

Liberation

May-July 1970

Vol. 3, Nos 7-9

CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG'S GREAT CALL
TO THE WORLD'S PEOPLE:

People of the world, unite and defeat
U. S. Aggressors and all their
running dogs

May 20, 1970

A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Viet Nam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of north Viet Nam, and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the joint declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression in Cambodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was recognized by nearly 20 countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the Southeast Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or

(Continued on Page 3)

Chairman's call of May 20 ushers in a new age

— CHARU MAZUMDAR

On May 20 last Chairman Mao issued a statement to the world's revolutionary people as a guide-line for the coming days. This statement bears a profound significance. It makes many demands on the revolutionary masses in different countries of the world. That is why May 20 of this year has ushered in a new age on this earth. This is the age of the victory of the people, the age of the defeat of imperialism and its running dogs, the age of their total collapse.

By invading Cambodia U.S. imperialism has spread its war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China as a preparation for the third world war. That is why the Chairman has declared

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 2)

the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

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

(Continued from Page 3)

that the danger of a world war is still there. But it is not imperialistic aggression that is the main characteristic of this age. At the very time the U.S. aggression has been taking place, the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China have forged their unity, their war of resistance has grown more resolute, the web of false illusions that modern revisionism wove has been torn into shreds, the people's march of victory has begun, the revolutionary people in different countries are loud in denouncing imperialism, and resistance to imperialism has developed throughout the world. That is why the Chairman has declared his support to the militant people of Indo-China and all other revolutionary people of the world. He has announced that great China is an ally and comrade-in-arms in all these struggles. The Chairman has said that the day when the people were afraid of imperialism is over: today it is imperialism that is afraid of the offensive of the people. This is the era of revolution, the era of the victory of revolution. That is why the Chairman has issued this call to the revolutionary masses in different countries: Be resolute in attacks, the day of victory in the struggle is imminent.

This statement of the Chairman is infusing boundless self-confidence into the minds of the revolutionaries. He says: March onward, this is the era of the offensive of the people, consolidate all your forces and wage the offensive. Today, imperialism is powerless to crush or suppress the revolutionary forces. However weak you may be, your offensive today is sure to multiply your strength. Chairman Mao has issued the call to the people to march forward with this conviction. It is through this statement that the Chairman has given this conviction to the revolutionary people of the entire world.

Indian comrades, cast off all weakness, spread your struggle to every village, give up all ideas of self-defence. This is the era of self-sacrifice, the era of the liberation of the world.

(Continued on Page 6)

Communique Of The CENTRAL COMMITTEE Communist Party Of India (MARXIST-LENINIST)

May 24, 1970

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—the First Congress after Naxalbari, after the Party was rebuilt on Mao Tsetung Thought—was held about the middle of May, 1970. The Party Congress was successfully held in underground conditions, conditions of utmost secrecy, and was attended by comrade delegates from various States of India, who had been elected by their respective State Conferences.

The Congress unanimously adopted the Party Programme, the Party Constitution and the Political-Organizational Report and elected the Central Committee.

The Congress was convened at immense risk when the reactionary ruling classes, threatened by the surging revolutionary struggle, had intensified their attack on the Party. The Congress aimed at developing and strengthening the unity that already existed among the revolutionary ranks. The Congress was truly a Congress of unity and became the pledge of the victory of the Indian revolution.

The Congress greets Chairman Mao

Following is the text of the resolution greeting Chairman Mao Tse tung, adopted by the Party Congress amidst acclamations:

With a sense of profound gratitude this Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) sends its revolutionary greetings to Chairman Mao Tse tung, to whose all-conquering Thought and to whom personally our Party owes its birth and phenomenal growth, who, by personally initiating and leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China—the victory of which was consummated in the historic Ninth National Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China—has transformed China into the bastion, the base area, of world revolution—the source of hope and inspiration for our Party.

The Congress is proud to record that our Party and revolution have received and are receiving the personal care and guidance of Chairman Mao.

(Continued from Page 4)

The exploited and oppressed masses of the different countries will liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression. Take upon yourselves that sacred task, forget all ideas of self-defence, attack and destroy the enemy. The vast upsurge of tens of millions of people will strengthen your hands, you will advance at an irresistible speed towards the liberation of the world.

Comrades, march onward to fulfil with all your strength the task of spreading the class struggle to every village in India—the task that our Party Congress has undertaken. Let the Chairman's call be your *mantra* :

**"BE RESOLUTE, FEAR NO SACRIFICE AND
SURMOUNT EVERY DIFFICULTY TO WIN
VICTORY."**

Avenge the Death of the Great Martyrs,

Following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Party Congress, paying homage to the great martyrs who have fallen fighting for the cause of the Indian revolution :

Like all revolutions in history, our revolution too calls for martyrs' blood and the martyrs' blood purifies class ranks and creates the new man ready to die for revolution. During those great Naxalbari days Comrades Sovan Ali, Tribeni Kanu and Babulal showed the way and, afterwards, Comrades Reddi Appalaswami Naidu, Renjim and others laid down their lives fighting heroically for the cause of revolution. Immediately after the formation of our Party on the blood of these comrades, one of our Party's founders, Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy, and six other Andhra comrades 'died martyrs' death and Comrade Krishnamurthys' declaration before the firing squap "You cannot stop revolution by killing us" reverberated throughout the country and proved that our Party of revolution is a Party of new men worthy of the Mao Tse tung era. During this brief span of one year since our Party was founded, Comrades Bhaskar Rao, Ganapati, Subbarao Panigrahi, Nirmala Krishnamurthy, Ramesh Sahu, Daya Singh, Hari Singh, Ganeshan, Churchill, Kariappan, Sanatan Mandal Subrata Cho dhuri, Gour Das and many others, including a number of valiant Girijan peasants of Andhra, who fought and led armed peasant struggle, preferred to die rather than to dishonour the Party, and thus set a very high standard for belonging to our Party. But death could not silence our martyrs ; departing from us they constantly keep on reminding us of Chairman Mao's great words, "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their

lives for the people ; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood."

But should we, revolutionaries, weep over our martyrs' graves ? No, that will be an insult to their sacred memory, that will be an offence to revolution. The only way we can honour their sacred memory is by avenging the death of everyone of our martyred comrades, by intensifying the armed class struggles in which they fell fighting, by intensifying the great war of annihilation of class enemies now being waged by our Party all over the country. We must turn our great grief into burning class hatred and avenge the death of our comrades.

This Congress, therefore, while paying revolutionary homage to our great martyrs, pledges that our martyrs' blood shall not flow in vain, that every murder of our comrades and class brothers shall be avenged, that the war of annihilation of the class enemies shall be carried on with ever greater determination. Let not the enemy pass.

Avenge the death of our martyrs !

*Carry on the battle of annihilation with ever greater
determination !*

Long live our martyred comrades !

Long live CPI(M-L) !

*Long live Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to
Chairman Mao !*

PROGRAMME OF THE Communist Party Of India (MARXIST-LENINIST)

*Adopted at the PARTY CONGRESS
Held in May 1970*

1. Our beloved country is one of the biggest and most ancient countries of the world inhabited by 500 million people. Ours is an agrarian country, a country of the peasant masses, hard-working and talented. They have rich revolutionary traditions and a glorious cultural heritage.

2. The British imperialists conquered India and established their direct rule some 200 years ago and since then the history of our country has been a history of ceaseless struggles waged by the heroic Indian peasantry against British imperialism and feudal oppression. It has been a history of innumerable peasant uprisings against colonialist rule and feudal exploitation. The First War of Independence in 1857, a war fought by the peasantry and rebel soldiers, turned into a conflagration engulfing the whole of this vast country, inflicting many humiliating defeats on the imperialists and shaking the very foundations of the alien imperialist rule. This great uprising of the Indian people failed owing to the betrayal by India's feudal princes.

*also
by the
working
class
and other
peasants
the petty
bourgeoisie.*

3. Since then India has witnessed innumerable armed peasant revolts. However, these revolts failed as there was no scientific theory and no revolutionary leadership capable of leading them to victory.

*only
peasant
revolts?*

4. The Indian bourgeoisie, comprador in nature, intervened to divert the national liberation struggle from the path of

revolution to the path of compromise and surrender. Beginning from the Champaran peasant struggle, the Gandhian leadership representing the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie and feudal class, with its ideology of *ahimsa*, *Satyagraha*, passive resistance and *charkha*, sought to tailor the national movement to serve the interests of the British imperialist rule and its feudal lackeys.

5. The Great October Revolution brought the ideology of Marxism-Leninism to our country and the Communist Party of India was born. However, despite tremendous opportunities, the leadership of the working class could not be established over the national liberation struggle as the leadership of the Party refused to fight Gandhism and the Gandhian leadership and to take to the path of revolution. The leadership refused to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Indian revolution. It refused to integrate the Party with the heroic masses, chiefly the revolutionary peasantry, and to forge a revolutionary united front. It refused to learn from the great national liberation struggle of the Chinese people led by the CPC and Chairman Mao Tsetung and to take to the path of armed struggle.

6. On the contrary, the leadership of the CPI consciously trailed behind the leadership of the Congress and betrayed the revolution from the very beginning. The leaders of the C.P.I. were agents of imperialism and feudalism. Despite the treachery of the leadership, the Party ranks stood with the suffering people, led many class battles and made untold sacrifices for the cause of the Indian proletariat.

7. The smashing defeat of the fascist powers at the hands of the world's people led by the Soviet Union under the leadership of Great Stalin and the world-shaking victorious advance of the Great Chinese liberation struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao brought about a new alignment of forces the world over. Imperialism was very much weakened and the national liberation struggle of the colonial people surged forward like a torrent throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America threatening to sweep imperialism and its lackeys away.

8. An unprecedented revolutionary situation overtook the Indian subcontinent too. The mighty movement for the release of 'Azad Hind' prisoners, powerful anti-imperialist demonstrations by students all over India, the great *Tebhaga* and *Bakasht* struggles, the anti-feudal struggle in the princely states, the powerful struggle of the P & T workers, the armed revolt of the R. I. N. ratings along with rebellions in the air force and the army and the police revolt in Bihar, the great solidarity actions of the working class and the beginning of the historic armed peasant struggle in Telangana brought the imperialist rule in India almost to the verge of collapse.

9. Faced with such a situation, British imperialism pressed into service its tried agents—the leaders of the Indian National Congress, Muslim League and of the CPI with a view to crushing this revolutionary upsurge of the Indian people. The country was partitioned amidst communal carnage and the Congress leadership representing the comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords, was installed in power while the British imperialists stepped into the background. The sham independence declared in 1947 was nothing but a replacement of the colonial and semi-feudal set-up with a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one.

10. During these years of sham independence the big comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and big landlord ruling classes have been serving their imperialist masters quite faithfully. These lackeys of imperialism, while preserving the old British imperialist exploitation, have also brought the U. S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist exploiters to fleece our country.

11. They have mortgaged our country to the imperialist powers, mainly to the U. S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. With the weakening of the power of British imperialism the world over, the Indian ruling classes have now hired themselves out to U. S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. Thus, instead of two mountains, British imperialism and feudalism, the Indian people are now weighed down under the four huge mountains, namely, imperialism headed by

U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital. Thus, India has turned into a neo-colony of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The ruthless exploitation and oppression by these four enemies of the Indian people have created unprecedented miseries, sufferings and calamities. Millions are struggling on the brink of death. Several millions go hungry, naked, houseless and unemployed.

12. In the name of "national integration" these enemies of the people have been suppressing the genuine rights of all the nationalities and national and religious minorities. The right of self-determination is being denied to the Kashmiris, Nagas and Mizos. Equal status to all the national languages is being denied and Hindi is sought to be imposed on the people by them.

only? 13. Our country is the country of the peasant masses who constitute over 75 per cent of its population. They are the most exploited people of our country living in conditions of semi-starvation and absolute pauperisation. In India's semi-feudal economy, 80% of the land is concentrated in the hands of 20% of landowners, i.e., *rajahs*, landlords and rich peasants, while the starving peasantry constituting 80% of the rural population has no land or very little land.

14. The landless and poor peasants have to turn over 50% to 90% of their annual harvest in the form of rent to the landlords. The extortionate usurious capital continues to fleece the peasant. Eviction of peasants is the order of the day. Social oppression on scheduled castes including the lynching of Harijans, reminiscent of the middle ages, is continuing unabated.

15. The semi-feudal land relations have transformed our country into a land of perpetual famine as a result of which millions of people die of starvation every year.

16. In brief, out of all the major contradictions in our country, that is, the contradiction between imperialism and social-imperialism on the one hand and our people on the other,

the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, the contradiction between capital and labour and the contradiction within the ruling classes, the one between the landlords and the peasantry, i.e., the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people is the principal contradiction in the present phase.

17. The resolution of this contradiction will lead to the resolution of all other contradictions too.

18. While preserving and perpetuating the semi-feudal set-up, the big comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and big landlord ruling classes have become pawns in the hands of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

19. The phenomenal increase in the total quantum of foreign capital, the heavy remittances of profits abroad, thousands of collaborationist enterprises, total dependence on imperialist "aid, grants and loans" for capital goods, technical know-how, military supplies and armament industries, for building military bases and even for markets, unequal trade and PL 480 agreements have made U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism the overlords of our country.

20. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have brought the vital sectors of the economy of our country under their control. U. S. imperialism collaborates mainly with private capital and is now penetrating into the industries in the state sector, while Soviet social-imperialism has brought under its control mainly the industries in the state sector and is at the same time trying to enter into collaboration with private capital.

21. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism do everything possible to foster the growth of comprador-bureaucrat capitalism for continuing their unbridled exploitation of the Indian people.

22. The much-trumpeted "public sector" is being built up by many imperialist exploiters for employing their capital and for exploiting the cheap labour power and raw materials of

our country. The public sector is nothing but a clever device to hoodwink the Indian people and continue their plunder. It is state monopoly capitalism, i.e., bureaucrat capitalism.

23. With their octopus-like grip on India's economy the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists control the political, cultural and military spheres of the life of our country.

24. At the dictates of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, India's reactionary ruling classes pursue a foreign policy that serves the interests of imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction. It has been tailored to the needs of the global strategy of the U. S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to encircle Socialist China and suppress the national liberation struggle raging in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, of which Vietnam has become the spearhead. India's aggression against Socialist China in 1962 and her continual provocation against China since then at the instance of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, her support to the Soviet attack on China, her tacit approval of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, her dirty role in supporting U. S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people prove beyond a shadow of doubt that India's ruling classes are faithful stooges of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

25. These hard facts irrefutably prove the semi-colonial character of our society, besides its semi-feudal character.

26. As the obsolete semi-feudal society acts as the social base of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and as it facilitates also the plunder of our people by comprador-bureaucrat capital, the problem of the peasantry becomes the basic problem of the Indian revolution.

27. Therefore, the basic task of the Indian revolution is to overthrow the rule of feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism. This determines the stage of our revolution. It is the stage of democratic revolution, the essence of which is agrarian revolution.

28. It, however, is not the old type of democratic revolu-

tion but a new type of democratic revolution. People's Democratic Revolution, as it forms a part of the world socialist revolution, ushered in by the Great October Revolution and as such, it can be successfully led by the working class alone and by no other class. The working class is the most revolutionary class and the most organised advanced detachment of our people.

29. This revolution will establish the dictatorship of the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class. They together constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. It will be a state guaranteeing democracy for 90 per cent of the people and enforcing dictatorship over a handful of enemies. That is why it is People's Democracy.

30. The main force of the democratic revolution led by the working class is the peasantry. The working class fully relies on the landless and poor peasants and firmly unites with the middle peasants and even wins over a section of the rich peasants while neutralizing the rest. It will be only a tiny section of the rich peasants that finally joins the enemies of the revolution. The urban petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals of our country are revolutionary forces and will be a reliable ally in the revolution.

31. The small and middle bourgeoisie, businessmen and bourgeois intellectuals are vacillating and unstable allies of the democratic revolution. They will now support, then oppose and sometimes even betray the revolution. Their dual role in the revolution arises because of their contradiction as well as unity with the enemies of our revolution.

32. Thus, in order to carry the democratic revolution through to the end it is necessary that a Democratic Front of all these classes is built up under the leadership of the working class.

33. This Front, however, can only be built up when worker-peasant unity is achieved in the course of armed

LIBERATION

struggle and after Red political power is established at least in some parts of the country.

34. It must be understood that the working class can and will exercise its leadership over the People's Democratic Revolution through its political party, the Communist Party of India (M-L). It also performs its vanguard role by launching struggles on political issues, both national and international, by solidarity actions in support of the revolutionary classes, mainly, the revolutionary struggles of the peasantry and by sending its class-conscious vanguard section to organise and lead the peasants' armed struggle.

35. The path of India's liberation, as in the case of all other colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries is the path of People's War. As Chairman Mao has taught us, "**The Revolutionary war is the war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.**"

36. The working class can wage a successful people's war by creating small bases of armed struggle all over the country and consolidating the political power of the people. This is possible only by developing Guerrilla warfare which is and will remain the basic form of struggle through the entire period of our Democratic Revolution.

37. As Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out, "**Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the entire strength of the people against the enemy.**" Guerrilla warfare alone can unleash the initiative and rouse the creative genius in various ways and can enable them to perform miracles, function those ways. Thus guerrilla war alone can expand the small bases of armed struggle to large, extensive areas through which will overthrow the reactionary rule of the four mountains in the countryside, encircle and capture the cities, establish People's Democratic Dictatorship all over the country and resolutely carry it forward to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism.

38. The People's Democratic State will carry out the following major tasks :

(a) Confiscation of all the banks and enterprises of foreign capital and liquidation of all imperialist debt.

(b) Confiscation of all the enterprises of the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists.

(c) Confiscation of all land belonging to the landlords and their redistribution among the landless and poor peasants on the principle of land to the tillers; cancellation of all debts of the peasantry and other toiling people. All facilities necessary for development of agriculture to be guaranteed.

(d) Enforce eight hours a day, increase wages, institute unemployment relief and social insurance, remove all inequalities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

(e) Improve the living conditions of soldiers and give land and job to the ex-servicemen.

(f) Enforce better living conditions of the people and remove unemployment.

(g) Develop new democratic culture in place of colonial and feudal culture.

(h) Abolish the present educational system and educational institutions and build up a new educational system and new educational institutions consistent with the needs of People's Democratic India.

(i) Abolish the caste system, remove all social inequalities and all discrimination on the religious ground and guarantee equality of status to women.

(j) Unify India and recognise the right of self-determination.

(k) Give equal status to all national languages.

(l) Abolish all exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous assessments and adopt a consolidated progressive tax system.

(m) People's political power to be exercised through Revolutionary People's Councils at all levels.

(n) Alliance to be formed with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world under the leadership of the CPC.

39. The Democratic Revolution in India is taking place in the era of Mao Tsetung when world imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory. Our revolution is a part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has consolidated socialism and proletarian dictatorship in China and has turned China into the reliable base area of World Revolution. Our revolution is taking place at a time when the great Ninth Congress of the great, glorious and correct CPC—the Congress of unity and victory—has tremendously inspired the international proletariat. It is taking place at a time when the CPC headed by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao is leading the international proletariat to fulfil its historic mission of emancipating the whole of mankind from the rule of imperialism and reaction and establishing Socialism and Communism on this earth. We are a contingent of this great army of the international proletariat.

40. The CPI (M-L) is placing this programme of People's Democratic Revolution before the Indian people and dedicates itself to this great revolutionary cause. The Party is confident that the granite unity of our people with all socialist and oppressed nations, particularly the Chinese people, will bring about the victory of the Indian revolution, which, as Chairman Mao has predicted, "will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind" and will ensure the world-wide victory of Socialism.

POLITICAL-ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

ADOPTED AT THE PARTY CONGRESS

Our Congress is taking place at a time when U.S. imperialism is continuing open and naked aggression on Cambodia and expanding the war of aggression throughout Indo-China with the sheer logic of an aggressor, reminding us of the days of Munich. This attack can easily be termed as the beginning of the Third World War as the march of the Hitlerite hordes on Sudetenland was the beginning of the Second World War. But the world situation today cannot be understood only in the light of the aggression and aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for, unlike Munich, a new thing has emerged under the leadership of the great CPC and China. The three Indo-Chinese Peoples have united and presented a united front against the U.S. aggressors. This marks a great victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples and serves as the key to the understanding of the present world situation. Our struggle against imperialist warmongers must take note of this new danger of aggression and the great victory of the Indo-Chinese people.

In our country also the Indian Government under the cover of national defence are feverishly preparing for an aggressive war to serve the needs of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Soviet and U.S. specialists are actually controlling the entire defence organization of our country and this pressure of war efforts is breaking down the entire economy and throwing the country into an abyss of permanent and severe economic crisis. But in the Indian situation also a new thing has emerged which marks the victory of the people; it is the peasants' armed struggle under the

leadership of the CPI(M-L). Within a year this struggle has spread far and wide—from Assam to Kashmir—and has engulfed more than 12 States of India and has already become a motive force of history. The puppet character of the present regime and the hollowness of the parliamentary system are becoming clear to the entire people and the bitter class struggles are shattering the myth of Gandhism and the “peaceful professions” of the present regime. The bitter class struggles have exposed the butcher nature of the present reactionary Government, the necessity of the battle of annihilation against these butchers is felt by vast masses of the people and the struggle is spreading to rural areas with tremendous vigour.

The emergence of our Party—CPI(M-L), is the victory of the revolutionary people of India and also the victory of the all-powerful Thought of Chairman Mao on the soil of India. Equipped with the great Mao Tsetung Thought this revolutionary peasants' armed struggle has already become an invincible force which imperialists, social-imperialists and native reaction cannot suppress. That this onward march of the armed revolutionary struggle of the peasantry will continue unabated and that the struggle will spread to all the States of India is not only the truth of history but has already become the reality of history.

