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Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's Speech At Rally Celebrating 20th Anniversary of Founding of the People's Republic of China

Following is the full text of the speech made by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, at the rally celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China :

Comrades and friends,

Today is the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China. At this time when the people throughout the country are joyously celebrating this glorious festive occasion, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I extend salute to the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals of all nationalities of our country! Salute to the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army! Salute to all those people and overseas Chinese who love our socialist motherland! Warm welcome and greetings to our comrades and friends coming from various countries of the world!

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great leader Chairman Mao solemnly proclaimed to the whole world: **The Chinese people comprising one quarter of humanity have now stood up.** From the very day of its birth, the great socialist new China,

like the sun rising in the east, illuminates every corner of the land with a brilliant flame. From then on, the history of our country has entered a completely new era!

In the past twenty years, the entire Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands, relying on their own efforts, waging arduous struggles and working hard, have transformed a backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China into an advanced socialist new China. Our motherland has undergone earth-shaking changes.

In the course of struggle over the past twenty years, we have consolidated the political power of the proletariat, victoriously smashed the subversive schemes and disruptive activities of the enemies at home and abroad and achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. While carrying out socialist revolution on the economic front, we have also carried out socialist revolution on the political, ideological and cultural fronts. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has completely shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and smashed their plot to restore capitalism. The unprecedented wide dissemination of great Mao Tsetung Thought and its being grasped by hundreds of millions of people are changing enormously people's mental outlook and promoting the steady development of our cause of socialism. Our socialist motherland is thriving and growing ever more prosperous. The people of all nationalities of our country are more united than ever before. The dictatorship of the proletariat has become even more consolidated. The great socialist China, standing like a giant in the east, has become a powerful political force against imperialism and revisionism.

All our victories are victories of Mao Tsetung Thought

and of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The practice of our socialist revolution proves that the theory, line, principles and policies of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat advanced by our great leader Chairman Mao constitute most important new contributions to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and have opened up a brilliant road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end after the seizure of political power by the proletariat. From their protracted struggles, the people of the whole country have come to realize the truth: closely following our great leader Chairman Mao means victory.

At the Party's Ninth National Congress of far-reaching historical significance, Chairman Mao issued the great call "unite to win still greater victories," which has greatly inspired the fighting will of the people throughout the country.

Now we must continue to hold aloft the banner of unity and victory of the Party's Ninth Congress, carry out in an all round way the fighting tasks set forth by the Party's Ninth Congress and implement all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We must carry on in a more extensive and deep-going way the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and do an even better job of ideological revolutionization. We must firmly grasp revolutionary mass criticism, carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously, carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great strategic policy "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"; grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war; go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better

and more economical results in building socialism and unfold a new upsurge in revolution and production.

Comrades! We must rally even more closely around the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and strengthen the Party's centralized and unified leadership. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, remain modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness, continue to develop the vigorous proletarian revolutionary spirit, carry on forever the glorious revolutionary tradition of hard struggle, bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses and build our socialist motherland into a more prosperous and powerful country and build up a more powerful national defence.

In the past 20 years, most profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The revolutionary movement of the people of various countries is surging to unprecedented heights, while U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are becoming more isolated than ever before. In order to extricate themselves from the predicament of being beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are colluding and at the same time contending with each other, carrying out arms expansion and war preparations and wildly attempting to engineer a war of aggression against our country and flagrantly resorting to nuclear blackmail against us. In the relations between countries, China has always upheld the five principles of peaceful co-existence. Our stand is: **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** The people of the whole country must heighten their vigilance, strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to wipe out all the enemies who dare to invade us. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We warn U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism: the heroic Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are invincible. Should you

insist on imposing a war on the Chinese people, we will keep you company and resolutely fight to the finish! On the vast land of China, wherever you go, there will be your burial ground!

We will always uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly support the heroic Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end; firmly support the Laotian people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of Thailand; firmly support the Palestinian people and the people of all Arab countries in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism; and firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and people of the five continents!

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!

Long live the great, People's Republic of China!

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

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

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

"No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement."

—MAO TSETUNG

China's Chairman Is Our Chairman : China's Path Is Our Path

—Charu Mazumdar

THIS ancient and vast land of India, the beloved mother land of ours, is a country of 500 million people the absolute majority of whom are peasants. Ours is an agrarian country, a land that belongs to the peasant masses who are hard-working and talented.

The British colonialists directly ruled over our country for some two hundred years and the history of these two hundred years is one of repeated peasant uprisings for the overthrow of the colonial rule. A little more than a hundred years ago the so-called 'Sepoy Mutiny' sparked off a countrywide conflagration and repeatedly inflicted defeats on the colonial army of the British rulers. But that great rebellion failed owing to feudalist betrayal.

The peasant uprisings failed one after another because there was no scientific theory nor proper leadership to guide them.

The Indian bourgeoisie, fostered and groomed by the British imperialists, were comprador in character. They protected the imperialists from the anger of the masses, confined the masses within the limits of reformist movements and bargained with the imperialists to get crumbs for themselves. Helped by the imperialists they posed themselves as the natural leaders of the masses. Such

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trash as "Gandhi-ism," passive resistance, *ahimsa* and *sharkha* are the ideology of India's comprador bourgeoisie and serve only the imperialists.

The great October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary masses of India, and the Communist Party was formed. From the moment of its birth the leadership of the Party was usurped by the agents of the bourgeoisie. Instead of inspiring the masses to rise arms in hand against the imperialist rulers and overthrow the imperialist rule by force of arms, these usurpers of Party leadership trailed behind the bourgeois reformist leadership and betrayed the revolutionary worker and peasant masses. They repeatedly thwarted the attempts of the Indian revolutionaries to take the correct road for the Indian revolution. The experience of the great Chinese revolution was never assimilated, the content of the Indian revolution was never studied and no assessment of the role of the peasantry in the democratic revolution was ever made. Thus, the Party ranks were alternately led towards Right reformism and Left sectarianism and finally dragged into the morass of parliamentarism and revisionism.

After World War II and even during it there appeared a high tide of revolutionary upheaval of worker and peasant masses which forced the British imperialists to change their tactics. They turned colonial India into a semi-colonial semi-feudal country and foisted the rule of comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and big landlords on the Indian people. Thus started the process which changed India from a colony into a neo-colony.

During their rule of twenty years these lackeys of imperialism opened up the country for U.S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist exploitation in addition to the British imperialist exploitation. Today, India is a neo-colony of these powers.

The U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are

the world's most ruthless exploiters today. They are plundering and fleecing the Indian people without mercy reducing them to a state of utter destitution. Today, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists have complete control over India—economically, politically, militarily and culturally.

As a result of this relentless and increasing exploitation, the mood of the Indian people has become one of anger that has reached the point of white heat. Indeed, the revolutionary situation is excellent.

India is an agrarian country and the vast masses of her people are peasants, so the progress and development of India depend on the progress and development of her peasant masses. There are four major contradictions in our country today, contradictions between the Indian people on the one hand and U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capital on the other, and the Indian people can liberate themselves only by overthrowing these four big mountains from their backs. But it must be remembered that the main and principal contradiction in our country today, is the one between the landlords and the peasantry the resolution of which alone can lead to the resolution of the other three contradictions. Thus the contradiction between the landlords and the peasantry is one between feudalism and the masses of the Indian people.

The peasant masses of India cannot liberate themselves and the country without the leadership of the working class. The working class is the most revolutionary class and the most organized detachment of the Indian people. That is why only the working class can lead the Indian revolution to victory, and why the Indian people can overthrow the four big mountains only by carrying on their struggle under the leadership of this class.

The main content of our revolution is agrarian revolution. Our revolution is democratic in character. But it is not a

democratic revolution of the old type; it is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution ushered in by the great October Revolution, and as such can be victorious only under the leadership of the working class. This revolution will establish under the leadership of the working class a joint dictatorship of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie, who together constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian people, i.e., 90 per cent of India's population. This is why it is called People's Democracy.

Among the peasantry, the poor and landless peasants are firm allies and the main force of the revolution. They will firmly unite with the middle peasants, win over a section of the rich peasants and neutralise the majority of them. Only a small section of the rich peasants will go over to the camp of counter-revolution. The petty bourgeoisie of our country is a revolutionary class the overwhelming majority of which, including the revolutionary intellectuals, will join the revolution. A section of them however, may detach itself from the main body and join hands with counter-revolution.

The small and middle bourgeoisie are vacillating and unstable allies of the revolution and tend to compromise with counter-revolution because they are economically and mentally linked with the counter-revolutionaries. They may join the revolution only when they feel assured of its victory. The role of the bourgeois intellectuals should also be considered as that of the national bourgeoisie. Only when worker-peasant alliance is achieved through armed struggle and red political power is established in different parts of the country can the democratic front of all these classes be formed under the leadership of the working class.

The working class can establish its leadership over the people's democratic revolution only through its political party—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), and in no other way. Apart from exerting

leadership through its political party the working class also helps the democratic revolution by launching struggles on various national and international issues, by organizing solidarity actions in support of other revolutionary classes, particularly in support of the agrarian revolution, and by sending its advanced and class conscious section to organize the peasants' armed struggle in the countryside.

The working class can lead the democratic revolution to completion only by creating small bases of armed struggle throughout the country by means of developing guerrilla warfare and by consolidating the people's political power. Guerrilla warfare is and will remain the basic form of struggle for the entire period of the democratic revolution. This is so because guerrilla warfare alone can release the initiative and creative genius of the masses, lead them in making the impossible possible so as to bring about changes in the conditions of the masses and the countryside, inspire the masses to engage in various spheres of work, and establish links and co-ordination between the bases of armed struggle. In this way, we have to create mighty waves of people's war by expanding the small bases of armed struggle, build a people's army, overthrow the rule of the four mountains in the countryside, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them, and thus seize political power throughout the country and bring the democratic revolution to a victorious completion. After accomplishing this the working class must resolutely proceed to build socialism in India, transform her into a socialist state, abolish forever the system of exploitation of man by man, open up before the people the prospect of perpetual well-being and happiness, turn our country into a bastion of world revolution, and carry our revolution forward to the bright future—a future without exploitation, so that it may become a pride of the people of the whole world.

India is an agrarian country the vast majority of whose

population are peasants. That is why the culture in people's democratic India will be basically and mainly the culture of the revolutionary peasants, a culture led by the working class and anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character. This is so because the culture that is represented today by the advanced section of the peasantry which is engaged in building a people's democratic India through armed struggle, the culture that is serving as a weapon in the people's democratic revolution, cannot be anything other than anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character. Therefore, only such a culture can be the culture of people's democratic India and it would be the duty of the people's democratic dictatorship of India to protect and foster this culture that serves the workers, peasants and soldiers as a weapon in their revolutionary struggle.

We are living in the era of Mao Tsetung. Today, the great Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Biao is leading the international proletariat in fulfilling their most glorious task, namely, the victorious completion of the world revolution. We are living in this period of world revolution. We are witnessing before our own eyes the glorious chapter of world history that the revolutionary people the world over are writing with their sweat and blood in order to abolish, once for all, the system of exploitation of man by man from the world. We are a detachment of that international army.

The revolutionary people of India were all but submerged in the morass of revisionism when Chairman Mao gave his clarion call and pointed out that revisionism is the main danger today. With deep attention we listened to these words of Chairman Mao's and there began a searching of hearts among us. As Chairman Mao took up his pen in 1962 to fight modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre, we found our way. Later, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution rang out Chairman Mao's great call, "it is right to rebel against the reactionaries", which filled our hearts with courage and gave

us tremendous strength to rise up and stand on our own feet. We defied the revisionist leadership of the Party and independently took the road of developing the armed struggle of the peasant masses, and accepted the method and principle laid down by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao in his great work "Long Live The Victory of People's War!", because this method and principle embody the correct application of Mao Tsetung Thought and the summing up of the experience gained the world over. This is how we organized the Naxalbari struggle. The great support given to us by the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China enabled the revolutionaries all over India to unite, and the flames of Naxalbari spread to different States of India and there appeared Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur-Kheri. The concrete application of Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India and the constant summing up of the experience gained in these struggles led to revolutionary unity and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was born. That is why the Indian revolutionaries are constantly studying Mao Tsetung Thought—the highest stage of Marxism-Leninism of this era, constantly trying to apply it in the concrete conditions of the Indian revolution, constantly summing up their own experience in the light of Chairman Mao's writings, thus developing the mass line, and trying to elevate the struggle to a still higher stage.

The revolutionary proletarian party was born at a time when the flames of people's war are burning brightly in India. After the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China the flames of people's war are burning more fiercely and have become more widespread in the colonial and semi-colonial world increasing the difficulties of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists at home and abroad. Revisionism stands exposed and its power to deceive the people is daily and rapidly decreasing. The revisionists are now coming out openly in support of imperialist aggression with the result that the imperialists and social-imperialists are rapidly heading towards their total collapse. Our Party was born at a time when the revisionist parties of our country were exposed as the lackeys of imperialism and Indian

reaction, when the reactionary forces inside the country are disintegrating under the blows of the peasant armed struggle, and when the internal contradictions of the ruling classes are coming out in the open and the political crisis has become clear as daylight before the masses. Even the most backward sections of the people are entering the political arena as a force and the struggle against the four big mountains is developing daily and hourly. Thus the revolutionary situation in India is increasingly becoming more and more excellent with every passing day and every passing hour.

Today, the peasant armed struggle is being waged in India and guerrilla bases have already been established. This proves conclusively that it is irresistible and the Indian reactionaries are totally unable either to arrest its growth or to prevent it from developing. More and more people are becoming convinced of the immense power of Mao Tsetung Thought, the peasant armed struggle is steadily expanding and more guerrilla bases are being established. All this shows how deeply Mao Tsetung Thought has struck its root in the soil of India. It will grow ever deeper with every passing day, every passing hour and will create a storm that will envelop the entire country; it will become a material force of tremendous power that will sweep away all kinds of reactionaries and revisionists of all hues like so many dry and withered leaves from this great land of ours.

A people's democratic India is no longer a distant objective. The first rays of the red sun have already lit up the coasts of Andhra and will tinge the other States also before long. A radiant India, bathed in the rays of this red sun will continue to shine brightly for ever. Every Communist must exert his entire effort and energy to bring about this glorious future.

Victory certainly belongs to us because China's Chairman is our Chairman and China's path is our path.

Spring Thunder Over India

[This most important article published in the PEOPLE'S DAILY, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao, on July 5, 1967, (reproduced in the first issue of LIBERATION, No. 1, 1967) enthusiastically greeted the historic Naxalbari peasant struggle and explained its significance. A fundamental evaluation of the Indian revolution has been made by the international Communist leadership in this article. More, it gives us guidance in theory as well as in practice. Events since its publication two years ago have brought out ever more sharply the significance of what has been said in the article and its value has increased and its essence grown even brighter. Specially now, it is imperative for the Communist revolutionaries of India to read this article—not once, but many times, so as to understand it and grasp its significance.]

We republish this article—from the text as appeared in LIBERATION Vol. 1, No. 1, 1967—on the occasion of the second anniversary of its publication in our journal.

—Editor, *Liberation*]

A peal of spring thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed the trammels that bound them. They have seized grain, land and weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and wicked gentry, and ambushed the reactionary troops and police that went to suppress them thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials,

local tyrants and wicked gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The absolutely correct thing has been done by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party and they have done it well. The Chinese people joyfully applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

It is an inevitability that the Indian peasants will rebel and the Indian people will make revolution because the reactionary Congress rule has left them with no alternative. India under Congress rule is only nominally independent; in fact, it is nothing more than a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The Congress administration represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it oppresses the Indian people without any mercy and sucks their blood, while internationally, it serves the new boss, U.S. imperialism, and its number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, in addition to its old suzerain British imperialism, thus selling out the national interests of India in a big way. So imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The Congress administration has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and pursued a policy of national betrayal during the past few years. Famine has stalked the land year after year. The fields are strewn with the bodies of those who have died of hunger and starvation. The Indian people, above all the Indian peasants, have found life impossible for them. The revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have now risen in rebellion, in violent revolution. This is the prelude to a violent revolution by the hundreds of millions of

people throughout India. The Indian people will certainly cast away these big mountains off their backs and win complete emancipation. This is the general trend of Indian history which no force on earth can check or hinder.

