entire strength and industriousness, by combining the two. We can achieve our goal and make an 'impossible' thing possible only by bringing into full play our strength and ability.

Our task is to carry out agrarian revolution and to establish bases of armed struggle in the countryside. Therefore, every Party member must share the thoughts and aspirations of the peasant masses and integrate themselves with them; be ready at all times to make all kinds of sacrifices and come forward tirelessly to serve the people.

The Communist Party members must set themselves up as exemplary models before the masses. Only in this way can they inspire the masses. Therefore, every Party member must fight against self-interest and individualism. Only thus can we introduce revolutionary discipline into the Party without which no revolutionary war can be sustained.

Only a Party composed of such members, however small in the beginning, is able to organize peasants' revolutionary struggle, to strengthen Party's class basis by making the workers and the poor and landless peasants politically conscious, and to turn itself into a big Party capable of leading the revolution to victory.

Our Party's growth and development depend on how

firmly we fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party. And not only that. The growth and development of the peasants' armed struggle also depend on this fight against revisionism. Precisely for this reason it is said that creating a high tide of struggle depends on how widely we can spread and propagate Mao Tsetung Thought as well as on adopting the new style of work. It is only because we have been unable to master the correct application of Mao Tsetung Thought that we are not able to extend the struggle to still wider areas. It has, therefore, become the urgent task today to fight against the clear and concrete manifestations of revisionism.

Some of the revisionist ideas that still persist inside our Party and against which we are struggling at present are given here.

First, economism. At present economism expresses itself in the line of thinking according to which the workers and the poor and landless peasants will be unable to accept revolutionary politics unless they are led into open struggles on economic demands. This line of thinking weakens all our work like propagating revolutionary politics, propagating the politics of seizure of power, and building revolutionary base areas in the countryside. Such a line of thinking makes the Party members concentrate their attention and work on organizing struggles for economic demands, and politics loses its place of prominence. Lastly, such a line of thinking makes one contemptuous of the workers and the peasant masses and rely on the intelligentsia. But Chairman Mao has taught us that the struggle for production and the class struggle along with scientific experiment constitute the sources of knowledge. The intelligentsia have no access to these sources, namely, the struggle for production and the class struggle, while the workers and the peasant masses have both these sources of knowledge. Secondly, only the peasant masses led by the working class can win victory in the revolution,

and Mao Tsetung Thought is the revolutionary ideology of the working class. That is why it is precisely the workers and the poor and landless peasants who grasp the politics of the seizure of power and of building revolutionary bases in the countryside most thoroughly once these are explained to them. This is because it is they who suffer most from the exploitation and oppression of the existing social system, and the revolution serves them more than anybody else.

We do not say that we shall never wage struggles for economic demands. What we say is that political propaganda and building Party organizations are the foremost and main task before us.

Economism in the peasant movement expresses itself in the form of rejecting the necessity for waging guerrilla warfare, thus concentrating the attention of the peasants on the question of seizing land and crops. Such economist ideas place open struggle above everything else, discourage any thought of building secret organizations or maintaining secrecy, strengthen the tendency toward spontaneity and belittle the role and importance of conscious leadership.

Such economist ideas belittle the importance of setting up secret Party organizations among the revolutionary classes, thus preventing the members of these classes from entering into the Party. Such economist tendency increases our dependence on the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. The idea that peasant struggles cannot possibly be organized unless the members of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia are sent to the villages for this purpose still persists and is still firmly rooted in our Party. We feel ill at ease whenever some assignments are given to a Party unit consisting of poor and landless peasants with the result that we fail to develop their initiative. There is nothing against the members of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia going to the villages. But they must go there for becoming good communists and good revolutionaries, and to learn

from the poor and landless peasants. They must not go there to lead the poor and landless peasants, because only the poor and landless peasants themselves, and none else, can be the leaders of their struggle. The task before the comrades who belong to the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and are inspired by the Thought of Mao Tsetung which they have learned, is to educate the poor and landless peasants in the Thought of Mao Tsetung. Dependence on the petty bourgeois intelligentsia is the result of the influence of bourgeois ideology, and we must rid the Party of this.

The influence of bourgeois ideology is also evident from the fact that we rely more on weapons than on people. We must never forget the teachings of Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao in this respect. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."** The oppressed and persecuted peasants launch their struggle against the ruling classes with bare hands or with whatever they have, but as needs arise with the development of the struggle and dictated by the compulsions of advancing the revolution, they begin snatching and seizing arms from the ruling classes. This is how people's armed forces develop. It is impossible to wage a revolutionary war by bringing arms from outside. This is so because, as Chairman Mao has taught us in waging a revolutionary war we must rely on the masses. **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** Our experience also shows that we cannot wage guerrilla warfare simply by acquiring sophisticated weapons; we must be able to bring up men armed with Mao Tsetung Thought to wield those weapons. Unless we are able to bring up such men the weapons will be of no use. And such men are brought up only through revolutionary class struggle, only through annihilating the class enemies.

The guerrilla unit that has not done this can achieve little even with guns.

Another manifestation of bourgeois ideology is to magnify the importance of actions while giving no importance at all to political propaganda. This is what Chairman Mao has called 'militarism'. The work of political propaganda must be raised to a newer and higher level at every stage of guerrilla warfare. Only when the masses begin to grasp Mao Tsetung Thought their level of political consciousness will rise and only then will they be able to conquer death. Precisely for this reason it is said that once Mao Tsetung Thought is combined with the force of arms, an invincible power is brought into being which can match and defeat any other power, however strong. The Party members must, therefore, constantly try to develop political propaganda. But we can feel the urge for doing this only when we begin to understand what the poor and landless peasants are thinking, and integrate ourselves with them through the propagation of the mass line.

Party leadership at all levels must shoulder the responsibility of and take good care in developing the mass line and educating the Party members in the propagation of the mass line.

Comrades, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are today hatching plots for launching a war of aggression against the great socialist China, and Soviet social-imperialism has been repeatedly carrying on armed provocations against China along the stretches of the Sino-Soviet border. We must remember Chairman Mao's teaching: **"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."** The possibility of a war is very real at present. The responsibility of the communist revolutionaries in India has today increased manifold. We must be able to prevent this war with revolution. If, however, the imperialists succeed in

launching a war of aggression in spite of us, then a large share of the responsibility of burning these warmongers into ashes will have to be shouldered by us, that is, the revolutionaries of India—a vast country of 500 million people. Hence, we must fear neither hardship nor death; we must shatter all the trammels of revisionist ideas that bind us today, and march forward along a new path, and master the new style of work and mobilize all our forces to spread the flames of the revolutionary war to every State of India. This revolutionary war will deal a crushing blow at the unity of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries and smash it and the weakness of the enemy in its turn will bring about a new revolutionary high tide. The revolutionary struggle in India will bring a new inspiration, a new impetus to the revolutionary struggle in every other country of the world.

The great Ninth Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has given out the clarion call: a new era of world revolution has begun; the revolutionary struggle the world over will destroy world imperialism and Soviet revisionism. A world without exploitation—the dream that the world's people have dreamed for ages—will be born. We are the architects of that brilliant new future. Today, we are fortunate in having been entrusted with the most sacred, the noblest of tasks in the world. Let every comrade plunge into this work with all his strength and make the best use of it. Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

NOTES

THE ENEMY ROTTS WITH EVERY PASSING DAY

For a long time the Congress, the major party of the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and big landlords, has been a house divided against itself. With the growing acuteness of the economic crisis, the struggle between the various sections of the ruling classes for a greater share of power and maximum profits has become more and more bitter. The struggle among the various imperialist powers and the Soviet social-imperialists, who are behind one section or another, is giving a keener edge to this fight. Despite their collusion, it is a murderous fight but, though ruthless and deadly, it was till recently waged rather quietly, the murderous operations were performed rather neatly. The struggle within the Congress did not so much come out into the open—except on occasions. The Congress stood for stability, the political stability of the ruling classes. Though there was murder within, it maintained a facade of peace, unity and discipline.

But this facade can no longer be maintained. The armed struggle of the peasantry started two years ago in Naxalbari to resolve the principal contradiction in India today—the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people. Since 1967, armed revolution has been facing armed counter-revolution. This is intensifying all the other contradictions in India, including the contradiction among the different sections of the ruling classes and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters.

That is why the disintegration of the Congress, the major party of the ruling classes, is fast taking place. The bitter dog-fight within it is no longer a veiled affair. On the question of nomination of the Presidential candidate

(Continued on page 98)

Agrarian Revolution and Crisis Within the Reactionary Classes

—Satyanarain Singh

Agrarian Revolution Develops

The formation of the party of the proletariat in India—CPI (M-L)—more or less coinciding with the historic 9th Congress of the great and correct Chinese Communist Party has inaugurated a new stage in the Agrarian Revolution now raging in various parts of our land. The formation of the Party and the warm applause that it has received from the CPC—the Party of our Chairman—have brought tremendous confidence and courage and a new spirit of proletarian heroism and sacrifice among the Communist Revolutionaries, the like of which has seldom been witnessed in our history before.

The red guerrillas, the pioneers of a free and socialist India, have come forward and greeted the formation of the Party by intensifying attacks on the class enemy, by achieving remarkable successes in “annihilate the class-enemy” campaign. The Indian soldiers of Mao Tsetung have unfurled the red banner of revolution in seven states and the day is not far off when the spark ignited at Naxalbari will kindle a prairie fire. The guerrillas led by our Party have successfully frustrated the repeated attempts of the enemy to “encircle and crush” us in Srikakulam and have built up a red base area of 300 villages where the enemy cannot go without massive military mobilization. The Srikakulam struggle has overtaken a large area of Andhra and a part of Orissa. The Tamil Nadu comrades have now opened another front of assault in the far south. Despite brutal police repression, the Communist Revolutionaries of Lakhimpur Kheri have escaped encirclement and are already regrouping themselves for fresh attacks

L—Sep. 2

on the enemy. Their revolutionary actions have made the reactionary government so desperate that it is no longer respecting the sovereignty of Nepal and the Indian armed personnel are frequently entering Nepali villages and oppressing people there. The guerrillas led by the Party have made impressive attacks on the enemy and have spread into many districts.

The Mushahari guerrillas have made three attacks in a small period of one and half months, have killed 5 class enemies and their agents, injured 15, burnt handnotes and documents of land-deeds worth lakhs of rupees, seized the properties of the landlords and did all these without a single scratch on them. Bihar has hailed the formation of the Party by going over to the second stage. The Adibasi people's struggle is now ready for take-off to the second stage and very soon the north and south parts of Bihar will deliver all-sided blows to the class-enemy and his state and thus bring their doom nearer.

Consolidation of Revolutionary Forces

Then, again, the formation of our revolutionary Party has been hailed by those revolutionaries and militants who were outside the ranks of the All India Co-ordination so long, but who sincerely desired Revolution. Many groups who were sincere towards the Revolution, people and Mao Tsetung's Thought have hailed the formation of the Party, reviewed their positions, made self-criticism and joined the Party and many are already in the process of integration with the Party. Barriers raised by subjectivism, anarchism and petty bourgeois poly-centrism are fast collapsing under the impact of the swift blows of guerrilla struggles after the formation of the Party. Growing consolidation of the revolutionary ranks can be seen even by the born-blind, the Dhritrashtas of our era. The Party has become the rallying force drawing genuine proletarian revolutionaries from all sides. In 3 districts of

South Bihar alone, we have now 50 wholtime cadres as a result of merger of various groups in the Party. Groupism is fast dying out.

Revisionists in Doldrums

Not only here, but there in the fancy-world of revisionists the ranks are in revolt against the bourgeoisified reactionary leadership. In Bihar alone, 5 district councils had to be dissolved by the Dange clique for want of sufficient annual renewal of membership. Bihar, the strongest fortress of the Dange clique, has delivered the hardest blows to them. The crisis of "non-renewal" is not a result of "organisational complacency" as the Dangeites claim, but its causes are ideological-political.

The militant ranks belonging to the working class and the toiling peasantry had joined the party to fight for the revolutionary overthrow of the reactionary ruling class and not for playing the parliamentary game of class-collaboration. They had joined the party to fight the feudal authority in the rural areas and not for allying themselves with it. They had come to the party for fighting against the medieval caste which intensifies class oppression, and not for practising casteism. They had thought of liquidating the *Rajas* and the big comprador capitalists and not for forging alliance with the Ramgarh House and the Jana Sangh to preserve the law and order of a reactionary regime. They had longed to build the party into a weapon of class struggle and not to turn it into a co-operative society of profiteers, black-marketeers, landlords, contractors, usurers, casteists and communalists. These militants had no alternative before, as the Sundarayya-Ranadive clique was doing exactly the same thing under the smokescreen of a pseudo-left phrasemongering. Now, they have an alternative. For the first time they have found a party which says what it means, and does what it says. They have seen the Party launching and developing armed struggles in

7 States of India; they have watched our campaign for Election Boycott; they have judged our method and style of work, they have seen our ideological-political firmness in dealing with vacillators within our own ranks. Now they know that we prefer ideological homogeneity, and not big personalities without ideological spine. All these have convinced them that here is the Party to which they should turn. That is why the revisionists in Bihar are facing an unprecedented revolt. Their crisis is only the by-product of the over-all crisis in which the ruling classes find themselves in India. Therefore, it is just natural for the militants of these parties to come to our Party.

The revisionists have made very many ridiculous attempts to check and curb the growing radicalisation of their ranks. They have had talks with the Sundarayya-Ranadive clique and produced even a joint communique on joint activity to create illusions among their ranks. However, they began with talks of unity and ended with the breaking up of heads. In Kerala, they have fallen foul of each other and in West Bengal it is free for all. The SUC stabs the CPI(M), the CPI(M) stabs the CPI, the CPI kills a Forward Blockist and they get more united each time. The ranks are getting aware that unity is not the law of bourgeois and revisionist parties. The bourgeois law is *Matsya-Nyaya*, i.e., the law of big fish gobbling up the small fish. Unity and cohesion is the law of a proletarian party. It can live and conquer only by forging unity among its ranks. That is why Russian, Rumanian, Italian, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Indian and all other revisionist parties are facing irreconcilable contradictions. This has been the fate of revisionism since its birth and it will be so till its doom.

The Crisis of Permanent Instability

The ruling classes have now entered the final phase of their crisis in India. The major party of big landlords and

big comprador-bureaucrat capitalists—the Indian National Congress—is heading for a crash with supersonic speed. Mutual slaughter, the plague that visits a dying organisation, has made its appearance. The artificial respiration of bank nationalisation designed to rescue the Congress from a public hanging has failed to work despite the machinations of the revisionists. Now the people of India know that, except the CPI (M-L), all other parties, though different in name, are in essence the parties of either Morarji or Indiraji, that they are either the agents of Soviet social-imperialism or of U.S. imperialism. The reactionary ruling class is now overwhelmed with a disorder of the first magnitude. The point is not to side with this or that reactionary, but to fight with full determination against both. The Indian people will not forget that Soviet social-imperialism is the chief accomplice of U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the world.

The “sacred” institution of parliamentary democracy now stands nakedly exposed before the entire Indian people. People shrink away in utter disgust when they hear the words “Parliament and Legislative Assembly.” In Bihar, this deceptive device of the ruling classes appears in all its ugliness. There have been five ministries and two terms of the President's Rule in a period of 2½ years. More than 100 MLAs out of a total of 318 have already become ministers. The MLAs' residential areas remind us of a cattle fair where buying and selling is quite brisk. Every MLA has a price and a buyer. Parties are appearing and disappearing with a breath-taking quickness. The policemen, when in anger, don't blame the people but invade the Assembly where demagogues, philistines and hypocrites assemble. What are we witnessing today? Is it not the period when the ruling class has entered the final phase of its crisis—the crisis of permanent instability? And is there anybody today who can seriously challenge our

assessment that an excellent revolutionary situation exists in India ?

Dissociation—Or DESERTION ?

