

“Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.”

—CHAIRMAN MAO

# Liberation

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DOWN WITH THE INDO-SOVIET MILITARY PACT!

## In Memory of Martrs

—Charu Mazumdar

AT midnight of 4th and 5th August the police captured Comrade Saroj Dutta and on that very night shot him dead secretly.

Chairman has said : "It is not hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life and never doing bad, to act consistently in the interest of the broad masses, the young people and the revolution, and to engage in an arduous struggle for decades on end. That is the hardest thing of all !" Comrade Saroj Dutta was such a comrade and his entire life was spent in working for the revolution. There is no reactionary force which did not fear his pen which was as sharp as a razor. That is why the police force did not even dare enact the farce of a trial, they murdered him on that night itself.

Like all reactionary powers of the world the Indian Government and its accomplices—all the reactionary and revisionist parties—want to arrest the march of revolution by resorting to mass murders on a wide scale. In the Cossipore-Baranagar area they unitedly entered into a conspiracy and murdered over a hundred youths. The police and the goondas who committed the murders were engaged for the purpose by all those rogues who, in the name of restoring "Law and Order", were holding conferences with a view to preserving this man-eating system and uniting against the revolutionaries. Today when their mask is falling off their face before the people, when it is no longer difficult for the people to recognise the blood-stained hand of the murderers, they have come forward to show sympathy for the murdered revolutionary youths to hide their devilry. They executed the same conspiracy in Barasat and Uttarpara.

The orgy of murder in which they indulged in the Cossipore and Baranagar area has surpassed all previous records of their demoniac acts.

In jails also they are killing revolutionary cadres by opening fire on prisoners or lathi-charging them. They are thinking that in this way they will be able to arrest the progress of revolution. In South Vietnam the Diem clique wanted to stop the onward march of revolution by carrying on killings in this manner. The result is, the strength of the National Liberation Front has increased and it has defeated the American aggressors repeatedly. In India this killing will rouse the anger and hatred of men and a new India will be built on the destruction of the murderous system—this is the law of history. The reactionaries will have to repay in blood the blood debt that each act of murder accumulates.

Comrade Saroj Dutta was a leader of the Party and he died a hero's death befitting a leader. His revolutionary steadfastness should serve as a model for youths. Overcoming all weaknesses, the youths will have to take to the path of revolution more resolutely and avenge these killings by integrating themselves with the workers and poor and landless peasants.

—August 16, 1971

## To The Staunch Fighters of Andhra Pradesh

—Charu Mazumdar

(Following is Comrade Charu Mazumdar's letter of July 18, 1971, to the Comrades of Andhra)

AFTER a heavy setback and loss of our brilliant cadres you are now recovering from the shock. Actions have taken

place smashing the fond hope of the Congress regime to finish off the great Srikakulam struggle and the struggle of Andhra Pradesh. On behalf of the Central Committee, I congratulate you, the staunch fighters of Andhra Pradesh, for your superhuman effort, strong faith in the ultimate victory of our democratic revolution and great love for the down-trodden people, the landless and poor peasants of Andhra. On behalf of the Central Committee, I urge upon you to rely wholly and completely upon the landless and poor peasants who alone can take the leadership of the agrarian revolution in our country and have got great traditions of innumerable bloody struggles. Form small squads of landless and poor peasants, fix an area of operation for each of the squads and rely firmly on their initiative to develop the struggle. In this way alone guns and rifles can be snatched by the squads, and firmly holding the rifles we can build and develop people's political power. Every such squad should be considered as a contingent of our People's Liberation Army and area-wise commanders should be elected from among these landless and poor peasants. Our petty-bourgeois cadres should work as political commissars of these units while the leadership should remain with the landless and poor peasant cadres. Our method is: our squad members must train each other, commanders should teach the other members of the squads and should also be taught by them. By this method a technique adopted in an area should be the common property of all the squads in the state. Mass economic work, such as land distribution and the seizing of the harvest, should be propagated and activised by Revolutionary Committees at various levels and we must pay attention to the production of food-grains etc. Only in this way mass struggle of the peasantry can be linked up with armed struggle and the political authority of the Party can be established.

I have got great respect for you and for your revolutionary potentiality, and the Indian situation as a whole is

becoming more excellent every day. So I am sure that you will overcome your weaknesses, and your struggle will develop like an avalanche in the state.

With revolutionary greetings.