In order to achieve victory we must pay attention to the building of our Party—CPI (M-L). This task is the most important, most immediate and most sacred task of the revolutionary people of India. We must build up our Party among the landless and poor peasants and on this alone the revolutionary striking power of the Party and the revolutionary people depends. The working class and petty bourgeois cadres must integrate themselves with the landless and poor peasants and this task of integration cannot be over-emphasised. The history of our inner-party struggles since the 20th Congress of the CPSU shows that the right-wing revisionist line was defeated by the left-wing revolutionary cadres again and again but the victory of the left forces could not be con-

solidated, thanks to the subtle manoeuvre of the centrist elements. Thus, the history of our inner-party struggles shows that centrism is the vilest weapon of the revisionists and we must fight all signs of centrism. Centrism undermines the revolutionary politics and makes the fighter defenceless.

With the peal of the spring thunder of the Naxalbari struggle came a turning-point in the history of the Indian revolution. When revisionism seemed triumphant and the whole of India was steeped in darkness, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, who organized and led the Naxalbari struggle, analysed correctly the character of the Indian society and state and the great role of the peasantry in India's democratic revolution, upheld Chairman Mao's great teaching: **“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”**, and applied Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of India for the first time in this country's history. The Naxalbari struggle led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar marked the beginning of the rout of revisionism in India—the beginning of the victorious onward march of Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India. The leadership provided by him since then has kindled the flames of armed peasant guerrilla struggle in Srikakulam and Andhra and spread those flames to eleven other States of India.

The battle between the two lines was fought bitterly in the co-ordination period on issues like Boycott Elections, characterization of Soviet revisionism as social-imperialism and the fight against economism. The bitter fight over these issues, led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, strengthened and consolidated the revolutionary ranks and this resulted in the expansion to new areas of struggle like Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri. Another major struggle inside co-ordination was fought and won on the question of the formation of the Party, The intellectuals' resistance to democratic centralism, the metaphysical understanding of a “pure” Party, the worship of spontaneity as reflected in ideas like “building the party through armed struggles and from below” were among the many expressions of the wrong line which was defeated and the Party was

formed marking the victory of Chairman Mao's line on Party building.

After the formation of the Party, which consolidated the victory of the revolutionary line over the revisionist line, the struggle between the two lines entered a new stage. The revisionist line sought mainly to undermine the authority of the Party, encouraging polycentrism inside the Party, to attack the correct political line of the Party in the name of mass organizations and mass movements for economic demands as prerequisites for the development of guerrilla struggles, to encourage big and spectacular actions for the development of peasants' armed struggles and to rely upon petty-bourgeois intellectuals for the development of peasants' armed struggles.

The successful battle against this wrong line has spread the struggle from one State to another and the peasants' armed struggles are rousing the working class and the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and thus a new stage is opening when the peasants' armed struggles will create waves of mass uprising engulfing the vast land of ours in a conflagration and the Party will be required to lead this revolutionary upsurge into a nation-wide victory of revolution.

Though we are a small Party now, we can fulfil this sacred task if we raise our study and application of Chairman Mao's Thought as embodied in the "Quotations" and the "Three Articles" to a new height, entrench ourselves deeply among landless and poor peasants and integrate ourselves with them, promote the landless and poor peasant cadres to higher responsibility, study and concretely apply the correct thesis of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's: "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy", realize and apply methodically the correct thesis that the annihilation of the class enemy is the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla war and People's War, and realize that the class struggle, i.e., this battle of annihilation, can solve all the problems facing us and lead

the struggle to a higher plane, raise the political consciousness of the people to a higher stage, create conditions for the emergence of a new type of man, the Man of the Mao Tsetung era, who fears neither hardship nor death, develop the People's Army and can thus ensure the formation of a permanent base area. This battle of annihilation liberates the people not only from the oppression of the landlord class and its State but also liberates them from the shackles of backward ideas and removes from the minds of the people poisonous weeds of self-interest, clan interest, localism, casteism, religious superstitions etc. Thus this battle of annihilation can bring the East Wind of splendour and glory of Man.

The politics of seizure of political power can alone rouse bitter class hatred among landless and poor peasants and only by putting this politics in command the battle of annihilation can be raised to a new height.

The revisionists all the world over are trying to unite the groups who are parading the name of Chairman Mao and fighting Mao Tsetung Thought in the name of Mao Tsetung by seeking to arrest and denounce this battle of the annihilation. So any idea of unity with these groups means the liquidation of the main plank of our struggle and submerging the entire party in the morass of revisionism.

Our comrades must keep in mind that entirely through our own efforts we have been able to create a new situation in India when the ruling classes and their parties are openly quarrelling with one another in a downright dog-bite-dog manner, when stable governments have become a thing of the past and when vast masses of people are coming into the arena of struggle and creating a new and better situation for the revolutionaries to carry on their struggles. Our Party's call "China's Chairman is our Chairman, China's path is our path", our call against any aggressive war against China and our call to turn the '70's into the decade of liberation have gripped the imagination of the masses, particularly, of the revolutionary youth and won a victory over national-chauvinism and revisionism and have opened up a new era of greater

victories. Our battle of annihilation has linked together our two sacred tasks—the task of liberating our country and the people and the internationalist task of ending imperialism and imperialist war—and has created the material basis, that is, the emergence of the new man, for fulfilling these great tasks.

So, our Party should continue this battle of annihilation in a more determined and concerted way, create newer and newer areas of operation, depend upon unsophisticated arms which alone can release the initiative of the landless and poor peasants and develop the struggles in mighty waves, continue the political campaign in a purposeful way to develop this battle of annihilation, try continuously to draw in fresh forces from among the landless and poor peasants and know how to rely upon them, concentrate on one area, one unit, one squad basis, direct their entire work to fulfil the main task of the period, try constantly to improve the political level of the fighters and to bring them closer to the masses of the people, help the fighters study "Quotations" and the "Three Articles", link the fighters with the work of production and draw them inside the Party.

Comrades! Imperialists, social-imperialists and native reaction are hatching plans to launch fiercest attacks upon us when preservation of our main force and our leadership will depend upon how deeply we dig in among the people. So the method of work evolved by Chairman Mao should be studied and applied methodically and conscientiously by our leaders and cadres, because that alone can ensure the preservation and victory of our revolutionary struggles.

The world is progressing at a breath-taking speed towards the final emancipation of Man under the leadership of Chairman Mao: our struggle in India, too, is developing at an inconceivably fast speed. The victory of the Indian Revolution will certainly banish for ever imperialism and imperialist war from the face of the world. Our comrades must always feel this great responsibility that is on us, must

develop the internationalist spirit of becoming one with the fighters of the world under the leadership of Chairman Mao. This feeling will give them immeasurable strength to carry on this great responsibility history has placed on us.

Let this Congress usher in greater unity among the revolutionary cadres and greater victory for the great Indian people. Let this Congress give new strength to the cadres to end the age-old sufferings of the Indian people, rouse our cadres and the people for greater sacrifice to change this India of darkness into an India of brightness and brilliance. Chairman Mao is there, victory is ours.

Long live the Indian Revolution!

Long live the CPI (M-L)!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

(May 11, 1970)

On The Political-Organizational Report

Comrade Charu Mazumdar's Speech introducing the Political-Organizational Report at the Party Congress.

(Based on notes taken at the Congress)

In the present world situation there are two important phenomena. On the one hand, there is U. S. imperialism's naked aggression against Cambodia. The U. S. imperialists have thrown away all pretences and invaded Cambodia. Their logic is Hitler's logic—the logic of all aggressors. They cannot wait any more, they can no longer talk of peace. Now they will attack one country after another. So this is the beginning of the third world war.

Peking Review article

On the other hand, the revolutionary united front of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos under the leadership of China has been built up to fight the U. S. aggressors. The unity of the three Indo-Chinese peoples has been achieved. This is a great thing in world history, which did not exist when Hitler's hordes marched across Sudetenland. The Second World War was preceded by Munich—by great betrayal. But now the united front of revolutionary peoples under the leadership of China is taking shape. So this is the great beginning of the defeat of imperialism and the great beginning of the victory of the world's people.

The same kind of phenomena exist in India also. India's reactionary ruling classes are making frenzied war preparations to suit the global strategy of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They are hatching criminal war plans against China. But the emergence of the C. P. I. (M-L) has changed the internal situation in India. The armed revolu-

tionary peasant struggle led by the C. P. I. (M-L) has become the motive force of history. We must take into account not only the offensive of the ruling classes but also the counter-offensive of the revolutionary people.

Our cardinal tasks, therefore, are: to build up the Party and to get it entrenched among the landless and poor peasants. The building up of the Party means the development of the armed class struggle. And without armed class struggle the Party cannot be developed and cannot entrench itself among the masses.

The struggle between the two lines is there within the Party and will continue. We must oppose and defeat the incorrect line. But we must be on our guard against centrism. Centrism is a brand of revisionism—its worst form. In the past revisionism was defeated again and again by revolutionary elements but centrism always seized the victories of the struggle and led the Party along the revisionist path. We must hate centrism. On the question of boycotting elections Nagi Reddy said, "Yes, we accept it but it should be restricted to a certain area at a certain period. We shall participate in elections where there is no struggle." This is Nagi Reddy's line. This is centrism. We have fought against it and thrown the Nagi Reddys out of our organization. Regarding Soviet social-imperialism, some say: "The Soviet leaders are revisionists. But how can they be imperialist? Where is that development of monopoly capital?" These are centrists. We have fought them and thrown them out of our Party. So the centrists raised the questions of trade unions and "working class-based Party" when armed class struggle is to be developed by relying on the peasantry. We fought Asit Sen and company on these issues and threw them out of the Party.

We must not only distinguish between the correct and the incorrect line but also find out the centrist position and smash it.

Now the centrist attack is coming from inside the Party. On the questions of using fire-arms, the dependence on the

petty bourgeois intellectual and the battle of annihilation, the Party is facing centrist attacks.

It must be understood that the battle of annihilation is both a higher form of class struggle and the starting-point of guerrilla war. There are two deviations on this question.

1. Some comrades agree that annihilation is the starting-point of guerrilla war but they do not agree that it is a higher form of class struggle. It should be borne in mind that only through the development of class struggle can all the problems be solved.

2. There are other comrades who carried on class struggle—the struggle for the seizure of landlords' land and property—but did not wage the battle of annihilation. So the cadres became degenerate: they were lost. The comrades missed the point that annihilation is the starting-point of guerrilla war.

Class struggle will solve all other problems—the problem of building liberated bases and the problem of building the revolutionary army.

where? We have tried to develop the army in some areas without class struggle and have failed. Without class struggle—the battle of annihilation—the initiative of the poor peasant masses cannot be released, the political consciousness of the fighters cannot be raised, the new man cannot emerge, the people's army cannot be created. Only by waging class struggle—the battle of annihilation—the new man will be created, the new man who will defy death and will be free from all thought of self-interest. And with this death-defying spirit he will go close to the enemy, snatch his rifle, avenge the martyrs and the people's army will emerge. To go close to the enemy it is necessary to conquer all thought of self. And this can be achieved only by the blood of martyrs. That inspires and creates new men out of the fighters, fills them with class hatred and makes them go close to the enemy and snatch his rifle with bare hands.

We have poured much of our blood in Srikakulam and we *operating annihilation of landlords with class struggle.*

have also spilled much blood of the enemy. Yet the class enemy exists there. Unless we throw the class enemy out of the land, a new consciousness, a new confidence, cannot arise. We cannot then go close to the enemy and snatch his rifle. It is the class struggle that can solve this problem of building the people's army.

The annihilation of the class enemy—this weapon in our hands—is the greatest danger to the reactionaries and revisionists all the world over. So the leaders of world revisionism are trying to contact the various groups which pay lip-service to Chairman Mao and the CPC and are trying to unite them to oppose the battle of annihilation of the class enemy. We refuse to unite with these groups because they are opposed to the annihilation of the class enemy, to class struggle and so are enemies of the people.

Why am I against taking up fire-arms now? Is it not our dream that landless and poor peasants will take up the rifles on their shoulders and march forward? Yet the use of fire-arms at this stage, instead of releasing the initiative of the peasant masses to annihilate the class enemy, stifles it. If guerrilla fighters start the battle of annihilation with their conventional weapons, the common landless and poor peasants will come forward with bare hands and join the battle of annihilation. A common landless peasant, ground down by age-old oppression, will see the light and avenge himself on the class enemy. His initiative will be released. In this way the peasant masses will join the guerrilla fighters, their revolutionary enthusiasm will know no bounds and a mighty wave of people's upsurge will sweep the country. After the initiative of the peasant masses to annihilate the class enemy with bare hands or home-made weapons has been released and the peasants' revolutionary power has been established, they should take up the gun and face the world. The peasant with his rifle will be the guarantee of the continuation of the peasants' revolutionary power.

Comrades, the peasants' suffering has reached a stage when they can no longer endure it. If we can show them the way,

there is not a single point in India where the peasants will not be roused to action. There is the possibility of a tremendous upsurge in India if we consciously work for it. Guerrilla war can be waged through the battle of annihilation in every village in India. So, start as many points of armed struggle as possible. Don't try to concentrate. Expand anywhere and everywhere. This is one principle to be followed. The other principle is: Carry on the battle of annihilation of the class enemy.

All the revisionists, all the groups taking the name of Chairman Mao, are attacking us on this issue of the battle of annihilation. So, comrades, anyone who opposes this battle of annihilation cannot remain with us. We will not allow him to remain inside our Party.

One can see how the revolutionary armed peasant struggle is rousing the other classes. Look at Calcutta. The revolutionary struggle of the youths of Calcutta surges forward under the impact of the armed peasant struggle. The working class in Calcutta is also rising. And I hope there will be revolutionary upsurge of the working class not only in Calcutta but in all other cities of India. This is bound to happen. The situation in the cities will then change completely.

Comrades, let a vigorous armed peasant struggle rage all over India after the victorious conclusion of our Congress. Then a spontaneous mass upsurge in the wake of the armed guerrilla struggle will come as an avalanche, as a thunderbolt. It is sure the Red Army can be created not only in Srikakulam but also in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. With these contingents of the Liberation Army the Indian peasants will march forward and complete the revolution. Three factors guarantee the victory of the revolution. First, the revolution that has been delayed by more than twenty years brooks no further delay. Second, the revolution is taking place in the era of the total collapse of imperialism and the world-wide victory of Socialism, the era of Mao Tsetung Thought. Third, we have been able to hold this Congress despite severe repression.

Comrades, let us march forward. The seventies will surely be the decade of liberation.

NOTES

THE HISTORIC PARTY CONGRESS

"We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing".

May will long be remembered as the month when a great event, an event that would shape the course of the Indian revolution and the history of this fair land of ours, took place. It was the historic Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) that was held quite successfully in May this year under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. Like the founding of the Party one year ago this Congress was an event of major importance. It was held at a time when the march of Nixon's neo-Hitlerite hordes into Cambodia and the formation of the revolutionary united front of the three Indo-Chinese peoples supported and led by Socialist China marked the beginning of the end of imperialism and social-imperialism.

It was held at a time when the armed guerrilla struggle of the peasantry had spread to twelve States of India and when our heroic comrades were shedding their blood not only in Andhra but also in other parts of the country like Punjab, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu to lead the Indian revolution to victory. So, it was necessary to hold the Congress in the midst of the strictest secrecy, because the enemy, bewildered, panicky and isolated from the people, is resorting to the most brutal methods to stop the onward march of the revolution. Yet, despite all attempts and encirclements, arrests, shootings etc., comrades heroically leading armed peasant struggles in different parts of the country, comrades from Assam to Kerala, were among the delegates who participated in the Congress. The Congress, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar said, represented

the cream of the revolutionary forces of India. The very success of the Congress was one more proof of the correctness of Chairman Mao's teaching: "**All reactionaries are paper tigers.**"

The Party had to brave tremendous risks in order to hold the Congress. It would mean a great set-back if anything went wrong. But the risks were worth-taking. At this hour of history when, as Chairman Mao said, "**revolution is the main trend in the world today,**" the Party Congress was charged with a heavy responsibility—the responsibility of integrating Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution and unifying the revolutionary ranks on this basis so that a new high tide in the revolution would sweep the country after the Congress. Led by Central Organizing Committee and Comrade Charu Mazumdar the Congress solved many problems facing the Indian revolution today and provided invaluable guidance to the Party cadres throughout India. Speaking from his experience Comrade Charu Mazumdar said that there already existed among the revolutionary ranks maximum unity, the basis of which is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It was a task of the Congress to consolidate, develop and strengthen this unity. The Party Congress indeed represented the steel-like unity of the Party members and sympathizers all over India in respect of the Party Programme and all political, ideological and organizational issues. And the Party Congress was united in the resolve to fight harder and better to bring the day of India's liberation nearer. Thus, politically, ideologically and organizationally, the Congress truly became the Congress of unity and is sure to be known in history as the Congress that marked the beginning of the victory of the Indian revolution. This Congress will also be remembered as the first Congress that marked the victory of the genuine communists over the reformist and revisionist lackeys of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction, the victory of Mao Tsetung Thought over reformism and revisionism.

From this Congress went out the call to the Party ranks to deve'op guerrilla war in every village in every part of India by carrying on the battle of annihilation of the class enemy. As our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar emphasized over and over again, the battle of annihilation of the class enemy is both the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla war. With their experience enriched by the revolutionary practice of the last one year and more, comrades reiterated with all emphasis Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's correct thesis: "Guerrilla war is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy". The correctness of this thesis is being demonstrated everyday not only in the course of revolutionary peasant struggles in the rural areas but also through the struggles of workers, students and youths in cities like Calcutta. Guerrilla struggle is rousing and mobilizing the people both in villages and in cities.

It is creating innumerable points of armed struggle in various parts of India. It is also creating new men—men worthy of the Mao Tse-tung era, men free from the taint of selfishness, men who have conquered the fear of death. Out of these men will soon arise the invincible Liberation Army of the Indian people in different States; red political power will replace the power of the landlords, comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters not only in small areas but in vast, extensive territories and ultimately in the whole of India. The four mountains that weigh heavily on the back of our long-suffering people are crumbling. But as Chairman Mao has taught us, "**Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.**" Guided by Mao Tse-tung Thought and armed with the decisions of the Congress the entire Party under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar will strike fiercer blows at the enemies: Party cadres will rely fully on landless

and poor peasants and start the battle of annihilation of the class enemy all over rural India. There was an upsurge of armed peasant struggle after the formation of the Party last year: a new high tide in the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry, far more powerful than anything before, is sure to sweep the country after the Party Congress. The cities and towns, the citadels of the reactionaries, will be pounded ceaselessly by the revolutionary struggles waged by workers, students and youths. If the Indian reactionaries, urged by their U. S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist masters, dare to launch a war of aggression against Socialist China or dare to attack Pakistan in order to divert the people from the path of revolution, their end will be even sooner. Under the leadership of the CPI (M-L), under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the Indian people will join the world-wide revolutionary united front that is arising under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, and liberate the world by liberating themselves. As Chairman Mao said:

**"Away with all pests!
Our force is irresistible."**

ANOTHER MOMENTOUS VICTORY FOR THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

IT was a great victory for the people of the whole world when, on April 24 this year, the Chinese people led by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the era, Chairman Mao, and the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, successfully launched its first man-made earth satellite that went on circling the earth and filling it with the song "The East Is Red". The Indian people hail this magnificent achievement of the gifted Chinese people with boundless joy, for it greatly inspires and strengthens them in their struggle against their

common enemies—imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and domestic reaction.

On the other hand, it was a shattering defeat for the imperialists and social-imperialists, a shattering defeat for their policy of nuclear blackmail, threat and intimidation. These ferocious enemies of mankind have often been loud in talking of a "pre-emptive nuclear strike" against Socialist China and countries like Vietnam heroically fighting for national independence. In their eagerness to redivide the world and dominate it jointly, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists have always counted on the backwardness of Socialist China, the leader of the world revolution, in nuclear science and space technology. Socialist China, the bastion of world revolution, the leader of the international army of the proletariat, has dashed those hopes of mankind's enemies during the last few years. China's launching of the man-made earth satellite, which marks the beginning of her swift advance in space technology, is one more deadly blow against the enemies of mankind. The entire strategy of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, which has been based on the policy of nuclear blackmail, now lies in ruins.

This momentous victory achieved by the gifted Chinese people greeted the first anniversary of the conclusion of the Ninth National Congress of the CPC and the historic opening of the summit conference of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. As the Press Communiqué circulated by Hsinhua put it, it "is a result achieved by the Chinese people under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, by holding high the banner of unity and victory of the Ninth Party Congress, adhering to the principle of independence and self-reliance, faithfully carrying out the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and by grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war with concrete

action." This great victory for Mao Tse-tung Thought and for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line—a victory ensured by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—is a victory for the entire revolutionary camp headed by China and presages the triumph of socialism, the triumph of Mao Tse-tung Thought over the whole world in no distant future.

A FESTIVAL OR A MORNING?

At the end of May this year the Sundarayya - Ranadive - Ramamurthy - Jyoti Basu clique of revisionist scabs and traitors was celebrating a festival in Calcutta. Strings of red flags on the road-side, arches across the streets, processions, meetings and long harangues—these, as usual, were part of the festival that was held to celebrate the split in the All India Trade Union Congress. They accused the Dangeite leadership of the AITUC of pursuing the path of class collaboration, the path of surrender to the big bourgeoisie and their Congress government and of betraying the cause of the working class, split the AITUC and set up a new Trade Union Centre, which they named Centre of Indian Trade Unions.