Only philistines would say that the development of armed guerrilla struggle and the formation of the Party have not contributed to a considerable extent to the development of a serious crisis within the ruling classes and their revisionist agents. The ruling classes are, not without reason, talking of banning the CPI(M-L). They are, not without reason, unleashing brutal terror against our Party members and supporters.

Let it be understood that the Party is the main target of attack by the enemy as it is the main and central point in the situation. Today, defending the Party is defending the armed struggle. This Party is no ordinary party. It is not a party that has been formed only on the basis of a revolutionary theory. It has been formed on the basis of integrating theory with practice. It has been formed after Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur struggles. The armed struggles have been developing in the already struggling areas and spreading every day to new areas. The areas and intensity of struggles, the consolidation and expansion of our ranks have developed and not declined since the formation. Life furnishes the greatest evidence that we are on the right path.

Just when enemies are talking of banning our Party and just when many groups are dissolving themselves and rallying behind the Party, a few people, who consider themselves "worthy" theoreticians, have decided to dissociate themselves from the Party. They are publishing tons of literature to raise a smokescreen of political theories to cover up their escapade. While giving due respect to their theories on armed struggle and the building up of a revolutionary proletarian party in India, which we shall discuss subsequently, we must remind them of an

unhappy coincidence. They are dissociating themselves from the Party just when the enemy is seriously considering the banning of the Party. The guerrillas struggling on the mountains and plains of Srikakulam, in the Terai of Lakhimpur and in the plains of North Bihar will not fail to notice this coincidence. We do not like to call them deserters but let some body provide us with a better name.

The sum total of their "theorising" on armed struggle means that the present phase of our armed struggle whose main blow is directed against the feudal authority in rural areas and which is popularly called "annihilate the class-enemy campaign" should be given up. They say that it is "terrorism". They argue that we [the CPI (M-L)] have replaced the concept of People's War with the concept of killing individual landlords. To them it appears also as a refusal to fight the state. Now, does it need much argument to prove that these intellectual giants are for all practical purposes mere pigmies ? The purpose of our present phase of armed guerrilla struggle is to build up reliable revolutionary base areas, which means that in the first instance we rouse the peasantry for liquidating the feudal authority in the village and for establishing their own authority. Can this be done without attacking individual landlords in the villages and annihilating them ? Can it be done without destroying the so-called legal documents and other deeds ? Can we build up a people's authority without seizing and distributing feudal property ? Can we arm guerrillas without initially seizing landlords' weapons ? Their counterposing of the individual landlord at this stage with the state has very dangerous motivation. It amounts to preaching a co-existence between the peasantry and the landlord in a village. Their refusal to fight and eliminate the feudal social, political and economic authority is essentially a refusal to build revolutionary base areas and establish peasant authority. And, what does our practice show ? After the annihilation of a class-enemy the state

Can this be done without fighting the state?

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appears and we fight the state in accordance with the principles of guerrilla war, that is, we fight engagements that we can win. This big talk of fighting the state and not individuals is a mere eye-wash to cover up their real motive, which is, not to fight at all. And this motive is at once clear when they talk about "mass struggle" and "mass movement as distinct from armed peasant struggles." Actually, these gentlemen would like us to take up *in the main* economic issues and build *kisan sabhas* through mass meetings and demonstrations and continue doing that till the peasants start attacking police stations and military institutions. The real objective is to divert the present armed struggle along the old blind alley of mass economic struggles. And, is not the other intellectual giant, Sree Nagi Reddy, doing the same in Andhra? He has launched a "mighty movement" for capturing government fallow land when the Srikakulam comrades have established the red political power in 300 villages. What else is it than diverting the peasants from the struggle for state power to a struggle for waste lands? And, that is why we find the heroes of the CPI (M) appreciating the Nagi Reddy recipe.

It must be understood by everybody that peasants wage war against the state through their guerrillas. This is a people's war. We are in the stage of a people's war and not in the stage of mass struggles of the traditional type. This, of course, does not mean that we do not take up economic issues in a new area where we begin work. Sometimes we do it but the purpose is always to rouse the people politically to take the road of armed guerrilla struggle. Our experience shows that there is no Chinese Wall between taking up an economic issue and launching a guerrilla struggle provided Mao Tsetung Thought is in command. There are no *periods* for economic struggle alone or for only armed guerrilla struggle. Whosoever denies that the basic form of struggle in the rural areas today is

armed guerrilla struggle denies the validity of Mao Tsetung Thought in India, denies revolution. Hence, by opposing "annihilate the class enemy campaign", the deserters are opposing anti-feudal struggle and preaching co-existence between landlords and the peasantry. The theories of these intellectual giants (or ghosts!) are mere echoes of the death-cries of the tyrant landlords who are dying at the hands of the red guerrillas on the hills of Srikakulam, in the plains of Mushahari and in the Terai of Lakhimpur Kheri.

Their second accusation is that these armed actions are not supported by the people, that we [the CPI (M-L)] are only going about with squads and that our policy is *LAGAO-LAGATE JAO* (start an action somehow and go on doing it.) Now can anybody in his senses say this about the struggles in Mushahari, Srikakulam and Lakhimpur, leave alone Naxalbari. The participation by hundreds of people in giving shelter and food, in collecting intelligence and information about enemies' position, guarantee of passage for retreat and advance of guerrillas, their participation in the attack and celebration of victories after a successful attack, the functioning of *Krishak Samitis* and people's courts—are all these manifestations of a policy of vanguardism or voluntarism or Che-ism? Only persons in panic can talk like that. Such an accusation is being levelled against our comrades in Bihar by the enemies. They are shouting that we are "gentlemen criminals" and not revolutionaries. In West Bengal, Jyoti Basu is branding us as "anti-social" elements. And now, these horror-stricken and chicken-hearted "intellectuals" are calling us 'vanguardists' and Che-ists. Words are different but their essence is the same. Now, if some of these people wanted to do "respectable" politics, they were free to do it but to do that in the name of Karl Marx and Mao Tsetung is indeed ridiculous.

Let it be understood by every one that the Party and the

people will not allow any deviation from the path of Naxalbari—the path supported and approved by the CPC and the Chairman.

Let it be understood by every one that attempts to pull down the Party at the formative stage—attempts to throttle it in the cradle—will be smashed to smithereens and the disruptors and deserters of all varieties and hues will come to grief.

Let it be understood that the armed struggle launched and developed in 7 States will triumphantly enter the stage of a prairie fire very soon despite the shrieks and shouts of the landlords, the reactionary state, the revisionists and the abstainers and deserters.

Let it be understood that Mao Tsetung Thought is gripping the minds of the Indian people with an unprecedented speed and so the emancipation of our country from imperialist and feudal bondage is not far off!

Distinguish between consolidated Liberated Areas and guerrilla zones. In the former, land reform can proceed step by step. In the latter, we should confine ourselves to propaganda, covert organizational work and the distribution of a certain amount of movable property. Mass organizations should not be openly set up and land reform should not be carried out, lest the enemy should persecute the masses.

MAO TSETUNG

February 15, 1948.

India—A Vivid Specimen of How Soviet Revisionists Push Social-Imperialism

Chang Ou

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique is wildly pushing social-imperialism in the Asian-African region in an attempt to turn it into its sphere of influence. India is a typical case in point.

Lenin pointed out “the need constantly to explain and expose among the broadest working masses of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers, which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily.” Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is practising deception in the same way as denounced by Lenin.

Growing Economic Control

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is stepping up its control over India's heavy industrial departments in the form of “aid” or “co-operation.” It was reported that the Soviet revisionists' “aid” to India has totalled 1,850 million U.S. dollars, topping the list of their “aid” abroad. Soviet “aid” enterprises constitute 70 per cent of the total production capacity of the electric generating equipment in India, 80 per cent of the oil extraction industry and 84 per cent of the oil refining industry. At present, the Soviet revisionists control iron and steel, machinery, power and other branches of India's heavy industry—for instance, one-fourth of the iron and steel industry, half of the oil refining industry, and one-fifth of the power industry. Industries built with Soviet “aid” are under the direct control of the Soviet revisionists, which extends from designing

and installation of equipment to the supply of materials, and from investment and location to management. Recently, they have devised a "new form" of Soviet-Indian "co-operation," patterned on the methods adopted in pushing "specialization in production" in some East European countries. They got India to set up factories specializing in turning out products for export to the Soviet Union. This is designed to convert India into more of a raw material processing plant for Soviet revisionism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also taken advantage of "the development of trade" to put a stranglehold on India's foreign trade. In recent years, the volume of Soviet-Indian trade has risen steeply, from 11 million rubles in 1955 to 320 million rubles in 1968. By expanding trade, the Soviet revisionists export large quantities of obsolete machinery and equipment to squeeze out and strike a blow at India's national industries and gain control over the export of many Indian commodities. They now control 75 per cent of India's exports of woollen fabrics, 57 per cent of leather, 75 per cent of raw hides, 57 per cent of wool, 95 per cent of jute, 35 per cent of tobacco, 53 per cent of waste cotton, 37 per cent of spices, 47 per cent of vegetable oil, 73 per cent of oil cakes and 58 per cent of coffee.

These facts show that India has become the biggest sales market, raw material processing plant and investment outlet for the Soviet revisionists in Southeast Asia. This has effectively exploded the myth about the Soviet revisionists' claim to have strengthened India's economic "independence."

Savage Plunder

Imperialism is predacious by nature. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a pack of social-imperialists who are predatory by nature. For all their glib talk of "aid"

and "co-operation," they have indulged in every predatory endeavour.

At present, India's repayment of the Soviet revisionists' commercial loans in terms of raw materials and commodities is valued at 3,867 million rupees. Year after year, the Soviet revisionists grab huge quantities of iron ore, mica, jute, cotton, wool and other industrial materials from India. Reports say India will supply Soviet revisionism with 1,600 million rupees worth of these commodities during 1969-70.

In order to seize the maximum profit, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not hesitated to run "joint enterprises" with Indian private capitalists to squeeze the Indian workers. As noted by an Indian capitalist paper, "this is the first time that the Soviet Union has joined in private investment in any part of the world!"

Taking advantage of their superior economic power, these renegades also grab profits by forcing down import prices in a shocking manner. It was reported that the Soviet revisionists and the Indian reactionaries have concluded an agreement by which the former will in the next three years obtain from the Bhilai Steel Works a million tons of steel at a price 10 to 20 per cent lower than the international market price. By this agreement alone, the Soviet revisionists will rake in a profit of about 20 million U.S. dollars. In 1968, they also took advantage of the crisis in India's jute industry to force down export tariff for jute by 30 per cent per bale.

These vivid facts have exposed the ferocious features of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Shocking Exploitation

Marx pointed out that the colonialists have turned colonies into sources of raw material and engaged in ruthless exploitation through exchange of unequal values and investments.

That is what the new tsars are doing today. Soviet-Indian trade has never been on an equal footing. Machinery and equipment exported by the Soviet revisionists are generally priced 20 to 30 per cent higher than international market prices, with some commodities more than three times dearer. But the prices of agricultural produce and minerals exported by India to the Soviet Union are generally 20 to 30 per cent lower than what these can fetch on the international market. By exploitation through exchange of unequal values, the Soviet revisionists have amassed super profits. For example, nickel which gets the equivalent of 15,000 rupees per ton in the European market is exported by the Soviet revisionists to India at 30,000 rupees per ton. Spare parts for the 15,000 tractors sold to India were priced three times higher than those they sold to East European countries (Czechoslovakia, for instance). Machinery and equipment sold by them to India are both dear and of poor quality. For example, dozens of diesel engines sold at a high price to the Bhilai Steel Works built with Soviet "aid" are outdated and inferior. Repair costs alone are seven times more than what is required for repairing ordinary diesel engines.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also ruthlessly exploiting the Indian people by large-scale capital export to India in the form of "loans." The Soviet revisionists have now become India's third largest creditor, next to the United States and Britain. But in terms of repayment of loans and interest by India, the Soviet revisionists are second only to the United States. Man and woman, young and old, every Indian now owes the Soviet revisionists an average of 20 rupees. To pay the interests on Soviet revisionists' loans, the Indian reactionaries need to squeeze 350 million rupees from the people every year. In 1967-68 alone the figure reached 530 million rupees. It was revealed by the Indian monthly magazine *Liberation* last February that for every hundred rupees it receives

in "aid" from the Soviet revisionists, India has to pay back 125 rupees the same year. This exploitation is truly shocking.

U.S.-Soviet Collaboration in a Nutshell

The Soviet revisionists are conspiring and contending with the U.S. imperialists to control India. This epitomizes Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

Politically, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are stepping up their collusion with the big landlords and big bourgeoisie in India. Their aim is to make the Indian reactionaries serve as their faithful lackeys and tools in opposing China, communism, the people and revolution.

Economically, while U.S. imperialism controls communications, transportation and the power industry and invests in private fertilizer factories and the chemical industry, Soviet revisionism keeps a grip on the iron and steel, machine-building and oil refining industries. Each aims to turn India into their own economic dependency.

In trade, U.S. imperialism dumps its "surplus" food on India and plunders its agricultural, side-line and local special products and raw materials, while Soviet revisionism dumps its out-of-date machinery and equipment and grabs India's semi-processed food products and raw materials for the food industry.

Militarily, U.S. imperialism provides India with "conventional" weapons and builds air bases in India, while Soviet revisionism supplies India with aircraft, tanks and big guns, "helps" it expand its navy, and builds naval bases at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. With regard to military installations along the Sino-Indian border, while U.S. imperialism sets up a so-called "seismographic observatory" in Indian-occupied Kashmir to spy on China's nuclear tests and a base to monitor China's radio communications, Soviet revisionism has built medium-wave transmitting stations along the Sino-Indian

border to help the Indian reactionaries with their anti-China propaganda. The Soviet revisionists have granted India a loan of over 80 million rupees for the building of a powerful medium-wave transmitting station in Calcutta.

New Tsars' Wild Ambitions

The consistent counter-revolutionary policy of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is to gang up with U.S. imperialism and be allied with India to oppose China. This pack of renegades has minced no words in admitting that Soviet-Indian co-operation has long since ceased to be of a pure economic character. Even the Indian reactionaries had to concede that "since 1962 a special relation has developed between the Soviet Union and India." "This has centred and continues to centre on the question of the containment of China."

The Soviet revisionist new tsars have used India as a bridgehead to oppose the great People's Republic of China. They send large numbers of "experts" and "technicians and engineers" to India every year, and utilize its strategic position to collect information on China. They have all along energetically fostered the Indian reactionaries and given them large amounts of "military aid" to suppress the Indian people and launch armed attacks on China.

Available statistics show that from 1954 to 1968 the total amount of "military aid" to India by the Soviet revisionists reached 900 million U.S. dollars, making the Soviet Union one of the biggest military-aid-giving countries in relation to India. The 50,000 million rupees needed for the Indian "first five-year defence plan" was supplied mainly by the Soviet revisionists. As a further step in arms expansion and war preparations, the Indian reactionaries recently drew up a "second five-year defence plan," whose expenditures are estimated at over 60,000 million rupees. The Soviet revisionists have simply incorporated this plan into their own plan for outlays.

They not only have built naval bases and set up three aircraft plants manufacturing Migs in India, but also sent large numbers of "military experts" and "advisers" to plot the suppression of the Indian revolutionary movements and armed attacks on China.

After their intrusions into China's territory Chenpao Island, the Soviet revisionist brasshats and top officials "visited" India one after another, and the Indian reactionaries immediately whipped up an anti-China campaign and shouted for war. Indian reaction has to all intents and purposes become a faithful flunkey of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism in their joint opposition to China.

Has the Soviet revisionist renegade clique not brazenly trumpeted Soviet-Indian "co-operation" as an "exemplary model" for various countries? Have these renegades not boasted that they have made a "tremendous achievement" by their "aid" to India? However, the so-called "exemplary model" is nothing but a typical example of neo-colonialism pushed by Soviet revisionism in the Asian-African region. The so-called "tremendous achievement" is nothing but India's heavy dependence on Soviet revisionist social-imperialism economically, financially and militarily; that is to say, India has been reduced to a colony of both Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." Soviet revisionist social-imperialism's ruthless oppression and exploitation of the Indian people has met with their strong resistance. Soviet revisionism will certainly be crushed by the wheel of revolution of the Indian people and the revolutionary people the world over.