What road is to be followed by the Indian revolution? This is a fundamental question affecting the success of the Indian revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tse-tung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolution of all oppressed nations and peoples.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, pointed out as long as 40 years ago: "In China's con-^{tr}al, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves."

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago that the peasant question occupies an extremely important place in the people's revolution. The peasants constitute the main force in the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and its lackeys; they are the most reliable and numerous allies of the proletariat. India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of which, the peasantry, once aroused, will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating itself with the peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earth-shaking changes in the vast countryside of India and defeat any powerful enemy in a soul-stirring people's war.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao, teaches us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

The specific feature of Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting against armed counter-revolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for the Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever. Such trash as "Gandhi-ism", "parliamentary road" and the like are opium used by the Indian ruling classes to paralyse the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation. Specifically, this is to arouse the peasant masses boldly, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal blows at the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries, who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces, by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people's war personally worked out by Chairman Mao, and to persist in protracted armed struggle and seize victory of the revolution step by step.

In the light of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, our great leader, Chairman Mao, has pointed out the importance of establishing revolutionary rural base areas. Chairman Mao teaches us: In order to persist in protracted armed struggle and defeat imperialism and its lackeys, "it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting."

India is a country with vast territory; its countryside

where the reactionary rule is weak, provides the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. So long as the Indian proletarian revolutionaries adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought and rely on their great ally, the peasants, it is entirely possible for them to establish one advanced revolutionary rural base area after another in the broad backward rural areas and build a people's army of a new type. Whatever difficulties and twists and turns the Indian revolutionaries may experience in the course of building such revolutionary base areas, they will eventually develop such areas from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, an expansion in a series of waves. Thus, a situation in which the cities are encircled from the countryside will gradually be brought about in the Indian revolution to pave the way for the final seizure of towns and cities and winning nation-wide victory.

The Indian reactionaries are panic-stricken by the development of the rural armed struggle in Darjeeling. They have sensed imminent disaster and they wail in alarm that the peasants' revolt in Darjeeling will "become a national disaster." Imperialism and the Indian reactionaries are trying in a thousand and one ways to suppress this armed struggle of the Darjeeling peasants and nip it in the bud. The Dange renegade clique and the revisionist chieftains of the Indian Communist Party are vigorously slandering and attacking the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling for their great exploits. The so-called "non-Congress" government in West Bengal openly sides with the reactionary Indian Government in its bloody suppression of the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling. This gives added proof that these renegades and revisionists are running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and lackeys of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie.

What they call the "non-Congress government" is only a tool of these landlords and bourgeoisie.

But no matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may co-operate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. "A single spark can start a prairie fire." The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, will surely triumph.

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

—Mao Tsetung

NOTES

BURY THE ENEMIES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN THE SOIL OF INDIA

Fifty two years ago Comrade Lenin lighted the torch of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. After his death Comrade Stalin firmly held high and carried forward that torch. At that time the imperialists jointly tried in a thousand and one ways to put out that torch, but all their attempts met with failure. The heroic Soviet people under the leadership of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union built by Lenin, himself and with Comrade Stalin at its head resolutely held high the flaming torch of the October Revolution and won one victory after another. The revolutionary people the world over stood by the Soviet people in fulfilling their glorious task. Socialism was established over one-sixth of the globe and the dream of Marx and Engels became a living reality opening up the road to liberation before the people of the whole world including the people of the dependent countries like the vast land of India.

The imperialists and their lackeys tried time and again to put out the torch of the October Revolution. They

tried to achieve their object through World War II. But the revolutionary Soviet people led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with Comrade Stalin at its head displayed exemplary heroism and underwent great suffering to defend the torch of the October Revolution and smashed the fascist aggressors with the support of the revolutionary people of the world. In the East the heroic Chinese people under the leadership of the great Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao defeated the Japanese fascist aggressors and later, carried the great Chinese Revolution to victory by waging a protracted and unprecedented people's war. The revolutionary people throughout the world were armed with the invincible weapon of people's war worked out by Chairman Mao Tsetung. Imperialism and its lackeys are powerless before this weapon. From then on the world entered into a new era—the 'era of Mao Tsetung', as Comrade Lin Piao has characterized it, the era in which imperialism is heading towards total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.

The torch of the October Revolution lighted by Lenin himself and upheld by Comrade Stalin was put out by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist renegade clique, who usurped the leadership of the Party and state in the Soviet Union,—the land of Lenin and Stalin, the land of the October Revolution. These traitors to the October Revolution restored capitalism in the land of the Soviets where socialism was established by Lenin and Stalin for the first time in human history. These agents of the bourgeoisie turned the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, built and fostered by Lenin and Stalin, into a bourgeois fascist party and turned the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, into a social-imperialist state. What the imperialists could not achieve by force was achieved "peacefully" for them by Khrushchov, and Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist renegade clique.

It is the great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung who lighted the torch of the October Revolution put out by the revisionist traitors in the land of Lenin and Stalin, again in China and held it aloft and dispelled the darkness brought about by the traitorous action of Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company. This traitorous gang of revisionists had their agents in China also, chief of whom was the hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi. Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the victorious Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, and the revisionists and reactionaries. The historic Ninth National Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, is a congress of victory—the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which buried the enemies of the road of the October Revolution in China.

In India, the hidden enemies of the October Revolution managed to capture the leadership of the Communist Party of India from the very beginning. These Indian revisionist renegades—the Dange-Sundarayya clique—have now become more active than ever before. Following the footsteps of their *gurus*—the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique, they are frantically trying to stamp out the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle in India, that is the flame of the October Revolution on the soil of India, in order to serve their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism who are plundering and exploiting India and have turned India into their neo-colony. They are trying to drag the revolutionary Indian people into the morass of parliamentarism and 'peaceful' path, and make them serve as cannon-fodders in the U.S.-Soviet anti-China war plots.

The revolutionary Chinese people have buried the enemies of the October Revolution in China under the leadership of Chairman Mao by victoriously carrying out

the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The revolutionary Indian people must also march hand in hand with the revolutionary Chinese people to bury the enemies of the October Revolution, Soviet social-imperialism and its Indian lackeys along with U.S. imperialism, in the soil of India. It is an imperative revolutionary task of the Indian people to carry on a relentless and resolute struggle against modern revisionism while continuing to fight against imperialism. We must remember that while U.S. imperialism is a known and declared enemy of the October Revolution, Soviet social-imperialism is the hidden enemy, an enemy which is donning the mask of a friend and so, a more dangerous enemy.

Under the tremendous impact and influence of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and guided by the brilliant Mao Tsetung Thought a worldwide struggle has begun against the hated enemies of the October Revolution. This struggle has spread even to the Soviet Union where the genuine revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses are rising up and getting organized in order to overthrow their neo-fascist rulers and rekindle the torch of the October Revolution. This struggle has begun in India also, where the spark of Naxalbari has spread to vast areas and the flames of revolutionary peasant armed struggle are raging like a prairie fire and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the genuine revolutionary party based on the Mao Tsetung Thought has been formed.

Today, the revolutionary people of India are marching irresistibly forward under the leadership of this Party to bury not only imperialism but also modern revisionism in the soil of India. Because they know that it is impossible to carry on the struggle against imperialism and overthrow it without fighting against modern revisionism.

In commemorating the 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution we pledge that armed with the Thought of Chairman Mao we will burn the enemies of the October

Revolution into ashes in the flames of the armed guerrilla struggle which is being waged in India under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), and carry the democratic revolution of India through to victory. The 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution calls upon us: **"Bury the enemies of the October Revolution in the soil of India."**

A MOST HEARTENING EVENT

The Indian people heartily applaud China's success in conducting her first underground nuclear test on September 23, 1969 and a new hydrogen bomb explosion on September 29, 1969. These tremendous new successes are another victory of great Mao Tsetung Thought and a brilliant fresh confirmation of the all-round upsurge ushered in by the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China. They are a new telling blow to the policy of nuclear blackmail pursued by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. They are, at the same time, a powerful support and an immense encouragement to the people of India and of the whole world in their struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The Indian people are confident that the great Chinese people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and led by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao will continue to score even greater victories.

China develops nuclear weapons for strengthening her national defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly of U.S. imperialist and Soviet social imperialism. The Chinese Government has declared solemnly on many occasions that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. This highly principled stand of China is warmly acclaimed by the people of India and of the whole world.

These new successes are an irrefutable proof of socialist China's increasing ability to deal crushing blows to any aggressor that dares to touch her. They are a serious warning to U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys, the Indian reactionaries and other Asian reactionaries, who are frantically hatching plots to unleash a war of aggression against China—the reliable base area and impregnable fortress of world revolution. At the bidding of their U.S.-Soviet masters the Indian reactionaries have turned India into a base of aggression against China and against the revolutionary Asian people.

Let the U.S. imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and their running dogs, the Indian reactionaries tremble before the swiftly increasing might of socialist China. Should they dare to launch a war of aggression against China, the people of India, inspired and guided by the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) will resolutely use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression and will bury the aggressors in the soil of India.

The hearts of the 500 million Indian people throb in unison with those of the 700 million Chinese people. Guided by the all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought and led by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao the Indian people will fight shoulder to shoulder with the great Chinese people and with the people of the world to destroy U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and all reaction, and build a new red world without exploitation.

SLAPPING THEIR OWN FACES

So it has happened again, this time in Kerala. The 'non-Congress' united front government led by the arch revisionist renegade Namboodiripad has ignominiously tumbled down. The revisionist renegades Dange-Sundarayya and company held out this government as a model

before the people and flaunted it as a victory of their revisionist poisonous politics of parliamentarism and peaceful path. With the appearance of the first sparks of Indian revolution in Naxalbari these implacable enemies of the Indian people and revolution became even more frantic in their attempts to divert the people's attention from Naxalbari to the 'non-Congress' governments, that is, from the path of revolutionary armed struggle to the peaceful path. For this purpose they made all sorts of absurd promises and tried to paint the 'non-Congress' governments in bright colour. They fraudulently claimed that these governments could give "immediate relief" to the people and "great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people", and falsely cited the Namboodiripad government as an example. This was a most shameless attempt to deceive and benumb the people.

The Kerala UF government led by Namboodiripad faithfully served the Indian and foreign vested interests as no Congress government could do. While zealously protecting and promoting the interests of the four mountains weighing heavily down on the Indian people, it ruthlessly persecuted, suppressed and killed the workers, peasants and other toiling people. During its 31 month rule Namboodiripad's government not only did not give any "immediate relief" to the people of Kerala but, on the contrary, served to intensify the exploitation of the people and increase their impoverishment and miseries. Ten months after the UF government was set up in Kerala, Namboodiripad had to admit that "people today have...even less food (and that at higher cost) than ten months ago. The problem of unemployment and lack of all-round economic development has also become worse during the last ten months". (*People's Democracy*, January 14, 1968).

Far from giving "fillip" to the "revolutionary movement of the working people" Namboodiripad, the shameless lackey of the ruling classes, sold away vital interests of the

working people without batting an eye. Referring to the "industrial policy" statement of his government, Namboodiripad admitted that some passages in the statement "may well go contrary to the right of the working class for collective bargaining and their freedom of organization and struggle" and that "industrialists were unanimous in acclaiming it." (Ibid)

Iron-clad facts like these fully demonstrate the reactionary anti-people features of the Kerala UF government led by Namboodiripad. At the same time they expose the praises that the revisionist renegades heap on the 'non-Congress' governments as hollow words and lies. The people can see more clearly the real reactionary nature of these governments as well as of Dange-Sundarayya and company. All their deceitful talk cannot cover up the fact that the so-called 'non-Congress' governments are tools in the hands of the reactionary ruling classes of India to prolong their dark rule and deceive the people.

The 'non-Congress' UF government led by Namboodiripad and set up by the reactionary ruling classes of India fell at a time when the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian people guided and inspired by Mao-Tsetung Thought are raging like a prairie fire and rapidly spreading to newer areas. This fall is a big defeat for Dange-Sundarayya and company and their masters. It has once more exposed the bankruptcy of the peaceful path and parliamentarism so frantically spread by Soviet social-imperialism and its Indian lackeys. It demonstrates that the ruling classes are caught in a crisis which is daily deepening and from which they cannot extricate themselves.

A little more than two and a half years ago the Dangeites and the traitorous revisionists Sundarayya-Jyoti-Namboodiripad and company ganged up with various reactionary parties to present a united front against the revolutionary Indian people and serve the reactionary ruling classes more effectively than the Congress

reactionaries. But in spite of all their wild attempts to prevent the Indian people from taking the path of armed revolution, the revolutionary masses, inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought, have scornfully rejected the peaceful path and parliamentarism and embarked on the path of violent revolution—the path of Naxalbari. All the tricks of the revisionist renegades have failed miserably. Going is becoming tougher and tougher for them.

Like robbers who fall out over the shares of their booty the wretched lot of revisionists and reactionaries that comprised the 'united front' in Kerala have now fallen out and are flying at one another's throat. Unable to find an excuse for their clumsy discomfiture they have now begun to slap their own faces. As the revolutionary armed struggle continues to gather momentum the mutual bickerings among them will increase and not lessen. Namboodiripads and their associates will carry on with greater gusto their game of slapping one another's face until the fierce storm of Indian revolution finally sweeps them away into oblivion along with their masters—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their Indian lackeys.

THE DOG-FIGHT AND AFTER

The stinking cesspool has been stirred up again and the air is heavy once more with its foul smell. The apparent calm of the few weeks of 'unity' and truce brought about by powers that be has been shattered by a now round of in-fight more violent and bitter than before. The 'syndicate' faction of the ruling Congress Party led by Nijalingappa is locked once more in a vicious fight for power with the faction headed by Indira Gandhi. The fight is of course not over principles. The issues are as banal and inconsequential as the men that fight over them. Previously it was the election of the President, now it is the control of the Congress Party organization.

For 22 years the Congress administration has loyally served the biggest enemies of the Indian people—U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their native lackeys, and ruthlessly suppressed the workers, peasants and other toiling people. It has sold away India's vital national interests to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, turned India into their neo-colony and base of aggression against China. No wonder the people regard the Congress Party and the government it leads with deep hatred and contempt. The sickening sight of the Congress bosses fighting among themselves fills the minds of the people with disgust and their contempt becomes greater.

But the howling jackals of reaction, the Dange Sundarayya and company, are already in the field with the bourgeois literary hucksters to make the dog-fight in the Congress Party appear as a great battle for "democracy" and "progress" and even "socialism"! They would have the people believe that the faction led by Indira Gandhi is progressive and deliver goods to the people. This is how the revisionist renegades try to serve the reactionary ruling classes. In order to save the ruling Congress Party from its doom they are asking the people to put their faith in Indira Gandhi and give up the road of violent revolution. This completely exposes their 'anti-Congress' postures as mere deception, and shows them up in their features.