There is no doubt that the Dangeite leadership is guilty of all these crimes and even worse ones. But is the record of the Sundarayya - Ranadive - Ramamurthy - Jyoti Basu clique any better, cleaner and more innocent? The AITUC, which has been jointly led by Dange, Ramamurthy, Ranadive etc. for decades, has acted as an appendage to the treacherous Gandhi-Nehru leadership of the Indian National Congress, the political party of the big comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class, and then, since 1947, of the state ruled by these reactionary classes. The revisionist scabs and traitors have always seen to it that the working class remains sunk in the morass of economism: the working class has been duped and stabbed in the back by them again and again. In the middle

of the fifties, "rationalization" was introduced in the jute industry, as a result of which more than one hundred and sixty thousand workers were thrown out of employment. "Rationalization" could be carried out by the foreign monopolists and their native compradors only with the active help and support of the AITUC jointly led by the Danges and the Ramamurthys. When India's reactionary ruling classes, egged on by the U. S. imperialists and Soviet revisionist renegades, launched their attack on the Tibet region of Socialist China, the AITUC led by the same set of skunks declared its unashamed support to the aggression by India's reactionary ruling classes, entered into an open agreement with them to suspend all industrial strikes during the so-called national emergency and called upon the Indian workers to help the war efforts in every manner possible and to put up no resistance to the vicious offensive of the foreign monopolists and the Indian comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. Thus they tied the Indian working class hand and foot and rendered it weak and powerless in order to carry out the dictates of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and domestic reaction. Could any crime against the working class, the people and the cause of socialism be blacker than this? And of this crime both the Dange and Sundarayya - Ranadive - Ramamurthy - Jyoti Basu revisionist factions were guilty. Both the resolutions that the leaders of these factions moved in the National Council of the CPI at the time of the border clashes expressed their common resolve to rally behind the reactionary Indian Government in the name of fighting aggression and defending national sovereignty.

Those were the darkest days for India's working class, the target of an offensive launched by the foreign monopolists and the native comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and their reactionary government with the active connivance of the revisionist traitors. The betrayal of the working class by the AITUC at that time is one of the most sordid in history. Could class collaboration go further? Who strengthened the hand of a

Birla, a Tata, a Dalmia or a Bharat Ram—the hand that aimed the knife at the heart of the Indian worker? It was Ramamurthy, Ranadive and revisionists of that ilk who acted as Dange's accomplices in that crime, whose hands too are dyed with the blood of workers. That is why Dange's partners in crime prated of working class unity and refused to listen to the demands raised by the communist ranks after the split in the party in 1964 for a break with the Dangeites in the Trade Union movement because of the policy of class collaboration pursued by the latter.

With the deepening of the political crisis the different factions of revisionists took upon themselves the task of setting up 'united fronts' of counter-revolutionaries to halt the march of revolution and to provide political stability to the present regime of exploitation and oppression. Theirs was a dual role. As members of the 'united front' governments they tried ruthlessly to suppress the struggles of the working class, the peasantry and other working people. They sent the police to lift *gherans* by workers, posted police pickets to protect the industrialists and their property from the wrath of militant workers, arrested and murdered them in cold blood when the interests of foreign monopolists and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie so demanded. While lock-out, closure and retrenchment throwing tens of thousands of workers and employees out of jobs became the order of the day, the revisionist traitors waxed eloquent on the virtues of maintaining 'law and order' and worked zealously as part of the reactionary state apparatus to prop up the tottering regime. It is not for nothing that the Birlas, the Tatas and representatives of the foreign monopolists have lavished praises on the arch revisionist scabs, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu. Recently, referring to the strike in the head office of the Birlas, B. K. Birla said that "CPI (M) leader Mr Jyoti Basu was very much sympathetic towards the management as he (Basu) was convinced that the Birlas were willing to pay fair wages to the workers. But despite his efforts the workers

continued intimidation and all types of indisciplined and objectionable behaviour". (*Hindusthan Standard*, 1. 6. 70) The meeting of this revisionist scab with the Birlas in a "friend's" house when he was West Bengal's Home Minister is common knowledge though the deal he struck there with this firm of most rapacious capitalists can only be guessed from the outcome of that meeting. Immediately after, the Birlas closed down their head office in Calcutta, transferred all employees to places even outside West Bengal and virtually threw out of employment several hundreds of employees.

These revisionist traitors have been playing another and more sinister role as leaders of trade unions. While confining all struggles of the working class within the bounds of the reactionary laws and while blunting the revolutionary consciousness of the workers by promoting economism deliberately, the different factions of revisionist lackeys are now engaged in playing a most vile game—the game of pitting one section of workers in every factory, mine and plantation against another. While prating of working class unity the different revisionist factions have one aim, one purpose—to divide the workers, to disrupt their unity and to render them too weak to resist the mounting offensive of the foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie at this hour of grave crisis. In factories and offices, in mines and plantations, rival trade unions have been organized by the revisionists of different hues who, waving the red flag have led and are leading one section of workers in murderous fights against another. When one trade union controlled by the revisionists of a particular hue has declared a strike, another trade union led by a different revisionist clique has unashamedly acted as strike-breakers. However bitter may be the quarrel between them, they are united in sabotaging the unity of the working class. It is by mutual agreement between them that revisionist traitors of different hues are pursuing a common policy—the policy of splitting the working class and smashing their unity. The split in the AITUC marks the logical culmination

of this policy followed by both the revisionist cliques in obedience to the behests of their masters.

Why has the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Ramamurthy-Jyoti Basu clique chosen this moment to split the AITUC? Today it is evident to all that their political line is the same as that of the Dangeite clique; following the same path of parliamentarism and class collaboration they are trying to save the present tottering regime of exploitation and oppression from the gathering storm of revolution; when the world-wide revolutionary united front headed by Socialist China is building up, they too have openly, unashamedly, ranged themselves against China and Mao Tse-tung Thought and on the side of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and domestic reaction. Why, then, is this split? Factional quarrels for the crumbs from the masters' table, vested interests in trade unionism etc. are some of the factors. But most important of all is their historic role as the last reserve of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction. Enmeshed in a political and economic crisis that is getting worse and worse every day, a crisis that is intensified by the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry led by the C.P.I. (M-L), these enemies of the Indian people are relying on their revisionist lackeys to help them to step up their attacks on the working class. What more useful service can these lackeys render to their masters than splitting and disarming the working class when the attack is the firecest?

Whatever may be its pretensions, the birth of the new trade union centre is in reality one more device of the imperialists, social-imperialists and domestic reactionaries to preserve and accentuate the existing disunity within the working class, to incite and lead workers to fight and kill workers.

Will this device succeed? No, like all the other devices of the reactionaries and revisionists, this too is bound to fail. Despite all the heinous tricks of the revisionists, Mao Tse-tung Thought is already uniting the Indian workers. One can

feel a new stir, the signs of a new revolutionary upsurge, among the workers—the class that is destined to lead the Indian revolution to victory. Workers, long duped by the promises of reactionaries and by the hoaxes of revisionists, are now coming forward in hundreds and thousands to respond to the call of the CPI (M-L), the call of its leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, to shake off the long legacy of economism, to unite with the landless and poor peasants and assume the leadership of the agrarian revolution that is spreading, to wage a revolutionary war to liberate themselves by liberating other exploited classes of our society. In Calcutta—in factories like Simon Carves, Britannia Biscuit Co., Orient Fan,—in Jalpaiguri etc. workers despising the revisionists have already risen in militant battles under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) against their oppressors. They are realizing that their struggle is not a struggle for petty economic demands but a struggle for a far greater thing—their right to be masters of the wealth they create. The revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry is helping the working class to get rid of its revisionist illusions, making it conscious of its historic role as the leader of the revolution and forging a new unity not only among the workers themselves but also between the workers and other revolutionary classes. A mighty storm of revolution is rising, the song of the stormy petrel can be heard. Let the revisionists of all hues hear it and tremble, for the day of reckoning is near.

Fascist Attacks Shall Fail

THE long-awaited attack came. On April 27, an army of police marauders swooped upon the office of *Liberation*, *Deshabrati*, *Lok Yuddh*, *Deshabrati Prakashani* etc., raided the printing presses, ransacked them and arrested comrades and all others, including compositors, whom they could lay their hands on. They not only plundered large quantities of literature—our books and journals—but also type-cases and other printing apparatuses, composed matter, reams of unused paper, money etc. The reactionary ruling classes had one aim, one purpose—to stifle *Liberation* and our other journals, to stifle the voice of the Indian revolution.

With the savage attack on *Liberation*, *Deshabrati*, *Lok Yuddh* etc. a new phase opened in the political life of West Bengal. Faced with the rapid advance of the peasants' guerrilla struggle in almost all the districts of West Bengal and the upsurge of revolutionary struggles of the workers, students, and youths, the reactionary ruling classes and their government are resorting more and more to naked fascist methods in a desperate attempt to suppress them. Nearing the verge of extinction they trample underfoot the laws they have inherited from the British imperialists and improved upon. Only last year reaction's well-groomed lackey, Jyoti Basu, was assuring them that the police could crush the "Naxalites" in a day if he as West Bengal's home minister so wished. But he was sure that the "people" i.e. the hoodlums they were pressing into their service would be able to do the job and thus save the democratic facade to the great delight of his masters. But all the tall talks of the revisionist scoundrels have turned out to be mere empty bluster. The morale of the fascist gangs which they tried to organize with high hopes has been rudely

shattered. That is why, though this may sound ironical, they have actually started whining that the reactionary police have met with "complete and abject failure" in curbing "violence and terrorism of a few groups of people allegedly belonging to the C.P.I. (M-L)." One may recall the role of the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Jyoti Basu clique of revisionist scabs during the historic Naxalbari struggle. At a public meeting held on April 28, this year at Deshbandhu Park in Calcutta, Ajoy Mukherji informed his audience that Harekrishna Konar, then a minister under him, had put forward the plan of murdering 250 revolutionaries in order to crush the Naxalbari struggle. (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 29. 4. '70). The truth of this statement has not been challenged by revisionist knaves. Today the revisionist scabs of all hues are trying hard, though in vain, to rally public opinion against the revolutionary peasantry, the working class and the youth who, led by the C.P.I. (M-L), are dealing shattering blows at the rotten regime of exploitation and oppression. The *Statesman's* special representative wrote in its issue of April 4: "The Naxalite activities in West Bengal have alarmed almost all the political parties in the state and by and large they appear to hold the same view that the 'menace' needs to be tackled politically instead of by mere police measures". While they talk glibly of fighting the "Naxalites" politically, the reactionary ruling classes and their revisionist lackeys are actually relying on brutal fascist measures to save themselves from the doom that awaits them.

The savage raid on *Liberation*, *Deshabrati*, *Lok Yuddh* and our other journals is no isolated incident. It is part of a reactionary policy that is dictated by the needs of the situation—the sweeping tide of revolutionary struggles, the intensified economic and political crises that beset the reactionary ruling classes and their despair born out of all these.

It is the revolutionary situation that is forcing the reactionary government to bare its fascist fangs, to arrest indiscriminately and torture peasants, workers, students and youths and to murder our Party cadres in cold blood. On May 26,

Hindusthan Standard reported: "The West Bengal Government is understood to have instructed the police authorities to use firearms, if necessary, to curb the subversive activities of the extremists in the state". Chairman Mao said:

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory".

The ferocity of the attack on our Party is a tribute paid by the enemies to the rapidly growing strength of the revolutionary forces led by the Party.

While launching brutal attacks on our Party, Chavan and men of his ilk would still want us to cherish legalist illusions. After the raid on *Liberation*, Chavan said in Parliament that he did not want the entire Party to go underground. But our Party is in no mood to oblige Chavan and his reactionary masters. It is good that the enemy has attacked us so viciously. What the enemy dreads most is our underground Party and the guerrilla ^{from} of struggle. While remaining wholly underground, the Party will forge the closest, strongest ties with the people and develop the guerrilla struggle, "the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy". From now on *Liberation* will try to be worthy of this underground organization—the organ, produced and distributed underground, of the underground Party that is leading armed struggles to smash the present state machinery. All the fascist measures of the dying classes of oppressors shall fail to stifle *Liberation*, the mouthpiece of the revolutionary peasants, workers, students and youths of India.

Our Homage To Heroic Martyrs

COMRADE Daya Singh, Secretary of the Punjab State Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L), Comrade Balwant Singh, Secretary of the Rupar District Committee, Comrade Hari Singh Mrigand of Patiala, Comrades Ujagar Singh and Dil Bagh Singh of Rupar who have been leading the armed guerrilla struggle in Punjab, were captured and then murdered in cold blood by the police of the reactionary Punjab Government towards the end of March this year.

In the district of 24 Parganas in West Bengal Comrade Sanatan Mandal, Comrade Subrata Choudhuri and Comrade Gour Das were murdered by the police and jotedars after these brave comrades had annihilated a most hated class enemy on May 16. In the same district Comrade Deb Ranjan De fought single-handed and most valiantly against a large gang of armed police bandits, killed two of them, injured four others including an officer and then died a hero's death. When Comrade Deb Ranjan De and several other comrades had been encircled by an overwhelming number of armed police bandits at Ashoknagar in 24 Parganas, he took upon himself the task of covering the retreat of the other comrades and engaged the police bandits in an armed encounter. His comrades reached a place of safety but he fell fighting like a hero.

Liberation pays homage to all these great martyrs. The blood of these valiant comrades has not been shed in vain. It is already bringing about a transformation in the country. It is already creating new men—new men who share their readiness to die for the people, their fearless courage, their selfless heroism, their deep love for the people and bitter hatred for the class enemies, new men worthy of the Mao Tsetung era. It is already changing the political climate of this country. These heroic comrades died with great faith in the Party and the people and in the victory of the revolution.

When they faced the firing squads, Comrades Daya Singh, Balwant Singh, Hari Singh Mrigand, Ujagar Singh and Dil Bagh Singh said to their murderers: "We are not sorry to die, for we are dying for the cause of the Indian revolution which no force on earth can crush. Guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and led by our heroic Party, our people will carry the revolution through to the end. Our people shall avenge our death." So Comrades Sanatan Mandal, Subrata Choudhuri and Gour Das defied their murderers to do their worst and faced death with unbowed heads. They said to their enemies: "You belong to a class that is doomed. By murdering us you cannot stop the march of the revolution. The people are rising everywhere; they will soon wipe you out from the face of the earth. Chairman Mao is alive, victory will certainly belong to the people, our long-suffering people guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by our heroic Party shall usher in a new dawn when all ghosts and monsters like you will no longer oppress and exploit them. The world's great age is beginning." Our brave comrades then shouted full-throated slogans:

"Long live the Indian Revolution!"

"Long live the C.P.I. (M-L)!"

"Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung!"

The historic Congress of the Party has called upon the revolutionary people and Party cadres to avenge the murder of these valiant comrades by spreading the battle of annihilation of class enemies in waves to every village, to every hamlet of India. Already the brave peasant guerrillas have stepped up this battle in response to the call of the Party Congress. Our hearts are heavy with grief but this grief is being transmuted into more bitter hatred for the class enemies. They shall not escape the flames that will soon become a prairie-fire. The fascist atrocities that India's reactionary ruling classes are perpetrating on the revolutionary people and our comrades in collusion with revisionist scoundrels of all hues are part of their last desperate struggle. The essential fact is that the enemies are nearing extinction while the revolutionary people of India are approaching victory.

A Turning-Point

U. S. imperialism tied one more noose round its neck when, on April 30, it sent U. S. troops and South Vietnamese mercenaries to invade Cambodia. B-52 bombers, napalm and all other savagest things that U. S. imperialism is capable of using, except the nuclear weapon, have been hurled against a small nation that bravely resisted the CIA-engineered coup d'etat, the attempt to turn this beautiful country into a U. S. neo-colony and military base. When the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet regime was on the verge of collapse, Nixon followed in the footsteps of his infamous predecessor, Hitler, and casting off all pretensions, ordered most brazenly his neo-Hitlerite hordes to attack Cambodia and resumed bombing of north Viet Nam. Driven into despair by the series of defeats U. S. imperialism has suffered in Viet Nam and Laos, it itself has exposed the fraud of "peace" talks in Paris and resorted to a mad gamble that is sure to prove disastrous for it. It has spread the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China: by its desperate adventure it has turned entire Indo-China into one theatre of war. It has burnt its boat, there is no returning. All the clamour of its stooges in Southeast Asia and elsewhere for the convening of a Geneva-type conference or for the restoration of the Geneva agreement of 1954 or of 1962, that U. S. imperialism has trampled underfoot over and over again—a manoeuvre to befool the people of the world and to provide respite to U. S. imperialism—will no longer deceive the revolutionaries of the world. No hoax of "peace talks" can any longer put off its inevitable doom. It must wade more and more through war till, battered by the incessant blows of the people, it disappears from the stage of history.

As Chairman Mao has said in his historic statement of May 20, U. S. imperialism is "now in the throes of its death-bed struggle". Its infamous attack on Cambodia and the stepping up of its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Laos have led to the formation of the revolutionary united front of the three Indo-Chinese peoples led by Socialist China, the symbol of the revolutionary unity of all the anti-imperialist people of the world. This militant unity of the world's people led by Chairman's China, a unity that is being demonstrated in the field of battle, a unity that will grow, develop and become firm like steel in the course of the revolutionary war against imperialism and its running dogs, is a factor rather new in history, a great achievement made by the world's people despite the confusion created by the revisionist renegades and their leaders, the Soviet social-imperialists. This revolutionary unity of the people is hastening the total collapse not only of U. S. imperialism but also of Soviet social-imperialism and all their running dogs.

What a desperate situation faces the U.S. imperialists today! The heroic Indo-Chinese peoples, determined to fight together and to win together, are inflicting defeat after defeat on the U.S. marauders and their South Vietnamese mercenaries in the different fields of battle. Meeting at a Summit Conference in the border region of China, Laos and Vietnam, the leaders of the three Indo-Chinese peoples have declared their resolve to persist in waging a people's war against the U.S. aggressors and to carry it through to the end. At home, U.S. imperialism is being ceaselessly battered by waves of militant struggles of the American youth and students. Millions of Americans are today demanding an end to the imperialist war in Indo-China: their battle-cries "U.S. imperialists, get out of Indo-China now!" "Nixon is the Assassin!" etc. are rending the sky above North America. The slaughter of students, large numbers of guns and tanks trained on militant students and youths, and all other fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists on its own people, can

hardly quell the tide of revolutionary struggle now sweeping the U.S.A. The heroic war of resistance carried on by the Indo-Chinese peoples and the revolutionary struggles waged by the American people are accentuating the contradictions among the U.S. ruling classes and creating deep fissures within the U.S. imperialist camp.

A situation no less desperate faces the Soviet social-imperialists too. They are forced to come out more and more openly as the chief accomplice of U.S. imperialism. According to a U.N.I. message from Phnom Penh dated May 28, *Nixon had told the Soviet social-imperialists in advance of his decision to dispatch U. S. and South Vietnamese troops to invade Cambodia.* According to the same report, *the Soviet social-imperialists passed on the information to their ambassador in Phnom Penh who in turn conveyed it to Nol, head of the CIA-installed puppet regime in Cambodia.* (Hindusthan Standard, 29.5.70) This proves how, while waving the banner of socialism and anti-imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists are acting hand in glove with the U. S. imperialists as the worst gendarmes of reaction. One recalls that irony of history: in an exactly similar situation about two years ago, that is, on the eve of their most criminal invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Brezhnev clique had sought and obtained prior approval of their action from the very same U. S. imperialists from whom, they claimed, they were out to save Czechoslovakia and "the socialist camp".

The swift march of events is tearing the mask off Soviet social-imperialism and exposing its hideous face.

As U. S. imperialism's chief accomplice it refuses to recognize the Sihanouk government, the government that represents the revolutionary unity of the Cambodian people and their resolve to take up arms and defeat the U. S. aggressors and their running dogs: on the other hand, it maintains diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol clique, U. S. imperialism's pitiable lackey.

When Socialist China is emerging as the *acknowledged* leader of the revolutionary people of Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, India etc., Soviet social-imperialism's sinister plan "Collective Security System for Asia", a plan to band together all the reactionaries and stooges of imperialism in Asia from Japanese militarists to Indian reactionaries within a political and military alliance directed against China, has failed miserably. The new Tsars of the Kremlin are shamelessly wooing the German revanchists, trying to arrive at an understanding with the NATO and is threatening to invade Albania, Rumania and Yugoslavia and to trample underfoot their freedom and sovereignty as a preparation for an attack on Socialist China.

It is not imperialism's aggression and plans of aggression that are the most decisive today. As Chairman Mao Tsetung has taught us, "**revolution is the main trend in the world today**" The international situation has now reached a new turning-point. A new glorious phase of history has opened! The world's people are on the eve of their magnificent victory, the long-dreamt-of victory of socialism over imperialism, social-imperialism and all other reaction. One realizes now more than ever before Chairman Mao's teaching: "**The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**" Today the people, guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, have taken upon themselves the task of remaking world history. In Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Korea, Indonesia, Palestine India etc., the people are foiling the plans and machinations of the imperialists, social-imperialists and other reactionaries. Here, in India, reactionaries and revisionists, panic-stricken at the rapid growth of the revolutionary struggle, are scampering like frightened mice. After the U.S. aggression against Cambodia and the Soviet social-imperialists' infamous role in it, the true features of the Indian revisionists of all hues as the running dogs of imperialism have become clearer than before. The Indian people's revolutionary armed struggle, which is a stream today, will become a deluge tomorrow. Who can save them and their masters from it?

—(June 16, 1970)

Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Forges Ahead in Bihar

Despite severe repression, despite attempts at encirclement, the peasants' guerrilla struggle is developing rapidly in Bihar. It is creating panic among the class-enemies and their reactionary and revisionist lackeys while it is rousing to action the oppressed masses of peasants in newer and newer areas every day. The flames of armed guerrilla struggle have spread from North Bihar to Chotanagpur in South Bihar. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the C.P.I. (M-L), the revolutionary peasants of Bihar are dealing relentless blows at the tottering regime of feudal landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists. The brave peasants of Bihar are vigorously carrying on the battle of annihilation of class-enemies, a battle which is a higher form of class struggle as well as the starting-point of people's war.