[From *Peking Review*, No. 30, 1969]

Comments On Stanislavsky's 'System'

(This article, written by the Shanghai revolutionary mass criticism writing group, first appeared in *Red Flag* organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. With *Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought* as the weapon, the article exposes the reactionary nature of Stanislavsky, a reactionary bourgeois art 'authority'.)

IN his political Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out: "We must continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tsetung Thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticize revisionism and all kinds of right or extreme 'left' erroneous ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to criticize bourgeois individualism and the theory of 'many centres', that is, the theory of 'no centre'."

An important task for the proletariat relative to the theatre is to criticize Stanislavsky's "system," one of the theoretical foundations of modern revisionist literature and art, which the Soviet revisionists laud as "Marxist."

Who was Stanislavsky? He was a reactionary bourgeois art "authority." The Russian revolution of 1905 threw him into a panic. He fled to Germany with his repertory of plays which sang the praises of the tsar and the aristocracy. He was applauded and given an audience by the German emperor Wilhelm the Second. When the great October Revolution took place, Stanislavsky admitted that he had again found himself "in an impasse" and that "it was necessary to take a look...from a distance." He took his theatrical company to the United States where he was on terms of intimacy with the imperialists. He grieved over the lost "peaceful"

days of tsarist times and cursed the revolution for having caused "war, hunger, world catastrophe, mutual misunderstanding and hate."

The period from the failure of the 1905 revolution to the upsurge of the October Revolution was a period of reaction in Russian politics. To put out the flames of the proletarian revolution, the tsarist government mobilized all the forces of reaction and resorted to the counter-revolutionary dual-tactics of using political and cultural repression and deception alternately against the revolutionary people. The "system" which Stanislavsky painstakingly worked out took shape during precisely this reactionary period. This clearly proves that this theory of the theatre was a product of the tsarist government's reactionary policy of using culture to benumb the people.

The core of the "system", in Stanislavsky's own words, is "self". All the obscurantism which he advocated, such as the "ruling idea" of a play, "through-action," "the germs of all the human vices and virtues" and "living human elements" repose, according to him, in the "innermost I."

For a long time, this bourgeois theatrical "system", disguised as socialist theatrical theory, was used by Khrushchev, Liu Shao-chi and company as a tool to counter Marxism-Leninism and restore capitalism. This system swept from the Soviet Union to China, dominating theatrical and cinema circles. Directors and actors reverently read Stanislavsky like a Bible. The slightest criticism of him outraged those lords as if their ancestral graves had been desecrated. Chou Yang, Liu Shao-chi's agent in art and literary circles, clamoured: Stanislavsky's "system" is the only system in the world history of the theatre. On no account should it be discredited, nor can it be discredited.

Is this so? Seen in its true light, the "system" proves to be a paper tiger.

Should We Proceed From The Workers, Peasants And Soldiers, Or From "Self" ?

The fundamental difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois concept of literature and art turns on whether to extol the workers, peasants and soldiers or the bourgeoisie.

Stanislavsky said: "No matter what role an actor plays, he should always act out of himself," "you must get it firmly into your head; the way to art is in yourself and only in yourself", "play yourself all your life." Be it "himself" or "yourself" the inner being of the exploiting classes is represented by Stanislavsky. His is an anti-Marxist concept which praises the bourgeoisie to the skies.

In class society, there is no individual in the abstract or above classes. Nor is there literature and art in the abstract or above classes. Let us trace the history of his "performances" and we will see what "self" Stanislavsky proceeded from and played "all his life".

During the 51 years between 1877 and 1928, he played 106 roles, all of them tsarist generals, aristocrats, bourgeois elements or certain strata of townspeople. During the 57 years between 1881 and 1938 he directed 85 plays, the overwhelming majority of which were bourgeois "classics". Stanislavsky's so-called proceeding from "self" means proceeding from the political interests and the artistic requirements of the bourgeoisie. His so-called playing "self" meant playing and extolling the bourgeois "self". The stage theory based on this stage practice was bound to be replete with the characteristics of the life, personality and world outlook of the bourgeoisie, which are alien to the revolutionary theatre of the proletariat.

Can we proceed from "self" of bourgeois intellectuals to portray workers, peasants and soldiers? No. All the images of the workers, peasants and soldiers in proletarian art, such as Li Yu-ho in the model revolutionary Peking

opera "The Red Lantern" and Yang Tzu-jung in the model revolutionary Peking opera "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold", are heroes and outstanding representatives of the proletariat. The excellent qualities they display are "on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." The process by which the actors attempt to convey these art images is one by which the actors understand, study and extol these heroic images and remould their own world outlook. Even actors of worker, peasant or soldier origin, without exception, must be re-educated. If we proceed from "self" to portray the workers, peasants and soldiers, we are distorting the revolutionary struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers and their heroic mental outlook with the unbridled "self-expression" of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. This is precisely the vicious method used by the capitalist-owners and reactionary art "authorities" who deliberately tried to undermine the model revolutionary theatrical works by distorting and smearing the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This method has already failed. Are there works of literature and art which proceed from the "self" of the bourgeoisie to portray the workers, peasants and soldiers? Yes. Who has not seen the plays and films produced under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique? There the workers, peasants and soldiers are debased to an unbearable extent: some are no more than cowards, some think only of raising a family, some are mixed up with white bandit officers, and some have still more ugly stories... They have none of the qualities of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They are obviously a shameless exposure by the Soviet revisionist renegades of their own "selves"!

Can this theory of going from "self" be used in acting bourgeois parts or other negative roles? It won't do for these either. From the proletarian point of view, villains

like the bandit ringleader, Mountain Hawk, in the Peking opera "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold", or Hatoyama, chief of the Japanese military police, in "The Red Lantern" can only be acted from the standpoint of the workers, peasants and soldiers, i.e., portrayed from the stand of their class hatred so as to expose and criticize mercilessly the ugly, cruel, insidious and reactionary class nature of these reactionaries, in order to make the brilliant images of the proletarian heroes stand out in high relief. If one acts from Stanislavsky's bourgeois "self" then monsters of all kinds, which are to be overthrown and cast away in real life, will be made into major artistic parts, and they will be allowed to exercise arrogant dictatorship over the workers, peasants and soldiers on the stage. Is there any such kind of drama? Yes, there is. The schools of the "art of experience" and "art of representation" of the 19th century and the "avant garde", "modernism" etc., in the imperialist and modern revisionist countries today are such rubbish. In plain language, it means letting monsters and freaks of all descriptions, bandits and rascals play themselves. Many poisonous films appeared in China around 1962 under the domination of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and with the support and trickery of Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Ten Han and other counter-revolutionaries, including a number of films depicting so-called "middle characters", who in fact, were reactionaries. In some, counter-revolutionaries, landlords and bourgeois elements were played by real counter-revolutionaries, landlords and bourgeois elements. These bad elements were given many close-ups of an extremely reactionary, ugly and obscene nature. They were given a free rein to dominate the screen with their reactionary and corrupt "self".

In brief, no matter what part revolutionary art workers play, positive roles of workers, peasants and soldiers, or

villains, they must proceed from the revolutionary interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary practice. In the course of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and of being re-educated by them, the revolutionary art workers must distinguish what in their own minds belongs to bourgeois thinking and feelings from that which reflects the life, thinking and feelings of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must constantly overcome bourgeois "self" and foster proletarian devotion to public interest. Only in this way can they really portray and create revolutionary images in art which can "help the masses to propel history forward."

Stanislavsky's theory of acting out of "self" is from the same rag-bag as the counter-revolutionary Hu Feng's theory of "projecting one's self". Taking 'I' as all-embracing and the centre of all and doing whatever 'I' like—this is the utterly egoistical purpose of life of all exploiting classes. Imagination that proceeds from "self" means indulging in dreams of personal gain and of advancing at the expense of others; advocacy of "human love" out of "self" means subjecting the working people in their hundreds of millions to the misery of starvation and poverty; to "embrace the world" from "self" is a synonym for imperialist fascist acts of aggression. The reactionary literary and art slogan of proceeding from "self" put forward by Stanislavsky epitomized the decadent bourgeois individualism that the landlord class and the bourgeoisie used to corrupt the masses in literature and art so as to try to pump some life into the dying capitalist society. He fanatically tried to change the world by proceeding from "self" in the theatre. Was it not the dark kingdom full of exploitation, plunder and aggression that he pursued and defended?

Criticizing the comprador "men of letters" of the European-American school represented by Hu Shih,

Chairman Mao gave the following evaluation: "The bourgeois die-hards are as hopelessly wrong on the question of culture as on that of political power", "their starting point is bourgeois despotism, which in culture becomes the cultural despotism of the bourgeoisie" and "they do not want the workers and the peasants to hold up their heads politically or culturally." After the victory of the October Revolution, Stanislavsky went all out to oppose presentation on the stage of the struggle and life of the workers, peasants and soldiers. He slanderously said that the workers, peasants and soldiers were more interested "in seeing how other people live, in seeing a more beautiful life", that is, the rotten life of ladies and gentlemen and their sons and daughters which he presented on stage. The starting-point for obstinately persisting in his theory of proceeding from "self" is precisely the reactionary cultural despotism of the bourgeoisie which is intended to make legitimate and eternal the "beautiful life" of the overthrown bourgeoisie, to prevent the workers, peasants and soldiers from holding up their heads politically and culturally and to use the stage for a counter-revolutionary political come-back.

Chairman Mao points out: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use". The literary and art workers must completely reject the reactionary literary and artistic viewpoint of proceeding from "self". Only by starting from the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers and by integrating with them, can literary and art workers create works for them that they find useful. The model revolutionary theatrical works created under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line forcefully present, depict, and praise lofty heroes of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They are a penetrating criticism of the reactionary theory of

proceeding from "self". The model revolutionary theatrical works are sung everywhere in China which has a quarter of the world population. Like evergreen pines, the images of the revolutionary heroes have taken deep root among the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions and are inspiring their revolutionary fighting will.

Theory of Classes Or "Theory of Germs"

Nothing is more hypocritical than the efforts of the bourgeoisie to attribute their ugly world outlook to "mankind". Stanislavsky's theory of proceeding from "self" is built on this kind of a hypocritical theoretical foundation.

Why should he proceed from "self"? He said: everybody's "soul" originally has "the germs of all the human vices and virtues". Therefore the actor's "ruling idea" is to find "the germs" in the character he plays which are kindred to his own soul and "to cultivate and develop these germs".

The "theory of germs" is the bourgeois theory of human nature. It puts up a rival show against the Marxist-Leninist theory on classes.

Marxism-Leninism holds that class existence and class struggle are the source for everything in class society. The interests of the proletariat conform to the trend of history, to the fundamental interests of the labouring masses. Therefore, the proletariat is fearless and openly announces that its ideology is a class ideology and has Party spirit. On the other hand, the interests of the bourgeoisie run counter to the trend of history, and are diametrically opposed to the interests of the revolutionary people. Hence they always try to cover up the class essence of their own ideology which they disguise as something transcending classes, something that belongs to "mankind", to the "entire people". They try to deceive the masses so as to hang on to their ideological and cultural positions forever.

Seen in its true light, "the germs of all the human vices and virtues" means that all exploiting classes have both the "germs" of a benevolent, righteous and moral facade, on the one hand, and the inherent "germs" of chasing profits and behaving like thieves and prostitutes, on the other hand. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. Aren't actors turned into hypocrites and double-dealers whose words and deeds differ if they "cultivate and develop" the two kinds of "germs" which are to be used alternately and in "organic co-ordination"? A well-known saying of Stanislavsky's that spread its poison widely goes: "love art in yourself, and not yourself in art." This is the best characterization of the philosophy of life of such hypocrites. "Love art in yourself" means to love the art that one uses as capital to get fame and to become an expert. In essence, it means to "love oneself". "Love not yourself in art" is no more than using "art for art's sake" as a figleaf to gain more capital to become famous and an expert. This is a subtle application to real life of his double-dealing "theory of germs". The bourgeois advocates of the theory of human nature, represented by Stanislavsky, hold that everybody is born with a dual nature of "human vices and virtues"; to say otherwise, they assert, runs counter to "human nature".

The model revolutionary theatrical works which Comrade Chiang Ching led the revolutionary literary and art workers in creating are the most effective criticism, through vivid imagery, of "the theory of human nature" which pretends to transcend classes.

The scene "Hatoyama (chief of the Japanese military police) is defied" in "The Red Lantern", a model revolutionary Peking opera, successfully reflects the struggle between the two world outlooks of the two classes through artistic imagery.

Hatoyama sings that "all human beliefs" are "for me",

"each for himself". He tries to tempt Li Yu-ho with the bourgeois "secret of life".

But, to the communist Li Yu-ho, who works heart and soul for the revolution all his life, that is "too difficult for a blockhead like me to grasp".

Confronted by the proletarian hero Li Yu-ho, "all human beliefs" that Hatoyama trots out, fail utterly. This also announces the dismal failure of "the ruling idea" on the stage boosted by Stanislavsky.

The reason for this is very simple: bourgeois "nature" and "germs" are not to be found in the proletariat, and the fine qualities of the proletariat are not to be found in the bourgeoisie.

But Stanislavsky did not stop here. On the basis of "the theory of germs" he made further efforts: "never forget that when acting the villain you must look for those moments of his life when he was good, when his love was unselfish, when a spark of innocence still glimmered in his heart." "When you act a good man, look to see where he is evil, and in an evil man, look to see where he is good", etc.

Stanislavsky wanted to use "the theory of germs" to obliterate the differentiation between classes and the class struggle in real life. But it is precisely his applying it to the portrayal of all characters which exposes the reactionary nature of his "system".

According to this theory, in playing negative characters such as Hatoyama and the bandit ringleader Mountain Hawk, the actor should "look to see" where they are "good", "unselfish" and "innocent". The "system" insists on prettifying devils. Isn't this a "system" which speaks on behalf of imperialism and all reactionaries?

According to this theory, in playing proletarian heroes such as Li Yu-ho, Yang Tzu-jung and Kuo Chien-kuang, the actor must "look to see where he is evil" so as to vilify our revolutionary heroes. Isn't this a "system" which gives free vent to deep-seated hatred for the proletariat?

According to this theory, all exploiting classes in life become "kind-hearted" "good people" on the stage and all working people become "hateful" "evil people" on the stage. Isn't this a "system" which sings a hymn to the vicious system of exploitation?

According to this theory, there is no need for literary and art workers to be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers. Do they have to remould themselves? It is not necessary, because there are already the "germs" of the workers, peasants and soldiers in their hearts. Furthermore, if the bourgeois "germs" are lost in remoulding, then it is impossible to see "where he is evil" in the proletariat, or, "where he is good" in the bourgeoisie. Well, now! Is this not a "system" which corrupts the intellectuals politically?

The counter-revolutionary advocacy of applying this theory to the portrayal of all characters has been used over and over again by the literary and art henchmen of modern revisionism. This happened in the Soviet Union as well as in China. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi was posed as a "saviour" with a "halo" around his head. The vanquished generals of the Kuomintang, who were at the end of their rope, were prettified as "heroes" with the manners of "cultured generals". Are not such things a big exposure of the counter-revolutionary nature of the literary and art henchmen of modern revisionism in China?

The thunder-clap of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution completely smashed Chou Yang's sinister line on literature and art as well as the counter-revolutionary "theory of germs" of Stanislavsky's "system". The noble and brilliant images of proletarian heroes and the ugly and worthless images of counter-revolutionaries in the model revolutionary theatrical works constitute a penetrating criticism of the "theory of germs". From now on when they create the personalities of worker, peasant and soldier

heroes, literary and art workers must continue to struggle against their own non-proletarian thinking and accept re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers and they must never allow the "germs" of the exploiting classes to appear to distort the images of heroic personalities.

To Make Propaganda Consciously Or "To Create Subconsciously"?