However, the utter bankruptcy and rottenness of the Congress Party stand exposed before the people and the frantic efforts of Dange-Sundarayya and company cannot cover up its ugly reactionary features. All its efforts to hold down the masses by force and to deceive them into submission have failed. The revolutionary Indian people have rejected the peaceful path and parliamentarism peddled by Indira Gandhis and Dange-Sundarayya and company, and embarked on the road of violent revolution. Their vigorous revolutionary armed struggle is hitting the

ruling classes where it hurts most. The Congress Party is powerless to prevent the irresistible victorious march of the Indian revolution. That is why the Congress bosses have pressed into service their loyal jackals—the revisionist Dange-Sundarayya clique. But the jackals' fate will be no better than their masters.

The present dog-fight in the Congress Party is an expression of the crisis that has gripped the ruling classes. Pounded relentlessly by the angry blows of the revolutionary people it is cracking up and its inner contradictions are coming out into the open. No matter what ingenious devices are made to restore 'unity' inside the Congress Party, it is inexorably heading towards its inevitable destruction. Indira Gandhi and others who, with the help of the wretched revisionists Dange-Sundarayya and company, are trying to rebuild their images at the cost of their parent organization, are merely indulging in wild day-dreams. The limbs of a corpse have only as good a chance to survive as the corpse itself. Indira Gandhis and their jackals—the Danges, Sundarayya, Jyoti Basus and Namboodiripads, are powerless to turn the wheels of history back. The revolutionary Indian people will throw them unceremoniously into the garbage heap of history before long.

An Announcement

In Kerala many notices are being issued in the name of the Kerala State Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has got no connection with those notices.

News Box

Imprisoned Communists Escape From Jail

(From Our Own Representative In Hyderabad)

On October 10, eleven Communist revolutionaries—7 of them are poor peasants, one is a worker while the other three are revolutionary intellectuals—made good their escape from the Vishakhapatnam Central Jail and are now back again among the revolutionary masses.

In a special interview they told me about how they did it. While in jail they came to the conclusion that there were only two ways to get out of it—one, the revolutionary people would free them, and two, they would have to rely on their own efforts to get out of the jail. They decided to rely on their efforts rather than waiting for the people to come and free them. Once the decision was taken they implemented it in a thoroughgoing manner. That is how they escaped from the jail.

They expressed great joy when they learned that revolutionary peasant armed struggle has begun anew in West Bengal, and sent their warm revolutionary greetings to the Party and the guerrillas in West Bengal.

20th Anniversary of The Chinese Revolution

Observed In Vishakhapatnam Central Jail

The imprisoned Communist revolutionaries of Andhra observed the 20th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution on October 1, inside the Vishakhapatnam Central Jail. They hoisted the red flag and sang the *International*. On this occasion they pledged to carry forward, no matter whether they were in jail or outside, the armed revolution that has started in India under the inspiration of Mao Tsetung Thought and is being led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Andhra Comrades Greet The Party And the Guerrillas In West Bengal

The news that peasant armed struggle has again started anew in West Bengal has brought a wave of great enthusiasm among the revolutionary people of Andhra. The Secretary of the Andhra State Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has sent revolutionary greetings to the Party and the guerrilla fighters of West Bengal, through the West Bengal State Organizing Committee of the Party. He has stated in the message that this success of the Party and the guerrillas in West Bengal would help the revolutionary struggle in Andhra to go forward.

Two More Class Enemies Annihilated In Debra, West Bengal

Two more class enemies have been annihilated by the peasant guerrillas in Debra, Midnapur district. On October 20, adibasi peasant guerrillas decided to do away with a notorious agent and reactionary class enemy Dhana Hembrom, who happened to be an adibasi also. They annihilated Dhana on the same day.

On October 23, another notorious police agent and jotedar Satish Poray, was annihilated by the peasant guerrillas in Union no. 4 under Debra P.S.

Guerrilla Struggle Spreads To Hoogly District, West Bengal

The peasant guerrilla struggle has now spread to the Hoogly district. A few days ago, a peasant guerrilla unit composed of 3 poor and landless peasants attacked and seriously injured the most hated despotic jotedar Basu Ghose with bows and arrows and tangis. This has greatly enthused the local peasant masses.

(Continued on page 99)

Srikakulam Guerrilla Struggle Extends To The Plains : A Lesson

(From Our Own Correspondent)

LIKE the crashing of spring thunder the victorious great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought was raised in India and began to fly defiantly in Naxalbari. Its reverberations reached Andhra Pradesh and brought Boddapadu to the fore. Boddapadu is a thriving village in the Sompeta taluk in the coastal region of Srikakulam district. It was the main centre of the revolutionary activity of the great martyr Panchadi Krishnamurthy popularly known as "P.K." Son of a poor peasant, he passed the M.A. examination from the Andhra University in Visakhapatnam and thereafter settled in Boddapadu to work as a whole-time professional revolutionary.

The revolutionary comrades of Andhra broke away from CPI(M) after the Burdwan plenum, and a new Andhra Provincial Committee [CPI(M)] was formed. But unfortunately Nagi Reddy and his followers managed to seize a part of that new provincial leadership. However, Comrades P.K., Ch. Tejeswar Rao and other comrades of Srikakulam disliked Nagi Reddy and company from the very beginning, and built the district organisation with their own men and took up the work of building the lower organisations. They maintained only a formal connection with Nagi Reddy and company.

Discussions were held on the question: How to proceed? From the very beginning emphasis was on the work of political propaganda. Boddapadu village seemed suddenly filled with enthusiasm. Poor and landless peasants listened with bated breath to the stories of Naxalbari struggle and the unique history of the Chinese

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revolution. The poor peasant youths, many of them teen-aged, formed an organization on their own which they themselves named "Tyagi Sangham"—Association of Those Who Have Renounced the 'Self.' The 'Sangham' worked with the sole purpose of bringing up men who would sacrifice all for the sake of revolution. Inspired by the work of the "Sangham" at least one member from almost every poor peasant family and others from some middle peasant families left their hearth and home to join the central guerrilla squad or any other central organization. Now, they belong not to Boddapadu village alone, nor to Srikakulam, but to the whole of Andhra.

I was listening to the comrades to learn more about them and about the place where they work. In Telegu, the plains area of the Srikakulam district is called "udyanam," that is, garden. Starting from the sea-beach the whole of the plains area is a vast stretch of sandy land, covered with groves of cashew-nut trees. The thick trunks rise four to five feet above the ground then lean to skim the ground. All the big branches grow along the ground while the smaller ones which stem from the grow straight upwards, so that a single tree turns into a beautiful grove. The ground around the trunk is remarkably clean and is surrounded on all sides by the foliage which provides a good cover. You can travel from one village to another through such udyanamms avoiding the enemy. The guerrillas are actually doing so. This is how they are moving about in the plains area annihilating class enemies and carrying on political propaganda amidst police repression.

Police Repression: There is a central reserve police (CRP) camp within a mile or half a mile of every village because the armed police force of the State is unable to cope with the guerrilla struggle. Police raids are organized every day in some village or other and old men, children and women are beaten up mercilessly.

Raping by the marauding policemen is a common occurrence. During a raid on a village in Tekkali taluk these beasts raped no less than five peasant women of different ages causing death to a pregnant woman. Leading cadres are being shot whenever they are arrested. Uptil now eleven comrades including Comrade P.K., and the other comrades who were with him, have been shot dead on two occasions.

But all this brutal repression has failed to cow down the people. "This is a quite new experience for us," say the comrades, "the people indeed have taught us a completely new lesson." Instead of frightening the people the police repression has only fanned the flames of hatred in their mind against the reactionary ruling classes. Our contacts are extending in direct proportion with the stepping up of police *zoolum*, and the comrades are deeply realizing the truth of what Chairman Mao has taught: "**Wherever there is oppression there is resistance.**"

At noon we had our meals of rice and fish-curry, brought secretly by the villagers, and had a good nap in an udyanam. In the afternoon came an old woman with a little girl. She affectionately addressed us as "bapallas" [my child], and asked us to take good care of ourselves because, as she apprehensively said, the police would kill us with bullets if they as much as saw us. Smiling, she added, "We are having a good dose of their repression. They come in the morning, then drive us all from the village to the fields herded like cattle and start beating mercilessly with lathis".

A Novel Way to Distribute Leaflets: There is a story about how a peasant woman distributed leaflets. Her son is a young peasant guerrilla comrade. After taking part in an action for annihilating class enemies he came to the village. By the time the police came the next day his comrades had moved away to safety, but he could not escape. The police could not recognize him nor the

villagers betrayed him, so he joined the police party in their search, and stayed with them till dusk and then fled. Next day the police realized that they had been fooled. Unable to find him, they arrested his mother and his ten year old sister. The mother was worried about a thick bundle of leaflets in the house which her son had brought earlier for distribution. If she did not remove the leaflets the police would certainly take them away. So, she decided to keep them with her. She bound them securely round her waist and covered it up with her sari before getting into the police van. In the front of the van sat some armed policemen while the mother and her daughter sat in the back. They were being taken to the police camp. The mother was still worrying over the leaflets. If she took them with her to the police camp, the police would surely destroy them. After some hard thinking she hit upon an idea. She began to distribute the leaflets from the moving police van! In this way she managed to distribute all the leaflets in four or five villages on the way to the police camp. This caused a great sensation among the people. The mother and her daughter were released soon after reaching the camp. When they returned comrades asked them, "What made you distribute the leaflets from the police van?" Pat came her reply: "Well, what else could I do? Since the van was to travel a long distance I thought of distributing the leaflets from it. In this way the leaflets have reached a great many people. Moreover, it has saved us much labour and time." This story shows the presence of mind of the peasants and their ability to act with a cool head in the face of danger. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy."

According to certain "theoreticians" however, the peasants, who are capable of acting as seen above, are

allegedly unable to grasp the politics of armed struggle unless they are led through economic struggles, such as struggle for stopping eviction and for getting vested land. To preach the politics of armed struggle before such economic struggles are carried on is, according to these pundits, 'adventurism', pure and simple. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type? Those who simply follow the old routine invariably underestimate the people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it. Afterwards, they have to admit defeat and do a little self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they go through the same process all over again. This is their pattern of behaviour in regard to anything and everything new. Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step." This description fully applies to our pundits who advocate economic struggle before political propaganda.

Garudabhadra Incident: There were differences in September 1968 over the question whether it is possible to sustain armed struggle in the plains or not, and these differences persisted throughout the year 1968. This is why comrades here say that "nothing was done" in 1968 and upto the month of January 1969. Yet during this very period when "nothing was done" there took place an event which made the whole of Andhra sit up. This event was the Garudabhadra incident. Although this incident did not even distantly resemble a guerrilla "action", yet comrades here invariably begin their reports by referring to this incident, "First there was the Garudabhadra incident then..."

This is what happened in Garudabhadra village. One day in October 1968, some comrades from Boddapadu and other villages decided to organise a demonstration for making political propaganda in Garudabhadra. Among the demonstrators, who were mostly women, was Comrade P. K.'s wife—Nirmala. The landlord's men attacked the demonstration and beat up many of the women demonstrators. The class enemies also used filthy language against Comrade Nirmala. As the news of this dastardly attack spread, the peasants from some seven villages assembled and forcibly harvested and carried away the standing crops of the landlord, who later called in the police. Warrants were issued against almost every one of our comrades. And this is how the first basis of forming a guerrilla squad with those comrades was laid. Further, this incident provided an opportunity to the comrades to break off their connections with Nagi and company who were still creating trouble. Shortly after this Comrade P. K. went to meet Comrade Charu Mazumdar in North Bengal.

It required a long and fierce political struggle to establish the truth of the political maxim that we should first "do" then "learn", that is, learn while doing. This struggle was led by Comrades P. K., Appalasuri and Choudhuri Tejeswar Rao. People already know about the former two comrades.

Portraits of Comrades: Born in a middle peasant family Comrade C. Tejeswar Rao is a tall and strongly built young man of 31. His simple looks will hardly tell you that he is today the most popular leader in the whole of Andhra. There is a reward on his head, and the Congress government of Andhra is trying hard to get him. Comrade Tejeswar Rao is an ideal professional revolutionary who has sacrificed all his possessions. I had earlier travelled with him in various parts of Andhra for more than a month and found him to possess an uncommon mental composure. Let me recall an incident. It was July and we had just

finished our mid-day meal at a place in the Parvatipuram Agency area when news came of an armed police raid on Tulsi, a village about a furlong away from where we were staying. We at once climbed up the hill and found that the raid was being made not on Tulsi but on another village. The strength of the raiding policemen was reported to be 12. There was no trace of any excitement in Comrade Tejeswar Rao. With cool deliberateness he gave his decision, "We must launch on attack on the police party." With this he himself hurried away with about 12 comrades to carry out the decision.

Another incident which took place during the present tour also showed Comrade Rao's ability to remain cool and collected in the face of mishaps. A comrade was to come and inform us about our next destination. It so happened that the comrade came but went back unable to contact us. Since we had no other contact we found ourselves stranded and in a quandary. For five days we had to roam about from place to place and spend the nights either on a railway overbridge at a railway station or out in the paddy fields on the low embankments. But Comrade Tejeswar Rao was unperturbed and not even for a moment expressed any anxiety or dissatisfaction. I have seen him in meetings and discussions and found that he possesses in full measure the virtue of modesty, so characteristic of our Andhra comrades. This modesty is however, combined with firmness which is evident from the way he carries his point. He is equally firm when he implements it. He fought Nagi Reddy from the very beginning. When Nagi Reddy entered the All India Co-ordination Committee, the Srikakulam District Committee warned the Co-ordination Committee about him in a resolution pointing out that Nagi Reddy had entered into our ranks as an agent of the revisionists. It was an expression of revolutionary firmness and Comrade Tejeswar Rao played the main role in this.

Comrade Sampurna, the worthy wife of Comrade Tejeswar Rao and mother of three children, is famous all over Andhra. Aged about 26, she has left her home and children to join the central guerrilla squad of the Agency area as a professional revolutionary. Last June she was suddenly caught by the police who subjected her to brutal torture in order to know the whereabouts of her husband. Later she was taken to the district central jail where high-ranking police officers told her, "You will be shot." The intelligence officers however, pretended to be reasonable with her and said, "You have your children, your parents and your husband's parents. Why then should you get yourself involved in all this trouble? Wouldn't it be better for you to recant your mistake and return to your home and also to persuade your husband to give up all this and return to the path of sanity?" Neither the threats nor the 'reasonableness' were however able to frighten or move the heroic Comrade Sampurna. She firmly replied, "I did not seek this trouble, far from it. But I found that the solution of the problem of starvation and that of bringing up my children are inseparably connected with the solution of the problem facing the peasantry. And the way to solve this problem has been pointed out by the Thought of Chairman Mao. So I have taken this path illumined by Mao Tsetung Thought, in order to make not only my own children but also those of millions of the poor toiling people happy." *The Hindu*, a well-known bourgeois daily of Madras reported the spirited reply of this heroic mother under a two-column heading.

It seems there is no end to such comrades. For example there is the wife of Comrade Appalasuri who is about the same age as Comrade Sampurna. Mother of two children, she is an agricultural labourer. The police makes frequent raids on her house and threatens her in various ways. "The trouble is that I cannot leave my home because

of my younger son. He will not live with others." I gathered from the comrades that she works as a day labourer to maintain herself and her two children. She had not had the opportunity to read or write, but that has not prevented her from keeping herself posted on the news of all the revolutionary struggles of the people in Viet Nam and elsewhere. Her knowledge of the current struggle in Srikakulam is thorough. One does not hear her grumble about anything. She wouldn't allow us to do a thing. She washed the soiled clothes of the comrades, brought water for our bath and cooked meals for us. All this she did happily. I could not help recall a totally different experience I had in Bengal. A petty bourgeois revolutionary comrade was back home after a long time. The moment he entered his home his wife bitterly complained about the sufferings and wants she had to undergo during his absence. Aggrieved, the comrade said, "The Party should be particular in sending money regularly. How else can my family carry on?"