MUSHAHARI (MUZAFFARPUR DISTRICT):

Our Mushahari comrades observed May Day this year by annihilating three class-enemies in two separate guerrilla actions. One of them was a mukhia of Shura village—the most hated man of the area. The other two belonged to the village Chaumukh.

Recently, Mushahari comrades annihilated one more class-enemy. This has roused the peasant masses tremendously while alarm has gripped the minds of the class-enemies.

Leaders of revisionist and other reactionary parties, headed by that arch-reactionary Jaya Prakash Narayan, have rushed to the Mushahari-Sakra-Katra region to save the landlords

from their impending doom. These apologists for feudalism and imperialism are trying to rouse the people against the C.P.I. (M-L) and resorting to all kinds of trickery. Once more Jaya Prakash is trying to sell that fraud of *bhoodan* (so highly acclaimed by Chester Bowles and other spokesmen of U. S. imperialism); he has vowed either to crush the revolutionary peasantry and their armed struggle or to perish in the attempt. Today the battle of annihilation of class-enemies waged heroically by the peasantry is revealing before the people the true features of all reactionaries, renegades and scabs.

DARBHANGA DISTRICT :

In Darbhanga, peasant guerrillas led by our Party have annihilated the man who was responsible for the arrest of Comrade Umadhar Singh. This has greatly raised the morale of the peasantry.

MONGHYR DISTRICT :

In Monghyr, the armed peasant guerrilla struggle is forging ahead even after the arrest of two leaders by the reactionary police. One notorious landlord, Agarwal, has recently been annihilated by our peasant guerrillas in broad day-light. This has silenced the lying propaganda that everything is over in Surajgarha after the arrest of the two leaders. Mrs. Sunaina Sharma, M.L.A., the daughter-in-law of the Late Karyanand Sharma of the Dange revisionist clique, has openly joined hands with landlords and declared war against the revolutionary peasants led by the C.P.I. (M-L).

PURULIA DISTRICT :

The peasant's guerrilla war led by the C.P.I. (M-L) has achieved new success in Purulia. On May 6, a small group of

three guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer Sudhir Kujatkar of Golconda village under Purulia Sadar Thana. On the afternoon of that day this class enemy was returning home from another village when the guerrillas attacked him not far from his house. As he cried in alarm and pain his brother came out to help him. But the guerrillas who had already finished off the class enemy attacked his brother and seriously injured him. The news of the annihilation of this class enemy has greatly enthused the broad masses of the toiling people of the area. It may be remembered that another class-enemy had been annihilated some time ago.

GUERRILLA STRUGGLE SPREADS TO CHOTANAGPUR :

The flames of guerrilla struggle have now reached the Ranchi district in Chotanagpur, the land of Adivasi peasants who have a long tradition of revolutionary struggles. On April 19, a squad of peasant guerrillas, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the C.P.I. (M-L), annihilated Kuldeep Sahoo with traditional weapons in the day-time. Kuldeep Sahoo was a most hated landlord and usurer of the village Ramdaga in Khelari area of the Ranchi district. By his actions this class-enemy had earned the bitter hatred of the peasants, who had passed death sentence on him.

The development of peasant guerrilla struggle in this area is closely linked with the inner Party struggle against revisionist deviations. Dependence on middle peasants had been an obstacle to the development of peasant guerrilla struggle.

The peasants' armed guerrilla struggle developed only when this deviation was fought successfully and the Party cadres relied mainly on landless and poor peasants.

Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Spreads to New Areas in Assam

An excellent revolutionary situation prevails in Assam today. The masses of peasants of Assam are shaking off the influence of the revisionists and other reactionaries and are rallying under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, under the banner of the C.P.I. (M-L). Responding to the call of the Party and of its leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, they are vigorously waging the battle of annihilation of class enemies, a battle which has now spread from Goalpara district to Kamrup and Darrang districts.

Scared out of its wits the reactionary Congress government of Assam decided to unleash a reign of terror all over Assam. They have put behind prison bars all those whom they suspect of being "Naxalites". In the Kamrup district alone the number of arrested persons exceeds 350. Among those arrested in different districts are a large number of landless, poor and middle peasants, railway workers and employees, school teachers, college lecturers, students and youths.

The policy of the reactionary Congress government to create widespread panic among the people has yielded results which are the opposite of what they expected. They seem to have stung the sleeping tiger of Assam into action. Tales can be heard everywhere, tales of extraordinary heroism displayed by poor old peasants, peasant mothers and peasant wives as they faced police attacks. When arrested comrades are brought to the court, thousands of people come to greet them. Out of fear the reactionary government have stopped bringing them to the court.

Confronted with this white terror the brave peasants of Assam led by the CPI(M-L) have started counter-attacking the enemy. They are developing and spreading guerrilla war to newer areas. They realize the truth of the words of our beloved and respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar: "It is death to allow the murderer to remain alive".

GOALPARA DISTRICT :

On May 3 a squad of 6 guerrilla comrades, of whom five were poor peasants, waylaid and annihilated Harakanta Sarkar, a despotic jotedar and usurer, in Abhayapuri police station area in Goalpara district. On the evening of that day the class enemy was returning from market in a bullock-cart. The guerrilla comrades, who were waiting for him, annihilated him but allowed the poor cart-driver to go away unharmed. The annihilation of this class enemy has greatly enthused the peasants of the area.

This is the third successful guerrilla action in this district. Only a few days before, Assam's Inspector General of Police visited the area and arranged for the setting up of C.R.P. camps here. A large number of police spies are also roaming the area. Defying all this and displaying exemplary courage and resourcefulness, the heroic guerrillas carried out this action on their own initiative.

KAMRUP DISTRICT :

On April 15, a squad of peasant guerrillas attacked a class enemy, Jatin Sharma Dolui, in Guakunji village in Kamrup district and seriously wounded him. But somehow the class enemy recovered in hospital and severe police repression over a wide area started.

But, undeterred by this failure, the brave peasants of Kamrup waylaid and annihilated in a successful guerrilla action a hated class enemy, Nabin Medhi of Nakhat village in Ghagrapa Thana area on May 26.

DARRANG DISTRICT :

On May 10, a squad of 9 peasant guerrillas attacked the house of a hated class enemy, Barui, in Nejbari village in

(Continued at the foot of Page 56)

Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Rages Fiercely In West Bengal

Firmly following the line of annihilating the class enemies in the countryside by the guerrilla method and by relying on the poor and landless peasants, and seizing political power locally—a line worked out by the C. P. I. (M-L) led by our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar and roused by his call to “spread the struggle in waves”, the revolutionary peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the Party have continued to deal telling blows to the dark rule of feudal exploitation and oppression in the various districts of West Bengal. They deeply realize how true Comrade Charu Mazumdar’s words are: “Every jotedar, without exception, is a murderer. Armed jotedars, cowards as they are, have killed defenceless and unarmed agricultural labourers and poor peasants through the ages. There is hardly any family of agricultural labourers or poor peasants, some member of which has not been killed by jotedars some time or other.” They are stirred to their depths by Comrade Charu Mazumdar’s teaching: “To allow the murderer to remain alive means death to us.” So poor and landless peasants in a certain village in Gopiballavpur area told the peasant guerrillas and Party organizers who had gone there to mobilize the people: “Comrade Charu Mazumdar’s line is a brilliant one. It fully corresponds to our own experience and desires. We have been groping for a way out of our miserable existence and now we have found it at last. It is Comrade Charu Mazumdar’s line that has pointed out the

(Continued from Page 55)

Bihani thana area and chopped him into pieces. His wife too was annihilated when she tried to intervene. The guerrillas completed the job in 5 minutes and disappeared among the people. This area is quite close to the NEFA border.

correct way to win our liberation. He has voiced the thoughts which lay deep in our hearts for so long. He is the man nearest to our hearts. We sincerely wish him a long life.”

The following are some reports (received since the publication of the April issue of *Liberation*) of the continuing successes of the peasants’ armed struggle in West Bengal, of the victorious onward march of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought in this state.

Naxalbari Area (DARJEELING DISTRICT) :

On the evening of March 31, the heroic guerrillas annihilated a despotic jotedar Kali Prasad Singh about 200 feet away from a crowded market-place. The police have failed to trace any of the guerrillas. This successful action amidst intense police repression was carried out by the guerrillas with great courage and determination.

Another despotic jotedar and usurer Dindayal Singh of Ambari under Phansidewa P.S. was waylaid and annihilated by a group of 8 guerrillas on the evening of April 28. This class enemy owned 300 bighas of land, evicted sharecroppers, defrauded the poor peasants of their land and oppressed the peasant masses cruelly. During the Naxalbari struggle of 1967 he fled but later returned with the police, joined the armed gang organized by Sampat Roy, the notorious jotedar, and was among those who murdered the heroic martyr Comrade Sovan Ali in 1967. He helped the police in raiding peasants’ houses and in oppressing them. He even personally beat up a peasant for supporting the revolutionaries. The poor people of the area requested the local guerrilla squad to annihilate Singh. Accordingly, the guerrillas carried out investigation and annihilated him with axes as he was returning from the market-place. Though there was a police camp quite close to the market-place the police have not been able to trace any of the guerrillas who are safe under the protection of the masses.

This action has dealt a powerful blow to the 'encirclement and suppression' campaign being carried on by the reactionary police in the Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa area.

MIDNAPUR DISTRICT—Gopiballavpur :

A series of guerrilla actions have taken place in this area despite intensified repression by the reactionary police and troops and frantic opposition by revisionists and reactionaries.

A group of five poor and landless peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated at 10-30 in the morning of April 4 a despotic jotedar and usurer Dibakar Sen of Belduar village in Block no. I under Gopiballavpur P.S. Apart from owning a huge amount of land the class enemy ran a big trading shop and was a contractor. A leading figure in the reactionary 'resistance group', he took initiative in hounding the guerrillas. The guerrillas used daggers and *tangis* (pole-axes) in the action. On this day he laid a trap to capture the guerrillas, but the Party already knew of it and so the guerrillas could use the trap to annihilate the class enemy.

Another successful guerrilla action took place in this area on the evening of April 7. A notorious class enemy, Bijay Mandal, of Ramchandrapur village was annihilated by a squad of six peasant guerrillas. The annihilation of these hated class enemies has raised a wave of enthusiasm among the people and created panic among other class enemies. Believing in the principle that discretion is the better part of valour, some of them have already fled away while others are trying to contact the Party and asking for mercy.

Inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the Party the heroic guerrillas of Midnapur District celebrated April 22, the first anniversary of the founding of the C.P.I. (M-L), by annihilating three class enemies in three different parts of the district.

At dawn a group of 8 guerrillas was waiting patiently at the back of the two-storeyed building of Moti Pal, a very wealthy and despotic jotedar and usurer in Kharikasol village under Gopiballavpur P.S. The class enemy had a gun in the

house and the house was well protected with collapsible iron gates. Before long the class enemy opened the door and came out to wash his face. Immediately one of the guerrilla comrades hit him with a *tangi* (pole-axe) but as the space was too narrow to wield the weapon in properly, the blow was not so powerful and the class enemy shrieked in terror and tried to rush back into the house. His wife and daughter also came to his help. But the other guerrilla comrades caught hold of the devil, dragged him out and annihilated him with blows of sticks and *tangis*. After this they raised slogans: "Long live the C.P.I. (M-L)!", "Long live the historic April 22!", "Long live Comrade Charu Mazumdar!", "Long live Chairman Mao!" The joy of the people knew no bounds at the successful annihilation of this ruthless exploiter and oppressor of the peasantry.

The heroic peasant guerrillas of Gopiballavpur observed May Day this year—the first anniversary of the day when the declaration that the Party had been founded was made—by annihilating one C.R.P. bandit. They drowned him in the Subarnarekha river near Padima village in Block no. 2 under Gopiballavpur P.S. while he was crossing the river in a boat.

In another incident brave peasant women of Jahanpur village in the same area attacked an armed C.R.P. bandit with pole-axes and seriously injured him.

Debra :

On the evening of April 10, the guerrillas of three newly-formed guerrilla squads of three villages waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer and police agent, Binode Samanta, and his brother of Shankuchoya village. Again, on June 18, Pulin Mondal, a hated jotedar of Kankra village, was annihilated by a squad of 4 landless peasants and on June 20, another notorious jotedar met his doom at the hands of the guerrillas. These guerrilla actions took place amidst intense repression by the E.F.R. bandit troops stationed in the area.

Jambani :

April 22, the first anniversary of the founding of the C.P.I. (M-L), was also celebrated by the revolutionary peasants of Jambani area under the leadership of the West Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Region Committee by annihilating Rathin Satpathi, a despotic jotedar of Dubla village within Jambani P.S. with the help of *tangis* (pole-axes), big choppers, swords and daggers at about 8-30 in the evening. This class enemy owned 350 bighas of land and was the manager of the feudal prince of Chilkigarh and cruelly oppressed and exploited thousands of poor people of the area. This is the first guerrilla action in the Jambani P.S. area and the news of it spread like wild-fire to far away places and the people here, heaving a sigh of relief, are expressing their joy at the success of the guerrillas. The action took place within half a mile from the Jambani police station and this fact has struck great fear into the hearts of the class enemies who are preparing to leave the area.

Nayagram :

The heroic guerrillas of Nayagram area also celebrated April 22 by annihilating a despotic jotedar and police agent Bhabani Chakraborty of Deulbar village under Nayagram P.S. With this action the flames of the peasants' armed struggle have spread to this area. This class enemy was a pillar of the wicked gentry and jotedars. He was the *anchal pradhan* and secretary and teacher of a school. On the evening of April 22 he was returning to Calcutta from his village guarded by 14 landless and poor peasants all armed with long sticks and spears. As soon as he came near the place where the guerrillas were waiting they pounced upon him and cut him to pieces. The bold action of the heroic guerrillas struck terror among the armed peasants guarding the class enemy and they began to tremble in fear. The guerrillas explained to them the significance of the annihilation and all of them surrendered their sticks and spears and walked away unharmed. Later the police came to the place of action but

seeing the class enemy's severed head and legs strewn here and there, they went away saying that there was no way to cope with the guerrillas.

Jhargram :

The heroic peasant guerrillas of Jhargram celebrated May Day this year by annihilating a hated jotedar and usurer, Natabar Patra, of Agubati village within Jhargram P.S. area. He was a pillar of feudal exploitation in the area and was notorious for his lechery. In the evening when, sitting on the *verandah* of his house, he was discussing with his hirelings his plan of setting up a C.R.P. camp in his own house in order to suppress the peasant revolutionaries led by the C.P.I. (M-L), a group of six brave guerrillas under the leadership of a poor peasant swiftly moved into the *verandah* and annihilated him with daggers and *tangis* (pole-axes). The hirelings ran helter-skelter for their lives while his youngest son, who came to oppose the guerrillas, had a taste of the *tangis*. The news of this annihilation has created great jubilation among the people of about 40 villages in the area while the class enemies of the Jhargram sub-division are fleeing in panic. This action has spread the flames of armed guerrilla struggle to the Jhargram P.S. area.

Patashpur :

The peasants' guerrilla struggle spread to the Contai sub-division of the Midnapur district when, on May 14, under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) a guerrilla squad of 3 landless peasants annihilated a hated usurer and landlords' agent. The guerrillas severed his head from the body with conventional weapons. This has raised a wave of enthusiasm among the peasantry.

Keshiary :

Responding to the call of the C.P.I. (M-L) to spread the flames of armed guerrilla struggle throughout the Midnapur district, the brave peasant guerrillas of Keshiary *thana* area have started the battle of annihilation of the class enemy. On May 19, early in the morning, they annihilated Troilakya Mahapatra, a notorious, despotic jotedar and libertine, with pole-axes. Though many people witnessed this annihilation which took place on a public highway near the local police

station, none came to his rescue. The class-enemies have become quite panicky while the guerrilla action is rousing the peasants to action.

Garbeta :

On May 19, a squad of 4 peasant guerrillas spread the armed guerrilla struggle to Garbeta in the north of the Midnapur district near its border with Bankura by annihilating a notorious *chowkidar* (a village watchman) of the Amjuri village. As an absentee landlord's agent he had been harassing and oppressing the peasantry. While guerrilla action is mobilizing the people under the banner of the CPI (M-L), it is shattering the revisionist parties.

Baharagora (SINGBHUM) :

Undeterred by the repressive measures of the reactionary government the brave peasants of Baharagora, led by the West Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Region Committee of the CPI (M-L), are carrying on the battle of annihilation of class enemies and achieving success after success. On the evening of May 17, a squad of seven guerrillas annihilated with pole-axes and *hasuas* (scythes) two notorious and despotic jotedars and usurers, Gopal Ghosh and Santosh Kuila, of Kesarda village while they were returning in a cart from Baharagora market. These class enemies used to suck the blood of the peasants : Gopal Ghosh once murdered a poor *chowkidar* (a village watchman). When the report of the guerrilla action reached the police station which is only two miles from the place of action the reactionary police were so scared that they did not dare come out. They only went on firing at intervals of half an hour. The people realized the truth of Chairman Mao's teaching : "All reactionaries are paper tigers."

Sankrail :

On May 23, a notorious jotedar and police agent, Sadhu Jana, was annihilated by a squad of 2 landless and poor peasants near Rohini village within Sankrail *thana* area. This class enemy had helped the Eastern Frontier Rifles and the Central Reserve Police arrest our cadres and supporters.

Salbani :

The brave peasant guerrillas of Salbani *thana* celebrated the victory of the great Congress of the CPI (M-L) by annihilating a hated class enemy on June 5. A squad of 4 guerrilla

comrades, among whom were 2 landless peasants, annihilated with swords a big despotic jotedar, Pasupati Santra, who was also a big contractor, when he was returning home on a motorcycle after attending a meeting of jotedars. This devil of a man was a pillar of oppressive feudal rule in the area. This spread of guerrilla struggle to Salbani *thana* has brought in its wake joy and enthusiasm for the people and fear and consternation for the class enemies of the area.

Khargapur :

On June 8, a squad of 5 landless and poor peasants annihilated Pranab Roy, a hated class enemy of the village Shyamchak within Khargapur *thana* area with the help of pole-axes. A member of the most hated jotedar family of the area, guilty of all sorts of crimes against the people—torture, murder, eviction of peasants from land, rape on women etc—he had planned the murder of a villager and had employed hoodlums for the purpose. It is the people who demanded that Pranab Roy be meted out the only punishment he deserved—death. The Party and the guerrilla comrades bowed to the wishes of the people and annihilated this class enemy.

Panskura :

Brave peasant guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L) have kindled the flames of guerrilla struggle in Panskura *thana* area. So the flames have now spread to Tamluk sub-division of Midnapur district. On June 18, a small squad of peasant guerrillas waylaid and swiftly annihilated with pole-axes and daggers a notorious and despotic class enemy, Bishnupada Maity, of the Ramnagar village. He was a jotedar, police agent and government contractor and was guilty of all kinds of crimes against the people.

Binpur :

Peasant guerrilla struggle led by the Party has also spread to the Binpur *thana* area in Midnapur, supposed to be a stronghold of the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Jyoti Basu clique. A squad of guerrillas has annihilated a notorious jotedar and usurer Anil Sengupta of Dadhara village. Fearful of the doom that awaits them, the revisionist scabs are acting as police agents.

Sarat (Mayurbhanj) :

The flames of peasant guerrilla struggle have spread to Mayurbhanj in Orissa. On June 6, a squad of five peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the West Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Region Committee of the CPI (M-L), responding to the call of our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar to spread the guerrilla struggle widely, annihilated a notorious big landlord and usurer Bimala Sahu.

Khunta (Mayurbhanj) :

On June 8, a squad of three guerrillas annihilated Bijay Singh and seriously injured Ajay Singh, big landlords, usurers and merchants of the village Kuamara with big knives when they were returning from a village market accompanied by their servants and three bodyguards. The annihilation of Bijay Singh, the hated class enemy, has brought a wave of joy and enthusiasm among the oppressed peasantry.

24 PARGANAS—Barasat :

A notorious dacoit and bully Pagla of Sasam within the Barasat thana area, who endlessly harassed and oppressed the people and committed several murders, was annihilated by guerrilla comrades on April 7.

Rajarhat :

On the afternoon of April 10, a guerrilla squad annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer, Gopinath Karmakar, of Chandpur village under Rajarhat P. S. with choppers and knives.

A squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Ghanashyam Naskar, President of *gram panchayet* of the Krishnapur-Mahisbathan area, police agent and local bully, notorious for his lechery, on May 23.

On May 30, Sushil Nag Choudhury, a notorious usurer and police agent, who assisted the police to carry on raids and make indiscriminate arrests, was seriously wounded when a squad of peasant guerrillas attacked him near Chandpur market. Later on he died in hospital.

Sandeshkhali :

On April 10, peasant guerrillas led by the Party kindled the spark of guerrilla struggle in Sandeshkhali by annihilating a despotic jotedar and usurer, Biren Chatterjee, of Boyermari with choppers.

Maheshtola :

On April 17, a notorious jotedar was annihilated by a squad of guerrilla comrades within the Maheshtola thana area.

(Continued on Page ~~64~~)
126

LENINISM

OR

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM ?

—In Commemoration of the Centenary of the
Birth of the Great Lenin

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi*
and *Jiefangjun Bao*

(Reprinted from *Peking Review* No. 17, 1970)

I. The Banner of Leninism Is Invincible

THE centenary of the birth of the great Lenin falls on April 22 this year.

Throughout the world, the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people are commemorating this date of historic significance with the highest respect for the great Lenin.

After the death of Marx and Engels, Lenin was the great leader of the international communist movement and the great teacher of the proletariat and oppressed people of the world.