The decadence of bourgeois thinking and culture of the twentieth century is expressed not only in the touting of the "theory of human nature", but particularly in the naked publicity given to the irrational "subconscious".

According to Stanislavsky, "natural stimulation of creation of an organic nature and its subconsciousness" is "the essence of the whole system".

What is the "subconscious"? It means that human activities are an expression of animal instincts. Did Stanislavsky invent this absurd theory? No, it was copied from the utterly debased and reactionary psycho-analytical school of Freud, and it shows that bourgeois theatrical art reached the end of the line. The thinking of the bourgeoisie in this era is empty indeed. They cannot come up with anything new theoretically, but can only present themselves as wild beasts and allege that this utterly egoistical "self" of theirs is an animal "urge" that "everybody expresses". This is aimed at justifying their reactionary exploitative, plundering and aggressive class nature. If there is any doubt, here are a few examples.

See Stanislavsky's fantastic method at work:

"Look, your head is whirling. That's good". "Your head is whirling at some unexpected moments, there is a full merging of the life of the character you are depicting with your own life on the stage." This serves to deceive both the actor and the audience. While acting on the stage, if "your head is whirling", won't the dialogue and "the given circumstances" be forgotten?

In fact, the heart of such remarks was to get actors, under the pretext of laying stress on feelings and instincts and under the cover of the mask, to indulge in displaying the decadent thinking in their inner hearts and unscrupulously show the rotten bourgeois way of life, and the more boldly and shamelessly the better. As Stanislavsky put it: "under cover of the mask, he reveals intimate and secret instincts and aspects of his character that he dares not even speak of in real life". How much shameless and degenerate behaviour has there been under this theory on stage and behind the scenes! This seriously debased the spirit of both the actors and the audience.

"Reason is dry", "in our theatrical art to understand means to feel". He was advocating complete subjective idealism and anti-rationalism, that is, replacing the analysis of objective things with one's subjective imaginary bourgeois feelings, with the aim of distorting objective reality. His spearhead was directed against the method of class analysis. At the same time, this theory of acting, which denied scientific rationalism and stressed the hysterical subconscious, satisfied the needs of the bourgeoisie who led a parasitic life, well-fed and loafing around all day long, tried to titillate the senses, used every means to deny and cover up the realities of society and class struggle. Look at Stanislavsky's description of the rehearsal by the assistant stage director of a scene in the play "The Drama of Life" which he directed: "The actor tore passion to tatters, chewed the floor with emotion, and the stage director sat on him and beat him to encourage him." Was it still a play? It was simply a herd of beasts that went mad on the stage.

With the spread of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought throughout the world, with the continued victories won by the proletariat and the people in their revolutionary struggles, the bourgeoisie has long lost the courage to face reality. Instead of standing for the "rationalism" advocated

in the early days of the bourgeois revolution, it has come round to opposing and hating it. Accordingly, bourgeois culture and arts have moved from so-called realism into the blind alleys of mysticism, impressionism and the modernist school of various descriptions. This is equally true for painting, music, the dance, drama and the cinema. Since Stanislavsky was a representative figure of the bourgeoisie in the dramatic arts, he naturally stubbornly tried to give expression to this feature of the bourgeoisie of this period. In fact, the "system" he worked out according to the formula of proceeding from "self"—"cultivating and developing" the "germs" of double-dealers—and "subconscious creative work" is also a sort of "rationalism". He never said that his stuff was "dry", but blew his own trumpet: "My system is for all nations." Nevertheless, the "system" adored by the "ruined generation" is, in the eyes of the proletariat and revolutionary people, not only "dry" but utterly "exhausted", and an indication that bourgeois literature and art have become completely exhausted spiritually, ideologically and artistically.

"Human nature cannot be changed" and "don't constrain nature". This reactionary viewpoint categorically denies that the world outlook of actors can be remoulded. It is, furthermore, a flagrant assertion that it is completely unnecessary for actors to remould their world outlook. In the eyes of Stanislavsky and company, it is "everybody for himself, and the devil take the hindmost", and egoism is human nature, is "subconscious" nature, something every person is born with. Therefore it cannot be remoulded, but should be left to develop uninhibited. This is open opposition to remoulding the world in the image of the proletariat.

However, the whole world will be changed in accordance with the laws of struggle for transforming the world, laws pointed out by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the case of the intellectuals in general, who are divorced

from the labouring people, we should guide them to integrate with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and ensure that the latter re-educate them so that they change their old ideology completely and that the great majority gradually rid themselves of bourgeois personality and foster more proletarian thinking and feelings. There are indeed a very few diehards who "cannot be remoulded" or refuse to be remoulded. But that does not matter. They also are bound to change, that is, to become funerary objects for a dead bourgeois system.

Facts prove that the so-called "subconscious creative work" peddled by Stanislavsky is just trumpery. Different classes express clear-cut political aims in the spheres of literature and art and always make conscious political propaganda. There has never been what is called "subconscious creative work". There is either revolutionary literature and art or counter-revolutionary literature and art—each embodies the world outlook of a particular class and serves its politics. In propagating "subconscious creative work", Stanislavsky was consciously aiming at turning creative work completely into a manifestation of "self" for the class instincts of the bourgeoisie, lulling the revolutionary fighting will of the masses of the people, sabotaging the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and serving as a huckster for capitalism.

Strengthen The Dictatorship of The Proletariat In Culture

What theory of art and literature is propagated and which line in art and literature is carried out are essentially the question of who will exercise dictatorship, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie and which will transform the other. If the proletariat does not turn the theatre into a red revolutionary crucible, then the bourgeoisie will change it into a black and stinking dyeing vat, disseminating the ideological poison of the bourgeoisie and contaminating the minds of the masses. The theatre would thus be turned into an effective weapon for restoring

capitalism. The historical process of the dictatorship of the proletariat peacefully degenerating into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union teaches us that a bourgeois dictatorship in culture will inevitably lead to an all-round restoration of capitalism, politically and economically. After its seizure of political power and even after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, if the proletariat does not launch a great cultural revolution, then, what will ultimately be lost is not just leadership over culture, but also the right of the entire proletariat and the labouring people to live!

After the timely and profound summing up of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and the lessons of "peaceful evolution" in the Soviet Union, our great leader Chairman Mao clearly points out: **"The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture"**. This great revolutionary program is an important and great development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of culture ultimately means using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought thoroughly to repudiate the ideology of all exploiting classes, and smash the cultural capital which the bourgeoisie hopes to use to make a comeback. It also means transforming the world outlook of the intellectuals. We must resolutely adhere to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, correctly evaluate the cultural legacy and create a new culture of the proletariat in line with Chairman Mao's principles **"make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China"** and **"weed through the old to bring forth the new."** Let us always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and carry through to the end the revolution in the theatre and all the spheres of culture! Let us ensure that Chairman Mao's proletarian line in literature and art and the proletarian new revolutionary theatrical works as their representatives always occupy the area of culture!

Great Victory For Mao Tsetung Thought On Financial and Monetary Front

Hail China's Renminbi, One of the Few Exceptionally
Stable Currencies in the World

HUNG YIN-HANG

THE world revolution has now entered a great new era. Imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, and all reactionaries are beset by all kinds of contradictions and have been plunged into political and economic crises. Faced with difficulties both at home and abroad, they find themselves in an impasse. The capitalist world's tottering financial and monetary system is sinking fast and on the brink of collapse. The financial and monetary situation in the countries governed by modern revisionism is also growing worse daily. By contrast, China's economy is developing, the market is flourishing and prices are stable. Our Renminbi* has become one of the few exceptionally stable currencies in the world. This fully shows the unparalleled superiority of our socialist system. This is a great victory for invincible Mao Tsetung Thought.

Two Kinds of Currency, Two Kinds of Fate

"The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily." This is our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis on the general world trend.

*Renminbi (RMB) is the legal tender of the People's Republic of China. The monetary unit is "yuan" and its subsidiary units are "jiao" and "fen." One yuan is equal to ten jiao, and one jiao is equal to ten fen.

The present world financial and monetary situation also very vividly reflects this general historical trend. The two diametrically opposed social systems determine the different futures of the two kinds of currency. The irremediable financial and monetary crises in the capitalist world are inherent in a reactionary and decadent social system. China's Renminbi is a new socialist currency. From its inception it has taken a completely new stance in the world and fully demonstrated its great strength.

The long-standing stability of our Renminbi finds concentrated expression in the long-term stability of market prices. On the basis of the rapid development in industrial and agricultural production, retail prices have remained stable in our country since the founding of the People's Republic. Grain, cloth, coal and salt prices have been stable, while prices for a wide range of other daily necessities and other commodities have basically remained stable. House rents, postal rates and water, electricity and public transport rates, all of which affect the life of the people, are low and have remained stable throughout. To change the irrational ratio between the prices of industrial goods and farm products left over from old China, further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and promote industrial and agricultural production, the state has systematically and in a planned way raised its purchasing price for grain, cotton, edible oil and other major farm products. The selling prices of these products have not, in the main, been raised. With the growth of industrial production, the state has reduced the prices of many manufactured goods, especially those used in supporting agriculture and industrial articles for daily use. Thus, the peasants can now receive in exchange more industrial goods for the same amount of farm produce than they got in the past.

Our Renminbi serves China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and the working people. It has won

the complete confidence of the masses. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the state has on several occasions reduced the interest rates on bank savings deposits. Still, there has been a steady rise in the savings deposits of the urban and rural people. Compared with 1952, these urban deposits have increased sevenfold, while rural deposits have gone up a hundredfold. The vast majority of the depositors are working people in both urban and rural areas. During the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, urban savings deposits and rural deposits have increased still faster. Of the total deposits, one-third was made in the past three years. Total savings deposits of the urban and rural people now exceed China's total amount of currency in circulation.

The international prestige of Renminbi is high. In view of the deepening financial crisis in the capitalist world, many countries and regions now use Renminbi to replace other currencies in trading with China, in receiving Chinese aid and in other economic transactions with China. Such countries and regions are increasing.

The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists and other reactionaries who are hostile to China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution all along have hoped that China's national economy would become chaotic. But contrary to their hopes, the great victories of our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking and have already promoted and are promoting a leap forward in the national economy. Guided by Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and his policy **"grasp revolution, promote production,"** socialist construction in China is making vigorous progress. Its economy is more thriving and the domestic market more flourishing than ever, while prices and currency value are still more stable. Irrefutable facts have proved that it is the countries under

the rule of imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction that are experiencing economic chaos.

Chairman Mao has incisively pointed out that together with its running dogs in various countries, U.S. imperialism **"has a weak and fragile foundation, he is disintegrating internally, he is alienated from the people, he is confronted with inextricable economic crises."** The gravest and deepest financial crisis in the last forty years broke out in the Western world between November 1967, when the pound sterling was devalued, and March 1968. Monetary markets fluctuated increasingly, and one dangerous situation cropped up after another. The impact of the revolutionary mass movement in France caused a monetary crisis in the capitalist world in May 1968. Last November's hectic gold rush led to the big storm which closed down foreign exchange markets. As a result of the acute French political and economic crises, President de Gaulle of France was forced out of office at the end of April this year. This was followed by a new crisis that swept Western European financial centres, and the pound sterling and French franc sustained heavy losses. The U.S. dollar also suffered from its tremendous impact. The big chaos that took place four times in the Western monetary system in a little more than a year conclusively shows that the currencies of the entire capitalist world are sinking deeper into crisis.

Imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of all countries have long been afflicted with inflation, soaring prices and a constant fall in the value of money. According to the price indices for various capitalist countries compiled by the International Monetary Fund, which from all appearances are substantially understated, during the 19 years from 1949 to the end of 1968 retail prices rose by 48.7 per cent in the United States, by 110 per cent in Britain, and by 161 per cent in France. It is noteworthy that prices in these countries have risen even

more markedly in the past year. Compared with 1967, retail prices rose by 4.2 per cent in the United States in 1968. This rate is two to three times greater than in previous years. The price index rose by 0.8 per cent this March—the highest monthly rate of increase in the last 18 years. The currencies of these countries have been repeatedly devalued on account of inflation and rising prices. The British pound has been officially devalued twice, the French franc five times, and the Indian rupee twice since the end of World War II. In the 1960s, the U.S. dollar, which is the mainstay of the currencies of the capitalist world, has become, like the pound, the target for speculation or unloading in Western monetary markets. Under the impact of the unprecedentedly persistent and wild gold rush which broke out in March 1968, the United States could no longer maintain the official price of gold at 35 dollars an ounce. The price of gold on the free markets of the capitalist world rose to around 20 per cent above the official price. In effect the dollar has been devalued.

In direct connection with inflation and currency depreciation, these countries in general have incurred enormous budgetary deficits and internal and foreign debts. In the fiscal year 1968, the United States budgetary deficit amounted to 25,200 million dollars; the total figure for national bonds floated had reached 359,500 million dollars by March 1969, a sum roughly equal to the government's total revenue for two years. There have also been enormous deficits in the U.S. balance of international payments for many years running. This has caused a heavy outflow of gold reserves. Since 1958, U.S. gold reserves have decreased by over one half; at present they only amount to a little over 10,000 million dollars, while foreign holdings of dollar deposits claimable at any time from the United States against gold are well over 30,000 million dollars. This clearly shows the inherent weakness

of the dollar. Over the years the reactionary Indian Government has mainly lived on alms begged from foreign countries. By the end of 1968, its foreign debts totalled more than 56,600 million rupees.

Financial and economic crises grow side by side with political crises in the capitalist world and they react on each other. Political power in these countries is in the hands of gangs of blood-suckers, and they use currency as a tool to plunder and exploit the working people. During a financial crisis, the ruling clique of monopolists always uses such measures as increasing taxes, raising prices, freezing wages, reducing the number of workers employed and enlarging the ranks of the unemployed to shift the burden on to the labouring people. At the same time, it steps up aggression and plunder abroad. As all this eventually increases the sufferings of the people, the class contradictions within the countries concerned and the contradictions between the oppressed nations and the imperialists are bound to become more acute. The monetary and trade wars between the imperialist blocs are bound to become fiercer, thus further intensifying the capitalist world's economic and financial crises.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has gone against the tide of history and carried out an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and, as a result, it has made a thorough mess of the entire national economy. It has forfeited all the socialist achievements won by the Soviet people through arduous struggles under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. During the ten years 1956-65, it sold gold amounting to some 3,000 million U.S. dollars. It did not care at all about auctioning off the nation's natural resources in order to beg for handouts from the international monopoly capital cliques. By replacing the old ruble with the new ruble in 1961, the Soviet revisionists actually have sharply devalued the currency in their dealings abroad. The privileged bourgeois elements

raised commodity prices over and over again, ruthlessly plundering and exploiting the labouring people. Since 1966, the Soviet revisionist state committee on prices has successively fixed new prices in the textile, knitwear, leather shoe and food industries, as well as in heavy industry and considerably raised the wholesale price of many industrial products. On July 1, 1967 alone, it raised prices of many industrial products. Among these, the price of coal went up 78 per cent and power for industrial use 20 to 22 per cent. At present, there are food, clothing and consumer goods shortages on the Soviet markets. The black market is widespread. In some places even bread is rapidly becoming more expensive. With prices soaring, the real purchasing power of money has fallen continuously, thus bringing tremendous hardships to the labouring people. This has aroused still greater discontent and resistance on the part of the Soviet labouring people.

Two kinds of currency with two kinds of fate. The currency of socialist China stands in sharp contrast to the currencies of the capitalist world. The former, with a bright future ahead of it, is like the sun rising in the east, while the latter, having run its course, is like the sun setting in the west.

Great Victory for Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

The outstanding achievements on China's financial and monetary front and the fact that Renminbi has become one of the few exceptionally stable currencies in the world are the result of the implementation of the theory, line, principles and policies laid down by our great leader Chairman Mao and the victory of his proletarian revolutionary line over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi.