## Letter To A Comrade

—Charu Mazumdar

I have received your letter. You have raised many questions. It is not possible to answer all of them in one letter. I have given a reply to the Midnapore document\* and an article is being published on behalf of *Liberation*. I hope these will help remove your confusion.

To us there is no contradiction between national and international interests, since when we speak of a nation we mean the peasants, workers and other toiling people. Their interest is to make revolution. That is why Chairman has said: **“With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.”** The slogan of national self-defence is a bourgeois slogan. By raising it the bourgeoisie seeks to suppress the just right of workers, peasants and petty-bourgeois toilers to exist and tries to utilize all the resources of the nation in its own interest. Therefore, in no way and under no circumstances will that be our slogan. That is why our slogan is national revolutionary war and this war can be waged only in the form of people's war. To develop people's war it is necessary to make the peasants—the basic force of this revolutionary war—participants in the revolutionary struggle and this can be accomplished only on the basis of

\* This refers to the Midnapore document on recent developments in East Pakistan.

class struggle and a class-line. So, under no circumstance, it is our responsibility to support the bourgeoisie. Our responsibility is to be united with that section of the bourgeoisie which desires to be united with us on the issue of national independence. And on the question of unification also two things have to be remembered: (1) the Party will have the right to conduct war independently and (2) the initiative in regard to the struggle will be in the hands of the Party. These two conditions are indivisible and only on the basis of these two conditions is it possible to build such unity as can enthuse and inspire the broad masses to participate in the war of national independence. So, you can understand that the idea they are spreading to create confusion in the name of the great Chinese Party is opposed to Mao Tsetung Thought and is only a new edition of the Wang Ming-Liu Shao-chi line of tailing after the bourgeoisie.

If a bourgeois State becomes a partner in a just war, then the Chinese Party and the Chinese Government will surely support it. But this support does not mean that within the country the Communists will have to tail behind the bourgeoisie. At the time of World War II Chiang Kai-shek got the support of the Soviet Union and on the pretext of that support, he and his associates repeatedly sought to have the Chinese Party tied to Chiang Kai-shek. As Chairman understood the need for unity, so also he realized the necessity of independent work and initiative and did not make compromise in any sphere. That is why, after 1945, when communists all over the world laid emphasis on unity with the bourgeoisie and decided to surrender arms, Chairman Mao, even after having admitted the necessity of unity, gave a call for taking up arms with a firm hand. That is why we see that after the World War Communists of almost all countries took to the path of revisionism but, under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Chinese Communist Party could, through a successful revolution, raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher still and reach the stage of Mao

Tsetung Thought. Therefore, the revisionist path is the path of tailism and those who today are talking of supporting Yahya have taken to this path of tailism and fallen deep into the mire of revisionism. If you have learnt to hate revisionism, then you will learn to hate this Khrushchov thesis of the national bourgeoisie seizing power through peaceful methods. Eight years ago, Chairman Mao tore the mask off this thesis, as a result of which there has been a new high tide in the worldwide Communist movement and a new horizon has opened up before the struggle. After eight years the Khrushchov thesis is being propagated again in our country and this is being done in the name of Chairman. This is called opposing Mao Tsetung in the name of Mao Tsetung, opposing the Red Flag in the name of the Red Flag, opposing revolution in the name of revolution. In our country the CPI and the CPI-M have directly taken the path of class collaboration; that is why they are supporting Mujib. But behind their 'Leftist' mask, the others are talking of supporting Yahya on the basis of the same theory. Therefore, this 'Leftist' slogan of theirs is in reality another manifestation of revisionism.

I hope you will try to understand properly what I have stated and you will then get the answers to your questions.

The danger of getting isolated from the struggle will appear again and again in the midst of it. Therefore, it is essential to take shelter in the houses of poor and landless peasants and without this one cannot overcome one's isolation from struggle.

—July 23, 1971

## On The Questions of Building People's Army and Base Area

—Charu Mazumdar

(This is in reply to a writing by Asim Chatterjee and his associates—renegades who have openly attacked the Party and the Party line.)

ON the Pakistan question Khokan and his associates have stuck to their old line. From this it appears that they have read more documents of the Soviet Party than of the Chinese Communist Party. That is why they have repeatedly and emphatically tried to prove that through aid received from a socialist country the national bourgeoisie of a semi-colony can come to power. They have propagated this Khrushchov thesis repeatedly.