These women comrades of Andhra are our teachers, and *gurus*. They are translating into action the immortal teaching of Chairman Mao: "**Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve which dares to make sun and moon shine in new skies.**" It is this teaching that the entire Chinese people are acting upon every day and every hour.

There are other revolutionary heroines such as Chandamma, Jayamma, Ramanamma and Askamma. Strongly built with a sharp nose and beautiful jet-black eyes these poor peasant women are typical Dravidian beauties. All of them have sacrificed everything to join the guerrilla units, and are working alongside other revolutionary comrades to build a new land for the Telegu people and a new India.

Fight Against Revisionism—A Process: These heroes and heroines did not fall from the skies but emerged through a concrete revolutionary process, namely, the struggle

against revisionism. Scientific materialists do not consider this struggle against revisionism in the abstract. In fact it is not possible to do so. When we say in our Political Resolution, "...the people of India have seen the rank opportunism of all the bourgeois and revisionist parties and their total political bankruptcy. They have lost faith in all the bourgeois and revisionist parties and are convinced of the utter futility of the parliamentary path." we are speaking of a given stage in the struggle against revisionism. While we refer to the qualitative aspect we are fully aware that for every qualitative aspect there is a corresponding quantitative aspect. Chairman Mao has pointed out, "we must attend to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis. Every quality manifests itself in a certain quantity, and without quantity there can be no quality." That is why, even as the Political Resolution speaks of the victory achieved in the anti-revisionist struggle, our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said: "It has, therefore, become the urgent task today to fight against the clear and concrete manifestations of revisionism." Here Comrade Mazumdar is speaking of the quantitative aspect of a new stage in the struggle against revisionism, a stage which has been reached after victory was achieved, that is, a qualitative change was effected in the previous stage of the struggle. But hard-headed dogmatists are unable to grasp this main thing in dialectical materialism. Putting on the blinkers of their bookish knowledge they consider everything as absolute and pointing out to that part of our Political Resolution which I have quoted above, whimper and whine: "Now see what you have done! You have made a mess of it! You have given up the struggle against revisionism!" All their pretence of injured innocence however, cannot alter the fact that they themselves are committing idealist deviation.

In Indian situation, the first stage of the struggle

against revisionism consisted in laying the foundation for the peasants' armed struggle for the seizure of political power on the basis of the correct application of Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India. This task was accomplished in Naxalbari under the correct leadership of our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar. This political struggle was the process which led to the development of armed struggle in Srikakulam in Andhra.

A Momentous Lesson: The revolutionary activities in the plains of Srikakulam began to develop along the road pointed out by Mao Tsetung Thought from early 1969. In February took place a historic guerrilla action that opened up a new vista for the revolutionary armed struggle not merely of Andhra but of the whole of India, and went beyond the point at which the Naxalbari struggle had stopped. And not only in respect of the revolutionary armed struggle, this historic guerrilla action also clearly showed that the Co-ordination Committee was no more able to serve the needs of the situation, and concretely posed the necessity of building the Party.

Until this guerrilla action took place, the Communist revolutionaries all over India had been carrying on investigations in order to work out a concrete form of the method to arouse on a broad scale the peasant masses and the whole people. Comrade Charu Mazumdar repeatedly wanted to draw the attention of all to this ever since the Naxalbari struggle started. In his talk in February 1967, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." In his report to the Ninth National Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao referred to this and said: "Now we

have found this form—it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.” Everyone of us now realises how urgently we needed this lesson of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. We too had been searching for a suitable form, a method, to arouse and inspire the broad masses.

The all important incident that happened in Srikakulam in February was a guerrilla attack on the house of the landlord of Bathapuram. The result was nothing remarkable. Only 10 people took part in the action and the class enemy could not be annihilated. But with uncommon foresight Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out: “This should be our only method to arouse the peasant masses.” Summing up the experience of Naxalbari and raising it to a higher stage and analysing the form in which the famous thesis of Comrade Lin Piao’s, namely, “Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy,” could be applied in the concrete conditions of India, Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out: “Start an annihilation campaign by applying the guerrilla method against the landlords and their agents.”

It was like adding water to boiling oil. Some learned book-worms in the Party wailed, “it would be a fatal mistake to generalize on the basis of a single incident.” But to their great dismay the Party was formed on the basis of this generalization. It was this generalization that served also as the basis of our Party’s Political and Organizational Resolutions. So, these pundits started waving “red flag” to oppose the red flag and whined that our Party’s line is allegedly “anti-Mao and pro-Che Guevara”. Owing to their bookish, dogmatist and one-sided way of thinking they failed to understand the dialectical materialist analysis of the events made by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Chairman Mao has pointed out: “If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and

decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position....Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved.” Chairman Mao has also pointed out: “In any given place, there cannot be a number of central tasks at the same time. At any one time there can be only one central task.”

The history of the international communist movement shows how every one of the great Marxist teachers—from Marx to Chairman Mao—has generalized the experience of a single contemporary event in his life into a universal truth. The Paris Commune in Marx’s life, the “Bloody Sunday” incident of Father Gapon (January 9, 1905) in Lenin’s life and the Hunan peasant movement in Chairman Mao’s life are such instances. None of these great teachers cared to seek approval of the generalizations they made, from books. These great teachers did not exclaim, as our pundits with pencils stuck behind their ears and blinkers on, do: “Well, we don’t find such things [generalizations] in the books!” Chairman Mao has said about men like our celebrated pundits: “There are many people who “the moment they alight from the official carriage” make a hulla-baloo, spout opinions, criticize this and condemn that; but, in fact, ten out of ten of them will meet with failure. For such views and criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation are nothing but ignorant twaddle. Countless times our Party suffered at the hands of these “imperial envoys.”

The Bathapuram incident was followed by guerrilla actions in Padampur, Buribanka, Akupalli and the guerrilla action in Garudabhadra which took place in broad daylight. Mass participation increased and the link with the masses grew stronger with every guerrilla action. The guerrillas are moving about among the masses in the plains like fish in water and brutal police repression is proving powerless to prevent the arousing of the masses.

The Andhra government fondly hoped to frighten the

revolutionaries and boost up the morale of the feudal class by murdering Comrade Krishnamurthy and six other comrades. But the infallible weapon of "guerrilla method" frustrated all the plans of the enemy, and the table was turned. Having received hard blows from the revolutionary masses the feudal class began to sing a different tune and said: "It was wrong for the police to have murdered them like this. What good did it do us? Now even our lives are at stake." After the notorious class enemy was annihilated in Garudabhadra in broad daylight his wife and son refused to take the help of police and did not institute any case. They are reported to have said: "We will do whatever the communists ask us to do. Our danger will not be less but will be greater if we seek police help. We fear the communists more than the police."

How could such a situation be brought about? The method of guerrilla warfare did it. This is where the Naxalbari struggle had got stuck as mentioned in Comrade Kanu Sanyals' "Report On The Peasant Movement In The Terai Region." Chairman Mao has pointed out: "At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favourable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction and the favourable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts the revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favourable new situation; thus a difficult situation yields place to a favourable one."

By concrete application of Mao Tsetung Thought and by correctly singling out the principal aspect at the given time and solving it, the Communist revolutionaries of India have been able to get over the weakness of the Naxalbari struggle.

A Guerrilla Action: I heard about a guerrilla action. The class enemy in this case was a notorious usurer. He had a small temple built in his house and people were made to believe that he was an emissary of the gods.

Many people went to his house every day for palm-reading and for receiving water sanctified by *mantras* for healing purpose. They suffered in silence his extortionate usurious practice for fear of incurring the anger of the gods. The usurer tried to frighten the villagers by acting high and mighty before them. He boasted: "I shall teach the Naxalites a lesson or two and my left hand is more than enough to deal with them." His house was raided by a guerrilla squad in which thirty one comrades took part. The front gate could not be broken even by using axe, so the comrades jumped over the wall in the back of the house and overcame the enemy's resistance. The class enemy was annihilated, and the guerrilla squad opened all the doors, came out and raised slogans: "Inquilab zindabad!" "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!" "Long live the armed agrarian revolution!" It was midnight but the slogans drew the villagers until about a thousand people gathered near the house. "The usurer has been annihilated by us," our comrades were telling the assembled villagers, "the doors of his grocery and his medicine and cloth shops are open before you. We invite you to take away all the things from the shops." But the people did not move. Then some villagers came to our comrades and explained: "There is a police camp nearby. They are sure to come and forcibly take away those things from us. So it would be better if you take those things yourselves." Meanwhile an old man who was standing among the crowd came forward and tried to lift a big sack which was too heavy for him. "I'd rather accept death at the hands of the police than let all these things go abegging," he said. This put an end to all hesitation and the villagers rushed in and the three shops were emptied in a few minutes. "Well, this is not enough," they remarked as they looked at the class enemy's dead body, "Let us sever his head and hang it from the tree." And they did it. The Home Minister of Andhra government subsequently recounted

this story in the floor of the Assembly and the hearts of the reactionaries missed quite a few beats. The class enemies were gripped with panic and there began a regular exodus to the towns. The story goes that a landlord who went to town in connection with some case in law court was staying at a hotel in Srikakulam. "Look, they have come to kill me!" he shouted all through the night, "they are cutting my throat!" His shouts kept the other inmates of the hotel awake the whole night.

The "University": The peasant comrades call the Vishakhapatnam Central Jail their "university." Whoever goes in is sure to come out with enhanced political consciousness. "We do not have any respite in the jail. There is political discussion at all times of the day."

However, there is another side of the thing. Take for instance, the case of the educated petty bourgeois leading 'comrade' who went to jail, hardly served for one month then came out and falsely informed the underground comrades "I have escaped from the jail and want to meet you." Accompanied with police agents he was waiting to 'receive' the underground comrades. But thanks to the prudence of the peasant comrades major losses could be avoided. The police was able to discover only a few places of contact and one unexposed sympathiser was arrested. "The peasant comrades are subjected to inhuman torture," the comrades pointed out, "but none of them gave out anything." Many peasant comrades have told the police: "Well we know but won't tell you. Why should we? We are not fighting for ourselves, we all are fighting for the people."

"You see, the weakness that some petty bourgeois comrades show is really shameful," Comrade Bhaskar Rao told me, "I am also a petty bourgeois element and this fact worries me lest I should ever act like them." Twenty eight year old Comrade Rao is an eye-specialist and was practising in the far away Guntur district. Responding to

the call of revolution he joined Comrade Krishnamurthy in January 1969. Father of four children, the fourth one was born the day before he left his home, he did not even inform his wife of his impending departure. With utter devotion he has accepted the life of a professional revolutionary. He is very popular with the comrades. Doctor *garu* [respected doctor] as he is universally known, is very modest and always eager to learn things.

Once More About Comrades: There are many comrades around here, who are remarkably charming. There is, for instance, the twenty seven year old comrade who speaks excellent Hindi and worked in a jute mill near Calcutta. "Take my case, for example," he was saying, "I had been in the Communist Party for quite a long time but could not become a whole-timer because I was worried about my wife and children. In demonstrations organized by the Party we used to shout slogans like 'Stop price increase'. People retorted at this, saying, 'It seems your shouting will raise the prices still higher'. What energy and time we had to spend in getting the village folk assembled and join our demonstrations meant for catching votes. But now things are different. I have left my home. What is more, all those whom I approach are leaving theirs too. The road pointed out by Chairman Mao is bringing about a change in people's mind."

Then there is the young poor peasant Comrade Appa Rao. Aged twenty one he is swift and most courageous in struggle and in guerrilla action. And how modest. He is equally energetic in cooking, in doing sentry duty at night and in procuring rice from distant villages. He has a genuine love for music also.

Comrade Ganapathy is a popular leader of this area. There are stories about him also. "Ganapathy", the peasants tell him, "even if they get you they cannot shoot you. People say Indira Gandhi has given orders not to kill you and take you to her alive; she wants to have a look

at you." Before joining the revolution he used to be the president of every organization—be it the anchal panchayat or the school or the co-operative. "At first", Comrade Ganapathy said, "I thought that people would not speak well of us if we annihilated the landlords. I was afraid that this would isolate us from the masses. Now I understand that the long spell of 'presidentship had blunted my class hatred and bourgeois humanism filled my mind'. Comrade Ganapathy has since overcome this weakness. His very name now strikes terror in the hearts of the class enemies.

Before returning I went to see the sea. Looking at the waves that swept the coast I remembered Chairman Mao's words: "advance wave upon wave."

No doubt this is how we should advance. The waves of the sea do not wait for one another, one wave is overtaken by another. This is how Chairman Mao directs us to advance the revolutionary struggle. I remembered the lines of Chairman Mao's poem *Capture of Nanking*:

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

Building Up The Proletarian Party And Agrarian Revolution

—Satyanarain Singh

IN THE previous article, we had dealt with the "Vaishnavite" arguments of the neo-critics (the familiar intellectual giants) against "annihilate the class enemy" campaign launched by us. We had seen how annihilation of the class enemy was absolutely necessary if feudal authority in the village was to be smashed and peasant's authority was to be built up. We had also seen that a revolutionary base area could not be developed while landlords and peasants peacefully coexisted following the Christian precept "love thy neighbour". The central question of the agrarian revolution, like all other revolutions is the question of state power. And, the agrarian revolution solves this question bit by bit and step by step. Being a long-drawn revolution, it concretely solves the question of seizure of power in one or more villages, then in one or more areas, then in one or more zones and ultimately throughout the country. The question of annihilation of the class enemy must be understood in relation to the smashing of the feudal authority and building up of peasant authority in the village. Anyone who tries to study this question in isolation from the question of seizure of state power in an agrarian revolution is either a pacifist idiot or an evil genius.

But these "pious" people who cry in horror at the "individual murders" committed by the guerrillas cannot be prevented from practising their religion in the purest form. This time they are angry at us because we are building "a petty-bourgeois party" and not a working class party.

In a real "Sanatani" spirit they are accusing us of a peasant deviation. They ask us, "Have you not given a call to make the party a rural-based one?" They throw their hands in frenzy (of course artificial) and shout, "how can a proletarian party be built if we were to be rural-based?"

We can only laugh in our sleeves over the extraordinary concern that these pious men are showing towards the working class and also with regard to the building up of a proletarian party. The mischief hidden in their religiosity is at once exposed if we closely study their entire line in this respect.

In their opinion, our Party is still a petty bourgeois party as there is no preponderance of the working class in its composition. It is not a working class party as its leadership comes from the petty bourgeoisie. In their opinion, we must first of all build up such a proletarian party if we want to lead the agrarian revolution. Merely sending up of the petty bourgeois cadre in the village is useless. The advanced elements of the proletariat alone could lead the agrarian revolution. Hence, they point out that we must dig deep into the working class, launch economic and partial struggles, build up a powerful trade union movement and through it politicalise the working class and then recruit the advanced elements into the party (till the majority of the party and its leadership have working class origin) and then send them to the rural areas to lead the revolution.

Now, let us see what miracles have been created by the line of our pious sanatani. If we faithfully pursue the path shown by these pundits, then we must immediately withdraw the petty bourgeois cadres from the rural areas, then we should dig deep into the working class and build our Party in the main from amidst the working class—the building to continue till Comrade Charu, Kanoo, Sushital and the rest are replaced by leaders of working

class origin and then of course we can go to build up a revolutionary base area in the countryside. Here we have a neat scheme for building a revolutionary proletarian Party capable of leading the agrarian revolution! Anyone with a little common sense can understand what are the real intentions of our pundits and pious men. ✓ Their real intention is to abandon the rural areas, abandon the guerrilla struggles that are breaking feudal fetters in 7 States. They want us to concentrate in the towns, they ✓ want us to plunge deep into the morass of economism and trade unionism. In name of building a proletarian party, these gentlemen want to drag us back to the revisionist road of class collaboration.