The fundamental question of revolution is political power. With political power, the proletariat and working people have everything; otherwise, they lose everything. The fundamental factor behind China's victories on the

financial and monetary front is the establishment, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, of a strong dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. This is the fundamental guarantee for building our country into a great, powerful socialist state and for the steadiness of our finances and stability of the value of our money.

After liberation, by relying on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, on the tremendous strength of the political power of the proletariat and on the support of the masses, we immediately abrogated all imperialists' financial privileges in China, confiscated the bureaucrat-capitalist financial institutions, set up people's banks, quickly and systematically transformed all the private capitalist banks and built up a unified nation-wide socialist financial system. We immediately and completely eliminated the various currencies issued by the Kuomintang reactionary government and drove all imperialist currencies out of circulation. As a result, we enabled Renminbi to quickly become the sole currency in circulation in the cities and countryside and established an independent, unified and stable socialist monetary system, thus making China's currency immune to any repercussions from financial crises in the capitalist world.

As far back as the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao taught us: **"In the cities we must learn how to wage political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie and also how to wage diplomatic struggles against the imperialists."** Otherwise, **"we shall be unable to maintain our political power, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail."**

What the Kuomintang reactionaries left behind on the eve of liberation was a complete mess—production was destroyed, people were poverty-stricken and financial sources were exhausted. During the twelve years from

1937, when the War of Resistance against Japan broke out, to May 1949, the banknotes issued by the reactionary Kuomintang government increased by more than 140,000 million times and commodity prices kept skyrocketing. As a result, the labouring people were flung into an abyss of suffering. Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Kuomintang remnant forces and the bourgeoisie carried out disruptive activities and made trouble by engaging in large-scale speculation and tried to push prices up. While launching its war of aggression against Korea, U.S. imperialism imposed an economic blockade and embargo against China, unjustifiably froze China's funds outside the country, and, hand in glove with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, counterfeited large quantities of banknotes in a vain bid to undermine our finances and strangle New China economically. Liu Shao-chi, the agent of the imperialists and the behind-the-scene boss of the bourgeoisie, played an active Trojan horse role. He tried to get our bank to fix the foreign exchange rate according to the demands of the capitalists and advocated the establishment of stock exchanges; he wanted our banks to extend loans to the capitalists to support their activities in speculation and undermining the stability of commodity prices.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, however, we hit hard at the speculative activities of the bourgeoisie. By March 1950, we had already brought about stable prices throughout the country, putting an end to the inflation which had lasted for well over a decade under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. During the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea that followed immediately afterwards, we persisted in fighting this just war and at the same time carried on socialist construction and kept prices and the value of money stable. In a tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. imperialists' gangster act of unwarrantedly freezing Chinese funds, we froze U.S.

capital in China. Launched energetically in 1952, the *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements* defeated the unbridled attacks by the bourgeoisie. The policy of unified purchase and supply of all major agricultural products has been carried out since 1953. This cut the ties between urban and rural capitalism and promoted the growth of the socialist economy. The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was completed in China in 1956. The implementation of the series of policies and principles formulated by our great leader Chairman Mao has greatly expanded the socialist economy, helped consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and created favourable conditions for the long-term stability of Renminbi.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The general policy guiding in our economic and financial work is to develop the economy and ensure supplies."** Following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people have used revolution to command production, promote it and lead it forward. They have courageously advanced in accordance with the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism."**

But the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi was scared out of his wits by the surging torrent of socialist revolution and socialist construction. While loudly trumpeting the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" in opposition to continuing the revolution, he whipped up an evil wind against "rashness" to oppose the Party's general line for building socialism. Had Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary conspiracies been allowed to be realized, the socialist economic foundation would

*The SAN FAN movement refers to the struggle against corruption, waste and bureaucracy. The WU FAN movement refers to the struggle against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing the state's economic information.

have been destroyed, financial sources exhausted; supplies inadequate and the currency devalued. But the obstruction and sabotage by all reactionary forces at home and abroad ended up in ignominious defeat.

Sound and stable national finances with revenue balancing expenditure are an important factor in guaranteeing the stability of the currency. Chairman Mao has always taught us: **"The unified control and unified leadership in our financial and economic work should be consolidated. The balance of revenue and expenditure as well as the stabilization of prices should also be consolidated."** The main source of China's state revenue is the accumulation from state-owned enterprises, and state expenditure mainly goes to expanding the socialist economy. When revenue and expenditure are temporarily out of balance, the imbalance is solved by appropriate readjustments in the economic plan and by launching mass movements to increase production and practise economy and not by incurring internal and external debts, still less by issuing currency. Our country issues currency mainly in accordance with the needs of economic development, production and the expansion of commodity circulation. Since the founding of New China, thanks to the firm implementation of Chairman Mao's series of instructions, the country has achieved a balance between state revenue and expenditure and between receipts and payments of foreign exchange, and there has been some surplus. Our country has not only solved the problem of procuring funds for building socialism and strengthening national defence, but has also become a socialist country with neither internal nor external debts.

Liu Shao-chi all along advocated such reactionary fallacies as encouraging "budgetary deficits and inflation." He alleged: "It is alright to have budgetary deficits"; "we may issue more banknotes so as to increase our revenue." He also alleged: "Inflation is fine also";

"the greater the inflation, the richer the people will be." Again, in collaboration with the class enemies at home and abroad, Liu Shao-chi stirred up trouble particularly when our national economy had met with temporary difficulties caused by three years of natural calamities and by sabotage on the part of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. In 1962 he called for a "50 per cent increase in commodity prices." In December 1963 when the national economy had made an all-round turn for the better, he again raised the reactionary demand for a general increase in commodity prices and the devaluation of the currency. Defying fierce attacks by the reactionary forces at home and abroad, the people throughout the country responded to our great leader Chairman Mao's great call: **"Never forget class struggle."** Displaying the spirit of arduous struggle and self-reliance and building the country through diligence and frugality, they worked hard to raise production, increase revenue and reduce expenditure and succeeded in maintaining a balanced budget. At the same time, the control of the market was strengthened to ensure the stability of commodity prices and the value of money. The adverse current whipped up by Liu Shao-chi and company to restore capitalism was again thwarted!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao has won tremendous victories. This great revolutionary storm has destroyed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi and shattered its scheme to restore capitalism in China. This has strengthened our dictatorship of the proletariat more than ever, enabled our socialist economy to develop faster than ever and furnished an unprecedentedly firm basis for our finances.

There has been a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines on the financial and monetary front in China over the past 19 years. Our Renminbi has stood every kind of severe test. Always

maintaining its stability in storm and stress, it has testified to the unparalleled superiority of socialist China's monetary system under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. Today, as everyone knows, at a time when financial and monetary crises are sweeping the capitalist world and when the countries under the rule of modern revisionism are encountering grave economic difficulties, China's Renminbi stands rock firm in the world as an independent, unified and stable socialist currency.

A new leap is taking shape in China's socialist construction. As we look forward to the future we are fully confident that our socialist motherland will become ever stronger and more prosperous and that the prospects for our currency and finances are infinitely bright.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 29, 1969

Serious Unemployment Under Reactionary Soviet Revisionist Rule

UNDER the dark rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, a huge and expanding army of the unemployed has appeared in the Soviet Union. Destitute and homeless, the unemployed lead a very wretched life. This is one of the grave consequences brought about by the clique's restoration of capitalism in all spheres of endeavour in the Soviet Union.

After usurping power, the clique devised a series of "regulations" and "decrees" for restoring capitalism. The broad masses of the Soviet working people, once masters of the country, are thus reduced to hired labourers and chattels. The "decree" on the introduction of the "new economic system" in the name of enlarging the powers of managers, gives wide-ranging privileges to the capitalist roaders in industrial and mining enterprises. They can cut or hold back the payment of wages to workers and staff and recruit or dismiss workers at will. To get cheap manpower, a new "economic experiment" was recently carried out in many enterprises. Under this experiment, labour intensity is increased among part of the workers by various means such as "plurality of trades" and "increased volume of work," while the other workers are thrown out of the factories to swell the army of the unemployed. In two years' time, the Shchekino Combine and the Furmanov Factory No. 2 thus sacked more than 1800 workers.

Next September, the central committee of the revisionist Soviet party and the Council of Ministers adopted a fascist decree on making regular appraisals of the personnel on scientific research, designing and technological departments. What this decree openly stipulates is

that capitalist roaders and bourgeois reactionary "academic authorities" in these departments should make an "appraisal" of their personnel "every three years". They may charge a staff member with "bad conduct" at will, and arbitrarily "demote him or remove him from his post. In case he does not agree to this demotion he should be dismissed."

The great teacher Lenin pointed out scathingly that the scabs, **"in many cases, exploited the workers more than the old landowners and capitalists did."** The handful of capitalist roaders with Breznev as their representative are such scabs. P. Minasov, former manager of the Building and Repairing Trust under the Ministry of Agriculture, had said brazenly: "The trust is my home and I'm master. I can do what I like." When he was in office, he lorded it over the establishment and dismissed many of its workers and staff members.

As for the aged workers who have been bled white by the clique, they are easy victims, to be kicked out at will. *Trud* reported that under the pretext of "raising labour productivity" Shuru Kerimbekova and some other women workers of Kalinin Sugar Combine, who had worked in this combine from the day it went into operation, were sacked by its manager simply because they had been injured on the job.

The state of affairs in the countryside is even more serious. Large numbers of peasants have to find work in the cities because they are persecuted in the countryside. The Soviet journal *Problems of Economics* disclosed that in the Russian S. F. S. R. alone the number of "collective farm" members decreased by 3.1 million between 1959 and 1961, that is, a reduction of 27 per cent of all "collective farm" members. "Those who had to leave the collective farms and state farms were fully able-bodied men". "The journal *October* disclosed that in a "collective farm" in Volgograd Region out of 393 labourers in 1953 only 170 are left.

Unemployment has become so serious in the Soviet Union that even the Soviet revisionist press has to admit it one way or another. The journal *Problems of Economics* said that the percentage of unemployment among residents with labour power is "6-7 per cent in Moscow and Leningrad, 20 per cent on the average throughout the Soviet Union, 26 per cent in Siberia," while in Novosibirsk it has even reached 30 to 38.8 per cent in some places.

Unemployment has brought abject misery to the Soviet labouring people. Large numbers of the unemployed workers have to leave their homes and wander from place to place in search of a job. *Trud* revealed that many teenaged children have been compelled to work in factories because their parents are unemployed. Some workers were driven to suicide because, jobless for a long time, they just could not earn a living.

A mass of facts disclosed in the Soviet revisionist press eloquently shows that under the revisionist clique's fascist rule groups after groups of the Soviet labouring people have been thrown into the abyss of unemployment and misery. But all these regressive actions by Brezhnev and his gang will inevitably arouse growing and stronger resistance from the Soviet people. They will eventually bury this pack of scabs, lock, stock and barrel.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 31, 1969)

Srikakulam—Going The Way Predicted By Comrade Charu Mazumdar

As we drew nearer to the serene hills of Srikakulam, we thought of the great struggle of Telangana [of 1946-51]—Telangana, which lies in another part of this very same Andhra Pradesh. The peasants of Telangana, men and women, old and young, fought for five years the feudal Nizam and his patrons—the reactionaries led by Nehru. What valour, what death-defying heroism! And not only in Telangana. What a long history have our heroic peasants of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle!

I remembered Chairman Mao's words:

“For a hundred years, the finest sons and daughters of the disaster-ridden Chinese nation fought and sacrificed their lives, one stepping into the breach as another fell, in quest of the truth that would save the country and the people. This moves us to song and tears. But it was only after World War I and the October Revolution in Russia that we found Marxism-Leninism, the best of truths, the best of weapons for liberating our nation. And the Communist Party of China has been the initiator, propagandist and organizer in the wielding of this weapon. As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution.”

Countless peasant revolts in our country have failed as did the Telangana struggle, because the truth which could lead them to victory, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism, was yet to be found. Today, this

[Translated from the original Bengali text as appeared in the weekly DESHABRATI of August 14, 1969]

all-conquering guiding principle, Mao Tsetung Thought, has been found by our comrades. Applied in the concrete conditions of India, this guiding principle, overcoming the causes of failure of the Telangana struggle, gave a new complexion to India's struggle for liberation. The concrete application of it was made in Naxalbari, the victorious banner of which is now flying defiantly in seven States of India.

My visit to Srikakulam and my acquaintance with the soul of Srikakulam—the people, the great fighting masses of the Parvatipuram, Pathapatnam and Palakonda taluks of the Agency area—deepened my firm conviction that, today, Mao Tsetung Thought truly represents the highest stage of development of proletarian ideology, and that it can really be turned into a material force.

After visiting Srikakulam in March this year Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote the article: “Srikakulam—Will It Be The Yenan of India?” in *Deshabrati* [see *Liberation* Vol. 2, No. 5]. That was five months ago, when the struggle in Srikakulam had just begun to develop. Even at that early stage of the struggle Comrade Mazumdar made this very significant prediction.

Extremely fierce class struggle that is now raging in the State has turned the Congress government of Andhra into a ferocious enemy wild as beasts. It has sent its plain-clothes spies everywhere; villages, towns and railway stations throughout the State simply teem with them—buses, trucks and even taxis plying on the highways are stopped by them and inquiries made; they sniff about in the compartments of night trains. Our comrades had made excellent arrangements for the journey. In spite of the constant surveillance of the enemy, the comrades took us safely to the destination by a tortuous route which lay through a number of towns and villages.

The peasants there—men, women and children—have been used to maintaining secrecy, and no one is

unreasonably inquisitive or shows any interest in getting acquainted. Whenever we reached a place they would at once come forward to take care of us like our nearest kith and kin and arrange for our food and accommodation. Before we started for our next destination messengers were sent in advance to know the situation there. Comrades came from that place and took charge of the guest. We have things to learn from the excellent and well-disciplined arrangements made by the underground revolutionary organization there.

The exemplary modesty one notices in members of the great Communist Party of China, from the top leaders to the rank and file members alike, is really astounding. As they call it, it is a method of Party work. The comrades in Andhra have this great virtue in full measure. They are very modest and have profound sympathy and consideration for other comrades. They had made arrangements in advance not only for tea and cigarettes, but also for *pan*, so that a comrade coming from outside would not be deprived of even such small comforts up there on the hills. They asked many questions, but how modest, how self-critical they were in their attitude!

I met Comrade Satyanarayan, the foremost leader of the Girijans. He is 37 and rather short. He came here as a teacher, then married an Adivasi girl in 1960 and settled here. Generally people here call him "master" [teacher], but when directly addressing him they use the term *guru* [the preceptor]. The Girijans call him *gappa guru*, that is, the chief guru. There are many stories current about Comrade Satyanarayan, spread by some class enemies, mostly by the policemen. According to one such story, Comrade Satyanarayan, moves about on horse-back and leads the guerrillas and no policeman ever dares to come near him because he is armed with deadly Chinese weapons. Recently they have improved upon their own stories and provided him with an aeroplane—understan-

dably small—since he is supposed to fly about frequently from Srikakulam to Telangana, leading the guerrilla struggle in the former while, at the same time, organizing the agitation for a separate State in the latter.

Comrade Satyanarayan is inordinately modest. At every meeting he criticises himself, "I am afraid I am not able to show enough courage while my comrades are doing much better in this respect. Please criticise me and teach me." Absolutely free from any trace of conceit or commandism, he always seems to feel that his understanding is much inferior to that of others. At meetings, he invariably takes down in his note-book whenever anything important is said by anyone, no matter if the comrade who has said it is young or has little experience.

And not only Comrade Satyanarayan. The secretary of the State Committee and the members of the Secretariat of the District Committee are likewise very modest, quite self-effacing. They forced me to lie on the only *khatia*¹ available, while they themselves went to sleep on the damp floor resting their heads on their arms, a thin piece of cloth serving as their mattress.