In 1871, the year after Lenin was born, the uprising of the Paris Commune occurred; this was the first attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The world was entering the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries when Lenin began his revolutionary activities. In his struggles against imperialism and opportunism of every kind, and especially against the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin

inherited, defended and developed Marxism and brought it to a new and higher stage, the stage of Leninism. As Stalin put it, "Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution."¹

Lenin analysed the contradictions of imperialism, revealed the law governing it and solved a series of major questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and settled the question of socialism "achieving victory first in one or several countries."² He expounded the thesis that the proletariat must assume leadership in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and led the Russian proletariat in staging a general rehearsal in the revolution of 1905. Under his leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution brought about the fundamental change from the old world of capitalism to the new world of socialism, opening up a new era in the history of mankind.

Lenin's theoretical and practical contributions to the cause of the proletarian revolution were extremely great.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin inherited and defended the cause of Leninism in his struggles against domestic and foreign class enemies and against the Right and "Left" opportunists in the Party. He led the Soviet people in continuing the advance along the socialist road and in winning great victories. During World War II the Soviet people under the command of Stalin became the main force in defeating fascist aggression and made magnificent contributions which will live for ever in the history of mankind.

We Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will never forget that it was precisely in Leninism that we found our road to liberation. Comrade Mao Tsetung says: "The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." "They [the Chinese—Tr.] found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change."³ He points out: "The Chinese people have always considered the Chinese revolution a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution."⁴

Applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively solved the fundamental problems of the Chinese revolution and led the Chinese people in waging the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complicated revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars ever known in the history of the world proletarian revolution and in winning victory in the people's revolution in China, this large country in the East. This is the greatest victory in the world proletarian revolution since the October Revolution.

We are now living in a great new era of world revolution. The international situation has undergone world-shaking changes since Lenin's time. The development of world history as a whole has proved that Lenin's revolutionary teachings are correct and that the banner of Leninism is invincible.

But history has its twists and turns. Just as Bernstein-Kautsky revisionism emerged after the death of Engels, so did Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionism after the death of Stalin.

Eleven years after Khrushchov came to power, a split occurred within the revisionist clique and he was replaced by Brezhnev. More than five years have elapsed since Brezhnev took office. And now it is ~~it~~ this Brezhnev who is conducting the "commemoration" of the centenary of Lenin's birth in the Soviet Union.

Lenin once said: "It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes."⁵

This is exactly what the renegade Brezhnev and his ilk are doing to the great Lenin. In their so-called Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, they have the impudence to distort the great image of Lenin, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, and pass off their revisionist rubbish as Leninism. They pretend to "commemorate" Lenin, but in reality they are appropriating

the name of Lenin to press forward with their social-imperialism, social-fascism and social-militarism. What an outrageous insult to Lenin!

Today our fighting tasks are thoroughly to expose the betrayal of Leninism by the Soviet revisionist renegades, to lay bare the class nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, point out the historical law that social-imperialism, like capitalist imperialism, will meet its inevitable doom, and further promote the great struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction. Here is the tremendous significance of our commemoration of the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin.

II. The Fundamental Question of Leninism is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In his struggle against opportunism and revisionism, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the fundamental question in the proletarian revolution is that of using violence to seize political power, smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He said: "The latter [the bourgeois state—Tr.] cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in the process of 'withering away': as a general rule, this can happen only by means of a violent revolution."⁶

He added that Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is inseparably bound up with all he taught on the revolutionary rule of the proletariat in history. The culmination of this rule is the proletarian dictatorship."⁷

The victory of the October Revolution led by Lenin was a victory for the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The road of the October Revolution is the road of the proletariat achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat through violent revolution.

Around the time of the October Revolution, Lenin summed up the new revolutionary practice and further developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that the socialist revolution covers "a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts"⁸ and that "until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration."⁹ Therefore, he maintained that the dictatorship of the proletariat "is necessary... not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but for the entire historical period between capitalism and 'classless society', communism."¹⁰

Today, as we commemorate the centenary of Lenin's birth, it is of vital practical significance to study anew these brilliant ideas of Lenin's.

As is well known, it is precisely on the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has betrayed Leninism and the October Revolution.

Far back, when Khrushchov began to reveal his revisionist features, Comrade Mao Tsetung acutely pointed out: "I think there are two 'swords': One is Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been abandoned by the Russians." "As for the sword of Lenin, has it too now been abandoned to a certain extent by some leaders of the Soviet Union? In my view, it has been abandoned to a considerable extent. Is the October Revolution still valid? Can it still be the example for all countries? Khrushchov's report at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. says it is possible to gain political power by the parliamentary

road, that is to say, it is no longer necessary for all countries to learn from the October Revolution. Once this gate is opened, Leninism by and large is thrown out."¹¹

III. Counter-Revolutionary Coup d'Etat by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev Renegade Clique

How was it possible for the restoration of capitalism to take place in the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and how was it possible for the Soviet Union to become social-imperialist? If we examine this question from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and especially in the light of Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall be able to understand that this was mainly a product of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, the result of the usurpation of Party and government leadership by a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road there, in other words, the result of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by the Soviet bourgeoisie. At the same time, it was the result of the policy of "peaceful evolution" which world imperialism, in trying to save itself from its doom, has pushed in the Soviet Union through the medium of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration."¹²

In socialist society the class struggle still focuses on the question of political power. Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various

spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."¹³

Classes and class struggle continued to exist in the Soviet Union long after the October Revolution, although the bourgeoisie had been overthrown. Stalin cleared out quite a gang of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and the like. This showed that sharp class struggle was going on all the time and that there was always the danger of capitalist restoration.

Being the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union lacked experience in consolidating this dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In these circumstances and after Stalin's death, Khrushchov, a capitalist roader in power hiding in the Soviet Communist Party, came out with a surprise attack in his "secret report" viciously slandering Stalin and by every kind of treacherous manoeuvre usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union. This was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat which turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and which overthrew socialism and restored capitalism.

Brezhnev was Khrushchov's accomplice in the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and later replaced him. Brezhnev's rise to power is, in essence, the continuation of Khrushchov's counter-revolutionary coup. Brezhnev is Khrushchov the Second.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."¹⁴ "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type."¹⁵

This brilliant thesis of Comrade Mao Tsetung's most penetratingly reveals the class essence and social roots of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and its fascist nature.

Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum has greatly expanded its political and economic power and has occupied the ruling position in the Party, the government, and the army as well as in the economic and cultural fields. And from this stratum there has emerged a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, namely, a new type of big bourgeoisie which dominates the whole state machine and controls all the social wealth.

Utilizing the state power under its control, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class has turned socialist ownership into ownership by capitalist roaders and turned the socialist economy into a capitalist economy and a state monopoly capitalist economy. In the name of the "state," it unscrupulously plunders the state treasury and embezzles at will the fruits of the labour of the Soviet people in every possible way. Indulging in luxury and debauchery, it rides roughshod over the people.

This new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is a bourgeoisie that has turned the hope of restoration into attempts at restoration. It has suppressed the heroic sons and daughters of the October Revolution, is lording it over the people of different nationalities in the Soviet Union and has set up its own small counter-revolutionary tsarist court. Therefore, it is reactionary in the extreme and mortally hates and fears the people.

Like all other reactionary and decadent classes, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is riddled with internal contradictions. In their desperate efforts to keep the power they have usurped, the members of this class are both working hand in glove with each other and scheming and struggling against one another. The greater their difficulties, the fiercer their strife, open and secret.

In order to extort maximum profits and maintain its reactionary rule, this new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class not only exploits and oppresses the people of its own country, but it necessarily engages in rabid expansion and aggression, joins the company of world imperialism in redividing the world and pursues the most vicious social-imperialist policies.

This new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class constitutes the class basis of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. At present the general representative of this class is Brezhnev. He has frantically pushed and developed Khrushchov revisionism and is completing the evolution from capitalist restoration to social-imperialism, which was already begun when Khrushchov was in power.

Since Brezhnev took office, he has pushed the so-called new economic system in an all-round way and established the capitalist principle of profit in a legal form, thus intensifying the exploitation of the working people by the oligarchy of bureaucrat monopolists. He and his like extort exorbitant taxes in total disregard of the lives of the people, follow Hitler's policy of "guns instead of butter" and accelerate the militarization of the national economy to meet the needs of social-imperialism for arms expansion and war preparation.

The perverse acts of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have caused immense damage to the social productive forces and brought about grave consequences: the decline of industry, the deterioration of agriculture, the reduction in livestock, inflation, shortages of supplies, the unusual scarcity of commodities on state markets and the increasing impoverishment of the working people. The Soviet revisionist renegades have not only squandered a vast amount of the wealth accumulated by the Soviet people through decades of hard work, but have also humbly begged for loans from West Germany, a country defeated in World War II, and are even selling out the country's natural resources and inviting Japanese monopoly capital into Siberia. The economy of the

Soviet Union is already in the grip of an inextricable crisis. As friends of the Soviet people, we the Chinese people, along with the people of the world, are extremely indignant with the Soviet revisionist renegades who have brought so much damage and disgrace to the homeland of Leninism; we feel deep sympathy for broad masses of the Soviet people who are suffering enormously from the all-round restoration of the capitalist system.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique once said that the dictatorship of the proletariat "has ceased to be indispensable in the U. S. S. R." and that the Soviet Union "has...become a state of the entire people."¹⁶ But now they are slapping their own faces and asserting that the "state of the entire people continues the cause of the proletarian dictatorship."¹⁷ and that "the state of the whole people" and "the state of proletarian dictatorship" are "of one and the same type."¹⁸ They are also making a hullabaloo about "strengthening party leadership," "strengthening discipline," "strengthening centralism" and so on. "A state of the entire people" and at the same time a "proletarian dictatorship"—they lump together these two diametrically opposed concepts for no other purpose than to deceive the masses and camouflage the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie. By "party leadership" they actually mean political control over the broad masses of the party members and the people by the handful of social-fascist oligarchs. By "discipline" they mean suppression of all who are dissatisfied with their rule. And by "centralism" they mean further centralizing the political, economic and military power in the hands of their gang. In short, they are putting all these signboards up for the purpose of strengthening their fascist dictatorship and preparing for wars of aggression.

Beset with difficulties at home and abroad, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is resorting more and more openly to counter-revolutionary violence to buttress its reactionary rule which betrays Lenin and the October Revolution. In the Soviet Union of today, special agents and spies run amuck

and reactionary laws and decrees multiply. Revolution is a crime, and people are everywhere being jailed on false charges; counter-revolution is a merit, and renegades congratulate each other on their promotion. Large numbers of revolutionaries and innocent people have been thrown into concentration camps and "mental hospitals." The Soviet revisionist clique even sends tanks and armoured cars brutally to suppress the people's resistance.

Lenin pointed out: "Nowhere in the world is there such an oppression of the majority of the country's population as there is in Russia," and nationalities other than Russians were regarded "as *inorodtsi* (aliens)."¹⁹ National oppression "turned the nationalities without any rights into great reservoirs of fierce hatred for the monarchs."²⁰ Now the Soviet revisionist new tsars have restored the old tsars' policy of national oppression, adopted such cruel measures as discrimination, forced migration, splitting and imprisonment to oppress and persecute the minority nationalities and turned the Soviet Union back into the "prison of nations."²¹

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique exercises comprehensive bourgeois dictatorship throughout the ideological sphere. It wantonly suppresses and destroys the proletariat's socialist ideology and culture while opening the floodgates to the rotten bourgeois ideology and culture. It vociferously preaches militarism, national chauvinism and racism and turns literature and art into tools for pushing social-imperialism.

In denouncing the dark rule of the tsarist system, Lenin indicated that police tyranny, savage persecution and demoralization had reached such an extent that "the very stones cry out!"²² One can just as well compare the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique with the tsarist system castigated by Lenin.

In staging the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique played a role which no imperialist or reactionary was in a position to play. As Stalin

said, "The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within."²³ The fortress of socialism, which had withstood the 14-nation armed intervention, the Whiteguard rebellion, the attack by several million Hitlerite troops and imperialist sabotage, subversion, blockade and encirclement of every kind, was finally captured from within by this handful of renegades. The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique are the biggest renegades in the history of the international communist movement. They are criminals indicted by history for their towering crimes.

IV. Socialism in Words, Imperialism in Deeds.

Lenin denounced the renegades of the Second International as "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism."²⁴

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, too, has grown from revisionism into social-imperialism. The difference lies in the fact that the social-imperialists of the Second International such as Kautsky did not hold state power; they only served the imperialists of their own countries to earn a few crumbs from the super-profits plundered from the people of other countries. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, however, directly plunder and enslave the people of other countries by means of the state power they have usurped.

The historical lesson is: Once its political power is usurped by a revisionist clique, a socialist state will either turn into social-imperialism, as in the case of the Soviet Union, or be reduced to a dependency or a colony, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic. Now one can see clearly that the essence of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique's rise to power lies in the transformation of the socialist state created by Lenin and Stalin into a hegemonic social-imperialist power.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about Leninism, socialism and proletarian internationalism, but it acts in an out-and-out imperialist way.

It talks glibly about practising "internationalism" towards its so-called fraternal countries, but in fact it imposes fetters upon them, such as the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" and the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," on a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic, thereby confining them with its barbed-wire "socialist community" and freely ransacking them. It uses its overlord position to press its "international division of labour," "specialization in production" and "economic integration," to force these countries to adapt their national economies to the Soviet revisionist needs and turn them into its markets, subsidiary processing workshops, orchards, vegetable gardens and ranches, all so that outrageous super-economic exploitation can be carried on.

It has adopted the most despotic and vicious methods to keep these countries under strict control and stationed massive numbers of troops there, and it has even openly dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to trample Czechoslovakia underfoot and install a puppet regime at bayonet point. Like the old tsars denounced by Lenin, this gang of renegades bases its relations with its neighbours entirely "on the feudal principle of privilege."²⁵

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its "aid" to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but in fact, under the guise of "aid," it is trying hard to bring a number of these countries into its sphere of influence in contending with U. S. imperialism for the intermediate zone. Through the export of war materiel and capital and through unequal trade, Soviet revisionism is plundering their natural resources, interfering in their internal affairs and looking for chances to grab military bases.

Lenin pointed out: "To the numerous 'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for 'spheres of influence,'....for economic territory in general."²⁶ Soviet

revisionist social-imperialism is moving along precisely this orbit of capitalist imperialism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its "full support" for the revolutionary struggles in other countries, but in fact it is collaborating with all the most reactionary forces in the world to undermine the revolutionary struggles of various peoples. It wildly vilifies the revolutionary masses in the capitalist countries as "extremists" and "mobs" and tries to split and disintegrate the people's movements there. It has supplied money and guns to the reactionaries of Indonesia, India and other countries and thus directly helped them massacre revolutionaries, and is scheming night and day to put out the flames of the people's armed struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and suppress the national-liberation movements. Like U. S. imperialism, it is acting as a world gendarme.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique talks glibly about its approval of "struggle against imperialism," mouthing a few phrases scolding the United States now and then, but in fact, Soviet revisionism and U. S. imperialism are both the biggest imperialisms vainly attempting to dominate the world. There is absolutely nothing in common between the Soviet revisionists' so-called opposition to the United States and the struggles of the people of the various countries against U. S. imperialism. In order to redivide the world, Soviet revisionism and U. S. imperialism are contending and colluding with each other at the same time. What Soviet revisionism has done on a series of major issues, such as the questions of Germany, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Japan and nuclear weapons, is evidence of its crimes in contending and colluding with U. S. imperialism. Both of them are playing imperialist power politics at the expense of the interests of the people of all countries. Whatever compromises may be reached between Soviet revisionism and U. S. imperialism are mere temporary agreements between gangsters.

Lenin pointed out: Contemporary militarism is the result

of capitalism."²⁷ Contemporary war "arises out of the nature of imperialism."²⁸

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has gone farther and farther down the road of militarism. It has taken over Khrushchov's military strategic principle of nuclear blackmail and energetically developed missile-nuclear weapons, and at the same time redoubled its efforts to expand conventional armaments, comprehensively strengthening its ground, naval and air forces, and carried out the imperialist "gunboat policy" throughout the world.

On the question of war, formerly Khrushchov hypocritically advocated a world "without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" to cover up actual arms expansion and war preparation. Today, Brezhnev and company have somewhat changed their tune. They have gone all out to stir up war fanaticism, clamouring that the present international situation is "fraught with the danger of a new world war,"²⁹ brazenly threatening to "forestall the opponent" and bragging about their "strategic missiles" being "capable of destroying any target at any place."³⁰ They have been increasing military expenditures still more frantically, stepping up their mobilization and preparation for wars of aggression and plotting to unleash a blitzkrieg of the Hitler type.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has occupied Czechoslovakia by surprise attack, encroached upon Chinese territories such as Chenpao Island and the Tiehliekti area and made nuclear threats against our country. All this fully reveals the aggressive and adventurous nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Like the U.S. imperialists, the handful of oligarchs of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have become another arch-criminal preparing to start a world war.

V. The "Brezhnev Doctrine" Is Outright Doctrine of Hegemony

In order to press on with its social-imperialist policy of expansion and aggression, the Brezhnev renegade clique has developed Khrushchov revisionism and concocted an assortment of fascist "theories" called the "Brezhnev doctrine".

Now let us examine what stuff this "Brezhnev doctrine" is made of.

First, the theory of "limited sovereignty." Brezhnev and company say that safeguarding their so-called interests of socialism means safeguarding "supreme sovereignty."³¹ They flagrantly declare that Soviet revisionism has the right to determine the destiny of another country "including the destiny of its sovereignty."³²

What "interests of socialism"! It is you who have subverted the socialist system in the Soviet Union and pushed your revisionist line of restoring capitalism in a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic. What you call the "interests of socialism" are actually the interests of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the interests of colonialism. You have imposed your all-highest "supreme sovereignty" on the people of other countries, which means that the sovereignty of other countries is "limited," whereas your own power of dominating other countries is "unlimited." In other words, you have the right to order other countries about, whereas they have no right to oppose you; you have the right to ravage other countries, but they have no right to resist you. Hitler once raved about "the right to rule."³³ Dulles and his ilk also preached that the concepts of national sovereignty "have become obsolete"³⁴ and that "single state sovereignty" should give place to "joint sovereignty."³⁵ So it is clear that Brezhnev's theory of "limited sovereignty" is nothing but an echo of imperialist ravings.

Secondly, the theory of "international dictatorship." Brezhnev and company assert that they have the right to "render military aid to a fraternal country to do away with the threat to the socialist system."³⁶ They declare: "Lenin had foreseen" that historical development would "transform the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national into an one, capable of decisively influencing the entire international world politics."³⁷

This bunch of renegades has completely distorted Lenin's ideas.

In his article "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," Lenin wrote of "transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics)."³⁸ Lenin meant here to uphold proletarian internationalism and propagate proletarian world revolution. But the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has emasculated the proletarian revolutionary spirit embodied in this passage of Lenin's and concocted the theory of "international dictatorship" as the "theoretical basis" for military intervention in or military occupation of a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic. The "international dictatorship" you refer to simply means the subjection of other countries to the new tsars' rule and enslavement. Do you think that by putting up the signboard of "aid to a fraternal country" you are entitled to use your military force to bully another country, or send your troops to overrun another country as you please? Flying the flag of "unified armed forces," you invaded Czechoslovakia. What difference is there between this and the invasion of China by the allied forces of eight powers in 1900, the 14-nation armed intervention in the Soviet Union and the "16-nation" aggression organized by U. S. imperialism against Korea!

Thirdly, the theory of "socialist community." Brezhnev and company shout that "the community of socialist states is an inseparable whole"³⁹ and that the "united action"⁴⁰ of "the socialist community" must be strengthened.

A "socialist community" indeed! It is nothing but a synonym for a colonial empire with you as the metropolitan state. The relationship between genuine socialist countries, big or small, should be built on the basis of Marxism-

Leninism, on the basis of the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, respect for state sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and on the basis of the proletarian internationalist principle of mutual support and mutual assistance. But you have trampled other countries underfoot and made them your subordinates and dependencies. By "united action" you mean to unify under your control the politics, economies and military affairs of other countries. By "inseparable" you mean to forbid other countries to free themselves from your control and enslavement. Are you not brazenly trying to enslave the people of other countries?

Fourthly, the theory of "international division of labour." Brezhnev and company have greatly developed this nonsense spread by Khrushchov long ago. They have not only applied "international division of labour" to a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic as mentioned above, but have extended it to other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They allege that the Asian, African and Latin American countries cannot "secure the establishment of an independent national economy,"⁴¹ unless they "co-operate" with Soviet revisionism. "This co-operation enables the Soviet Union to make better use of the international division of labour. We shall be able to purchase in these countries increasing quantities of their traditional export commodities—cotton, wool, skins and hides, dressed non-ferrous ores, vegetable oil, fruit, coffee, cocoa beans, tea and other raw materials, and a variety of manufactured goods."⁴²

What a list of "traditional export commodities"! It is a pity that this list is not complete. To it must be added petroleum, rubber, meat, vegetables, rice, jute, cane sugar, etc.

In the eyes of the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs, the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are destined to provide them with these "traditional export commodities" from generation to generation. What kind of

"theory" is this? The colonialists and imperialists have long advocated that it is they who are to determine what each country is to produce in the light of its natural conditions, and they have forcibly turned Asian, African and Latin American countries into sources of raw materials and kept them in a state of backwardness so that industrial capitalist countries can carry on the most savage colonial exploitation at their convenience. The Soviet revisionist clique has taken over this colonial policy from imperialism. Its theory of "international division of labour" boils down to "industrial Soviet Union, agricultural Asia, Africa and Latin America" or "industrial Soviet Union, subsidiary processing workshop Asia, Africa and Latin America".

Mutual and complementary exchange of goods and mutual assistance on the basis of equality and mutual benefit between genuine socialist countries and Asian, African and Latin American countries are conducted for the purpose of promoting the growth of an independent national economy in these countries keeping the initiative in their own hands. However, the theory of "international division of labour" is preached by the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs for the sole purpose of infiltrating, controlling and plundering the Asian, African and Latin American countries, broadening their own spheres of influence and putting these countries under the new yoke of Soviet revisionist colonialism.