They may protest that I am distorting their position. An Asit Sen might shout "Have I not talked of building the rural base areas and conducting armed struggles?" Yes Mr Sen, you have talked of building rural base areas and of armed struggle too. But what's good of talking about it? Have you not disapproved of sending of the petty bourgeois cadres in the rural areas? Have you not said that ours is a petty bourgeoisie party and not a working class party? Have you not said that the party of the proletariat must be built up from amidst the working class? Have you not protested at the petty bourgeois origin of our leadership? Have you not said that working class can be made conscious of its leading role through economic and partial struggles and through the trade union movement?

Does it not mean that if we are to build up a proletarian party of your conception, we must shift the centre of gravity from the rural areas to the urban areas? Does it not mean that you, Mr Sen, want to build up revolution in the rural areas and build up the party in the urban industrial areas? You are just trying to sit on two stools.

We must say that they have not at all understood the question of building a revolutionary proletarian party

in course of agrarian revolution in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country.

We must say that they have not at all assimilated or even understood Mao Tsetung Thought and the experience of the great and correct Chinese Communist Party on the question of Party building.

We must say that their concept of a proletarian party is vulgarisation of Marxism-Leninism, pure and simple. It is a metaphysical and mechanistic approach and not a dialectical materialist approach.

What is then our conception of a revolutionary proletarian party and how are we building it up in Indian conditions ?

The first thing that must be made clear at the very outset is that the question of Party building must be concretely linked up with the nature of socio-economic conditions of a country. In highly developed capitalist countries, the majority of Party members and the leadership can and should come from the industrial proletariat, but in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country—like India, Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, even Vietnam, it is simply not possible. If we follow the concept of our "pious men", then the CPC was not a proletarian party, nor it is now. Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung should have been replaced by leaders hailing from working class and as it was not done the parties to which they belonged were neither revolutionary nor proletarian. This is the height of absurdity to which the arguments and "theories" of our Sanatanists lead us.

We would like to know from these "pious men" if Nagas, Mizos and Mundas could have a Communist Party now or should wait till the industrial proletariat is born there ?

We maintain, "the building up of a proletarian party is first and foremost its ideological and political building." It means that those who adopt the world outlook of the proletariat, who adopt the standpoint of the proletariat

in relation to revolutionary transformation of the society, who adopt proletarian internationalism and who adopt a revolutionary style of work are proletarian revolutionaries. Thought of Mao Tsetung is the ideology of the proletariat. Party built on Thought of Mao is the proletarian party. today. Only vulgarisers of Marxism, only those who reduce the question of building up the proletarian party to the physical aspect can think otherwise. It is adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought that distinguishes a proletarian party from the petty bourgeois party.

It must also be clearly understood, once for all that in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the Party members from the industrial proletariat cannot constitute the majority of the Party. They will remain a minority. This is so because the Party is mainly built in the rural areas. It is built there in course of developing the revolutionary base area in the countryside. Towns remain and are the base areas of reactionary forces and they have been so since centuries.

✓ Hence, the main force of the Party, i.e., the major part of its membership has to come from the landless and poor peasantry. Building the Party in course of sustained work developing base areas in the countryside determines this sort of composition of the Party.

In the cities and industrial centres the Party is to be built up chiefly from the working class and the revolutionary intelligentsia. The Party would be built up with those advanced elements of the working class who vigorously fight economism and keep Mao Tsetung Thought and politics of agrarian revolution in command, who work tirelessly to bring forth the intervention of the working class in struggles of other revolutionary classes, chiefly the peasantry, who strive to organise working class actions on political issues both national and international and who fight all types of chauvinism and hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Party is to be built up from the revolutionary intelligentsia who dedicate themselves to the cause of the agrarian revolution, who strive for integration with the basic masses, i.e., the working class and the poor peasantry.

Of course, it must be clearly understood that throughout the present stage of our revolution the members from the working class and the petty bourgeois intelligentsia are bound to remain a minority. This is the compulsion of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, and it cannot be wished away even by the "Sanatanist intellectuals".

Again let us remind the Parimals and Asits that their proposition to build the Party in the towns and make revolution in the villages means that Party is built up in isolation from the revolutionary peasant struggle and the revolutionary base areas are built up in isolation from the Party. Let them understand once for all that their line will neither give us a revolutionary proletarian party nor a revolutionary base area. Their entire line with regard to building up a proletarian party is mechanistic vulgarisation—it is a serious departure from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the question of Party building and its relation with revolutionary activities. Their line is a poisonous weed and it must be liquidated root and branch.

We would also like to point out that the revolutionary proletarian party is being built up in course of conducting armed guerrilla struggle in 7 States of India. It is being built up in Srikakulam, in Mushahari, in Lakhimpur kheri, in the Punjab, in Tamilnad and Orissa. The landless and poor peasants are equipping themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought and are concretely applying it in Indian conditions. They are getting proletarianised in bloody class battles with the landlords and their state. They are being steeled and tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggles. They are acquiring the world outlook of the proletariat and the standpoint of the proletariat at the cost of their blood.

The advanced elements of the industrial working class, the best sons and daughters of the proletariat also integrate themselves with the peasant masses and work hand in hand with the peasant cadres to develop the armed guerrilla struggle and the revolutionary base area. The working class cadres too get proletarianised fully only when they carry out in practice revolutionary armed struggle. As a matter of fact, the advanced elements of the Jamshedpur working class has already taken to this path.

The petty bourgeois cadres too in large numbers are taking to the rural areas and integrating themselves with the peasant masses and carrying forward the agrarian revolution. It is in this way that the ultimate aim of the proletariat to usher in a Communist society is combined with his immediate objective of completing the democratic revolution the main content of which is agrarian revolution. Only in applying the thoughts of our Chairman to the concrete practice of agrarian revolution the Party will be proletarianised.

Therefore, firstly the question of building up a revolutionary proletarian party should be concretely linked up with the semi-colonial semi-feudal character of our society and not in an abstract manner.

Secondly, the question of the building up of a revolutionary proletarian party must be linked up with agrarian revolution and not in an abstract manner.

Thirdly, the question of the building up of a revolutionary proletarian party must be linked up with building up of revolutionary base areas in the countryside and conducting armed guerrilla struggle and not in an abstract manner.

The Sanatanist pundits are exactly guilty of studying this question in an abstract manner, and that is why they develop a mechanistic approach. It is therefore, not surprising that they want to remain in towns for building up a working class party and want to go to the rural areas

for carrying out agrarian revolution. This is how they have placed themselves within the horns of a dilemma.

As far as we are concerned we again reiterate our conception of a revolutionary proletarian party which is as follows :

"This is the Party of the proletariat and represents the true aspirations and policies of the revolutionary class.

"This Party gives first preference to ideological and political building rather than organisational structure.

"This Party takes up as its first task to train revolutionary cadres through revolutionary activity.

"This Party is the Party of armed struggle, a rural-based Party and gives first preference to the work of building base areas in the countryside rather than work in the cities and towns at the present stage of the revolution.

"This Party gives first preference to the work of preparing the working class to enable it to play the leading role in our revolution rather than economic and cultural work in the cities and towns.

"This Party gives first preference to the work of organizing leading teams of the Party rather than enlisting Party members on a mass scale.

"This Party gives first preference to the qualities of the Party members rather than their number.

"This Party is established on the basis of democratic centralism, and gives first preference to the work of ensuring democracy under centralized guidance rather than formal discipline.

"This Party will develop mass line and will be the first in making criticism and self-criticism."

We are determined to advance along this path—now and in the future also.

Indian Peasant Armed Struggle Rages Like a Prairie Fire

THE reactionary Indian Government and feudal landlords ruthlessly exploit and oppress the peasants and grab their land by force. Made homeless and living in utter misery, the peasant masses in many parts of India are taking up arms in a heroic revolt against the criminal rule of the landlord class and the reactionary Indian Government. Like a prairie fire, the peasant armed struggle is rapidly developing.

Ruthless Exploitation and Oppression By Landlord Class

In the Champaran District of northern Bihar, thousands of peasants reclaimed nearly 10,000 acres of farmland from an area overgrown with thickets after more than ten years of hard work. But early in 1968, acting on orders of the landlords, reactionary government officials and police evicted the peasants from it.

In the Thana District of Maharashtra State, 10,000 peasants carved 20,000 acres of land out of the forests by the sweat of their brow. The reactionary Indian Government recently issued orders to seize this land. The peasants were threatened with confiscation of their ploughs, bullocks and all other assets together with their land if they refused to comply with the orders.

In many places in Uttar Pradesh, government officials, feudal lords and big capitalists unjustifiably took possession of thousands of acres of fertile land, while the peasants were not allowed to cultivate land lying fallow. With the backing of the reactionary government, big landlords in Bahraich District forcibly occupied 25,000 acres of land.

With the help of the reactionary Indian Government, landlords and usurers in Srikakulam District, Andhra State, seized large tracts of land on the plains from the Girijan people. Many Girijans were forced to move to the mountainous areas to make a living. Even there they could not escape oppression and exploitation by the reactionary officials in charge of the forests, by the tax collectors and usurers. Debt reduced many of them to slaves of landlords and local bullies.

In the Darjelling District, the fertile land of many plantations had been hacked out of jungles on mountains infested with wild beasts by industrious peasants after years of back-breaking labour. But this product of their sweat and blood was grabbed bit by bit by the landlords and plantation owners. The real masters of the land thus became hired labourers who are brutally exploited by the plantation owners. Like medieval slave overseers, the plantation owners lash, rage at and dismiss the agricultural workers as they please. Many of these workers have died of starvation and sickness.

The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule." Indian peasants in more and more places, rising in armed rebellion and using revolutionary violence against the tyrannical rule of the feudal landlords, are today embarked on the road of armed struggle.

Guns for Revolution Create Red Power

A phenomenal expansion of the red area of revolutionary armed struggle is taking place in Srikakulam and various other districts of Andhra, according to a report in the July issue of the Indian monthly *Liberation*. Despite vicious enemy suppression campaigns, more than 300 villages have been turned into red areas. Panic-stricken landlords have fled for their lives, it adds.

The report says: 'Here no machinery of the reactionary government operates. Here no forest or revenue official of the reactionary government, no *panchayet samiti* man, can enter. The guerrillas and members of village self-defence squads try their best to protect the villages from police marauders. The administration is run, production is looked after, and disputes are settled by the *ryotanga sangrama samithi*, the revolutionary mass organization of the peasants.' It goes on to say that this organization has more than 8,000 members in the special area alone. Here the *ryotanga sangrama samithi*—the new power structure—is carrying on investigations of the land whose owners have escaped or have been wiped out by the guerrillas and investigations of the land handed over by the landlords. The *samithi* is expected soon to distribute all this land among the poor and landless peasants. Here, in every village, justice is meted out to the enemies of the people by the people's court.

In every corner of Srikakulam and other parts of Andhra, the report says, the people wrote to the landlords in the name of the *ryotanga sangrama samithi* or the Communist Party to denounce them as despotic landlords and warn them that they will be executed and their property confiscated. The landlords in some areas have fled, while in other areas they dare not spend the night at home.

Peasant Guerrillas Set Off Struggle to Wipe Out Enemy Agents and Local Despots

The flames of armed struggle have spread to some areas in Bihar and Punjab States. Relying on the masses, the peasant guerrillas in Bihar have been active in unleashing a struggle to wipe out enemy agents and despots, and this has greatly heightened the revolutionary fighting will of the broad masses of the peasantry.

On July 5 peasant guerrillas in the Muzaffarpur District launched a successful attack on a big despotic landlord

who was bitterly hated by the peasants for his ruthless persecution and sending armed police to rob them of much of their property. In co-ordination with the local masses, the guerrillas punished this despot and confiscated all his property, thus revenging their class brothers.

On June 13, peasant guerrillas in Bihar State attacked the estate of another despotic landlord, killing this reactionary landlord who had barbarously oppressed the peasants and attempted to stamp out the peasants' revolutionary struggle. They confiscated all his deeds and made a public bonfire of them. The securities the peasants had been forced to mortgage to the landlords were returned to their owners.

Relying closely on the landless and poor peasants and uniting with the middle peasants, the guerrillas in Bihar have fought the enemy with simple weapons made by themselves and, at the same time, armed themselves with weapons seized from the enemy.

In Uttar Pradesh, the guerrillas in Lakhimpur District's Pallia area have frequently ambushed reactionary police sent there on "mopping up" operations, scoring one victory after another.

The raging flames of armed struggle of the Indian peasants have greatly raised the morale of the poor peasants and deflated the arrogance of the feudal landlords and reactionary bureaucrats. No matter what suppressive and deceitful tactics the reactionary Indian Government and the feudal landlord class resort to, they can in no way hold back the Indian peasants from rushing forward along the road to liberation.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 38, 1969

No mention of working class struggle

Hail Rising Revolutionary Storm of the Indian Peasants

by Shao Yung-hung

*Shaoshan District Revolutionary Committee,
Hunan Province*

LED by the Indian Communist revolutionaries, the oppressed peasant masses of India have risen in a revolutionary storm which is unprecedented in scale. Like a clap of spring thunder, the revolutionary struggle of the peasants of Naxalbari and other areas has shaken all India. The sparks of revolutionary armed struggle have been steadily spreading to many places in the country. We Shaoshan people acclaim the revolutionary spirit of rebellion demonstrated by the poverty-stricken Indian peasants and the unprecedented excellent revolutionary situation in India.

Our great leader Chairman Mao personally made an investigation of the peasants' revolutionary struggle in Hunan and wrote the brilliant work *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* 42 years ago. He predicted at that time: "In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation."

Chairman Mao's statement pointed out the direction for the nation's revolutionary peasant movement of that time with Hunan as its centre, and imbued it with inexhaustible strength. The Chinese revolution has developed exactly in line with Chairman Mao's scientific

prediction. Chairman Mao thoroughly understands, shows the greatest concern for and has complete faith in us poor and lower-middle peasants, warmly praises and supports our revolutionary spirit of rebellion and values the great significance of the revolutionary peasant movement highly. Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: "The national revolution requires a great change in the countryside," and "it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution." "Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years." "Otherwise it would be impossible to suppress the activities of the counter-revolutionaries in the countryside or overthrow the authority of the gentry." Chairman Mao also instructed us at that time that it was imperative to implement the Party's class line of firmly relying on the poor peasants and uniting with other revolutionary elements, that we must grasp the gun and seize power by armed force. Because we resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's instructions, the revolutionary peasant movement surged ahead wave upon wave, winning one great victory after another.

The disaster-ridden Indian peasants are in a situation similar to that of the Chinese peasants 42 years ago. The Chinese people were then weighed down by the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In particular, the peasants, who accounted for more than 80 per cent of the population, went through inhuman ordeals. A folk song of misery and indignation circulated among us Shaoshan peasants who were weighed down by the three big mountains:

The valleys of Shaoshan interlink in a chain,

Out of every ten,

Nine, let there be no mistake,

Find it hard a family to maintain.

Tillers of the soil,

Always under threat—

Like three swords over the head,

High interest, rent and debt.

Tillers of the soil,

Before them only three choices to make—

Prison, beggar's stick,

Or home to forsake.