All of them—from the Party leaders of the State down to the very young girl comrade—take notes. They take down in their note-books every point that is said. "This is how we can learn" is how they explain it. The great struggle they are carrying on may at any time claim their lives, and with this constant risk to their lives, everyone of them is making enormous sacrifice. They include, apart from the top leaders and the Girijan comrades, ex-students with B.Sc. degrees, teachers—male and female—workers from cities, and a doctor and his wife. Some serve as organizers, some as commanders of guerrilla units and some serve as doctors in the central hospital. Each of them has taken part in actions and shed the blood of

1 KHATIA—a poor man's bedstead made of small bamboo poles and coir-rope widely used in rural areas.

class enemies. But you will find absolutely no boastfulness in any of them. Everyone has the same request to make: "We have not been able as yet to grasp the politics well. Please tell us more about Mao Tsetung Thought so that we may grasp it better."

In the Telegu language *Girijan* means hillspeople. Two tribes—the *Savara* and the *Jatapu*—constitute the Girijan population in the Agency area. Of the two, the *Savaras* are more numerous, constituting about three-fourths of the Girijans, the rest being *Jatapus*. The British imperialist rulers made certain rules stopping purchase or sale of land in the areas inhabited by the Adivasis and put these hilly areas—named by them 'Agency area'—under the administration of a specially appointed official. This arrangement was made allegedly for the benefit of the Girijans. However, the only result of this has been that landlords from the plains became the owners of the land of this area. While a few Adivasis have become landlords, the masses of the Adivasi population and the *Savaras* in particular have been turned into serfs, household servants or farm labourers (who are provided with only their meals but no wages for their work) and suppliers of tamarind, turmeric and ginger to the trader-usurers at throw-away prices.

For this reason, the Adivasis in the Agency area have always been fighters since the time our organization was first set up. Since 1960 they have struggled again and again, have been thrown into jails and have fought under the *Arara Zanda* [the red flag] to defend their rights. Misled by the revisionists, they have repeatedly tried the method of the ballot box and suffered in the vain hope that the ballots cast into the tin boxes would see them through their misery and usher in good days. When the District Committee of the Party together with the rank and file comrades revolted against the Sundarayya-Basavapunnayya-Hanumantha Rao revisionist clique after

the Naxalbari armed struggle, the people sought a new path and fought bitterly against this clique.

Comrade Appalasuri is another remarkable comrade. His father was an agricultural labourer who later became a village mason. Comrade Appalasuri used to help his father in his work and himself worked as a mason. Then he came in touch with the Party. He was hunted by the police and was even captured once. But he showed great daring when he made good his escape from inside the police camp. Aged 36, Comrade Appalasuri is very reticent and extremely modest, and is a Party leader commanding great respect throughout the district.

While fighting revisionism, the revolutionary comrades of Andhra had, for some time, fallen under the influence of Nagi Reddy and Co. who babbled like this: "China and Mao Tsetung are all right. But here, in our country, we must consider armed struggle only as the last resort. True, clashes are taking place in the Girijan area; but how can we fight when we have neither training nor weapons? So, pick out three hundred men and choose a suitable site in the jungle where they can be trained up." This failed to enthuse the revolutionary comrades. Nagi insisted, "Carry on agitations, organize demonstrations and build mass organizations. Initiate movements on immediate demands, advance the slogan of seizing waste lands, organize mass petitions and go on exposing revisionism (that is, the Sundarayya gang) in newspapers; when the peasants find out that these are of no use, they themselves will take to the path of militant struggle." All this they said in the past. What Nagi and Co. are recently peddling about is even worse. For example, in their recent statement on their "immediate programme", they have gone so far as to say that revolutionaries should not go to those areas where the Dange clique or the revisionists of the CPM brand have a following, that it is not possible to carry on armed struggle in the plains, that

the struggle to obtain *pattas* [granting of lease] for waste lands is a big struggle (in Anantapur, from where Nagi hails, the Congress government of Andhra has granted *pattas* for 500 acres of land without any struggle) and so on. Their true features were soon exposed and the revolutionary comrades overcame the influence of Nagi Reddy and Co. and took the correct path. Thanks to the direct leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and their direct link-up with the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, they have been able, within the short span of only seven and a half months, to build the Srikakulam of today, which is going "to be the Yenan of India", and to build the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) along with other revolutionary comrades from different States.

Chairman Mao has said: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge" and "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." Truly, to know the soul of Srikakulam one must know its people and understand them, without this, it is impossible for us to understand the motive force that performs miracles. Only after I came here and saw the fighting leaders and masses of the Agency area I realised how true Comrade Charu Mazumdar's prediction is.

It is all hills and hills, big and small, all around and stretching far beyond into the horizon, hills covered with thick forests and bushes. The hilly path hugging the hills wends its way endlessly and when, exhausted, you begin to feel there is no end to your trekking you may be fortunate to find a hamlet. In these parts, hamlets have three or four houses, or at the most ten or twelve houses. Even one-house hamlets are not rare to find. Life here is most simple. Boiled rice has yet to be included in the items of food the people take here. They live mainly

Her
master's
voice

on the kernel taken out from the stones of mangoes. The dried kernel—powdered and mixed with water—forms their staple food. Few people outside can digest this.

It is they who have become aroused, fired with inspiration, and politically conscious. One cannot find here even the smallest things of the so-called civilization, not to speak of education. The rooms are low and dark even at day-time. It is they—the people living in these rooms, beyond the reach of civilization and education,—who are among the most politically advanced people in India today; it is they who have turned their backward, dark mountain hamlets into the brightest, most advanced bastions of revolution in India today. Proof of this I found in numerous trivial things, in the reports of guerrilla activities, etc. An entire village was burned down by the police; while the suffocating smoke, rising from the burning wood, still enveloped the village the guerrillas returned. The people of the village expressed neither grief nor resentment over the losses suffered by them; on the contrary, they brightened up on seeing the guerrillas and said, "Comrades, the wretched dogs have burned down our articles of food. Well, although we are just now unable to get a full meal for you, do come and share with us whatever food is left."

More than eight hundred Girijans have been thrown into jails. Members of their families now serve as guerrillas or are members of village defence squads, while some are engaged in making arrangements for food and accommodation for the guerrillas. There is no trace of fear or despondency anywhere. Now and then people, released from jails, return. Before going to jail they did little, if anything, for the struggle (and it is a patent fact that the police seldom is able to arrest men who matter), but now, having returned, they are asking for assignments, and are impatient to join in the fight.

The guerrilla units are carrying out actions one after

another. First, they cleared the hills of the landlords and their agents. At that time, the Congress reactionaries, the revisionists and other reactionaries spread the story that the struggle concerned only the hills people and so, would not affect in anyway the plains people. Then actions began to take place in the plains also, and class enemies and landlords are being annihilated one after another. Even round - the - clock watch by the police is proving powerless to save them. After annihilation of the class enemy, his entire property is confiscated and distributed, including even his broomsticks, among the people. Everything that a guerrilla unit captures is handed over to the Party centre. It has never happened, nor has it been heard that anyone of those valiant Girijans or other peasant comrades who participate in actions has ever taken anything for his personal appropriation.

I met a young *Savara* Girijan comrade, a guerrilla commander. Aged 22, he was placing his report in fluent Telegu; yet only six months ago he could not speak a word of Telegu nor could even understand it. He said, "We must be able to distinguish between our class enemies and our allies. We must be good at doing this so that we do not commit errors and consider our allies as our enemies." Talking about small traders he said, "they are our friends. True, they helped the police a lot against us. But they did so because they were frightened. Once we explained our policy to them their hostility decreased considerably." What this comrade said in his report boils down to this: "Politics must be put in command." According to leading comrades this comrade is advancing rapidly; with every action he takes part in, his consciousness rises to a higher level.

I heard illiterate and unassuming rank and file Girijan comrades talk of Chairman Mao during conversation. A Girijan squad commander brought the news of the killing of two policemen. The comrade accompanying me asked

him, "Why did you kill those policemen?" He replied, "Well, that's what I should do, isn't it? Hasn't Chairman Mao told us to kill policemen whenever we come across one?" They are so keen about seeing Chairman Mao. Many of them have asked the question: "Can't we see Chairman Mao?" This is no ordinary political consciousness; if anything, this is an expression of a highly developed sense of proletarian internationalism. How was it possible for these unsophisticated and simple Adivasi masses to become so highly conscious politically? Did they attain this level of consciousness by setting up, step by step, mass organizations, and through their participation in a series of economic struggles? Far from it. Nor did they attend any study class organized by any "renowned theoretician" and listen meekly with folded hands to his 'revolutionary' outpourings. Then, how to explain their high political consciousness? Chairman Mao has pointed out: "They [correct ideas] come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment" and "it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning." You can never understand this great truth from the learned debates in the cities. I would advise those who seek corroboration of this great truth to go and meet the fighting masses of Srikakulam. This would convince them that such consciousness comes from waging guerrilla warfare—the highest form of class struggle—and participating in the propagation of Mao Tsetung Thought.

We have been walking for three days and a half, stopping now and then at villages to take some rest. Comrades informed me that we are now going to meet the 'centre', which is their commonly known term for the central squad. The day we were to meet it we set out at dawn from a village. Exhausted by walking up and down the hills we had to take rest on big wayside

boulders. Down below in the distance lie the sprawling plains and the river meanders along the border of Orissa like a silver thread, and beyond that the high ranges of Orissa.

I was wondering how my first meeting with those comrades would come off. They might have carried out an action the previous night, which would leave them exhausted, and so might understandably feel irritated at my intrusion. As I walked barefoot, my feet were badly bruised, and I was eagerly hoping to find the 'centre' beyond every hill that we started to climb. And then it came.

It was dawn and we were half-walking and half-running downhill along a rather steep slope. The first rays of a rising sun was just beginning to tinge the deep blue of the sky with shades of red, when the lines of a chorus song wafted through the crisp morning air to our ears: 'Arun pataka...', meaning the red flag. As we approached, the first thing we noticed was the red flag fluttering above the heads of the assembled comrades of the 'centre'. They were greeting the red flag. With clenched fists signifying the red salute, they were standing in a circle in an open place flanked on either side by rows of rooms. In the middle stood one comrade who held the red flag high. Comrade Satyanarayan and two women sang the lines first, which were then taken up by the others. True, most of the comrades present there were far from accomplished in the art of singing and as I found, some Girijan comrades singing there did not even know the words of the song. But this proved to be no handicap at all for them in expressing their firm determination and their great love for the red flag—their own banner. The first rays of the rising sun lit up their faces, and their bold singing rang out in the surrounding hills. The song they were singing was written and set to tune by Comrade Subbarao Panigrahi, the famous revolutionary writer and playwright of Andhra. The enemy did much to persuade

him to give up revolutionary work. The producers of films invited him; his dramas proved a success and brought in thousands of rupees, and the producers who staged these dramas offered huge sums to Comrade Panigrahi. But he spurned all this and plunged into revolutionary work. His brother and sister, who are now under arrest by the reactionary government, are also very good comrades. Frustrated and furious, the enemy seeks to wreak its vengeance on this family.

The song was followed by full-throated slogans that shook the hills around—"Chairman Mao Zindabad" [Long live Chairman Mao], "Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Zindabad", "Biplab Zindabad" [Long live revolution], "Prajasainyam Zindabad" [Long live the people's army]. Then followed assignments for the day's work entrusting comrades with guard duty during the daytime and with that at night; assigning to comrades the jobs of cooking, making special diets for those who are ill, and conducting political discussions. This is the routine, the first thing that is taken up every morning after saluting the red flag, and all other jobs come later.

The comrades were overwhelmed at seeing us. All around us we heard the traditional greeting—'namaskaram', while some comrades warmly embraced us. All my misgivings were swept away and I felt as if I was back among my dearest ones.

One by one I was introduced to the comrades—the builders of new India that is emerging. I was told about the great martyr Comrade Renjim. He and others were suddenly surrounded by the police. After two policemen had been killed, Comrade Renjim was requested by the other comrades who were with him to retreat. But he refused to retreat and fought the police like a roused tiger and was killed by a bullet during the encounter.

Then I was introduced to another comrade, a guerrilla squad commander, and belonging to the same tribe as

Comrade Renjim, the *Savara*, and hailing from the same village where Comrade Renjim lived. Big and evidently possessing great physical strength, this comrade had, till the day I met him, killed five policemen including an officer. One day, as he was working in a field, two policemen armed with rifles suddenly appeared and told him, "Comrade, why are you so angry with us all the time? We are also your comrades, isn't it?" To this the guerrilla commander replied, "If you really want to be comrades, go away leaving your guns behind you." At this they suddenly began to fire blank shots. The comrade reacted instantly and threw a hand-bomb at the policemen, which killed them both. I asked the comrade, "Did not those policemen, armed with rifles and so close to you, frighten you?" With a broad smile he replied, "What is there to fear in this? As I look at it, either they would kill me or I would kill them. I don't see anything fearful in it." Amazed, I stared at the man—this communist, and through him tried to understand our heroic martyrs—Comrade Renjim, Comrade Biswakarmakar and others, men who care not the least for fame, for becoming leaders and who fear not death and are completely opposed to the bourgeois motto: "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." It is they who are the "real heroes."

Then I was introduced to a comrade from the plains, a landless peasant. Once he was sent to the plains to get some urgent supplies. He was on his way back when dawn broke. Suddenly he found himself surrounded by policemen. Without wasting his time he attacked the three or four armed policemen with his bare hands and rained blows on them. As the policemen began to run here and there, he ran away and hid in the jungle nearby.

One day a meeting of all the organizers, guerrilla commanders and guerrillas of the entire Agency area was held. Comrades were presenting their reports. One guerrilla

commander seemed greatly perturbed. His problem was that the village defence squad, ignoring instructions to the contrary, was fighting and vigorously harassing the police parties. The squad had its own argument to justify its actions—to defend a village, it argued, also means defending it from the raiding police parties.

A Girijan guerrilla commander narrated his experience of an action like this: "We entered the landlord's house from two sides. The landlord was hiding under his bedstead. I asked him to come out, and warned him if he did not, he would meet his end there. He came out and helped us find out his belongings. After that I hacked him to death."

Class hatred intensifies with each passing day. Information about the whereabouts of notorious landlords, scoundrels and wicked gentry is brought by the poor peasants of the plains. On one occasion, thanks to such information, which is accurate and covers even the smallest details, even a landlord who kept a group of hired and armed goondas in a shed outside his house could not save himself. The guerrilla unit mounted simultaneous attacks on both the goondas and the landlord killing all of them. It has also happened when poor peasants from the very village where an action is to take place came forward to guide the guerrillas to their destination. Later, when the news of the guerrilla action spread the peasants of neighbouring villages came and expressed their indignation in this way, "You should have informed us beforehand so that we could also come and join you." The feudal lords are frightened to death and allege that the police are sympathetic to the communists, while the small landlords are holding meetings and issuing appeals for sparing their lives, stating that they are ready to give away their belongings. Roused and rebellious peasants give vent to their intense class-hatred by writing slogans on walls with the blood of the annihilated landlords, or by hanging the

severed heads of landlords in public places. A Savara Girijan commander narrated an incident in this connection. He said: "We caught a notorious agent and his companion, a common trader, in our locality. Comrades were going to kill both of them. But I objected and reminded them that Party's instruction was otherwise, which enjoined upon us to kill only the agent and to let off the other person who was a poor trader and had accompanied the agent by mistake. The trader must be set free after a trial." A people's court was at once convened and a trial held in which the agent was condemned to death while the trader was set free after our policy was explained to him. The commander continued: "I hit the agent on the head and killed him with one stroke. But it did not seem enough, so the peasants cut him into three pieces and one of them even drove his knife deep into the belly of the dead landlord."

This anger against the class enemy is spreading far and wide, swift as forest fire. People from distant places come and urge us to organize guerrilla actions in their localities. After one action is completed, police come and raid the place of occurrence and many peasants are arrested. But in no case the police has been able to get hold of the seized articles or crops. Moreover, the number of arrests made by the police at present is not so large as before, and there have been cases when arrested persons have been let off after some beating in the police camps. The reason is that the enemy is realizing that they cannot prevent the recurrence of guerrilla actions by arresting ordinary peasants.