Fifthly, the theory that "our interests are involved." Brezhnev and company clamour that "the Soviet Union which, as a major world power, has extensive international contacts, cannot regard passively events that, though they might be territorially remote, nevertheless have a bearing on our security and the security of our friends."⁴³ They arrogantly declare: "Ships of the Soviet Navy" will "sail...wherever it is required by the interests of our country's security"⁴⁴

Can a country regard all parts of the world as areas involving its interests and lay its hands on the whole globe because it is a "major power"? Can a country send its gunboats every-

where to carry out intimidation and aggression because it "has extensive international contacts"? This theory that "our interests are involved" is a typical argument used by the imperialists for their global policy of aggression. When the old tsars engaged in foreign expansion, they did it under the banner of "Russian interests." The U.S. imperialists too have time and again shouted that the United States bears responsibility "not only for our own security but for the security of all free nations," and that it will "defend freedom wherever necessary."⁴⁵ How strikingly similar are the utterances of the Soviet revisionists to those of the old tsars and the U.S. imperialists!

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has long gone bankrupt ideologically, theoretically and politically cannot produce anything presentable at all; it can only pick up some trash from imperialism and, after refurbishing, come out with "Brezhnevism." This "Brezhnevism" is imperialism with a "socialist" label, it is outright hegemonism, naked neo-colonialism.

VI. The Soviet Revisionists' Dream of a Vast Empire

In exposing tsarist Russia's policy of aggression a hundred years ago, Marx pointed out: "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the guiding star of this policy—world hegemony—will never change."⁴⁶

Tsar Nicholas I once arrogantly shouted: "The Russian flag should not be taken down wherever it is hoisted."⁴⁷ Tsars of several generations cherished the fond dream, as Engels said, of setting up a vast "Slav empire" extending from the Elbe to China, from the Adriatic Sea to the Arctic Ocean. They even intended to extend the boundaries of this vast empire to India and Hawaii. To attain this goal, they "are as treacherous as they are talented."⁴⁸

The Soviet revisionist new tsars have completely taken over the old tsars' expansionist tradition, branding their faces with the indelible stigma of the Romanov dynasty. They are dreaming the very dream the old tsars failed to make true and they are far more ambitious than their predecessors in their designs for aggression. They have turned a number of East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic into their colonies and dependencies. They vainly attempt to occupy more Chinese territory, openly copying the old tsars' policy towards China and clamouring that China's northern frontier "was marked by the Great Wall."⁴⁹ They have stretched their arms out to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and even Latin America and sent their fleets to the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific and the Atlantic in their attempt to set up a vast Soviet revisionist empire spanning Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The "Slav empire" of the old tsars vanished like a bubble long ago and tsardom itself was toppled by the Great October Revolution led by Lenin in 1917. The reign of the old tsars ended in thin air. Today too, in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse, the new tsars' mad attempt to build a bigger empire dominating the whole world is nothing but a dream.

Stalin said: "Lenin called imperialism 'moribund capitalism.' Why? Because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins."⁵⁰

Since Soviet revisionism has embarked on the beaten track of imperialism, it is inevitably governed by the law of imperialism and afflicted with all the contradictions inherent in imperialism.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The United States is a paper tiger. Don't believe in the United States. One thrust and it's punctured. Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too."⁵¹

In carrying out rabid expansion and aggression, Soviet

revisionist social-imperialism is bound to go to the opposite of what it expects and create the conditions for its own downfall. Soviet revisionism treats the other countries of the "socialist community" as its fiefs, but it can never succeed in perpetuating its colonial rule over the people of these countries, nor can it alleviate its contradictions with these countries. East Europe today is just like a powder keg which is sure to go off. The intrusion of the Soviet revisionist tanks into Prague does not in the least indicate the strength of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, on the contrary it marks the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet revisionist colonial empire. With its feet deep in the Czechoslovak quagmire, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism cannot extricate itself.

By its expansion and plunder in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Soviet revisionism has set itself against the people of these regions. It has so overreached itself and become so burdened that it is swollen all over like a man suffering from dropsy. Even the U. S. imperialist press says: 'We've discovered that they [the Russians] blunder as badly as we do—if not worse.'⁵²

With Soviet revisionist social-imperialism joining the company of world imperialism, the contradictions among the imperialists have become more acute. Social-imperialism and imperialism are locked in a fierce rivalry to broaden their respective spheres of influence. The strife between social-imperialism and imperialism, which are encircled ring upon ring by the world's people, must inevitably accelerate the destruction of the entire imperialist system.

At home the rule of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism also rests on a volcano. During the period of the Stolypin reaction, Lenin wrote that the upsurge of the struggle of the Russian working class "may be rapid, or it may be slow," "but in any case it is leading to a revolution."⁵³ In the Soviet Union today the conflict and antagonism between the new-type bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class on the one hand and the enslaved proletariat,

labouring peasants and revolutionary intellectuals on the other are becoming increasingly acute. Class struggle develops independently of man's will and must lead to revolution sooner or later.

The Soviet Union was originally a union of multi-national socialist states. Such a union can be built, consolidated and developed only under socialist conditions and on the basis of equality and voluntary affiliation. The Soviet Union, as Stalin indicated, "had before it the unsuccessful experiments of multi-national states in bourgeois countries. It had before it the experiment of old Austria-Hungary, which ended in failure." Nevertheless, the union of Soviet multi-national states was "bound to stand every and any test," because "real fraternal cooperation among the peoples has been established" by the socialist system "within the system of a single federated state."⁵⁴ Now the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has subverted the socialist system, exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and substituted national oppression for national equality and the jungle law of the bourgeoisie for mutual help and fraternity among the nationalities. Now that the proletarian basis, the socialist basis, of the original union has been discarded, will not the huge multi-national "union" under the rule of the bourgeoisie of a new type one day undergo the same crisis and end in failure, as the Austro-Hungarian empire did in the past?

To extricate itself from its impasse at home and abroad, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, like U.S. imperialism, feverishly engages in missile-nuclear blackmail and seeks a way out through military adventures and large-scale war of aggression. But will war bring a new lease of life to imperialism and social-imperialism in their death throes? No. Just the opposite. History irrefutably proves that, far from saving imperialism from its impending doom, war can only hasten its extinction.

Chairman Mao points out: "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."⁵⁵

Chairman Mao also says: "People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!"⁵⁶

This great call made by Chairman Mao on the basis of the present international situation indicates the orientation of struggle for the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world. The people of the world must maintain high vigilance, make every preparation and be ready at all times to deal resolute crushing blows to any aggressor who dares to unleash war!

In recent years, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, inheriting the old tricks of the old tsars, has been backing and engineering, half openly, half secretly, a new "Movement for Pan-Slavism" and publicizing the "sacredness of the national spirit" of the Russians in a futile attempt to poison the minds of the Soviet labouring masses and younger generation with this reactionary trend of thought and induce the Soviet people to serve as tools for the policies of aggression and war of the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs. In all sincerity, we would like to remind the fraternal Soviet people never to be taken in by "Pan-Slavism."

What is "Pan-Slavism"?

In exposing the old tsars, Marx and Engels pointed out incisively: "Pan-Slavism is an invention of the St. Petersburg Cabinet."⁵⁷ Engels said that the old tsars used this swindle in preparation for war "as the last sheet anchor of Russian tsarism and Russian reaction." Therefore, "Pan-Slavism is the Russians' worst enemy as well as ours."⁵⁸

Like Hitler's "Aryan master race," the "Pan-Slavism" of the Soviet revisionist new tsars is exceedingly reactionary

racism. They publicize these reactionary ideas only to serve expansion abroad by the handful of reactionary rulers of their "superior race." For the broad masses of the people, this only spells catastrophe.

Lenin once pointed out: "The oppression of 'subject peoples' is a double-edged weapon. It cuts both ways—against the 'subject peoples' and against the Russian people."⁵⁹ It is precisely under the smoke-screen of "Pan-Slavism" that the handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs are now working against time both to plot wars of aggression and to step up their attacks on the Soviet people, including the Russian people.

The interests of the proletariat and the broad masses in the Soviet Union are diametrically opposed to those of the Soviet revisionist new tsars but are in accord with the interests of the revolutionary people the world over. If the Soviet revisionist new tsars launch a large-scale war of aggression, then, in accordance with Lenin's principle in dealing with imperialist wars of aggression, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the Soviet Union will surely refuse to serve as cannon-fodder for the unjust war unleashed by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. They will carry forward the cause of the heroic sons and daughters of the Great October Revolution and fight to overthrow the new tsars and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Two hundred years ago, eulogizing the "achievements" of the war of aggression of Tsarina Catherine II, a Russian poet wrote: "Advance, and the whole universe is thine!"⁶⁰ Now the Soviet revisionist new tsars have mounted the horse of the old tsars and "advanced." They are dashing about recklessly, unable to rein in and completely forgetting that their ancestors were thrown from this same horse and that thus the Russian empire of Romanov dynasty came to an end. It is certain that the new tsars will come to no better end than the old tsars. They will surely be thrown from their horse and dashed to pieces.

VII. People of the World, Unite and Fight to Overthrow U.S. Imperialism, Soviet Revisionism And all Reaction

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."⁶¹

The Chinese people cherish deep feeling for the people of the Soviet Union. During the Great October Revolution led by Lenin, Chinese labourers in Russia fought shoulder to shoulder with the Russian proletarians. The people of our two countries have supported each other, helped each other and forged a close friendship in the course of protracted revolutionary struggles. The handful of Soviet revisionist oligarchs are perversely trying to sow dissension and undermine the relations between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, but in the end they will be lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

The Soviet people are a great people with a glorious revolutionary tradition who were educated by Lenin and Stalin. They will under no circumstances allow the new tsars to sit on their backs for long. Though the fruits of the October Revolution have been thrown away by the Soviet revisionist renegades, the principles of the October Revolution are eternal. Under the great banner of Leninism, the mighty current of people's revolution is bound to break through the ice of revisionist rule, and the spring of socialism will surely return to the land of the Soviet Union!

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Whether in China or in other countries of the world, to sum up, over 90 per cent of the population will eventually support Marxism-Leninism. There are still many people in the world who have not yet awakened because of the deceptions of the social-democrats, revisionists, imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. But anyhow they will gradually awaken and support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. The masses of the people will eventually rise in revolution. The world revolution is bound to triumph."⁶²

In commemorating the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin, we are happy to see that, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the cause of the world proletarian revolution is advancing from victory to victory. The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces are steadily growing throughout the world. The liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and people are vigorously forging ahead. All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are forming the broadest united front. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun. The death-knell is tolling for imperialism and social-imperialism.

Invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the powerful weapon of the proletariat for knowing and changing the world, the powerful weapon for propelling history forward. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, integrated with the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions and with the concrete practice of people's revolution in all countries, will certainly bring forth inexhaustible revolutionary strength to smash the entire old world to smithereens!

Long live great Marxism!

Long live great Leninism!

Long live great Mao Tsetung Thought!

NOTES

- 1 Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 6, p. 63.
- 2 Lenin, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 23, p. 75.
- 3 Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 1470 and p. 1475.
- 4 Chairman Mao's speech of April 17, 1957.
- 5 Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 23, p. 117.
- 6 Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 179.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
- 8 Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 138.
- 9 Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 28, p. 235.
- 10 Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 192.
- 11 Chairman Mao's Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, November 15, 1956.
- 12 Chairman Mao's Speeches at the Working Conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year.
- 13 "Circular" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, May 16, 1966.
- 14 A talk of Chairman Mao's in August 1964.
- 15 A talk of Chairman Mao's on May 11, 1964.
- 16 "Programme of the C. P. S. U." adopted at the Soviet revisionist "22nd Congress."

- 17 Soviet revisionist Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.
- 18 Soviet revisionist *Pravda*, March 5, 1970.
- 19 Lenin, "Socialism and War," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 285.
- 20 Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of the Navy," *Collected Works*, ed., Vol. 26, p. 322.
- 21 Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 392.
- 22 Lenin, "Review of Home Affairs," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 5, p. 258.
- 23 *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*, Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, p. 471.
- 24 Lenin, "The Tasks of the Third International," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 458.
- 25 Lenin, "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 85.
- 26 Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 293.
- 27 Lenin, "Bellicose Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 15, p. 166.
- 28 Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the R.C.P. (B)," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 168.
- 29 Soviet revisionist *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*, February 5, 1970.
- 30 A.A. Grechko, Soviet revisionist Minister of Defence. See Soviet revisionist *Kommunist*, No. 3, 1969.
- 31 Soviet revisionist *International Affairs*, No. 11, 1968.
- 32 Soviet revisionist *Krasnaya Zvezda* February 14, 1969.
- 33 *The Nuremberg Trial*, Vol. 11.
- 34 *Foreign Affairs (U.S.)*, October 1957.
- 35 P. C. Jessup, *A Modern Law of Nations*.
- 36 L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the Polish revisionist "5th Congress," November 12, 1968.

37 K. T. Mazurov's report at the October Revolution "anniversary meeting" in Moscow, November 6, 1968.

38 Lenin, "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Selected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 292.

39 Soviet revisionist *Izvestia*, July 2, 1968.

40 "The Fundamental Document" of the sinister Moscow meeting in June 1969.

41 L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the sinister Moscow meeting, June, 7, 1969.

42 A. N. Kosygin's report at the Soviet revisionist "23rd Congress," April 5, 1966.

43 A. A. Gromyko's report at the "session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.," July 10, 1969.

44 Speech of S. G. Gorshkov, the Soviet revisionist naval commander-in-chief, on Soviet Navy Day, 1969.

45 Former U.S. President Johnson's speeches, June 3 and June 20, 1964.

46 Marx, "Speech at the Meeting" of Poles in London on January 22, 1967," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 226.

47 G. I. Nevelskoi, *The Exploits of Russian Naval Officers in the Russian Far East*, p. 124.

48 Engels, "Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 17.

49 "Statement of the Government of the U.S.S.R.," June 13, 1969.

50 Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 6, p. 65.

51 A talk of Chairman Mao's on January 30, 1964.

52 *U.S. News & World Report*, January 5, 1970.

53 Lenin, "The Beginning of Demonstrations," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 357.

54 Stalin, "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.," *Problems of Leninism*, Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, 1964, pp. 649-50.

55 Comrade Lin Piao, "Report to the Ninth National Congress of Communist Party of China."

56 "Usher in the Great 1970's"—1970 New Years's Day editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Honqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*. *Renmin Ribao*, January 1, 1970.

57 Marx and Engels, "Socialist Democratic Alliance and the International Worker-Association," *Marx and Engels Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 18, p. 492.

58 Engels' Letter to Karl Kautsky, February 7, 1882, *Marx and Engels on Art*, Chinese ed., People's Literature Publishing House, 1963, Vol. 3, p. 361.

59 Lenin, "National Equality," *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 20, p. 233.

60 G. R. Dershavin, "To the Capture of Warsaw."

61 Chairman Mao's Speech at the Working Conference (Enlarged) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, January 30, 1962.

62 *Ibid.*

AN OUTSPOKEN REVELATION

APRIL 22 this year marks centenary of the birth of Lenin, the great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. In a big fanfare, Brezhnev and the rest of the handful of renegades who have betrayed Leninism put on a show of "commemorating" Lenin, and on December 23, 1969 dished up the so-called Theses on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In the "Theses" they resort to their usual jiggery-pokery, mix Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism in with Leninism, and pass social-imperialism off as Leninism. To the indignation of all, in broad daylight they viciously attribute to Lenin the nonsense about the five "social factors of force" which Otto Bauer, a chieftain of the Second International and an enemy of Marxism-Leninism, wrote in his sinister book *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* and put words in Lenin's mouth. Such a filthy lie leaves everyone flabbergasted. This scandal has gone around the world. Following is a report by a Hsinhua correspondent on the incident and its background:

What kind of thing was Otto Bauer? How and why does the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pass his words off as Lenin's?

It is quite known that Otto Bauer was a scab in Austria. He was born in 1882 and died in 1938 the same year when the renegade Kautsky died. He was a notorious and typical representative of international opportunism, a chieftain of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, of the Second International and the Two-and-a-Half International. He was a sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism. One time member of parliament and foreign minister of Austria, he took an active part in suppressing a number of uprisings of the Austrian workers and supported Hitler's pan-Germanism. Like the renegade

Kautsky, he turned out some pamphlets advocating peaceful transition and the parliamentary road. He did his utmost to oppose violent revolution by the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, wildly attacking the Great October Socialist Revolution and Soviet power led by Lenin. Lenin characterized Otto Bauer aptly: "This, the best of the social-traitors, is at most a learned and utterly hopeless fool." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 30, p. 327.)

Bauer's *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?* was published in 1920. It utterly opposed violent revolution and preached peaceful transition, saying that "the distribution of state power is determined by social factors of force." At the same time, it viciously attacked the Soviet state founded by Lenin as "despotic socialism" and slandered the dictatorship of the proletariat as "violence against the social factors of force." What are the "social factors of force" concocted by Bauer? They are: "First, the number of members of the class; second, the nature, strength and capability of its organization; third, its place in the process of production and distribution, which determines its economic means; fourth, the degree of its political interest, flexibility, activity and capacity for sacrifice; fifth, its educational level, the extent to which its ideas influence members of its own class and other classes and the attraction exerted by its ideology."*

As soon as this pamphlet came out, Lenin strongly denounced it at the Second Congress of the Communist International. In particular, Lenin forcefully refuted Bauer's maligning of the violence used by the proletariat as "violence against the social factors of force" and his fallacy of the "social factors of force." Lenin said: "It is an example of what Marxism has been reduced to, of the kind of banality and defence of the exploiters to which the most revolutionary

* Otto Bauer: *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy?*, German ed., Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1920, p. 109.

theory can be reduced. A German variety of philistinism is required, and you get the 'theory' that the 'social factors of force' are : number ; the degree of organization ; the place held in the process of production and distribution ; activity and education. If a rural agricultural labourer or an urban working man practises revolutionary violence against a land-owner or a capitalist, that is no dictatorship of the proletariat, no violence against the exploiters and the oppressors of the people. Oh, no ! This is 'violence against the social factors of force'." Lenin went on : "Perhaps my example sounds something like a jest. However, such is the nature of present-day opportunism that its struggle against Bolshevism becomes a jest." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 201.)

Interestingly enough, in the 14th point of the "Theses" published in *Pravda*, Brezhnev and company flagrantly quote in full the paragraph containing Bauer's counter-revolutionary fallacy about the five "social factors of force" which Lenin had sharply denounced, and arbitrarily and glaringly attribute it to Lenin. Just look :

In the draft plan for his report on the international situation and the main tasks of the Comintern, Lenin noted five "social factors of strength" of the working class : 1) numbers, 2) organization, 3) place in the process of production and distribution, 4) activity, and 5) education. Since Lenin wrote this the size of the working class has sharply increased. It has become infinitely better organized and politically active, and is better educated and better trained.

Truly, it is most reactionary and at the same time a "jest" for Brezhnev and company to crudely attribute Otto Bauer's words to Lenin. But, this is neither surprising nor accidental. It is determined by the "nature of present-day opportunism." Their opposition to violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, their advocacy of peaceful transition and their exercising of a Hitlerite fascist dictatorship at home are in tune with and a continuation of

Bauer's revisionist ideas, social-imperialist ideas. Since they are out to oppose Leninism and take over the mantle of the old revisionists, and at the same time try to appropriate the brilliant banner of Leninism, it is only natural for them to make a fool of themselves most preposterously.

In his criticism of Bauer's *Bolshevism or Social-Democracy*?, Lenin described it as "a new book against Bolshevism" and "a thoroughgoing Menshevik pamphlet." Lenin said : "We thank in advance the bourgeois and opportunist publishers who will publish it and translate it into various languages. Bauer's book will be a useful if peculiar supplement to the textbooks on communism. Take any paragraph, any argument in Otto Bauer's book and indicate the Menshevism in it, where the roots lie of views that lead up to the actions of the traitors to socialism, of the friends of Kerensky, Scheidemann, etc.—this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated. If you cannot answer this question, you are not yet a Communist, and should not join the Communist Party." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, pp. 200-201.)

Lenin put it very well, making an analysis of where the roots lie of the philosophy of the scab and renegade Otto Bauer is "useful." Its usefulness lies in that "this is a question that could be very usefully and successfully set in 'examinations' designed to test whether communism has been properly assimilated." Brezhnev and company not only approve completely of the Menshevism in Bauer's book but have gone so far as to quote as Lenin's words the revisionist nonsense in Bauer's book which Lenin characterized as expressing "the essence of the views of world opportunism." This should serve as the most telling proof that the handful of the members of the Soviet revisionist leading clique are not qualified at all to join the ranks of the Communist Party and are not Communists at all and that they are out-and-out counter-revolutionary social-democrats, out-and-out renegades

to Leninism and out-and-out obedient and filial descendants of Bauer and company! Just as Lenin said in exposing the old scab Ramsay MacDonald, "This is a revelation" of "rare outspokenness." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 200.)

Now, it is crystal clear to the people throughout the world that Brezhnev and company's so-called "observing the birth centenary of Lenin", "loyalty to Lenin's behests," "defending Marxism-Leninism" and so on and so forth, are nothing but lies. To put it bluntly, they are pushing "Bauerism" which is rotten to the core and the revisionism of the Second International! They are devoutly worshipping the "example" of their revisionist ancestors' perversion of Marxism as their infinitely sacred bible! They are taking the trash of an active advocate of Hitler fascism as the source of "strength" of the "working class"! All this seems too ugly and vile indeed. But it is written in black and white, and cannot be lopped off even with an axe!

No dirty deal is too low for Brezhnev and company, that gang of scoundrels. In an attempt to cover up this scandal which had already been known to the world, they stealthily camouflaged what *Pravda* had published by deleting the name of Lenin but retaining Bauer's ideas when the "Theses" were later reprinted in the journal *Kommunist*. This only makes the scandal even more shocking. The more they try to hide it, the more they expose themselves as renegades to Leninism. Like Bauer, they are all enemies of the Soviet people and anti-Soviet villains.