A true picture of the countryside in old China, this song is a stirring indictment of the reactionaries. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Chairman Mao pointed out the road of emancipation and liberation for us poverty-stricken peasants: To get organized and armed, overthrow the local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords, eliminate feudalism and put all power in the peasant associations. Initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, the peasant movement in the Shaoshan area, as in other parts of Hunan Province, developed swiftly and violently. Under the solid leadership of the Shaoshan Party Branch of the Communist Party of China, revolutionary mass organizations like peasant associations, women's associations and children's corps were established one after another. Mammoth demonstrations and political gatherings were held which greatly heightened the revolutionary people's morale. To meet the needs of the struggle, the poverty-stricken peasants in 41 townships in the vicinity of Shaoshan rapidly joined forces and began making their own weapons—spears, which increased from about a dozen at the beginning to several thousand. With weapons and power in our hands, we grew in strength with each day. We launched vigorous and sustained offensives against the local tyrants, evil gentry and feudal landlords and scored one great political and economic victory after another. First we banned shipping food grain out of the area and prohibited the landlords from hoarding grain and forcing up grain prices. Then we attacked the "township defence corps" and seized weapons from the

landlords, set up peasant armed forces, and put down the despotic landlords. **"In force and momentum the attack is tempestuous; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish. As a result, the privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years are being shattered to pieces. Every bit of the dignity and prestige built up by the landlords is being swept into the dust."** The revolutionary people were beside themselves with joy when the head of the "township defence corps" (the landlords' armed forces), who had committed murder without batting an eye, was put to death by the furious peasants. This punctured the arrogance of the reactionaries and greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary peasants.

Today, we are glad to see that under the Indian Communist revolutionaries' leadership, the Indian peasants are getting organized and launching fierce attacks on the enemy. They have armed themselves with weapons seized from the enemy and with home-made weapons. They have struck at the reactionary police who were sent to suppress them; they have raided landlords' plantations, suppressed despotic landlords, carried out land reform and set about eliminating feudalism. All these revolutionary acts of rebellion are excellent! As pointed out in the Political Resolution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), "without overthrowing the enemies of the Indian people—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, India's comprador-bureaucratic capital and feudalism—there can be no solution of any of the problems of the Indian people, the reign of darkness over India cannot be ended, nor can India advance one step along the road of progress." At present, the Indian peasant movement is developing and the revolutionary Indian people are advancing. India has a bright future!

The upsurge in the revolutionary movement of the oppressed people has compelled all classes and all kinds of people to take a position. The revolutionary people say this is

fine, while the reactionaries say it is terrible. The imperialists, revisionists and reactionary ruling classes invariably hate and fear the revolutionary people's movement as something monstrous and leave no stone unturned to make trouble and to carry out disruption and suppression. However, the more ruthless the oppression, the fiercer the resistance. The wheel of history definitely cannot be turned back. The great leader Chairman Mao has said: **"However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."** This is a great, incontrovertible truth. The U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, Indian revisionists and Indian reactionaries are now working hand in glove to persecute the revolutionary Indian peasants in various ways. Their persecution **"only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale,"** and they themselves will end up shamefully by "lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet."

Summing up the experience and lessons of the Indian revolution, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has pointed out that the most important task in India today "is to build up a revolutionary Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought," to repudiate all bourgeois and revisionist junk, such as "peaceful transition," the "parliamentary road," the "united front" government and the principle of non-violence," and to steadfastly lead the Indian people on to the revolutionary road of seizing political power by armed force.

We people of Shaoshan, along with the people of the whole country, are firmly convinced that once Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is integrated with the concrete conditions of India, it will generate a powerful material force and become a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. Whatever plots and schemes the reactionaries resort to, they can in no way prevent the rapid development of the revolutionary storm in India.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 38, 1969

Our Path : Guerrilla Warfare

—A Peasant Organizer

OUR respected teacher and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "Guerrilla warfare is the only tactic for carrying on peasants' revolutionary struggle." In these few words he has fully brought out the important role that guerrilla warfare, organized by Party units composed of the class conscious poor and landless peasants, is to play in the struggle for seizing power in the countryside.

When we try to study the significant role of guerrilla warfare in the Chinese revolution and in the revolutionary struggles of other countries, or when Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out the road for us in concise terms: "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy", we form an idea about this, i.e., we arrive at the stage of conceptual knowledge. We need practice, that is, we must apply this conceptual knowledge to some selected areas in order to test its validity and continue to develop it through practice, before we are able to understand how this knowledge fits into the concrete conditions of our country.

The Communist revolutionaries of our country have come to realize the significance of guerrilla warfare in the peasant struggle, that is, they have arrived at the stage of rational knowledge in this respect through the guerrilla struggles in Srikakulam—particularly in its Sompeta taluk, in Lakhimpur-Kheri, in North Bihar and in different other parts of the country. This shows that the words of our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar fully conform to the reality.

Translated from an article published in DESHABRATI, July 31, 1969.

But what kind of guerrilla warfare is this? Certainly not of the kind advocated by Che Guevara. Ours is a guerrilla warfare waged according to Chairman Mao's teachings.

Guerrilla warfare based on Mao Tsetung Thought is a powerful weapon in the hands of the people for achieving their political objectives. Arousing the masses and dealing with the enemy—these are the two basic tasks of a guerrilla unit in order to seize political power and liberate the country. This is why the proletarian Party must have all-round leadership over the guerrilla warfare. In contrast to this, the leading role of the Party or politics is not recognized in Che Guevara theory. As Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "...this war can be started only through an intensive propagation of the politics of seizure of political power among the peasant masses. And this work can be performed only by the Party units among the peasantry—units that are composed of the poor and landless peasants."

From this flows the second conclusion which is, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out: "Guerrilla warfare is basically the higher stage of class struggle." Why? Because the Party unit of poor and landless peasants start the guerrilla warfare only by arousing the broad peasant masses, by arousing class hatred against the class enemies and by inspiring the peasants with the politics of seizure of power. The guerrilla unit of poor and landless peasants can never carry forward the struggle for the annihilation of the rural exploiters—the jotedars, landlords and usurers—without the support of their own class. No class war can be waged without the support of the revolutionary classes. Naturally, this war can be carried forward only by stepping up and developing the class struggle, that is, the struggle of the peasantry against the feudal lords and rural reactionaries.

How can one confuse this kind of guerrilla warfare with

the one advocated by Che Guevara? The Che-type guerrilla warfare is waged by a few inspired petty bourgeois youths in isolation from the masses and relying on modern weapons. Weapons and the ability to use them properly—these constitute the decisive factor in such a war, necessitating a long period of military training and the collection of modern weapons. Such wars have nothing to do with the leadership of class conscious proletariat or the masses, who never participate in them actively but are, at best, mere supporters. What is there common between such wars and people's wars—the guerrilla warfare waged according to Chairman Mao's teachings?

Since the Che-type guerrilla warfare does not seek the participation of the conscious section of the masses in the war, the youths who follow Che Guevara do not and cannot have any urge to integrate themselves with the peasant masses. In contrast to this, Comrade Charu Mazumdar has repeatedly explained Chairman Mao's teachings before us and asked the young peasant organizers like us to integrate ourselves with the peasants and develop the peasants' class struggle through class analysis, investigation and study. This he did because no people's war can be waged without ensuring the participation of the broad masses of the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle. Guerrilla warfare is the basic weapon to launch and carry forward the people's war.

All this compels us to doubt the genuineness of the revolutionary purpose and honesty of those who are seeking to discover Che Guevara-ism in the peasant struggles of Naxalbari and Srikakulam, and Guevara's ghost in Comrade Charu Mazumdar's theory based on the experience of these struggles. What genuine revolutionary will ever stoop so low as to jeer at the great struggle of the broad masses of the peasants of Srikakulam and brand it as Che-ism, that too at a time when they are engaged in a life and death struggle against the police and mercenary troops of the

reactionary Indian government, and waging a revolutionary war to oppose counter-revolutionary war? Can any genuine revolutionary act like this?

There are some comrades among us who raise the question of mass movement and mass organization in this connection. As our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "The question therefore, naturally arises whether it is necessary at all to launch mass movements on partial demands in the present era. Such movements of the peasants are certainly necessary, now and in future also. What should be our tactic in conducting these movements on partial demands and what should be their objectives? The basic thing in our tactic should be to mobilize the broad peasant masses and our principal aim to enhance the class consciousness of the broad peasant masses so that they may advance towards armed struggle."

To do this it would be necessary, naturally, to establish the political leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the peasants' mass movements. No open mass organization of any kind can ever accomplish this, because the doors of such legal mass organizations are open to all the peasants and this naturally turns them into peasant organizations led by the rich and the middle peasants. This is so because owing to their higher social status and their urge to obtain economic concessions through legal means, the well-to-do middle peasants and middle peasants become much more vocal and active in such organizations than the poor and landless peasants. So, even the establishment of the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the peasants' mass movements can be achieved only through guerrilla warfare organized by the poor and landless peasants.

Peasants' mass movements can be conducted in a revolutionary way only on the basis of guerrilla warfare. For instance, if we give the slogan "the coming crops belong

to the peasants" in an area where some guerrilla actions have already taken place against the class enemies, the broad peasant masses there will respond to that slogan and come forward to seize the crops. This is so because the guerrilla actions organized by the advanced section of their own class instil confidence in them and make them conscious of their own strength. That is why we should not build open mass organization of any kind for the movements on partial demands or for any other mass movement.

When we began our work we at first built Kisan Samity on the old lines in our area. We did it because we lacked experience at that time. Though we discussed revolutionary politics in every *baithak* [group meeting] yet we were unable to raise the revolutionary politics to a dominating position there. On the contrary, we ourselves were gradually reduced to a position where we merely trailed behind the middle and the well-to-do middle peasants. Most of the presidents of the Kisan Samity belonged to the well-to-do middle peasant and middle peasant class. While we exerted pressure to get some one from the poor and landless peasant elected to the post of president the common peasants invariably elected men who were more or less well-off. As a result, such open mass organization as we built became a hindrance to rather than promoting the propagation of revolutionary politics. It increases the tendency of the peasants for legal, open work like meetings, demonstrations, petition, seizure of land, and clashes and the peasants get entangled in interminable law suits throwing them into the depths of frustration. All this obstructs the politics of seizure of power and defying the existing laws and the building of secret organization. Such open mass organizations strengthens the tendency of economism among the peasants. This is why our leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has correctly pointed out: "Such an attempt on our part will strengthen the tendency

to carry on open movements through those open mass organizations inevitably turing us into another set of leaders of revisionist mass organizations."

Chairman Mao spoke of peasant associations in his celebrated work "Report On An Investigation Of The Peasant Movement In Hunan." What kind of peasant associations were these? Certainly they were no ordinary peasant organizations. The peasant associations of Hunan were secret organizations of the peasants, and became "the sole organs of authority." This is what led to the popular slogan "All power to the peasant associations." Comrade Kanu Sanyal in his report on the Terai struggle referred to this kind of organization. Such peasant associations are revolutionary organizations and component parts of the revolutionary state power because they grow out of revolutionary struggle and are based on armed power. What was the political situation in China at the time when these peasant associations were formed in Hunan? The Communist Party was then united with the Kuomintang and was carrying on armed struggle against the warlords of North China. In other words a Communist-Kuomintang united front had already been formed for the Northern Expedition and there was a revolutionary army under this united front. So, the peasants were also armed and carried on struggle against the warlords. Even then the Hunan peasants organized themselves in secret during the period from January to June, 1926. Only after the revolutionary army defeated and drove away the ruler of Hunan did the peasants carry on their organization openly during the period from July to September. The members of the peasant association were those who had worked as guides, scouts and carriers in the Northern Expeditionary Army. But even then a great catastrophe overtook the Chinese Communists in 1927 because the Communist Party of China at that time had no army of its own. Today, at a time when imperialism and revisionism are trying even

more frantically to disrupt the work of the revolutionaries from within, when revisionism is trying in every way to drag us towards open organization, open work and struggles which avoid infringing upon the existing laws—revisionism thrives best in all this—the revolutionaries must thoroughly repudiate the old path and must on no account engage themselves in any way in building open organizations in the revisionist way in order to be able to persist in the revolutionary path.

Our respected leader Charu Mazmdar summed up the direct experience of the Srikakulam comrades and pointed out the road for building up revolutionary organization and organs of state power in the countryside. We must follow this road.

There was no Kisan Sabha or mass organization in the Sompeta taluk of Srikakulam. A guerrilla unit of poor and landless peasants raided the house of a class enemy—a notorious jotedar—in that area, annihilated him, seized the food grains hoarded by him and distributed the same among the peasants, confiscated the pawned gold ornaments and returned them to the peasants and made a bonfire of hand-notes worth rupees one hundred thousand in front of the peasants. This incident greatly aroused the peasant masses of that area, created their faith in the Communist Party (M-L) and they began to get organized. Thus, the guerrilla unit that did it acted according to Mao Tsetung Thought and hit out at the class enemy politically as well as economically.

Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out that when the guerrilla units begin to act in this manner in any area the class enemies will be forced to flee from the countryside and the villages will be liberated. Only then must we form the revolutionary peasant committees. The committee will fulfil four tasks :

(1) Confiscation and distribution of all land belonging to the jotedars and the rural reactionaries, and production,

- (2) Building up village defence force to deal with the armed reactionary state power and suppress the landlords' goondas and bad characters,
- (3) Maintaining law and order and resolving the contradictions within the peasantry,
- (4) Establishing people's courts to try the goondas and rural reactionaries.

Comrades, the Communist revolutionaries in our country are now amidst a war—the peasant revolutionary war against the counter-revolutionary war. The Communist revolutionaries of the fighting areas have built up the revolutionary Party precisely for organizing this revolutionary war, carrying it forward step by step and spreading it to all corners of our country. This is so because the path of people's war developed to the stage of guerrilla warfare is the only path that can liberate the 500 million Indian people from exploitation and oppression. There is no other path to achieve liberation.

Let us rally around the Party. Let us rely firmly on the comrades of the fighting areas. Let us spread the guerrilla warfare to every corner in the countryside. Let us link all our work directly or indirectly with the revolutionary war. We can do this only if we have boundless faith in and respect for the revolutionary workers and peasants, only if you rely firmly on them. Victory certainly belongs to us, because we already have the brilliant sunlight of Mao Tsetung Thought to guide us to victory.

Carry Forward The Peasant Struggle By Thoroughly Combating Revisionism, Struggle Against Economism, Develop the Mass Movement

—Charu Mazumdar

[We publish below a document, the last of a series of letters of Comrade Charu Mazumdar addressed to the Communist revolutionaries of India, particularly to the Comrades connected with the Naxalbari struggle. It was written in April, 1967, just after the formation of the first "non-Congress" United Front government in West Bengal. All over India the struggle is developing beyond the stage described herein. Even then this document, written before the Naxalbari struggle started, will be of great value to our Comrades. The following text, translated from the Bengali original, is the same as appeared in the *World Revolution*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1968. The footnotes are ours.

—Editor, Liberation.]

SINCE the elections,¹ the party leadership² has been diligently proving the correctness of our misgivings. The Political Bureau has directed that "struggles must be waged to save the non-Congress ministries from the clutches of reaction." In other words, the principal work of Marxists is not the intensification of class struggle but to hold a brief for these ministries.

For the purpose a convention of Party members was called to lay firm foundations for economism among the

1. The fourth general elections held in 1967.

2. The revisionist leadership of the CPI(M)

working class and after that an industrial peace was negotiated under the leadership of the Cabinet.³ Furthermore, the workers were told not to use gherao as a weapon. Can class collaboration be more naked than this? The capitalists are given full freedom to exploit and at the same time the workers are told not to struggle. On joining a government established by a huge people's struggle, the Communist Party has chosen the way of class collaboration.

The Chinese leaders predicted quite some time ago that those who were neutral on the international ideological differences would very quickly take the opportunist road. Now the leaders of China have stated that these neutralists are actually revisionists and that they will soon join the counter-revolutionary camp. We are witnessing this truth in our country today. Before our eyes there is the betrayal of the working class.