The peasantry throughout Andhra has adopted guerrilla action as the main form of their struggle. The revisionist Polit Bureau of the CPM is today appealing with folded hands to the Congress government of Andhra, "Please give land to the Girijans and relief to the peasants. Unless this is done the extremists cannot be fought," while

Harekrishna Jyoti Basu and others in West Bengal fume and froth against the Congress Party. In Andhra their assumed air of militancy is of no avail. Nagi Reddy's is a case in point. Nagi's followers are carrying out guerrilla actions in the two districts in the plains where they have some influence. This has put Nagi and Co. in a fix. They can neither disown the actions of their own followers nor can they prevent them from doing it. So, *Janashakti*, their organ, has to play it safe by completely shutting out news of the actions their own followers are carrying out. Nagi has now taken up the song of the Congress reactionaries and says that the struggle that is now going on in the Girijan area cannot fit into and be extended to the plains, because, as he claims, the condition in the former is unique. For the plains he permits only such struggle as making peasants who sell toddy [fermented palm juice] the owners of palm trees, or obtaining rights over waste lands, and forming only small groups carrying sticks for use, if ever, in the distant future. Finally, he has expressly forbidden any offensive struggle in the plains. In order not to be branded by the reactionary ruling classes of India as a pro-China revolutionary, he is now frantically trying to keep the peasants in the plains away from the influence of guerrilla actions, even if he has to do this at the cost of the lives of his own followers (some of them were killed by police bullets in Khammam district).

Four years ago, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao generalized the lessons of the enormous revolutionary experience of the Chinese Revolution for the communists of the whole world. He pointed out: "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy." "Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions". After the conclusion of the great Ninth National Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of

China, the above thesis of Comrade Lin Piao that "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy" has opened up a new chapter in Marxism-Leninism. It must be pointed out that today this is the only way by which we can mobilize the Indian people and that there is no other way by which we can achieve this goal. The experience of the revolutionary armed struggle in Andhra has fully proved, both by positive and negative examples, that there is not, nor can there be, any other method which can replace the method of guerrilla warfare. It is only by waging guerrilla warfare, which has now spread to seven of the twenty districts of Andhra and is about to start in five others, that we have been able to win over the masses from under the influence of all the various political parties which serve reaction.

The announcement of the formation of our Party and the declaration that it has adopted guerrilla warfare as the main form of struggle have thrown the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlords and all their lackeys throughout the country into panic, making it impossible for the hidden lackeys to hide their features any longer. They now cry out in alarm, "You are making a mess of it. You will surely ruin the prospects if you persist in your folly and ignore the task of arousing the masses!" These hidden lackeys of reaction, forced out of their lair in which they had been hiding for long, have begun to chant 'struggle for immediate demands', 'building mass organizations' etc. They have lost all power of reason and forgot all about the "stage of Indian revolution," and the class nature of the ruling and exploiting classes. In their desperate attempts to justify their untenable standpoint, they are creating legalist illusions and advancing arguments which totally reject the established facts, namely, that India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country, which refuse to reject the parliamentary path and lead, if extended logically, to the slogan of a socialist revolution.

The red political power which has been established in this hilly area of Srikakulam has turned the whole district, nay, the whole of Andhra red. With the consolidation of this power and as a result of the series of fresh guerrilla actions, the level of consciousness continues to rise. After the guerrilla actions had started, the Party gave the call for building mass organizations, and this gave birth to the Ryotanga Sangrama Samity.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China introduced new concepts in organizing the masses to replace the old concepts of building mass organizations. Experience is now bringing the realization to our comrades that this has tremendous significance for the Indian revolution and for the world revolution. Only after the Ninth Congress of CPC it is now being realized that traditional mass organizations, even when built in a most revolutionary way, tend to curb the initiative of the masses who are inspired by revolutionary consciousness.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China teaches us to set up revolutionary committees by consulting the whole people. Only such a committee can express the will of the whole people. This is being proved in Srikakulam. An extremely valuable lesson which has been gained through our experience in applying Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India, where a revolutionary situation is prevailing, is that we must basically change our existing concepts about mass organizations. To sum up, it means—Party, guerrilla warfare and revolutionary committee.

Party's leadership is firmly established in the current broad revolutionary activity in Andhra. The Party is publishing its own illegal newspaper and hundreds of thousands of pamphlets are being printed and distributed. Chairman Mao's instruction is: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat." After the Ninth Congress of the CPC we have little

difficulty in understanding who these "advanced elements of the proletariat" are. As the Report to the Ninth Congress points out: "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 "advanced elements of the proletariat" are those who have accepted Mao Tsetung Thought, the highest expression of the proletarian ideology, and apply it conscientiously in the concrete conditions of their own country.

This hilly area provides an excellent place for building a base area. It satisfies all the five conditions laid down by Chairman Mao for building a base area. Who in this world can stop us from building one?

The enemy is increasing its strength with a view to launching attacks. The Central Reserve Police units, armed with modern weapons have already set up a series of camps. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't." Further, as Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has said, "You rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people." It seems Brahma-nanda Reddy [the chief of the Andhra government] is determined to serve as our honorary Minister for Supplies. Well, we don't think that would be a bad thing at all.

The time came for my departure. In one voice the comrades invited me to come again and we raised slogans together.

It was getting dark and we had to feel our way forward bumping every now and then against rocks. The silent hills looked more sombre in the enveloping darkness. The lights in scattered and far away villages shone like so many fire-flies.

I was taking stock of my experience and found that I had learned many things in the few days that I stayed

there. I thought of those wretched scabs who don the mask of a revolutionary only to decry the guerrillas of Srikakulam as bandits, and felt a deep hatred for these rotten men. When the known lackeys of the imperialists and feudal lords heap abuse on us, one can understand that. But when these sneaking scabs dare to open their mouth to abuse the men who have conquered death and spurned temptation and illusion—men who are pouring their blood and sweat and toil unstintedly to lay the foundation of an emerging new India, brick by brick—when men like these are called "bandits", one's hatred and indignation at the vicious scabs simply know no bounds. Since you dare call them "bandits", one may ask: What are you? Who gave you the right to abuse the heroic guerrillas?

Tired and exhausted, we climbed down in the darkness of night and was resting in a jungle. The first lights of the dawn were already filtering through the foliage. With eyes shining brightly a comrade was looking far in front of him. He said: "Revolution has removed the barriers of boundaries between States. Now we are marching forward into Orissa, and from there into Madhya Pradesh." The sun was rising and the east grew red. I seemed to hear the vigorous Telegu song written by Comrade Satyanarayan:

"Rise up, oh, ye Adivasi heroes,
And flex the muscles
of your taut and sinewy body,
And plunge with the force of a hurricane
Into battle against your class enemies."

Guerrilla Struggle Forges Ahead In Muzaffarpur Despite Repression

A few days ago, the Red guerrillas of the Paru area in the Muzaffarpur district made a daring and successful attack on a group of notorious and tyrant landlords and their lackeys belonging to Bara-Daud village while they were taking tea in a roadside tea-shop. Kalika Singh, a tyrant and notorious landlord who has been most actively helping the police in arresting underground peasant cadres, in inflicting all sorts of tortures on them and in unleashing a reign of terror in the area was killed and two others were seriously injured.

It should be borne in mind, that after the Mushahari guerrilla attack that took place on 5th June, massive police action has started in the entire district of Muzaffarpur. The reactionary government has launched a general offensive against the whole Party in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts. Having dismally failed to capture a single guerrilla, they have become desperate. They have so far made attacks on the residence of about 600 peasants covering 7 thanas in Muzaffarpur district and searched them. What to speak of Party members and sympathisers, even the remote relatives of our comrades have not been spared. The brother-in-law of Comrade Rajkishore Singh, the beloved leader of Mushahari, has been arrested and charged with the worst crimes. There have been a series of attacks by the police for apprehending the guerrilla squads and after their failure to trace even a single guerrilla, the police have confiscated the entire properties of many comrades. The DIG of the Northern Range has made massive attacks on the neighbouring villages of Darbhanga district in search of revolutionaries. Landlords have been actively aiding the police in all these activities.

Not only this, the Adviser to the Governor, Mr. T. P. Singh, recently held a conference of all the Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police of Tirhut Division, the Commissioner of the Division, and the DIG of the Northern Range in Muzaffarpur and decided to launch massive repression with a view to suppressing the peasantry and their guerrillas. They have increased the total police strength in North Bihar in general and in the Muzaffarpur district in particular. The General Secretary of Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav in a recent press conference asked the Governor to put down "the fire of peasant rebellion instigated by anti-national elements" in Muzaffarpur. Now, for about a month they are using the mounted police for patrolling. Altogether, 46 peasants have been arrested. However, they have failed to arrest a single guerrilla fighter.

Owing to intensive patrolling by the armed police force, it has become difficult for the guerrillas to operate in large numbers. They are drawing proper lessons and have divided their forces. They now attack in small numbers and often they make surprise attacks. The combing operations are bound to fail.

The Paru squad, which was headed by a poor peasant, led the above attack and won success. The landlord Kalika Singh was not only a tyrant landlord but was actively helping the police in the "encirclement campaign." He had mercilessly beaten the peasants in the presence of the armed police force.

This attack is a stern warning to all the landlords and the tyrant police officers. Not a single enemy will be spared. Every tyrant will be severely punished. "Encirclement campaign and combing operations" are no barriers for the people's guerrillas. They will split their forces and escape encirclement. They will make surprise attacks and disappear. People will act as the "sea" and the guerrillas as the "fishes."

Rapid Advance Of Guerrilla Struggle

ELSEWHERE in this issue appears a report of the fast developing guerrilla struggle in the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar. With the formation of the CPI (M-L) the guerrilla struggle under the leadership of the Party is also making a swift advance in different other parts of the country.

PUNJAB

National Herald of Allahabad reported in its issue of August 20, 1969 :

"The activities of the Naxalites are on the increase in the region [Patiala division]. According to a report received from the village of Dhandiwal in Sangrur district eight armed Naxalites visited the house of the village *sarpanch*, but he was not found there. The Naxalites then threatened the members of his family that the *sarpanch* should not cultivate the land of the late General Balwant Singh, retired G.O.C.-in-C., Patiala State Army, in the village of Quila Hakiman or he would also be shot dead...General Balwant Singh had leased out his farm land in the Qila Hakiman village to the *sarpanch* of the Dhandiwal village and that led to the Naxalite trouble. The Naxalites set fire to his fodder house and damaged agricultural machinery in the farm. Later the Naxalites allegedly shot General Balwant Singh dead when he was at his Patiala farm."

National Herald also reported :
"A special police cell was set up by the district police here [Patiala] yesterday to fight the growing menace of

Naxalites in the region. The cell is headed by the deputy superintendent of police, Mr. Gian Singh, and includes among others, an inspector of police and six sub-inspectors. Meanwhile, the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, has convened an emergency meeting of senior police officers of the Patiala division here tomorrow [August 20] to discuss ways and means for meeting the Naxalite threat."

UTTAR PRADESH

Replying to questions in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha on August 19, 1969, U.P.'s chief minister, C. B. Gupta, said that persons associated with Naxalite activities believed in violence and armed revolt and incited villagers to revolt against big farmers and occupy their land forcibly. They moved to urban areas after covering the rural fold. He referred to the activities of an organized group in Lakhimpur-Kheri district where it had organized several raids. He referred in particular to a guerrilla raid on August 2, during which the guerrillas injured two landlords and took away some property and a gun.

C. B. Gupta said that adequate police arrangements had been made in Lakhimpur district to curb the activities of the so-called lawless elements. A special squad of the PAC had also been posted in that area.

ANDHRA

In the Andhra Legislative Assembly, chief minister Brahmananda Reddy outlined on August 21 "a five-point programme to improve the lot of the tribals and wean them away from the Naxalite path". The chief minister admitted that " 'police action' alone would not be sufficient to check the unlawful and criminal activities of the extremist Communists.

"Stressing the importance of punitive and economic operations to put down the armed insurrection of the Naxalites who had formed themselves into armed bands

roaming about the adjoining areas, terrorising people, looting property and murdering innocent people, the chief minister warned the House that 'we should free ourselves from this menace which is threatening the very fabric of our democracy.' (Indian Express, Vijaywada Edn., Aug. 22)

Earlier, J. Vengal Rao, Home Minister, said that the Naxalites in Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal and Nalgonda districts in the state intended to cause a civil war and were aiming at a political gain.

On August 29, India's Home Minister, Y. B. Chavan, told the Lok Sabha that there was no question of "ignoring or condoning" the Naxalite violence in some parts of the country, but at the same time, "we should not take a panicky or exaggerated view of the matter." He said that the state governments were very much "wide awake" to the situation. He praised in particular the 'United Front' governments of West Bengal and Kerala led by the Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Ranadive clique and the Congress government of Andhra. He said **even the West Bengal Government was aware of the political danger involved and tried to take suitable action.** The Andhra government was also taking very serious notice of what was happening in Srikakulam where the Naxalites had been active in recent weeks. **He was glad that even the Kerala government took energetic action against these activities.** (Statesman, Aug. 30).

Comment is superfluous.

Indian Comrades Now Residing In North America Hail The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

(From Chingari, organ of the Ad-hoc Committee of the Hindustani Ghadar Party, July 1969)

THE Ad-hoc Committee of the Hindustani Ghadar Party, consisting of the Indian communists resident in Canada, Quebec and the United States, enthusiastically hails the foundation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and resolutely supports its political resolution. The formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), based on Mao Tsetung Thought, and the announcement of this news at the May Day rally in Calcutta by Comrade Kanu Sanyal, has filled the hearts of the working and oppressed peoples of India with fresh vigour and determination.

Chingari, a monthly organ of the Ad-hoc Committee of the Hindustani Ghadar Party, enthusiastically published the political resolution of the CPI (M-L) in its June issue. This resolution received the militant support of the large number of Indian comrades in North America. These comrades support whole-heartedly the revolutionary mobilization of the forces of the people both at home and abroad against the reactionary forces of semi-feudalism bureaucrat capitalism and the agents of neo-colonialism in India.

The most crucial task facing the Indian revolutionaries is the agrarian revolution. The first spark of the agrarian revolution which started two years ago in Naxalbari has spread throughout India and has proved the correctness of the analysis of the concrete conditions of India by the

communist revolutionaries ; it has also won broad approval of the working class, the landless and poor peasants and other revolutionary elements. The CPI (M-L) represents and leads the revolutionary forces of the agrarian revolution, a revolution guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, the Marxism-Leninism of our era. The CPI (M-L) has consolidated the revolutionary struggle for the agrarian revolution and will lead the working class, the landless and poor peasant and other revolutionary elements to final victory in the new democratic revolution and defeat the four enemies of the Indian people—landlords, bureaucrat capitalists, U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. We believe strongly that this party will unite still more closely and build still more firmly a revolutionary united front between the Indian and the Chinese people and will destroy U.S. imperialism and its chief accomplice, modern revisionism.

The Ad-hoc Committee of the Hindustani Ghadar Party stands firmly in support of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), conducts intensive propaganda in favour of the agrarian revolution in India, combats all reactionary propaganda done against the Indian people and our Marxist-Leninist party, seeks large-scale support for the new democratic revolution, and mobilizes more and more Indian revolutionaries resident in North America to return home and participate in the Indian revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Long Live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) !

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought !

Chinese Government Lodges Strong Protest With Soviet Government

- * The Soviet Government has directed Soviet troops to deliberately make a series of provocations in many parts of the Sino-Soviet border in June and July.
- * The grave incident of bloodshed provoked by the Soviet Government on August 13 in the Tiehliekti area in Yumin County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is the inevitable result of the whole series of border incidents provoked by the Soviet Government in a planned and prepared way.
- * It demands that the Soviet Government immediately stop all its activities of intrusion and provocation against China, immediately dismantle all the installations and military works it has illegally built up and desist from further obstructing the normal navigation of Chinese vessels on Sino-Soviet boundary rivers. Otherwise, the Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China in a note on August 19 to the Soviet Embassy in China lodged a strong protest with the Soviet Government against its direction of Soviet troops to make repeated intrusions into China's territory, territorial waters and air space in many parts of the Sino-Soviet border in June and July, provoking a series of border incidents in a planned and prepared way. The note points out that the grave incident of bloodshed provoked by the Soviet Government on August 13 in the Tiehliekti area in Yumin County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is the inevitable result of the whole series of provocative acts of

the Soviet Government. The note demands that the Soviet Government immediately stop all its activities of intrusion and provocation against China. Otherwise, the Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom. The full text of the note reads as follows :

Embassy of the U.S.S.R in China :

On June 6 and 11 and July 8, 1969 respectively, the Chinese Government lodged protests with the Soviet Government against its direction of Soviet troops to provoke a series of border incidents in May this year, create on June 10 a fresh incident of bloodshed in the western part of the Barluk Mountains in Yumin County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, and provoke an incident of armed conflict in the Pacha Island area of China on July 8.

However, ignoring the repeated warnings of the Chinese Government and obstinately clinging to its aggressor stand, the Soviet Government has directed Soviet troops to make repeated intrusions into China's territory, territorial waters and air space in many parts of the Sino-Soviet border for reconnaissance and provocation, build military works, open fire with guns and cannons on Chinese personnel and Chinese territory, obstruct Chinese frontier guards' normal patrols, interfere with Chinese civilians' normal productive labour and sabotage normal navigation by Chinese vessels on Sino-Soviet boundary rivers. From June 1 to July 31, the Soviet Government created as many as 429 incidents of provocation along the border. The grave incident of bloodshed provoked by the Soviet Government on August 13 in the Tiehlikti area in Yumin County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is the inevitable result of the whole series of border incidents provoked by the Soviet Government in a planned and prepared way in June and July.

Among the border incidents provoked by the Soviet Government in June and July, the following grave cases may be cited :

In the western part of the Barluk Mountains in Yumin County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, Soviet troops, after creating the June 10 incident of bloodshed, have not only continued their intrusions into this area to build military works, construct an observation tower, install military telephone lines and open fire on Chinese frontier guards on patrol duty, but even extended such activities of intrusion and provocation to the Tiehlikti area in Yumin County, penetrating a depth of 3 kilometres into Chinese territory where they built a road, illicitly set up boundary markers and constructed military works.

In the Hochiaok area in Toli County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, the Soviet side dispatched on July 31 a helicopter, military vehicles of different types and nearly a hundred soldiers to intrude into the area and open fire on the Chinese frontier guards on patrol duty there.

In the Pierkwu area in Jimnei County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, Soviet troops have penetrated a depth of more than one kilometre into Chinese territory, where they have been digging trenches and installing military telephone lines.

In the Chenpao Island area in Hulin County of Heilungkiang Province, China, between June 1 and July 31, Soviet troops frequently opened fire from the Soviet bank with light and heavy machineguns on the island and the Chinese bank, firing a total of 1,116 bursts and 943 single shots. What was particularly grave was that the Soviet troops wounded three Chinese frontier guards in their firing on the morning of June 11.

In the Chilichin Island area in Jaoho County of Heilungkiang Province, China, between July 22 and 31, Soviet troops opened fire daily from the Soviet bank with

light and heavy machineguns on the island and the Chinese bank, firing a total of 303 bursts and 18 single shots. On July 26, they even opened heavy artillery fire on the island.

In the Wupalao Island area in Huma County of Heilungkiang Province, China, between June 1 and July 31, Soviet troops almost daily opened fire from the Soviet bank with light and heavy machineguns on the island and the Chinese bank, firing a total of 1,743 bursts and 1,067 single shots.

In the Pacha Island area in Fuyuan County of Heilungkiang Province, China, Soviet troops, after provoking the July 8 armed conflict, have incessantly dispatched many gunboats and aircraft to intrude into that area for various provocative activities.

In the area east of the county town of Suifenho in Heilungkiang Province, China, Soviet troops have not only refused to dismantle the installations they built there and to level the trenches they dug there, but have gone further to build military works and install military telephone lines within Chinese territory.

In June and July, Soviet military aircraft of various types frequently intruded into China's air space for reconnaissance and provocation. They flew as many as 40 sorties, and some of them even penetrated a depth of 20 kilometres into Chinese territory covering a distance of 50 kilometres.

In June and July, right at the time when a meeting between the Chinese and Soviet sides was being held in Poli to consult on the safeguarding of normal navigation on Sino-Soviet boundary rivers, the Soviet side continued to send out repeatedly its gunboats to carry out all sorts of provocations against Chinese civilian vessels on normal navigation along the main channels of the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers, seriously menacing the safe navigation of Chinese vessels.

The above facts irrefutably show that while professing that "urgent practical measures should be taken to normalize the situation on the Soviet-Chinese border," the Soviet Government has actually adopted measures to ceaselessly aggravate tension along the border.

Therefore, the Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Soviet Government against the series of provocative acts it deliberately perpetrated in June and July, and demands that the Soviet Government immediately stop all its activities of intrusion and provocation against China, immediately dismantle all the installations and military works it has illegally built up and desist from further obstructing the normal navigation of Chinese vessels on Sino-Soviet boundary rivers. Otherwise, the Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
the People's Republic of China
Peking August 19, 1969

NOTES

(Continued from page 16)

open threats were used by the Prime Minister. Immediately after, she carried out the threat by dismissing unceremoniously Morarji Desai, the deputy prime minister and finance minister. To brighten up her own image before the people, to strengthen her own position in relation to her opponents, to deceive the masses, she adopted the measure of nationalizing 14 major banks in India—a measure much needed by the leading bankers themselves. It was a measure aimed at developing bureaucrat capital still further and concentrating control over available financial resources in the hands of the most powerful section of the big bourgeoisie. The revisionist lackeys of the imperialists and social-imperialists immediately went into raptures over this measure and painted it in glowing colours as a step towards socialism. An attempt was made to set up a 'United Front' at the centre, a 'United Front' under the leadership of Indira Gandhi—a consummation devoutly wished for by the revisionists for quite a long time. Relying on the revisionist stooges, Indira Gandhi and her friends demanded the freedom to vote in the Presidential election according to their obliging conscience, that is, the freedom to vote against the Congress nominee while remaining members of the Congress. The trick worked. Though the bosses of the Congress organization, collectively known as the Syndicate, controlled most of the Congress votes, the Congress Prime Minister could rally a substantial number of them to defeat the Congress nominee in a very close fight.

This victory has been hailed by the revisionists of all hues with glee. The 'United Front' government of West Bengal led by the revisionists declared a holiday to celebrate it! In a statement issued after the election results were announced, the Polit Bureau of the Sundarayya-

Namboodiripad-Ranadive clique has hailed "the victory of Sri V. V. Giri in the Presidential contest and views it as a political victory for the popular and democratic forces against the forces of extreme reaction in the country."

More ecstatic was the Dange clique. In an article "Present Political Situation and CP(M)", this clique's general secretary C. Rajeswara Rao described this victory as a victory for their Programme of 1964 and the political line they have been pursuing for a long time. Rajeswara Rao said:

"These developments have carried the political polarisation of forces that occurred in West Bengal and Kerala to the all-India plane. Combined reaction has received a severe blow on an all-India scale for the first time and a new vista has been opened up for the left and democratic parties and democratic sections of Congressmen to give further blows to Right reaction and take the country forward along the road of progress, democracy and well-being of the people if they give up petty partisan considerations and forge a united front on the basis of a minimum programme and lead the masses forward. Such a bright future for our country and big opportunity for left and democratic forces was never there in the last 22 years since the attainment of independence (sic!)." (*New Age*, Aug. 31, 1969).

Rajeswara Rao defined the task they had taken upon themselves:

"We will work much more vigorously and with confidence, strengthened by the recent developments, for forging unity of all the Left and democratic parties and forces in the struggle against Right reaction on specific all-India political and mass issues and for an all-in United Front on the basis of a common minimum democratic programme." (Ibid)

The *New Age* reporter from Moscow wrote that the victory of Giri was acclaimed by the Soviet social-imperialists. *Pravda* depicted the struggle between Indira and

the Syndicate as an intense struggle between the democratic and the reactionary forces backed by the Western imperialists.

How deceitful was all this talk about "polarisation of forces," victory for anti-imperialist, popular and democratic forces over pro-imperialist, reactionary forces, was proved when *New York Times*, an organ of the U.S. monopolists, welcomed no less enthusiastically the victory of V. V. Giri in an editorial. It said:

"With election of Mr V. V. Giri as President of India, Mrs Gandhi has now a dramatic and climactic victory over the conservative old guard of the Congress party...For the second time in as many months she has proved herself a courageous, tough-minded political as well as an exceedingly skilful tactician—a Prime Minister in her own right and not a transitional figure, trading on her legacy as the daughter of Nehru. Now Mrs Gandhi is compelled by circumstances to act courageously to rejuvenate a divided, immobilized Congress party that has failed conspicuously to carry out its programmes and is paying the political price for that failure. But more than bold manoeuvring is required."

The paper added that Mrs Gandhi had now "a unique opportunity to serve her country and remake her party by welding it to a clear-cut, realistic programme of *desperately-needed social and economic reforms*."

The paper also warned: "It is a chance that may not come again in a free India." (*Statesman*, Aug. 24, 1969).

The imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries realize that the victory of Giri provides "a chance that may not come again in a free India"—the chance of carrying out certain *desperately-needed social and economic "reforms"* to stem the tide of agrarian revolution.

The revisionists are eager to set up at the centre, as in West Bengal and Kerala, a "united front" of counter-revolutionaries as a ruse to befool the people, as a shield to

protect the ruling classes from the relentless attacks of the people. But both the factions of the Congress reactionaries have chosen a different course. "Unity", not discipline, was the theme of the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee. And unity between the warring factions was patched up. The imperialists and reactionaries are well aware of the necessity of forming a 'united front' but they considered this premature at this stage. For, what would happen after the 'united front' had failed—as fail it must? They have grown wiser and sadder after the South Vietnam experience. After Diem had been removed, governments at Saigon fell like nine pins and the U.S. imperialists were obliged to run the show more openly. Such a possibility is a shuddering one in a vast country like India. The 'united front' at the centre can only be the last exercise in 'parliamentary democracy'. So the revisionists and the other "democratic" parties, who had rushed to New Delhi, like vultures attracted by a stinking corpse, were sorely disappointed. The corpse stirred. Unity between the rival Congress factions, as we said, was patched up.

But this patch-work cannot last. Despite their united front against the people and revolution, the different factions of the ruling classes, who have hitched their wagons to the stars of various imperialist powers, chiefly U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, will be again at each other's throat. Sharp contradictions will tear them asunder again and again. These will be made more sharp and disintegration of all the ruling parties, including the revisionist ones, will be hastened by the rising tide of armed peasant struggles in the country. As Chairman Mao said, "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily."

INDIA'S NEW PRESIDENT

The recent Presidential election has been claimed by the revisionists of all hues as a momentous struggle

between extreme reaction and progress, between the imperialists and the collaborating section of the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the people on the other. The official Congress candidate was opposed and defeated by a non-official Congress candidate, the nominee of the Congress Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who enjoyed the enthusiastic support of all the so-called democratic and left parties including the revisionists of all brands. V. V. Giri, the erstwhile trade unionist lackey of the British imperialists and their Indian compradors, became overnight a symbol of the Indian people's aspirations for freedom and social justice, the knight-errant warring against the vested interests represented by the Syndicate, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra. When we call India's newly elected *Rastrapati* an "erstwhile trade unionist lackey of the British imperialists and their Indian compradors," we do not merely refer to his political faith and activities that served the interests of the enemies of the Indian people. We refer in particular to the role assigned to him, a role similar to that of Dange, a role much commended by the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India during the direct British rule. Are we being unjust to our 'esteemed' *Rastrapati*? Let us then listen to what the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India had to say about him in 1935. In the book "India and Communism"—marked "confidential" and "issued only to those officers whose duties lay at headquarters, central or provincial"—the Intelligence Bureau proposed "supplementary measures" needed to combat the menace of communism. It wrote :

"What present-day politicians delight to call 'repressive measures' cannot, however, alone combat so all-embracing and all-pervasive a menace as Communism. Given adequate legal sanctions, the police and magistracy and the postal and customs services can each do something towards reducing the risk of widespread lawlessness in the

trades-union and agrarian fields and can to some extent curtail or sterilize the activities of the few who show signs of misleading the many ;.....*The ultimate solution of this problem is in other hands ; to them must be left the task of translating into terms of Indian economics the many good features of the communist system.....*It was probably thoughts such as these which prompted the Inspectors-General of Police of all the Indian provinces, when they were in conference recently, not only to exhort the Government in India to reinforce the law of the land when the temporary legislation expires at the end of 1935 *but also to press 'the desirability of the development in India of a healthy trades-union movement'*. For this reason, the steps which have recently been taken to implement those parts of the Whitley Commission Report and of certain Geneva conventions¹ which are capable of present acceptance, are particularly welcome. *Such legislation cannot fail to strengthen the hands of legitimate trades-unionists such as Messrs N. M. Joshi and V. V. Giri who are themselves helping to pass it into law. Every step in this direction is a setback to those who point out the direct and bloody path of armed revolution as the only road to freedom and prosperity for the masses.*" (pp. 306-7)

Perhaps this is enough. But we may quote a few more lines for the benefit of those who are still enamoured of trade unions and of the Trade Union Road to Revolution. The writer of the above book, the then Assistant Director of Intelligence Bureau, observed :

"I am convinced that nowhere in industrial India need communist principles and Bolshevik methods prevail if only other outlets can be provided for the voicing of the workers' complaints. Rather than any inherent preference on the part of the workers and the peasantry for the tenets and doctrines of the Communist International, of which they have but the haziest understanding, it is the apathy of those who advocate 'class collaboration' (as

distinct from 'class struggle') which provides the Communists with their main opportunity. At times of excitement the police can hold the ring but they cannot compel the legitimate trades-unionists to enter it.' (pp. 306-7).

Of course, the Intelligence Bureau found no occasion for complaint against V. V. Giri—V. V. Giri who was guilty of no apathy and promptly entered the ring when the police held it. It was the strategy of the British imperialists, strongly recommended by the Inspectors-General of Police of the different provinces of British India, to encourage trade unionism in order to lure the working class away from revolutionary politics, in order to make it forget its role as the leader of the Indian revolution. The British imperialists obtained the loyal services of V. V. Giri and men like him in carrying out this strategy. Today, 'the impostors who call themselves "communists" and "Marxists" are no less "legitimate trades-unionists" than V. V. Giri. There are others, too, who pay lip service to Mao Tsetung Thought but who are carrying out the same strategy of the imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and domestic reactionaries.

"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities : One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."

—MAO TSETUNG

IN THIS ISSUE

Communist Party Of India (Marxist-Leninist) Sends Message of Condolence On The Death of President Ho Chi Minh	...	1
✓ Resolution of The Central Organizing Committee of CPI(M-L) On The Death of President Ho Chi Minh	...	2
Party's Call To The Youth and Students— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i>	...	5
Fight Against The Concrete Manifestations Of Revisionism— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i>	...	8
NOTES	...	16
— <i>The Enemy Rots With Every Passing Day</i>		
— <i>India's New President</i>		
Agrarian Revolution and Crisis Within The Reactionary Classes— <i>Satyanarin Singh</i>	...	17
India—A Vivid Specimen of How Soviet Revisionists Push Social-Imperialism — <i>Chang Ou</i>	...	27
Comments On Stanislavsky's "System" — <i>Red Flag</i>	...	24
✓ Great Victory For Mao Tsetung Thought On Financial and Monetary Front— <i>Hung Yin-hang</i>	...	50
✓ Srikakulam—Going The Way Predicted By Comrade Charu Mazumdar	...	66
Guerrilla Struggle Forges Ahead In Bihar	...	86
Rapid Advance of Guerrilla Struggle	...	88
Indian Comrades Abroad Hail CPI(M-L)	...	91
Chinese Government Lodges Strong Protest With Soviet Government	...	93

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