By hook or by crook Brezhnev and company usurp Lenin's name to peddle revisionist, social-imperialist trash. It is by no means an individual or isolated incident that they pass Bauer's words off as Lenin's. It is their customary, despicable practice to tamper with, distort, emasculate and fabricate Lenin's statements. There are numerous such instances in their "Theses." Readers can easily see this by merely checking up what is quoted of Lenin's statements in the "Theses" with the original.

The dishing up of the "Theses" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique shows how far Brezhnev and company have slid down the road of betrayal of Leninism and how despicably and shamelessly they have degenerated. The "Theses" of the Soviet revisionists are as Lenin said, a "peculiar supplement to the text-books on communism," and indeed are excellent teaching material by negative example since they lay bare the hypocrisy and reactionary nature of their so-called commemoration of Lenin. Yet, Brezhnev and the rest of the handful of renegades have gone so far as to laud these anti-Leninist "Theses", which stink of Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism, as an "important political and theoretical document" which "profoundly expounds" the "organic integrity" of Marxism-Leninism. They raved that "communists and all the working people of the world" "have taken the Theses."* Bragging and boasting, these scoundrels have done all they can to prettify themselves and have lost all sense of shame.

History is inexorable. Khrushchov fell long ago. It is simply futile for Brezhnev to try to don the cloak of Leninism and press on with Khrushchov revisionism, social-imperialism to deceive and mislead the masses. Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind." Brezhnev and company are precisely fools of this kind. The sinister "Theses" which they concocted have turned out to be a clumsy sleight-of-hand and have shown them up. Now, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is having a hard time. Following in Khrushchov's footsteps, Brezhnev and company are heading for the brink of their downfall. If you don't believe this, just wait and see.†

* *Pravda* editorial, "Loyalty to the Great Teachings," January 21, 1970.

† Reprinted from *Peking Review*, No. 17, 1970.

**Message of Greetings from the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of
East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) to the
Central Organizing Committee of the
C. P. I. (M-L)**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) sent a message of greetings to the COC of the C. P. I. (M-L) on the occasion of the first anniversary of the founding of the C. P. I. (M-L). Rendered into English, the message reads :

Dear Comrades,

The first anniversary of the founding of your Party is going to be celebrated on the hundredth anniversary of great Lenin's birthday. On this occasion we send you our revolutionary greetings on behalf of our Party and the revolutionary people of East Pakistan.

Your great revolutionary Party—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) armed with Mao Tsetung Thought—was born and tempered in the flames of armed agrarian revolutionary struggle that you kindled in Naxalbari to put an end to the exploitation and rule of imperialism, particularly U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and of their running dogs—big landlords, usurers and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and to establish on the soil of India the people's democratic regime of workers, peasants and other toiling people. It is only now that a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party has been born in India after a long period of struggle, a genuine revolutionary Party carrying the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung.

It is by holding high Mao Tsetung's banner, "*Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun*", that you have kindled

the flames of agrarian revolution in India. Your Party has been born in the course of the peasants' armed struggle, in the course of your struggle against U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their running dogs—the Congress Government of Indira Gandhi and the modern revisionists and neo-revisionists represented by Dange, Jyoti etc.

This struggle has grown more intense during the one year since the founding of your Party. You have analysed the concrete conditions in India in the light of Mao Tsetung Thought—the Marxism-Leninism of the present era—and adopted the correct revolutionary line and tactics and integrated theory with practice. Tempered in the course of your uncompromising ideological struggle with Mao Tsetung Thought as your weapon and in the flames of the peasants' guerrilla struggle, your Party has grown powerful and steeled during the past one year.

You have become the target of attack of all the counter-revolutionary forces and opportunists from the very day of the birth of your Party, nay, even from days before its birth. The U. S. bandits, the social-imperialists and their running dogs, the Indira Gandhi Government and Dange-Jyoti-Asit-Nagi and company have all tried, and are trying even now, to crush the Indian people's revolutionary war and your Party—the vanguard of the forces of this war. To achieve their end they have used every weapon—political deception, slander, armed attack, imprisonment, shooting and cold-blooded murder.

But despite all this they have failed to suppress the heroic Indian peasants' revolutionary war or to prevent the onward march of your revolutionary Party. The spark of agrarian revolution kindled in Naxalbari has now spread throughout India and created Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari, Gopiballavpur and many other revolutionary areas, and the peasants' guerrilla warfare led by your Party is spreading all over India.

This has created panic in the camp of U. S. imperialism,

Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys—Indira, Dange, Jyoti and Company—and accentuated still more the crisis of the already crisis-ridden reactionary ruling clique and of the revisionists and neo-revisionists. They are unable to find any way out of this crisis. They are bogged down in endless crisis and permanent instability. All the reactionary forces are trembling with fear as the spark of agrarian revolution kindled in India under your leadership is engulfing and will gradually engulf the whole of India and the system of exploitation and reactionary rule will be destroyed.

In their attempt to overcome their crisis they are making preparation for launching a counter-revolutionary war against China—the greatest friend of the oppressed peoples of the whole world and the bastion of world revolution. The preparation for this counter-revolutionary war, in which the Indira Gandhi Government will be a participant is being carried on under the leadership of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The Indira Gandhi Government is carrying on massive war preparations in order to suppress the revolutionary struggle in the country and to make war against People's China. The U. S. and Soviet imperialist bandits are knocking together a counter-revolutionary alliance between the Indira Gandhi Government, all the reactionary groups and the revisionists and neo-revisionists, and are building anti-China war bases on the soil of India. To get rid of their crisis and to disrupt and confuse the people's revolutionary war, the reactionary ruling clique of India is organizing communal riots and may also at any moment launch military attack on our country.

But this cannot save them from their crisis, but on the contrary, will deepen still more their crisis and seal their fate. The present era is one of the destruction of counter-revolutionary monsters and the total collapse all over the world of imperialist, capitalist, colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal systems and of those who uphold and support them. On the other hand, the present era is one of world-

wide complete victory of socialism, people's democracy, national liberation struggle, of Mao Tsetung Thought and of the Communist Parties armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. Today, an excellent revolutionary situation prevails throughout the world.

The counter-revolutionary forces can never stop this trend of historical development. The counter-revolutionary dogs, reeling under the blows dealt by the revolutionary masses of India, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Palestine, are on the run.

An excellent revolutionary situation prevails today in India also. There under your leadership the peasant guerrillas are annihilating the class enemies one after another through guerrilla actions and armed guerrilla forces are being formed under the leadership of your Party. You have raised the banner of armed guerrilla warfare against the attack and repression of the reactionary ruling clique on the Indian people. You are waging peasant guerrilla warfare in order to prevent the counter-revolutionary war preparation against People's China. Hundreds of comrades have laid down their lives in this revolutionary war. The sacrifice of the lives of these comrades since the founding of your Party has made your Party stronger and glorious. We give Red salute to those heroic martyrs.

Comrades, we know that you will settle the blood debts of those heroic martyrs with interest and all. Even now you are avenging their death by making the hated jotedars and usurers pay for this in blood. You will certainly win new victories in the days to come. Victory certainly belongs to you. As your leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out, the 1970's is the decade of India's liberation, the decade when the imperialist, feudal and comprador-bureaucrat capitalist rule and exploitation will be eliminated from the soil of India, the decade when the people's democratic state of workers and peasants will be established in India under the leadership of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

Comrades, the peasants' guerrilla warfare being waged in India under your leadership is filling us with inspiration and enthusiasm and teaching us many lessons. Today, our country is suffering under the exploitation, oppression and rule of the big jotedar-usurers and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists—the runing-dogs of U. S. imperialism. Soviet social-imperialists also are penetrating into our country. The U. S. bandits and the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to turn our country also into an anti-China war-base; they are trying to bring the reactionary ruling cliques of India and Pakistan together in order to form a war alliance against People's China. In order to save themselves from their crisis and suppress the people's revolutionary movement the reactionary rulers and exploiters of our country are practising political deception and carrying out repression, are making large-scale war preparations, have held out the bait of election under military rule and have thrown many people into jail under the laws of the military rule. But all this has not enabled them to get rid of their crisis, on the contrary, it has become permanent. The ruling clique is sitting on the top of a heap of gun-powder, the gun-powder of mass discontent. An excellent revolutionary situation prevails today in our country also. In such a situation, we, together with the revolutionary masses of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), declare: We shall oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war: we shall frustrate all counter-revolutionary war-plots against People's China; we shall defeat the bourgeois parliamentary deception by kindling the flames of agrarian revolution and waging peasants' guerrilla warfare; we shall carry on peasants' revolutionary war with the firm determination to make the 1970's the decade of the liberation of East Pakistan. Our slogan is the one raised by you: "China's Chairman is our Chairman, China's path is our path".

(Continued at the foot of p. 107)

Swift Advance of Peasant Guerrilla Struggle in Uttar Pradesh

A recent report from Uttar Pradesh states:

Before the month of May this year, U. P. had suffered severe losses in Pallia (Lakhimpur Kheri). The U. P. Committee of C. P. I. (M-L), then the S. O. C., ascribed these losses to the following four weaknesses:

1. Failure to organize village squads of poor and landless peasants and develop their initiative. Sole reliance on the central guerrilla squad.
2. Much reliance on fire-arms. Main emphasis was put on collection of guns and snatching them from landlords. Home-made, conventional weapons were given almost no importance.
3. Rousing of the people for class struggle through annihilation of the class enemy was not taken up as the general line of present-day activity. This also expressed lack of determination.
4. Lack of Party spirit in some of the leaders. Individualism, commandism and other petty bourgeois

(Continued from p. 106)

Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) !
 Death to U. S. imperialism !
 Death to Soviet social-imperialism !
 Long live the heroic revolutionary fighters of India !
 Long live the revolutionary masses of India !
 Long live Mao Tsetung Thought !
 Long live Mao Tsetung !

Central Committee,
 Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist)

tendencies in some of the leaders—their scant regard either for their own cadre or for the S. O. C. and the Centre.

Despite some of these weaknesses, though to a lesser degree, Nainital and Moradabad Terai region, adjacent to the Pallia area, went on developing. Some of the important actions in this region before May were :

1. One hated landlord and one police agent were annihilated.

2. The most notorious money-lender of Dineshpur Bengalee Colony and another landlord in Thakurdwara area were attacked by guerrilla squads. Both hands of each of them were chopped off but they escaped death.

3. Another landlord was annihilated and seven of his men injured in another action.

Now, in the months of May and June, efforts to remove the shortcomings have been intensified. Comrade Charu Mazumdar's visit to Uttar Pradesh has given a new impetus to the guerrilla struggle.

This month (in June), Harihar Singh, the most notorious landlord, leader of landlords' gangs, who has occupied thousands of acres of land and maintains a kind of private army of about 200 marauders, who attacked the poor peasants of V. Sarsaiyya, murdered two and wounded seventeen others, who also murdered two 'tharus' of Nanakmata Dam recently, was attacked by peasant guerrilla units led by the C. P. I. (M-L). Since guerrilla struggle developed in this area, he seldom visited it. And whenever he visited, he took care to come quite secretly for a very brief period and accompanied by his armed hoodlums. At last, the guerrilla unit came to know that he had come to V. Tirwa and was hiding there with his gang with some ulterior motive. The gang was attacked by the peasant guerrillas on a dark night. Two of the gang were annihilated, one of whom was himself a big and wicked landlord. But Harihar Singh, the biggest of the rascals, could not be recognized and managed to escape after receiving some lathi blows.

Another landlord, Jhanju Ram, who was also a police agent, was annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas. This hated class enemy had murdered four landless peasants who worked on his farm and had declared a reward of Rs 2000 for the capture of Comrade Mahendra Singh, a beloved leader of the peasants, dead or alive.

Thus the total number of class enemies annihilated in the Northwest region has risen to seven. Some others were injured.

The other region which is developing fast is Unnao-Hardoi (Central) region. In this region two landlords of Unnao, Lala Shiva Shankar and Adhar Singh, and Harnam Singh, a notorious landlord and *amin* of the district of Lucknow, had been annihilated before the month of May. Now, in June, one of the most notorious and wicked landlords, Aditya Narain Pathak, has been annihilated by a peasant guerrilla squad. This class enemy was most hated for his brutal oppression of peasants and for his crimes against women. It was in broad daylight when he was returning from a railway station surrounded by several of his armed men that he was annihilated by the guerrilla squad. Hundreds of people witnessed the scene and rejoiced over it. The leader of the guerrilla squad stood up on the corpse of this most notorious landlord, raised slogans : "Mao Tsetung Zindabad !" ("Long live Mao Tsetung !") "Naxalbari Zindabad !" ("Long live Naxalbari !") "Charu Mazumdar Zindabad !" ("Long live Charu Mazumdar !") and delivered a speech. He asked the people to kindle lamps to rejoice over the annihilation of that wicked monster. He told the people that it was the beginning of guerrilla warfare, that all such monsters would be annihilated and people's *raj* (political power) established.

This is the fourth class enemy annihilated in the area.

Besides these actions, more annihilations of class enemies have taken place in different parts of the State—2 in Gorakhpur, 1 in Jaunpur and 1 in Azamgarh district.

(Continued at the foot of p. 110)

GUERRILLA STRUGGLE DEVELOPS IN PUNJAB

A report from Punjab, received in May, states :

Our Party in Punjab has become the target of ferocious attacks of a reactionary government since its birth but during the past several months the government has broken all past records in trying to unleash terror among the revolutionary ranks and the people. As the guerrilla struggle develops threatening to smash the present state, the reactionary ruling classes are feeling more and more panicky and are conducting a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces. Fearful of the future that awaits them, they are not sending our comrades to prison after capturing them : instead, they shoot them dead. So Comrade Daya Singh, Secretary, Punjab

(Continued from p. 109)

Recently, one attempt at annihilating a police agent was made in the Pallia area (Lakhimpur Kheri). Though the action did not succeed, yet it unmistakably shows that Pallia is bound to rise again.

Thus, the total number of class enemies and police agents annihilated in Uttar Pradesh is 15. Some others escaped with serious injuries.

Though the shortcomings witnessed during the Lakhimpur struggle are still persisting in almost all the areas, yet they are bound to be overcome very soon:

The newly-elected State Committee of the C. P. I. (M-L) has studied the documents of the Party Congress. It has sent out a call to all its units and cadres to devote all their energies to organizing guerrilla squads of landless and poor peasants and to intensifying the battle of annihilation of class enemies, and not to waste time and energy in trying to find out other subsidiary forms of struggle and organization for the present.

(June 14, 1970)

State Committee of the C. P. I. (M-L), Comrade Balwant Singh, Secretary, Rupar District Committee of the Party, eighty year-old patriot Baba Hari Singh Mrigand, and two young comrades from Rupar district, Ujagar Singh and Dil Bagh Singh were murdered by the enemies in cold blood towards the end of March. Our comrades underwent torture and faced the firing squads heroically. Even while dying they defied their executioners. Their last words breathed warm, fervent faith in the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, in the victory of the Indian revolution and in their Party—C. P. I. (M-L). The losses the Party has suffered in their death are great. But far from demoralizing the revolutionary ranks and the people, this heroic martyrdom is inspiring them, cleansing their minds of all selfish thoughts and giving them a new fearlessness. While paying homage to the memory of these great martyrs the Punjab comrades have taken the vow to leave no stone unturned to avenge the death of the comrades, to intensify further the battle of annihilation of class enemies.

The report mentions some of the successes of the guerrilla struggle led by the C.P.I. (M-L) in Punjab. The following are a few of the actions that have taken place since we last reported :

1. Three notorious and despotic landlords of village Dhanda (Bajapur) in Hoshiarpur district were annihilated by guerrilla comrades.
2. In village Kila Hakiman in Sangrur district peasants seized the land of a big landlord. Carrying forward the armed struggle guerrilla fighters annihilated him.
3. In village Bhaine in Sangrur district a police agent was annihilated.
4. Two police informers in Jullunder district were annihilated.
5. A tyrant manager of a factory in Phagwara was attacked.
6. A police agent was annihilated in Thikriwal village in Ludhiana district.

7. In village Saron in Bhatinda district a police agent was annihilated.

8. A police informer was annihilated in Salabatpur Kheda village in Rupar district.

9. Two comrades fought with arms in Amritsar to free a comrade who had been captured by the police. Two policemen were injured and the comrade was freed.

The report analyses some of our weaknesses that have hampered the rapid growth of peasant guerrilla struggle in Punjab. Among the weaknesses were the failure to rouse and mobilize the masses of landless and poor peasants, reliance on fire-arms and revisionist style of work. Party committees were dominated mainly by middle peasants. The report points out that the comrades in Punjab are determined to overcome all these weaknesses and to build the Party on strong foundations.

When the Party is engaged in an armed struggle against the reactionary ruling classes and has been waging a grim fight against reaction's running dogs—the Dange and Sundarayya-Surjeet cliques—a new type of revisionists, the Bairagi clique, has attacked the Party from within. The Party in Punjab is determined to smash this bunch of revisionists who are trying to disrupt the Party from within.

The report concludes with the following words :

In the course of a protracted struggle our Party will be able to win the boundless love of the people by serving them whole-heartedly and will, under the leadership of the Central Committee, carry the revolution through to the end by defeating the enemies of the people.

We pledge that in order to make the revolution victorious we will not hesitate to make any sacrifice whatsoever.

Armed Guerrilla Struggle Spreads in Srikakulam

The decision of the Party Congress, the instruction of the leader of the CPI (M-L), Comrade Charu Mazumdar, to create as many points of armed struggle in the countryside as possible by starting the battle of annihilation of the class enemies, to spread the peasant guerrilla struggle to newer and ever newer areas, is being faithfully implemented by the Party cadres and people of Srikakulam. The brave cadres and the wonderful people of Srikakulam are resolved to carry out this instruction: a new storm of struggle is rising in Srikakulam.

On June 11 the flames of guerrilla struggle spread to a new area, the plains of Parvatipuram Taluk on the Rayaghada side, quite close to the Andhra-Orissa border. On the same night squads of peasant guerrillas annihilated class enemies in two villages, Tulasivalasa and Naiduvalasa, which are two miles apart and only two miles away from a C. R. P. camp. In the first village, 3 hated landlords and usurers, Nalla Murahari Rao and his brother and son, were annihilated; in the second village, two notorious landlords and money-lenders, Rami Naidu and his brother Fakir Naidu, who were also presidents of the local *panchayat* and the co-operative society respectively, were annihilated. Another brother of Rami Naidu was arrested by the guerrilla comrades but was let off because he was not so wicked and despotic as the other two brothers. Cash, gold and clothes were seized and documents burnt in both the places. Women guerrillas also participated in these actions. The arrest and subsequent release of Rami Naidu's brother created a great impact on the people. Pamphlets explaining our political line and raising the following slogans were placed on the

dead bodies by the guerrillas before they left: "Long live the Indian Revolution!" "Long live the C. P. I. (M-L)!" "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" "Long live our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar!"

These guerrilla actions have once again proved the correctness of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instruction that annihilation of the class enemies by the guerrilla method can itself rouse the oppressed peasantry and organize them. It gives them a new sense of freedom. While the people are jubilant, the landlords have fled away in panic. Thus, a new area has been freed of the class enemy. Guerrilla struggle had already extended to the Goipaka tribal belt, 15 miles from the Red area: now it has spread even farther to the plains of the Parvatipuram taluk on the Rayaghada side, several miles from the Goipaka tribal belt.

The brave guerrillas of the Parvatipuram agency area greeted the successful conclusion of the Party Congress by annihilating on May 18 an enemy agent named Makhalingam, *panchayat* president of village Pansabhadra. Women guerrillas also took part in the action. The village is only one mile from the police zonal camp where there are 200 C. R. P. men.

On May 22 a squad of 4 guerrilla comrades waited in the open the whole day on the plains of Sompeta for Tulsidas, notorious police agent and samithy president and fired at him as his jeep passed. The first shot damaged the jeep, another shot missed him narrowly and killed the man who was sitting by his side. Tulsidas was accompanied as usual by 5 or 6 gangsters, all equipped with fire arms. All of them, except the man annihilated, jumped down, fired at our comrades and fled away.

Soon after this action, a notorious landlord and money-lender and his son were annihilated by peasant guerrillas in village Attukota in Tekkali taluk, 4 miles from Palassa where there is a big C. R. P. camp. These class enemies were most hated by the people who had been wanting to annihilate them for a long time. Their properties were seized and

documents and promissory notes worth several lacs of rupees burnt.

The annihilation of class enemies also in other districts like Guntur and Nellore has been reported but details are awaited.

The Indian reactionaries are in the throes of their last death-bed struggle. Indiscriminate arrests, shootings, burning of houses, "encirclement and suppression" campaigns—all, all these have failed to break the morale of the heroic peasantry of Srikakulam or to suppress or even to check their armed guerrilla struggle. Panic-stricken, they are following in the footsteps of the British imperialists and of U. S. imperialism's stooge, Diem, of South Vietnam. They have already set up two concentration camps in the Parvatipuram agency area—one at Podi and the other at Ravada near Ramabhadrapuram. Wherever the people resisted, they were forced out of their homes and these were burnt down by the enemy. In other cases houses were dismantled. The enemy does not allow people to bring food out of the concentration camps for fear that it may be passed on to the guerrillas. They are forced to return before sunset. They are searched while going out of the camps and while returning. The enemy is telling the people that all people living on the hills will be herded into the concentration camps within the next six months. He is warning them that they may even be stopped from going to the hills. But all this has failed to demoralize the brave Girijan peasants: they are in a mood of revolt and are only waiting for the correct lead from the Party.

Aping their masters the Indian reactionaries first set up concentration camps in Mizoland to isolate the fighters from the people but failed in their purpose. Here, in Srikakulam, they are trying the same savage trick once again: they have forgotten the fate that overtook Diem.