And now let us add to it the pronouncements of Communist Party leader Harekrishna Konar.⁴ At first he promised that all land vested in the government would be distributed among the landless peasantry. Then the amount of land to be thus distributed was reduced. At last he announced that this year things will remain as before. The question of exemption from land revenue was left to the mercy of Junior Land Revenue Officers (JLRO). The peasant was shown the way of applications and petitions and he was ordered not to forcibly occupy any land.

Harekrishna Babu is not only a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, but he is also the Secretary of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha (Peasant Association). It was his Kisan Sabha that in 1959 called for a movement to wrest vested lands and *benami* lands and

3. The reactionary United Front Cabinet formed in West Bengal after the 1967 elections.

4. Land and Land Revenue Minister in the UF government of West Bengal.

it was against this movement and in the interests of the landowning classes that the government let loose a suppression campaign and ordered the peasants to vacate the lands. But in spite of that, the peasants to vacate instances refused to give up the land and maintained possession on the strength of the village's unity. Has the Kisan Sabha leader supported their struggle after becoming a minister? No. He has said that vested lands will be redistributed. Who will get them? The J.L.R.O's will take the advice of the Kisan Sabha on that. But will that advice be accepted? Harekrishna Babu does not say. But Harekrishna Babu is quite clear on the point that peasants must not forcibly occupy the lands if the J.L.R.O's disregard the advice of the Kisan Sabha.

What can one call this? Is it not simply being a lackey of the government and the landlords? Even the Congress did not dare to hold such a brief for the feudal classes. Thus, to abide by the directives of the party leaders amounts to unquestioning acceptance of the exploitation and rule of the feudal classes. It is therefore the responsibility of Communists to expose this leadership's anti-proletarian reactionary role before the Party members and the people and push forward on the policy of intensifying the class struggle.

Let us assume that the landless and poor peasants accept Harekrishna Babu's proposals and submit petitions. What will happen then? Vested lands contain some untilled land but most of the lands are cultivated lands. These latter already have cultivators who are either sharecroppers (*bhag chasi*) or licensed by the government. The redistribution of these lands will inevitably generate conflicts among the poor and landless peasants and taking advantage of these conflicts, the rich peasant, who is a partner in feudal power and influence and who has great opportunities for bureaucratic manipulation, will instal himself in the leadership of the peasant movement. So we

see that Harekrishna Babu will not struggle now and has on top of that made arrangements so that the peasant struggle may not take a militant form in the future.

The Struggle Against Economism

We have, however, adopted the program for a people's democratic revolution whose chief task is land reform in the interest of the peasantry. Land reform in the interest of the peasantry can take place only when we have smashed the power of the feudal classes in the countryside. To do this we must appropriate the lands of these classes and distribute them among the poor and landless peasants. We will never do this if our struggles are confined within the limits of economism.

In all areas where the struggle was only for the redistribution of vested lands, we have seen that the peasant who has been given the licensed possession of vested land drops out of active peasant struggles. Why? The reason is that within one year that peasant changes his class character and becomes a middle peasant. Thus the economic demands of the poor and landless peasants are no longer their demands. It is thus that economism breaks the unity of struggling peasants and plunges the poor and landless into the depths of despair.

Believers in economism judge every struggle according to the amount of paddy seized and the amount of land received by the peasant. They never judge a struggle according to whether the fighting consciousness of the peasants has increased or not. Naturally they do not try to increase the class consciousness of the peasants.

Whereas we know that no struggle is possible without sacrifice, Chairman Mao has taught us that wherever there is struggle there must also be sacrifice. At the beginning of the struggle, the power of the people will always be less than the power of the reactionaries. That is why the struggle will be long. But the people being a progressive

force will increase its strength every day and the reaction being a decaying force will decrease its strength everyday. Thus, if the people are not inspired to make sacrifices, no revolutionary struggle can be successful. Economism drags us away from this principal revolutionary standpoint and leaves us stranded with a bourgeois standpoint. The party leaders have done precisely this through their various activities.

If we review various peasant struggles in the past we will see that the leaders have always imposed from above compromises on the peasants, whereas the responsibility of the party leaders was to establish the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in the peasant movement. This task was not undertaken in the past and is not being undertaken now. Now they are asking for dependence upon the law and the bureaucracy. Lenin has said that if a progressive law were passed but if the responsibility for its implementation rested on the bureaucracy then the peasant would not get anything. It is therefore quite clear that our leaders have strayed far from Lenin and the revolutionary way.

Agrarian revolution is the immediate task. This task cannot be postponed and without it the peasant cannot be benefited. But the agrarian revolution must await the smashing of state power. To attempt an agrarian revolution without first smashing the state machinery is straightforward revisionism. The first and principal task of the peasant movement today is, therefore, the smashing of the state machine. If this task cannot be carried out throughout the nation or all over the State, will the peasant mark time until that date? No. Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung teaches us that if in any one area the peasantry can be imbued with political consciousness, then the work of smashing the state machine can be carried forward there. This is precisely the formation of a liberated zone.

A liberated zone is a peasant area from which all the class enemies have been ousted. To build such a zone we require peasant armed power. Just as arms made by the peasants are components of this armed power, so are guns. We will judge by whether the peasant is politically imbued or not, by whether he has proceeded towards collecting guns.

Where will the peasant get the guns from? The class enemies have guns and they live in the village. The guns must be snatched away from them. They will not part with the guns willingly, so force must be used to come into possession of guns. For this the peasant militants must be trained to set the class enemies' houses on fire and to use all other techniques. Apart from this, we will get guns by sudden attacks on the armed forces of the government. In whichever area we manage to organize this gun-snatching campaign, that area will soon be transformed into a liberated zone.

For this we require widespread propaganda among the area's peasants regarding the politics of armed struggle and also small clandestine groups of militants for conducting the gun-snatching campaigns. The members of these groups will propagate the politics of armed struggle and at the same time fulfil the given task of gun collection.

Collection of guns does not change the appearance of the struggle. The collected guns must be operated and only then will there be an unfolding of the peasant's creative power and a qualitative change in the struggle. This task can be carried out only by the poor and landless peasant, the firmest ally of the working class. The middle peasant is also an ally but his consciousness of the struggle is not as intense as that of the poor and landless peasants. He requires a little more time. For this reason the Communist Party must thoroughly analyze class relations. That is why China's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung completed this task right at the first and thus unerringly pointed out the path of revolutionary struggle. In our organizational

force will increase its strength every day and the reaction being a decaying force will decrease its strength everyday. Thus, if the people are not inspired to make sacrifices, no revolutionary struggle can be successful. Economism drags us away from this principal revolutionary standpoint and leaves us stranded with a bourgeois standpoint. The party leaders have done precisely this through their various activities.

If we review various peasant struggles in the past we will see that the leaders have always imposed from above compromises on the peasants, whereas the responsibility of the party leaders was to establish the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in the peasant movement. This task was not undertaken in the past and is not being undertaken now. Now they are asking for dependence upon the law and the bureaucracy. Lenin has said that if a progressive law were passed but if the responsibility for its implementation rested on the bureaucracy then the peasant would not get anything. It is therefore quite clear that our leaders have strayed far from Lenin and the revolutionary way.

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work the principal task is to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants in the peasants struggle. To organize the peasant movement in the politics of armed struggle will ensure the leadership of the poor and landless peasants because they constitute the most revolutionary force among the peasants.

A separate organization for agricultural labourers will not help our task. In fact, it will foster tendencies of economistic trade unionism and increase the conflicts among the peasantry. It will not increase the unity of the allied classes because in our agricultural system the exploitation by the feudal classes is primary.

In this context, there is the question of compromise with the small owners. What should be the Communist attitude to this problem? In all cases of compromise we must decide on whose side we are. We cannot support any class against the interest of those we support. In the peasant movement, the Communists have over and over again renounced the interests of the poor and landless for the interests of the middle classes. The poor and landless peasants lose their morale by this. We must also have separate viewpoints toward the middle peasants and the rich peasants. If we consider the rich peasants the same way as middle peasants, then the poor and landless peasants despair. On the other hand, if we consider the middle peasants the same way as we consider the rich peasants, then the middle peasants' enthusiasm for struggle will be lessened. That is why Communists must learn to analyze the class relations among the peasantry of an area according to the teaching of Chairman Mao.

Over and over again the wrath of the Indian peasantry has burst forth, and every time the peasantry has sought the way from the Communist Party. We did not tell them that the politics of armed struggle and the campaign to collect guns were the *only* way, the way of the working class, the way to liberation and the founding of a world

without exploitation. Throughout India, in every State, the peasant is restless. The Communists must show them the way and that way is through armed-struggle politics and the campaign for the collection of guns. We must firmly assert this to be the *only* way. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China has declared war on every type of selfishness, groupism, revisionism, servile following of the bourgeoisie and singing the praises of bourgeois ideology. The flames of that revolution have reached India. That revolution beckons us to "prepare our minds firmly for every kind of sacrifice, to remove the obstacles on the path one by one so that victory will certainly be ours." No matter with what terrible aspect imperialism advances or how insidious the net that modern revisionism spreads in order to help it, the days of the reactionary forces are numbered. The bright sunlight of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung will banish all darkness forever.

Develop the Mass Movement

Naturally the problem arises whether there is any further need for mass movements based on partial demands. There is certainly such a need now and it will remain in the future. India is a vast land and the peasantry is divided into many classes. Thus in every area and among all classes the level of political consciousness cannot be the same. Thus an opportunity will always exist for peasant mass movements based on partial demands and Communists must make good use of this opportunity.

How should we conduct these movements for partial demands? Tactically, we should try for the largest peasant participation and our principal aim should be to see whether the peasants' class consciousness is enlarged and whether it moves forward towards armed struggle. Mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and increase the political consciousness of overwhelming masses of the people. Overwhelming masses of

peasants will be inspired to make sacrifices and the struggle will spread to new areas. These movements for partial demands can take many forms but Communists must always propagate the necessity for a higher form of struggle. Under no circumstances will it be proper to circulate as "best" whatever form the peasants adopt. In reality, Communists will always propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants, i.e., the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for gun collection. But in spite of this propaganda the peasants may decide on mass deputations and if they do so, it will be our duty to lead them. During the period of white terror the effectiveness of these mass deputations cannot be minimized because these will draw into the struggle large numbers of peasants.

Movements for economic demands are not wrong but to conduct these movements with the technique of economism is a crime. It is also a crime to proclaim that economic struggles will of themselves assume political forms because that would simply be the worshipping of spontaneity. None of these show the people the path to be travelled or bring clarity to their viewpoint; nor do they imbue in the people a spirit of sacrifice in the struggle. At one stage of the struggle there remains only one task. Without carrying it out the struggle cannot arrive at a higher stage. In this epoch that special task is the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for the collection of guns. Without the performance of this task the struggle will not arrive at a higher stage; it will in fact disintegrate and organization will cease to grow.

In India the revolution can take only one road, the road pointed out by Lenin, the road that traverses the formation of a people's armed force and a republic. In 1905 Lenin wanted these two to be joined wherever possible, if not over the whole of Russia. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has enriched the Leninist way and taught us the tactics of the people's war through which China has liberated herself. It is this

road that has been taken in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Yemen, Leopoldville Congo and various other nations of Africa and Latin America. In India, too, the Nagas, the Mizos and the people of Kashmir have taken this path of people's armed forces and the rule of the liberation front. That is why the working class must firmly declare that it must lead the democratic revolution by firmly allying itself with its principal ally, the peasantry. The responsibility for organizing the peasant movement and the duty of taking the struggle to the armed phase belongs to the working class. The vanguard of the proletariat must go to the countryside to participate in armed struggle. This is the principal task of the proletariat.

"Collection of arms and preparing rural base areas"—this is proletarian politics, the politics of seizure of power. The working class must be inspired by this political ideology. The call to organize the workers into trade unions does not increase the workers' political consciousness. Of course this does not mean that we should not organize trade unions, but that the revolutionary Party cadres will not be confined to trade unionism. Their main task will be to spread within the working class the politics of armed struggle and the campaign to collect guns and also to build up the Party organization. Political propaganda and the explication of the importance of peasant struggles is also the task of the Party among the middle classes. In short, on all fronts the Party is responsible for explaining the importance of peasant struggles and inviting other forces to join that struggle. We will arrive at the stage of conscious leadership of the democratic revolution to the extent that we proceed on this task.

The Struggle Against Dogmatism

The opposition to this principal Marxist-Leninist way comes not only from the revisionists. The revisionists are

quite simply taking the road of class collaboration; thus it is easy to remove their mask. The other opposition within the Party comes from the dogmatists. They grant the need for revolution and realize that revolution is only possible through armed struggle. But they imagine that armed struggle can only come about after the spreading of mass movements throughout India. Before that, small or large armed clashes may take place but the seizure of power is not possible. So far as they are concerned, they hope for another version of the October Revolution to occur in India. They apply their bookish knowledge about the success of that revolution to India's case without alterations. They forget that the February Revolution took place before the October Revolution and that, through it, the bourgeois parties and also the workers', peasants', and soldiers' Soviets came into power. Due to the existence of this dual power, working-class leadership became effective within the Soviets and when the petty bourgeois parties within the Soviets handed over power to the capitalists, the working class found it possible to carry out the October Revolution.

These dogmatists do not analyze the concrete reality of India and they do not learn from the struggles in India. The main cause for the success of the Russian revolution was the correct application of the tactics of the united front. The tactics of the united front are equally important in India, but the tactics of the democratic revolution in India will take another form. In India, the Nagas, the Mizos, and the Kashmiris are struggling under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie. In the democratic revolution the proletariat must move forward by forming a united front with them and also with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois-led struggles that will break out elsewhere. The basis for these alliances will be the anti-imperialist struggle and the right for self-determination. This right is accepted by the proletariat along with the right to secede.

CARRY FORWARD THE PEASANT STRUGGLE

Those who dream of the Indian revolution being carried out in the same manner as the October Revolution are revolutionaries but their doctrinaire standpoint prevents them from giving firm leadership to the struggle. They do not understand the significance of the peasant struggle and, as a result, they unconsciously become propagandists for economism. They cannot appreciate the teachings of Chairman Mao or the lessons of the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. One section of these people becomes the admirer of Che Guevara and does not stress the work of organizing the peasantry, the principal revolutionary force in the Indian democratic revolution. As a result, they inevitably fall into left-wing deviations. We must pay special attention to those persons and slowly re-educate them through experience. Under no circumstances must we become intolerant of them.

Apart from these, there is another group of comrades who accept the Chinese Party and the great Thought of Mao Tse-tung as the only correct way. But they consider "How to be a Good Communist" as the only ladder for self-cultivation and thus fall into grave deviations. The only road to self-cultivation is the road of class struggle as pointed out by Lenin and Chairman Mao. Class struggle is the only school for Communists. A Communist can emerge pure only by going through the flames of class struggle. We must evaluate our experience of the class struggle in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and derive our lessons. The central point about education in the Party is the application of Marxism-Leninism in the field of struggle to arrive at general principles from that experience, and then to take those principles enriched by experience, back to the masses. This is what is known as the principle of "from the people to the people." That is the main point of Party education. These revolutionary comrades do not realize this principal point of Party education and thus fall into idealist

deviations. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us that learning is impossible without practice. In his words, "doing is itself learning." Self-improvement is only possible through the transformation of the circumstances by revolutionary practice.

revolutionaries of the world unite !

Long live the revolutionary unity of peasants and workers !

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung !

Peasant Guerrilla Struggle In India Becoming More Widespread

★ Increased tempo in West Bengal

★ Spreading to new areas in Bihar

LIKE a raging forest-fire the leaping, dancing flames of the armed guerrilla struggle of the Indian peasants have continued to engulf more and more areas of India's countryside. The lackeys of U.S. imperialism, social imperialism and Indian reaction—the white-capped Congressite reactionaries like Chavan in New Delhi and Brahmananda Reddy in Andhra, the *kurta-dad* bureaucrats of Bihar who run the State on behalf of the President and the "non-Congress" assorted reactionaries of the 'UF' brand in West Bengal like the Gandhite Ajoy Mukherji and the anti-communist revisionists like Jyoti Basu and Konar and Biswanath etc.—are all worried. Managing the sordid dark rule of their masters is increasingly becoming difficult for them. The down-trodden peasant masses in rapidly increasing numbers are refusing to accept death from starvation, to submit meekly to the excruciating exploitation and oppression of the feudal lords, or to be frightened and intimidated and bullied and maimed and killed by the police, corrupt officials, bureaucrats, and the evil gentry. Led by the Party of revolution—the CPI(M-L)—and inspired and guided by the brilliant Mao Tsetung Thought, the roused poor and landless peasants have taken up the red weapon of guerrilla warfare and are, resolutely smashing the black fortress of feudal exploitation and oppression and tearing into shreds the suffocating dark rule of the four big mountains. The oppressed and exploited masses

are jubilant, their hearts are filled with enthusiasm and hope with every success scored by the peasant guerrillas. And the ruling classes and their political managers are filled with dismay, every new success of the peasant guerrillas strikes terror in their hearts. Prospects for the Indian people are infinitely bright, while those who exploit and oppress them are daily nearing their total destruction. As the CPI (M-L) very correctly pointed out in its Political Resolution the situation in India is "excellent." And it is becoming better with every passing day. The following reports of peasant guerrilla struggle in different parts of the country point to its irresistible growth and continuing development.

WEST BENGAL: Frequent reports of peasant guerrilla actions against despotic landlords and class enemies with the support and active cooperation of the broad peasant masses are pouring in from different parts of the State.

On September 26, a group of 30 armed peasant guerrillas raided the house of Nagen Senapati, a notorious jotedar and usurer, in the village of Kancha-Amrasol under Gopiballavpur P.S. in Midnapore district, annihilated him and seriously injured his brother, and confiscated all his property. The peasant revolutionaries carried out a thorough investigation with the help of local people before this action. This class enemy had cast his net of usurious exploitation wide and owned about a hundred bighas of good paddy field in this area and a big shop. This man, a Congressite, cruelly oppressed and exploited the poor people and took part in the meeting of the 'resistance committee' set up by jotedars after the Dharampur incident (see p. 53, "Liberation," October 1969) and cooperated with them in their plan to kill the revolutionaries. The poor people of this area were overwhelmed with joy when news of the annihilation of their hated class enemy reached them. On the other hand, it has struck terror in

the hearts of jotedars, usurers and evil gentry. For instance, a jotedar owning 300 bighas of land sent a messenger to the local organizing committee of the CPI (M-L) after this annihilation begging them to spare his life in return for his landed property. All the attempts of the police to arrest the guerrillas have been frustrated by the local people who are zealously protecting and helping them.

On September 27 about 500 armed people including the local guerrilla groups led by the CPI (M-L) raided the house of Baishnab Ghose, a notorious local despot and jotedar in the village Surmuhi under Baharagora P.S. in Singhbhum district of Bihar adjacent to the Gopiballavpur P.S. of Midnapur district, seized his hoarded rice, 400 maunds of paddy (he is the biggest wholesaler in rice trade of this area), cloth (he owned the largest cloth shop of this area), some cartridges and other articles and distributed the rice, paddy, cloth among the poor people of Bishmouza, destroyed his motor car and ransacked the house. Baishnab, who fled to Jhargram before the raid, was later annihilated. The poor people celebrated their victory in Baishnab's house. When a party of 11 armed policemen arrived at the place, 500 people—men, women and children, from neighbouring villages assembled and chased the policemen away. On September 29 a party of 135 armed policemen, later reinforced by another 50 armed policemen, raided the Surmuhi village and mercilessly beat up every one they found and created a reign of terror. 150 people were arrested, of whom 120 were later released after inhuman beating up. But all this repression only fanned the flames of hatred and anger of the peasants against the reactionary ruling classes and the exploiters.

On September 30, a peasant guerrilla unit of 5 men annihilated a most hated class enemy Dasarathi Ghorui in Kanthalia village under Gopiballavpur P.S. He was a jotedar (owned 160 bighas of land) and carried on largescale

usurious exploitation. He was going from one village to another to extort interests from the poor people when the guerrillas attacked and killed him. The hatred of the guerrillas against this class enemy was so intense that they cut his body into three and chopped off his head which they later buried separately. The police has failed to arrest even a single guerrilla, and arrested 9 innocent villagers on suspicion. There are 7 police camps in this area in addition to the 100 strong police force at the local police station. The role of the so-called UF government as the protector of feudal exploitation and oppression is now clear before the people.

A remarkable thing about this incident is that the guerrilla unit was formed by a local peasant comrade and the entire planning and execution of the action was done by the peasant guerrillas themselves and on their own initiative, under the guidance of the local Party committee. The campaign of annihilation of class enemies is assuming the form of a mass movement in this area. The class enemies are frightened to death. Some of them are trying to use the state apparatus to resist the guerrilla struggle while some are writing to the local Party units, begging mercy.

On September 27, a guerrilla unit led by the CPI(M-L) annihilated Balaram Tiwari, a hated despotic jotedar and usurer in Meitela village under Raghunathpur P.S. in Purulia district. He had been exploiting and oppressing the local peasants for a long period. This successful guerrilla action has greatly enthused the peasant masses while the jotedars, usurers and other rural reactionaries have been stricken with panic and fear.

On October 1, a peasant guerrilla unit led by the CPI (M-L) raided the house of Kanailal Kuiti, a despotic jotedar in Saldahri village in zone no. 3 under Debra P.S. (Midnapur district), seized his gun and some cartridges as well as large quantities of rice and paddy, which were

distributed among the poor and landless peasants. All his papers relating to mortgage etc. were also burnt. Some 2,000 peasants accompanied the guerrilla unit and participated in this raid. The man however, managed to escape. This action roused great enthusiasm among the poor and landless peasants.

On October 13, the peasant guerrillas raided the house of a big despotic jotedar and usurer Jiban Das in zone no. 9 under Debra P.S., annihilated him and seriously injured his wife who tried to resist, confiscated some weapons and documents as well as his stock of rice and molasses and handed these over to the local committee for distribution, and burnt all his papers relating to mortgage etc. They also burned down his haystack. His daughter promised to return all the pawned ornaments to their respective owners. This hated class enemy not only ruthlessly exploited the poor peasants and adibasis and grabbed their lands by all sorts of tricks, but also plotted secretly to drive out all the adibasis from the Debra P.S. area. This guerrilla action has brought waves of joy and enthusiasm among the local population, and created panic among the jotedars who are fleeing to towns like Midnapur and Kharagpur.

A notable feature of this action is that the guerrilla action was carried out smoothly in spite of the fact that there is an armed police post only a few bighas away from the jotedar's house.

On October 18, a guerrilla unit of 4 men led by an agricultural labourer raided the house of a notorious jotedar Dwija Roy in Bhuinya village in zone no. 10 under Debra P.S., and annihilated him with the cooperation of the armed people of the area. Roy came to this house under police protection and was to leave for the town the next morning. There is one police station and two police camps quite near his house. But the investigation made by the guerrillas was thorough and this is why they could carry out their action smoothly.

A new consciousness and enthusiasm is noticed among the poor and landless peasants who are coming from far away villages to contact the Party committee and the guerrillas and request them to go and form guerrilla units in their localities.

The peasants are preparing to harvest and seize the crops under the protection of their guerrilla units. They have already harvested the entire crops from a 5-bigha plot of land in an area under Debra P.S.

BIHAR: The peasant armed struggle in Muzaffarpur led by the CPI(M-L) has spread to Darbhanga district. The first guerrilla unit formed in this district annihilated a notorious despot and big landlord V.P. Balani in broad daylight in the afternoon of October 2. The annihilation was done on the main thoroughfare and amidst intense patrolling by the police. This hated class enemy owned 1,300 bighas of land. His ruthless exploitation and oppression made the life of the peasants of 12 villages miserable. He was a terror to them. He was the head of the panchayat of this area and the local Congress boss. He was on close terms with Jana Sangh and other reactionary parties also, and had a powerful influence over the reactionary politics of the Darbhanga district.

The jubilation of the peasant masses knew no bounds when they heard the news that Balani had been annihilated by the guerrillas.

The peasants of this area had been carrying on struggle against this class enemy for the last twenty years but the traitorous leadership of the Socialist party and the Dange clique always brought defeat on the peasants. Now they have rallied round the genuine revolutionary party—the CPI(M-L) and begun to organize themselves under its leadership.

Thousands of armed policemen are being sent to the countryside, big rewards have been declared for the arrest

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Statement of The Government of The People's Republic of China

October 7, 1969

THE Chinese Government has consistently stood for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through negotiations. On May 24, 1969, the Chinese Government issued a statement in which it reiterated this stand. In its statement, the Chinese Government pointed out that although the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary were unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people, the Chinese Government was still prepared to take these treaties as the basis for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question and proposed that, pending a settlement, the status quo of the border should be maintained and armed conflicts averted.

It is regrettable that at the time this stand of the Chinese Government did not meet with a due response from the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government issued a statement on June 13, 1969 defending tsarist Russian imperialism and wilfully slandering China, and continued to carry out ceaseless armed provocations along the entire Sino-Soviet border. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government, proceeding from its consistent stand for the settlement of issues between China and the Soviet Union through peaceful negotiations, still sent its delegation to Poli (Khabarovsk) to hold with the Soviet side the 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Boundary River Navigation as from June 18, during which the Chinese side made great efforts and overcame

numerous obstacles so that some agreements were finally reached at the meeting.

After the Poli meeting, the Soviet side provoked a fresh incident of bloodshed on the Sino-Soviet border and, at the same time, falsely counter-charged China with provocations on the border and insinuated even more glaringly that China intended to launch a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

China develops nuclear weapons for defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly. The Chinese Government has declared solemnly on many occasions that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. It is both ridiculous and absurd to vilify China as intending to launch a nuclear war. But at the same time China will never be intimidated by war threats, including nuclear war threats. Should a handful of war maniacs dare to raid China's strategic sites in defiance of world condemnation, that will be war, that will be aggression, and the 700 million Chinese people will rise up in resistance and use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression.

The responsibility for the development of the Sino-Soviet boundary question to such an acute state does not at all rest with the Chinese side. The Chinese Government has never demanded the return of the territory tsarist Russia had annexed by means of the unequal treaties. On the contrary, it is the Soviet Government that has persisted in occupying still more Chinese territory in violation of the stipulations of these treaties and, moreover, peremptorily demanded that the Chinese Government recognize such occupation as legal. Precisely because of the Soviet Government's persistence in its expansionist stand, many disputed areas have been created along the Sino-Soviet border, and this has become the root cause of tension on the border.

The Chinese Government has never covered up the fact

that there exist irreconcilable differences of principle between China and the Soviet Union and that the struggle for principle between them will continue for a long period of time. But this should not prevent China and the Soviet Union from maintaining normal state relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully and that, even if it cannot be settled for the time being, the status quo of the border should be maintained and there should definitely be no resort to the use of force. There is no reason whatsoever for China and the Soviet Union to fight a war over the boundary question.

On September 11, 1969, Premier Chou En-lai met Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in Peking and had an exchange of views with him on the boundary question, trade and other questions in the relations between the two countries. In view of the repeated occurrence of armed conflicts along the Sino-Soviet border, in order to truly and strictly maintain the

(Continued from page 94)

of CPI(M-L) workers, and warrants have been issued against thousands of revolutionaries. But all this repression is having the opposite result; the revolutionary consciousness of the peasant masses and the revolutionary activity of the Party workers are increasing, new guerrilla units are being formed and peasant communists are emerging in the villages and thousands are coming forward to join the guerrilla units.

On September 16, peasant masses forcibly occupied and ploughed 20 bighas of land owned by a notorious landlord. During this they raised slogans: "Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung!" "Long live Naxalbari!" "Long live armed revolution!" "Death to revisionism!" "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!"

status quo of the border and avert armed conflicts, the Chinese side further proposed that the armed forces of the Chinese and Soviet sides disengage by withdrawing from, or refraining from entering, all the disputed areas along the Sino Soviet border, that is, those areas where the two sides disagree in their delineations of the boundary line on the maps exchanged during the 1964 Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations. In order to relax the situation along the border between the two countries and enable the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations to be held free from any threats, the Chinese side put forward the proposal that the Chinese and Soviet sides first of all reach an agreement on the provisional measures for maintaining the status quo of the border, for averting armed conflicts and for disengagement. The Chinese Government already delivered an official letter to the Soviet Government to this effect on September 18, 1969. On October 6, 1969, the Chinese Government reiterated this proposal in another official letter to the Soviet Government.

The Chinese Government has always held that the objective existence of questions concerning the Sino-Soviet boundary should not be evaded and that in order to settle these questions in earnest, all-round negotiations must be held. The Chinese Government and the Soviet Government have now decided through discussion that negotiations are to be held in Peking between the Chinese and Soviet sides on the Sino-Soviet boundary question at the level of vice-minister of foreign affairs. The date for starting the negotiations is now under discussion.

The Sino-Soviet boundary question is a question of great concern to the Chinese and Soviet peoples and also a question of concern to the people of the world. The Chinese Government hopes that the Soviet Government will truly take a serious and responsible attitude towards this question.

—Hsinhua.

(Continued from page 82)

✓ Military Called In

The arch revisionist renegade Jyoti Basu the Dy. Chief Minister and Police Minister of the West Bengal UF government, has deployed two companies of Eastern Frontier Rifles troops and some more armed policemen in the Debra P.S. to suppress the revolutionary Santhal peasants of that area.

A few more armed police camps have been opened in Gopiballavpur P.S. area.

Jyoti Basu has also given orders to his police bosses to arrest the Communist revolutionaries throughout the State.

Guerrilla Struggle Spreads to Murshidabad District

In the evening of October 7, a guerrilla unit composed of landless and poor peasants raided the house of a notorious despotic jotedar and usurer Ajit Chaudhury in the village of Kendua under Farakka P.S. in Murshidabad district and seriously injured him. He became a supporter of the Dangeites and the United Front and forcibly harvested the crops of poor peasants. Only a few days before this he attacked and beat up a sharecropper.

At the time the guerrillas raided Choudhury's house there were about fifteen armed goondas inside his house to protect him. Though the guerrillas came to know of it beforehand they were not worried about it and broke open into the house. They had to break three strong doors by axe before they could reach the second storey where the jotedar had taken shelter. The goondas frightened at seeing the angry mood of the guerrillas dispersed. After this action the guerrillas raised the slogan: "Long live Naxalbari!"

This guerrilla action has tremendously roused the local peasant masses. They armed themselves and vigilantly guarded the place where the guerrillas took shelter. Even common peasants are openly warning the jotedars that they would be annihilated. The CPM revisionists who tried in various ways to demoralise and threaten the peasants have now fled from the place.

A remarkable thing about this guerrilla action is that the poor and landless peasants themselves took initiative and planned and carried out this action without the help of any petty bourgeois revolutionary comrade.

On October 23, the peasant guerrillas annihilated a notorious reactionary despot Bankim Karan in the village of Barshal under Baharagora P.S in Bihar, adjacent to Gopiballavpur P.S. area of West Bengal. He was the right-hand man of the jotedar of the village. A few days before he was annihilated he had beaten to death an old peasant organizer Ajaswar Nayek with the help of police. The guerrillas let off two poor peasants who were with Karan at the time of the annihilation. As a result of this action the jotedars have been scared to death and their agents are now hesitating to come forward to their aid.