? In a semi-colonial country the national bourgeoisie is tied to the comprador bourgeoisie. First, the small and middle bourgeois take help from the compradors for their capital; secondly, they have to purchase raw materials for their industry from the comprador bourgeois; thirdly, they have to take help from the comprador bourgeois for the improvement and expansion of their industry; fourthly, the comprador bourgeoisie is the buyer of a big portion of their products and, taking advantage of this transaction, the comprador bourgeoisie shifts its crisis on to the shoulders of the small and middle bourgeois; fifthly, in opposing the working class, they are united with the comprador bourgeois; sixthly, a portion of the accumulated profits of the small and middle bourgeois—which they set apart as reserve fund—is used in purchasing shares of the big industrial enterprises of the comprador bourgeoisie. For these six reasons, the national bourgeoisie is the weakest class. Therefore, it is impossible

for them *independently* to take any decision and implement it.

In their document the charge has been made that certain "unnecessary conditions have been imposed" in respect of building up of the People's Liberation Army and that the task of forming it has thus been delayed. Our People's Liberation Army is mainly a peasant army and this army becomes strong through the peasants' class struggle. It is the responsibility of this army to make agrarian revolution successful. To make agrarian revolution successful the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the struggle will have to be established inevitably. That is why we have said that in the matter of selection of commanders at every level, emphasis will have to be laid on poor and landless peasants, because the class struggle in rural areas is their struggle. If this is taken as a pre-condition, then this pre-condition will have to be fulfilled unhesitatingly. Not to do this will really mean denial of class struggle.

The People's Liberation Army is a special kind of army. The speciality of this army is that each of its members has conquered the fear of death and can conduct struggle on his own initiative. That is why it is said that victory or defeat in a war is determined not by the rifle but by the man who holds it. Here lies the basic difference between the imperialist army and the People's Army. That is why even after Magurjan and Rupaskundi we have not yet been able to attack the mobile enemy force. The reason is not technical, but political. It is certain that after the People's Liberation Army is built many youths from among the poor and landless peasants will want to join this army. After they are taken into the People's Army it will be the duty of the Party to quickly educate them politically.

To build a base area we need first a permanent army and we need a politically conscious people. It is only after the two conditions are fulfilled that the question of terrain comes. The terrain-question has two aspects: one natural

and the other man-made. It is possible to develop a base area in the plains; the proof of that is the fact that during the time of the anti-Japanese war seven such base areas developed in the suburbs of the city of Peking. The danger of taking shelter in the mountains is that the possibility of becoming isolated from the broad masses becomes greater. That is why if base areas are built in mountainous regions, it is the responsibility of the Party to make the peasant masses in the plains politically conscious by sending armed propaganda squads there and to cause disarray among the enemies by building more and more guerrilla units and thus resist enemy attacks by guerrilla tactics. The importance of this is very great, because if we go to the mountainous regions the enemy's "encirclement and suppression campaign" becomes easy. In regard to West Bengal, to proceed to build a base area in the mountainous regions means abandoning the peasants and the broad toiling masses of West Bengal and putting out the fire of armed struggle.

If these two tasks—the establishment of Revolutionary Committees under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants in rural areas and making the broad peasant masses participants in that struggle under the leadership of those Revolutionary Committees—are performed successfully, the problem of building base areas will be solved. It is in this way that base areas developed in China and in different countries of the world. It is my conviction that this method will yield good results in our country also. For it is our experience that in the middle of 1969 the call for building People's Liberation Army and base area was given in Srikakulam. But this slogan did not yield good results; there were few guerrilla squads in the wide plain areas and as our entire strength was concentrated, the enemy could also concentrate his attack. As a result, we had to suffer many losses.

That is why the People's Liberation Army is not formed merely by giving the call for it. Base areas are not developed

merely by giving the call for developing them. The People's Liberation Army will become strong and base areas will be established only when, through Revolutionary Committees, the political consciousness of the broad peasant masses is raised and they are enthused to participate in armed struggle. That is why Chairman has said :

“What is a true bastion of iron ? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us ; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.”

The permanence of base areas depends on the arming of the people. Chairman has said :

“Considering the revolutionary war as a whole, the operations of the people's guerrillas and those of the main forces of the Red Army complement each other like a man's right arm and left arm, and if we had only the main forces of the Red Army without the people's guerrillas, we would be like a warrior with only one arm. In concrete terms, and especially with regard to military operations, when we talk of the people in the base area as a factor, we mean that we have an armed people. That is the main reason why the enemy is afraid to approach our base area.”