Revolutionary Workers of West Bengal are on the March

The peasants' guerrilla struggle led by the C. P. I. (M-L) is rousing not only peasants in various parts of the country but also vast masses of workers, students and youths in towns and cities. In increasing numbers workers are responding to the call issued some time ago by Comrade Charu Mazumder, leader of the C. P. I. (M-L). Workers have gone to the villages to integrate themselves with landless and poor peasants, to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought and to organize the peasantry for the armed struggle for the seizure of political power. Comrade Gour Das, a young worker and son of a worker, recently died a martyr's death after he and his guerrilla squad had annihilated a hated class enemy in Gosaba in the district of 24 Parganas.

Today, enmeshed in an insoluble crisis which is further accentuated by the rapidly developing guerrilla struggle of the peasantry, the rapacious bourgeoisie, both foreign and native, have mounted a vicious offensive against the workers, and the revisionists of different hues are playing all sordid tricks to split the working class and render it too weak to resist this offensive of their exploiters. In a situation like this workers are realizing the futility of peaceful demonstrations and other peaceful ways of so-called struggle. The long spell of economism so much fostered by the revisionists of all shades is breaking. The spectacular victories of the peasants' guerrilla struggle, the formation of the genuine party of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought—the C. P. I. (M-L)—and its call, the call of its leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, are bringing about

a qualitative change in the situation. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the Party the working class is rising in militant revolutionary battles against their oppressors—both foreign and native. Advanced sections of workers led by the Party have already organized political demonstrations in parts of Calcutta and its industrial suburbs, at Durgapur and other places, expressing their solidarity with the revolutionary peasants' guerrilla struggle now raging in various parts of the country.

In a number of places they have already begun militant actions against their exploiters and the police and displayed their revolutionary fighting mood. The angry workers of a foreign firm in Calcutta beat up an official of the firm who dared to ride roughshod over the workers' demands. In Khargapur, an important railway town in Midnapur district, the workers of the railway workshop damaged and burnt down luxury railway coaches to retaliate against the high-handedness of the police and the bosses.

The tea-garden workers in North Bengal led by the Party have formed their own guerrilla squads to deal with their oppressors and exploiters. Some weeks ago one such guerrilla squad displaying wonderful resourcefulness and courage trapped and killed a havildar of the reactionary army posted in the area. The action was planned and carried out so carefully that the reactionary police and troops have failed to trace any of the guerrillas.

Inspired and roused by Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call "To the Working Class" the heroic workers of the Singhania tea estate at Birpara, in Jalpaiguri in North Bengal have set another example of revolutionary militant action. Recently they *gheraoed* the notorious manager of the estate demanding withdrawal of suspension orders that had been served on two employees. The scabs belonging to the revisionist parties, R. S. P. and C. P. M., who run the workers' union, tried desperately to pacify the angry workers and keep them peaceful, but the workers simply refused to be fooled by their

✓ sweet words. The arrogant manager then brought his gun and fired upon the unarmed workers injuring two of them. This infuriated the workers and they rushed at him, snatched away his gun and killed him on the spot with the butt of the gun and sticks. These revolutionary militant actions have brought consternation into the camp of reactionary ruling classes.

✓ The revolutionary railway workers of New Jalpaiguri in North Bengal duly punished a wicked high-placed railway official for his arrogant anti-worker activities. This man treated the workers as his slaves and oppressed and harassed them in various ways, arbitrarily imposed fines and issued suspension orders at will. The union leaders who are scabs of long standing tried to save that official from the wrath of the enraged workers by adopting various tricks but, thanks to the propaganda carried on in secret by worker Party comrades, the workers defied these union 'leaders' and took the matter in their own hands. They surrounded the quarters of that wicked official, dragged him out and gave him a sound beating. Seeing the mood of the workers the union 'leaders' fled and the official confessed his guilt and, licking the dust, begged forgiveness, so he was let off at that by the workers. This incident has enthused the masses of ordinary railway workers while the corrupt union 'leaders' have become panic-stricken.

✓ In the third week of May the deputy manager of Orient General Industries, a Birla concern in east Calcutta, was duly punished by a workers' guerrilla squad. This notorious official oppressed the workers and was intensely hated by all the workers of the factory. Some days before this incident he dismissed a worker who had been working there eight years. The union, controlled by the renegade and scab Parimal Dasgupta, far from opposing this, actually justified the action of Agarwal, the deputy manager. A guerrilla squad of five men meted out to him suitable punishment when that devil was coming to the factory in a car.

Similar actions have taken place in many other factories. The management of Britannia Biscuit Company and Simon Carves could realize from their bitter experience that the workers, long oppressed, had now started a bold counter-attack against their oppressors.

✓ Revolutionary workers led by the C. P. I. (M-L) have hoisted the Red Flag, the symbol of proletarian internationalism, the symbol of the coming victory of the working people, over many factories and offices. The workers of the Calcutta Tramways Company unfurled the Red Flag over its Head office on June 12, over the Gariahat Tram Depot on June 14, over the Park Circus Depot on June 15, and over the Rajabazar Depot on June 16.

✓ At 1 P. M. on June 15, the Red Flag was also hoisted over the Garden Reach Works, a Government of India "defence" production factory in Southwest Calcutta, by a squad of worker guerrillas. After the Flag went up, the workers of the entire factory assembled at the foot of the flag-pole and greeted the Flag with revolutionary slogans. Only a few days before, the plan of the management to retrench 107 workers was foiled by revolutionary workers who put up posters warning, "If you retrench us, we will attack and annihilate you."

✓ On July 1 the Red Flag was hoisted by workers over the Cossipur Gun and Shell Factory, an India Government ordnance factory in North Calcutta, and the walls of the entire factory were stencilled with the portrait of Chairman Mao's and covered with revolutionary slogans and quotations from Chairman Mao. The Red Flag flying proudly over factories and breathing defiance of the enemy brings a message of hope and faith to the working class and other exploited classes of the society and causes consternation among the reactionaries and revisionists.

—July 2, 1970

PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE RAGES FIERCELY IN WEST BENGAL

(Continued from page 64)

Gosaba : Peasant guerrilla struggle has spread to Gosaba. On April 30, guerrilla comrades annihilated a notorious class enemy within this thana area.

On May 10, a squad of four brave guerrilla comrades entered the house of a hated jotedar Sudhanya Mondal of the Satjelia village and annihilated him. While returning, these comrades fell into a trap laid by class enemies and three of them, Comrades Sanatan Mondal, Subrata Choudhuri and Gour Das, were murdered and another comrade was seriously injured by the police and jotedars. Though the loss is great, this action far from demoralizing the peasants has roused them and made their class hatred more intense than before. They have resolved to carry forward the battle of annihilation of class enemies and thus avenge the death of these heroic comrades.

Habra : On May 17, when suddenly encircled by a large number of armed policemen at Ashoknagar, Comrade Deb Ranjan De fought valiantly to save his comrades and annihilated two policemen before dying a hero's death.

Hingalgang : On June 3, a notorious jotedar and local chieftain of the C. P. I. (M), Barin Mandal, and his brother were annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas at Jogeshganj within this thana area. Barin Mandal had organized the jotedars of the area against our Party and guerrilla comrades.

NADIA DISTRICT

Karimpur : On April 19, a group of peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer Khagen Mondal in Karimpur thana area with spears and *tangis*. The annihilation of this notorious class enemy has been hailed with joy by the peasant masses.

Krishnanagar : On June 2, Nilmani Biswas, one of the biggest and most despotic jotedars, was annihilated by guerrilla comrades within this thana area.

Haringhata : On June 17, a squad of guerrilla comrades annihilated Sitaram Sinha Roy, a pillar of feudal exploitation and oppression in Fatehpur and neighbouring areas. This devil of a man, though a local Congress leader, had recently joined hands with the Dange and Sundarayya-Jyoti-Promode revisionist cliques.

Aranghata : On June 20, a squad of seven peasant guerrillas annihilated Dhurjati Biswas, a despotic landlord, usurer and *tahsildar* of the village Hossainpur.

MURSHIDABAD AND BIRBHUM DISTRICTS

and Adjacent areas of Santal Parganas

Sagardighi : A hated class enemy, Hashem Mondal, of Bahasnagar village within this thana area was annihilated on May 7 by a squad of landless and poor peasants.

Kandi : On June 5, a squad of six landless and poor peasants annihilated a hated jotedar and usurer, Nakari Mondal, of Motra village. This action took place within 5 minutes from two police camps.

Bolpur : A squad of six peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar Sibnarayan Mondal in Panchseya village with *tangis* on April 26. This devil of a man, the brain behind all the reactionary schemes of the jotedars of the area, had recently joined the Dange revisionists.

Nalhati : On May 2, a squad of ten peasant guerrillas entered the house of a despotic jotedar and usurer, Shyamchand Singh, in Dharampur village and annihilated him with primitive weapons. The entire planning and execution were done by landless and poor peasants who alone formed the guerrilla squad.

Khairasol : A group of 6 peasant guerrillas annihilated the notorious jotedar, Jaydeb Mondal, of the village Babuijore on July 1.

Taljhari (Santal Parganas) : Under the leadership of the West Bengal-Bihar Border Area Committee and guided by the instructions of our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the brave peasant guerrillas of Santal Parganas have started the battle of annihilation of class enemies. On May 6, a squad of peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a most despotic jotedar and usurer, Mohammad Sheikh, in the village Bhatbhanga within Taljhari thana area.

On May 18, a squad of four peasant guerrillas attacked Mal Sheikh, another notorious jotedar of the same village, in his own house at midnight and annihilated him. Both these actions were planned and executed by landless and poor peasants. No intellectual comrade was in this area. A landless peasant cadre came to this area only for two days and propagated among a few landless and poor peasants the Party's political line and stressed the importance of forming secret guerrilla squads. Those landless and poor peasants themselves organized guerrilla squads, maintained secrecy and carried on propaganda among a few peasants of two or three villages with the object of annihilating class enemies.

Kuntahit : In response to the call of the Party Congress to extend the battle of annihilation of class enemies to every village, the brave peasant guerrillas of the Santal Parganas have lit the flames of guerrilla war in Kuntahit thana area. At 8 P. M. on May 22, a squad of only two peasant guerrillas annihilated a hated jotedar and usurer and no. 1 class enemy of the area, Santi Singh, with *tangis* near the village Khajuri.

JALPAIGURI DISTRICT

Mal : On June 5, a squad of six peasant guerrillas annihilated a notorious police spy, landlords' agent and dacoit, Narjin Nagar, of the village Moulani within the Mal thana area. Thus the brave peasant guerrillas of Jalpaiguri responded to the call of the Party to observe the Naxalbari Day.

MALDA DISTRICT

Harischandrapur : On May 22, a small squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer and Congress leader, Giasuddin Haji, with primitive weapons within this thana area.

BURDWAN DISTRICT

Jamalpur : The flames of Naxalbari are spreading to different parts of the Burdwan district, till now a citadel of revisionism. The brave landless peasant guerrillas of Burdwan extended the battle of annihilation of class enemies to the Jamalpur thana on June 15 when they annihilated Abhoy Pal, a most ruthless oppressor of the peasantry, big landlord, usurer and merchant, who was also notorious for his crimes against peasant women.

HOOGLHY DISTRICT

Dhaniakhali . On May 22, a squad of landless peasant guerrillas annihilated with *tangis* and choppers Paresch Banerjee, a hated jotedar and usurer, Congress boss and ringleader of the local reactionary elements, engaged in a conspiracy to get our comrades arrested, in village Gopinathpur within Dhaniakhali thana area.

BANKURA DISTRICT

Jaipur. The peasant guerrillas of Bankura observed the first anniversary of the founding of the C. P. I. (M-L) by annihilating on April 22 Bibhuti Bhusan Goswami, a despotic jotedar and usurer of village Baitali within the Jaipur thana area. This successful action was carried out by a squad of three peasant guerrillas armed with *tangis* and choppers.

HOWRAH DISTRICT

Jagatballavpur : On May 13, a squad of four worker and peasant guerrillas annihilated with country-made weapons Nalini Roy, a despotic jotedar and usurer of village Dhalagram within Jagatballavpur thana area. This action has enthused not only the peasantry but also workers of urban areas.

The following list will give some idea of the rapid advance of the peasants' guerrilla struggle in West Bengal led by the C. P. I. (M-L). Today, innumerable points of armed struggle have appeared in different parts of the state. It is the experience of our comrades that the battle of annihilation of class enemies spreads rapidly and becomes a prairie-fire only when the Party units rely fully on landless and poor peasants, when their initiative is allowed to develop, when they draw up plans of this battle and execute them independently of intellectual comrades, when they are no mere volunteers but actual leaders of the struggle.

An account of how the heroic guerrilla struggle of the peasantry is rousing the students and youths in urban areas to militant, revolutionary actions will appear in the next issue of *Liberation*.

—July 2, 1970

Successes in the Battle of Annihilation of Class Enemies Waged by Peasant Guerrillas of West Bengal

| District | Date of annihilation | Thana | Type of enemy |
|---|----------------------|---------------|---|
| Midnapur and adjacent areas of Singbhum | 2nd Sept. 1969 | Gopiballavpur | Black-marketeer, usurer and police agent. |
| | 26th ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar, usurer, police agent. |
| and Mayurbhanj | 30th ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 13th Oct. ,, | Debra | Jotedar, usurer. |
| | 18th ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar |
| | 20th ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar's agent |
| | 22nd ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar's agent |
| | 27th ,, ,, | ,, | Police agent, jotedar |
| | 7th Nov. ,, | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 7th ,, ,, | ,, | ,, ,, ,, |
| | 7th ,, ,, | Gopiballavpur | Police agent |

| District | Date of annihilation | Thana | Type of enemy |
|--|----------------------|---------------|--|
| Midnapur and adjacent areas of Singbhum and Mayurbhanj | 3rd Jan. 1970 | Debra | Jotedar and police agent |
| | 4th ,, ,, | Khargapur | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 31st ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar, usurer, police agent. |
| | 13th Feb. ,, | Sankrail | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 17th ,, ,, | Keshpur | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 5th Mar. ,, | Gopiballavpur | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 7th ,, ,, | ,, | Jotedar |
| | 16th ,, ,, | ,, | Military personnel(E.F.R.) |
| | 19th ,, ,, | Debra | Jotedar |
| | 21st ,, ,, | Gopiballavpur | ,, |
| | 22nd ,, ,, | Keshpur | ,, |
| | 4th April ,, | Gopiballavpur | ,, |
| | 7th ,, ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 10th ,, ,, | Debra | ,, |
| | 10th ,, ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | 10th ,, ,, | Khargapur | Policeman |
| | 22nd ,, ,, | Jambani | Jotedar |
| | 22nd ,, ,, | Nayagram | Jotedar, anchal pradhan, police agent. |
| | 22nd ,, ,, | Gopiballavpur | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 1st May 1970 | Jhargram | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 1st ,, ,, | Gopiballavpur | Policeman (C. R. P.) |
| | 14th ,, ,, | Patashpur | Usurer and landlord's agent |
| | 19th ,, ,, | Keshiary | Jotedar |
| | 19th ,, ,, | Garbeta | Police and landlord's agent |
| | 23rd ,, ,, | Sankrail | Jotedar |
| | 5th June ,, | Salboni | ,, |
| | 8th ,, ,, | Khargapur | ,, |

| District | Date of annihilation | Thana | Type of enemy |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Midnapur and adjacent areas of Singbhum and Mayurbhanj | 18th June 1970 | Panskura | Jotedar, police agent and govt. contractor |
| | 18th " " | Binpur | Jotedar and usurer |
| | 18th " " | Debra | Jotedar |
| | 20th " " | Debra | Jotedar |
| | 18th Oct. 1969 | Baharagora (Singbhum) | Jotedar |
| | 23rd " " | " | Jotedar, police agent |
| | 22nd Nov. " | " | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 25th Feb. 1970 | " | Jotedar's agent |
| | 17th May " | " | Jotedar |
| | 17th " " | " | " |
| 6th June " | Sarat (Mayurbhanj, Orissa) | Jotedar and usurer | |
| 8th " " | Khunta | Jotedar, usurer, merchant | |
| 24 Parganas | | | |
| | 29th Dec. 1969 | Hingalganj | Jotedar. |
| | 3rd Jan. 1970 | Habra | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 8th March " | Barasat | Jotedar |
| | 30th " " | Rajarhat | " |
| | 7th April " | Barasat | A local bully |
| | 10th April " | Rajarhat | Jotedar |
| | 10th " " | Sandeskhali | " |
| | 17th " " | Malchhata | " |
| | 30th " " | Gosaba | " |
| | 10th May " | Gosaba | " |
| | 17th " " | Ashoknagar (Habra) | Policeman |
| | 17th " " | " | " |
| | 23rd " " | Rajarhat | Jotedar |
| | 30th " " | " | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 3rd June " | Hingalganj | Jotedar |
| | 3rd " " | " | " |

| District | Date of annihilation | Thana | Type of enemy |
|--|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| West Dinajpur : | | | |
| | 7th Sept. 1969 | Chopra | Jotedar |
| Purulia : | 27th Sept. " | Raghunathpur | " |
| | 6th May 1970 | Purulia Sadar | " |
| Darjeeling : | | | |
| | 2nd Dec. 1969 | [Naxalbari | Police agent |
| | 5th " " | " | " |
| | 5th Jan. 1970 | " | Police and jotedar's agent |
| | 25th Feb. " | " | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 31st March " | " | Jotedar |
| | 31st " " | Siliguri Sadar | Jotedar |
| | 28th April " | Phansidewa | Jotedar, police agent |
| (The above does not take into account the annihilation of class enemies that took place during the historic Naxalbari struggle in 1967.) | | | |
| Jalpaiguri : | 4th Dec. 1969 | Jalpaiguri | Jotedar |
| | 8th " " | Kumargram | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 6th March 1970 | Mal | Military havildar |
| | 30th April " | Alipurduar | Manager, Tea Garden |
| Burdwan : | 5th June " | Mal | Police informer |
| | 7th March 1970 | Ausgram | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 16th March " | Katwa | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 15th June 1970 | Jamalpur | Jotedar |
| Hooghly : | 28th May 1970 | Dhaniakhali | " |
| Nadia : | March 1970 | Ranaghat | " |
| | 12th March 1970 | " | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 19th April 1970 | Karimpur | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 2nd June 1970 | Krishnagar | Jotedar |
| | 17th June 1970 | Haringhata | Jotedar |
| | 20th June 1970 | Araughata | Jotedar, usurer |
| (One more class enemy in Nadia district was annihilated) | | | |

| District | Date of annihilation | Thana | Type of enemy |
|---|----------------------|------------------|--|
| Maldah : | 15th March 1970 | Bamungola | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 12th April 1970 | Bamungola | Police havildar |
| | 21st May 1970 | Harishchandrapur | Jotedar, panchayet pradhan and Congress leader |
| Howrah : | | | |
| | 12th March 1970 | Amta | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 13th May 1970 | Jagatballavpur | Jotedar |
| Bankura : | | | |
| | 22nd April, 1970 | Jaipur | Jotedar, usurer |
| Murshidabad, | | | |
| Birbhum and adja- cent areas of Santal Parganas | 27th Feb. 1970 | Berhampur | Jotedar, usurer, police agent |
| | 7th May 1970 | Sagardighi | Jotedar, usurer |
| | 5th June 1970 | Kandi | Jotedar |
| | 26th April 1970 | Bolpur | Jotedar |
| | 2nd May 1970 | Nalhati | " |
| | 1st July 1970 | Khairasol | " |
| | 6th May 1970 | Taljhari | Jotedar and usurer |
| | 18th May 1970 | " | " " |
| | 22nd May 1970 | Kuntahit | Jotedar, usurer |
| Calcutta : | | | |
| | 28th April 1970 | Cossipur | Notorious police officer |
| | 14th May 1970 | Matiaburuz | S. B. informer |
| | " " | Jadavpur | Police agent belonging to C. P. I. (M) |
| | 4th June 1970 | Muchipara | Notorious S. B. officer |
| | 15th June 1970 | Taltala | S. B. Informer. |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|--|------|-----|
| 1. Chairman Mao's Statement of May 20 | ... | 1 |
| 2. Chairman's Call of May 20 Ushers In a New Age— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> | ... | 3 |
| 3. Communique of C.C., C.P.I. (M-L) | ... | 5 |
| 4. Congress Greete Chairman Mao | ... | 6 |
| 5. Avenge the Death of the Great Martyrs | ... | 7 |
| 6. Programme of C.P.I. (M-L) | ... | 9 |
| 7. Political-Organizational Report | ... | 19 |
| 8. On the Political-Organizational Report — <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> | ... | 26 |
| 9. NOTES : | .... | 31 |
| — <i>The Historic Party Congress</i> | | |
| — <i>Another Momentous Victory</i> | | |
| — <i>A Festival or a Mourning ?</i> | | |
| — <i>Fascist Attacks Shall Fail</i> | | |
| — <i>Our Homage to Heroic Martyrs</i> | | |
| — <i>A Turning-Point</i> | | |
| 10. Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Forges Ahead in Bihar | ... | 51 |
| 11. Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Spreads To New Areas in Assam | .... | 54 |
| 12. Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Rages Fiercely in West Bengal | .... | 56 |
| 13. Leninism or Social-Imperialism ? — <i>Renmin Ribao, Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao</i> | .... | 65 |
| 14. An Outspoken Revelation— <i>Peking Review</i> | .... | 96 |
| 15. Greetings from C.P. (M-L), East Pakistan to C.P.I. (M-L) | .... | 102 |
| 16. Swift Advance of Peasant Guerrilla Struggle in Uttar Pradesh | .... | 107 |
| 17. Guerrilla Struggle Develops in Punjab | .... | 110 |
| 18. Armed Guerrilla Struggle Spreads in Srikakulam | .... | 113 |
| 19. Workers of West Bengal on the March | .... | 116 |