—August 19, 1971

## To Comrades

—Charu Mazumdar

**W**ITHIN the Party there exists the struggle between two lines and this will exist in future also. When we speak of two lines, we mean that one is correct and the other incorrect. In our country the incorrect line means revisionism which, in our era, is a reactionary ideology. Through this struggle the Party worker and the common man will learn to understand which line is correct and which is incorrect. Therefore, the Party's strength and striking power will increase only if we direct this struggle in a principled manner. To understand today's world and to understand which is the correct line it is necessary for comrades to specially study Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War" and his Report to the Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China. It is in these two writings that the answers to the questions raised today are to be found. And, it is only by studying these two writings earnestly and diligently that we shall understand clearly which is correct and which is incorrect. Therefore, I specially appeal to the comrades to carry on a conscious effort to make a living study and application of these two writings.

—August 4, 1971

## To the Comrades of Birbhum

—Charu Mazumdar

AS there are victories in struggle, so there are defeats. Just as struggle advances by leaps, so it has to experience setbacks also. The path of struggle is not straight but very tortuous. Only the revolutionary Communist Party—the Party capable of applying Mao Tsetung Thought and adopting the correct style of work—can correctly conduct struggle in the midst of this complexity. Your struggle has reached a stage when it is about to take a leap: now is the time when it is very necessary to strengthen the Party organization. If the Party organization is to be strengthened, the struggle between the two lines within the Party will have to be conducted in a principled manner. Even if such questions have not arisen in your area, all the issues concerning the struggle between the two lines within the Party will have to be discussed in details at all levels of the Party and even by the guerrilla squads and supporters in general.

The four principles of guerrilla struggle \* enunciated by Chairman should be discussed at all levels.

\*The four principles of guerrilla struggle enunciated by Chairman are:

“Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.”

“The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.”

“To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.”

“Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.”

“These tactics are just like casting a net; at any moment we should be able to cast it or draw it in. We cast it wide to win over the masses and draw it in to deal with the enemy.”

(Chairman Mao, “A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire”)

The guerrilla commanders must be made alert. Attention must always be paid to increasing the initiative of the guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants and to the initiative of the commanders elected from among them. Our intellectual comrades will have to study Chairman's Military Writings.

In your area the attempt at “encirclement and suppression” by the military has failed in the initial stage. Now everything depends on whether we are able to take the initiative. Birbhum has become an object of terror to the ruling classes. I hope you will win still more victories.

—September 10, 1971

## Appeal To Friends

WHO HAVE COME FROM EAST BENGAL

—Charu Mazumdar

FRIENDS who have come from East Bengal,

Imperialism and domestic reaction have jointly destroyed your peaceful way of life. Peace will not be restored as long as the reactionaries are in power. The Indian Government is seeking foreign aid by exhibiting you and is turning you into beggars. This state of affairs is unbearable. Whether you continue to stay here or return to East Bengal, you will have to carry on struggle. You will not get back a dignified way of life without waging struggle for establishing your rights as men. Today, in East Bengal also, a revolutionary Party—the East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—has been formed. They have also taken to the

path of armed struggle. You should join hands with them and help make their struggle powerful. Those of you who want to stay on here should break the barrier created by the Indian Government to isolate you from the revolutionary struggle in West Bengal and should participate in the struggle as partners in the democratic revolution in West Bengal. There is no other way. That this is possible has been shown by the people of Vietnam. The 14 million toiling people of South Vietnam have repeatedly defeated U.S. imperialism, the most powerful of all the imperialist powers of the world. We—the people of the two Bengals—are more than 110 million. There is no reason why we should not be able to defeat the reactionaries of our countries, to put an end to our humiliation, to fight and win dignity as men. You are not helpless. Both the common men of East Bengal and the common men of West Bengal are on your side. If you wage struggles, this support will take the form of co-operation on a vast scale. The reactionaries of both the countries are weak. They are not, therefore, capable of suppressing this revolt of ours. All their edifices will break into pieces like a house of cards. As a golden Bengal will be built by the poor men of East Bengal, so also a golden Bengal will emerge through the efforts of the poor men of West Bengal. So, keeping that bright future in view, prepare for struggle today.

—September 7, 1971

## Strengthen The Party Organization

—Charu Mazumdar

OUR struggle is now entrenching itself deep among the working class and the poor and landless peasants. We must now make our Party organization stronger and rid it of defects. In a secret party the isolation of the higher committee from the general body of Party members and units occurs at all times. As a result of this, the higher committee develops a bureaucratic outlook. A trend to run the Party organization through orders, directives, mandates, etc. grows. All these are sins inherited from the old Party. We do not get anything done through directives. All our activities should be conducted on the basis of discussions with lower units and by convincing them of their significance. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the higher unit always to carry on discussions with lower units and to obtain their views. It is in this way that the Party can increase its capacity for doing revolutionary work and the unity of the Party is strengthened. Chairman Mao has taught us that every communist must fight against conceit and arrogance, for conceit and arrogance destroy all communist virtues.

We have united for making a revolution. That is why our relation should be one of mutual respect and co-operation. Each of us must study deeply the chapter entitled "Communists" in "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung" and try to be a good Communist. It is then that the unity of our Party will be as strong as steel. The lower units should be helped to criticize higher units and the opinion of lower units should be taken at all levels. The struggle between the two lines exists within the Party and it will always be so. That struggle must be conducted in a principled

manner. It is in this way that the centralism of the Party will be strengthened. Party members must have the full democratic right of giving their opinions and making criticism. In many cases the Party members have complaints against Party functionaries. They should be given the full right to voice and discuss these complaints. It is then that the Party's functionaries will be able to rectify their weaknesses.

As the struggle advances, the importance of political work also increases. One trend of thinking is that there has been enough of political work and that military work is now the main task. This has been stated clearly in the document submitted by Khokan and his associates. This deviation cannot take the struggle forward: it weakens the forces of the struggle. Our People's Liberation Army will be able to achieve success only when the number of guerrilla units in the villages increases through political work. There is no way of building guerrilla units except through political propaganda. Political work must be given priority at every stage of the class struggle. This is Chairman's teaching.

—October 4, 1971

#### A NOTE ON

### Party's Work in Urban Areas

—Charu Mazumdar

WE cannot occupy Calcutta and the different towns right now and that is not also possible. Therefore, the Party members who are in the urban areas cannot directly participate in the struggle for seizure of power. But they have to live in urban surroundings. As a result, they will

repeatedly be subjected to the influence of the ruling classes. There are ups and downs in struggle. Therefore, various sorts of confusion arise when the struggle suffers a setback. All such confusion may be greater among comrades in towns. That is why the comrades who will live in towns must give greater emphasis to politics. They must steadfastly work among the working class and the poorer classes and must repeatedly try to form Party units by propagating our politics among them. Our object is to form Party units among the working class and to help develop Party organizers from among workers. Of course, we shall always support the workers and co-operate with them in their struggles. If there are a large number of politically-conscious Party units, the working class will, on its own, conduct many struggles. Thus the Party's task is to form more and more units among the working class and to raise the workers' political consciousness. The influence of revisionism on the working class is still great. It is our task to free the working class from that influence. The working class is ceaselessly conducting struggles, big and small. Our political work among them will help them in those struggles and draw the broad sections of the working class into the fold of our politics. The class-conscious worker will then voluntarily go to the villages and participate in the peasants' armed struggle. It is in this way that the firm unity between the workers and the peasants will be established.

—November 18, 1971

A NOTE ON  
**Party's Work in Rural Areas**

—Charu Mazumdar

THE movement for seizing crops is a mass movement. This is the first time that we are leading a mass movement since we started our armed struggle. The aim of this movement is to make even the backward peasants participants in our struggle. Without conducting this mass movement we can in no way realize our objective—the objective of making every peasant a fighter. Otherwise, this all-embracing character of People's War can in no way be attained.

This movement will be directed against the class enemy, i.e., the *jotedar* class. It will also be conducted against such rich peasants as may be actively co-operating with the police. All other classes are our allies in this struggle.

The Party will conduct this struggle through Revolutionary Committees. It is in this way that the Revolutionary Committees will be established as the new State power. The guerrilla squads will always help Revolutionary Committees.

If the Party is to discharge this responsibility the Party cadres will have to be much more conscious politically. Efforts must always be made to raise the political consciousness of Party cadres. The Party cadres and the guerrillas must study the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. They must try to observe them to the very letter.

—November 18, 1971

**Down with the Indo-Soviet  
Military Pact**

—Charu Mazumdar

THE Indian Government has entered into a military pact with Soviet social-imperialism. As a result, India has been turned into a satellite state of the Soviet social-imperialists. In collusion with the Soviet Union, the Indian Government has attacked Pakistan, occupied East Pakistan and turned it into a neo-colony. As a result, the Soviet Union and India have been isolated from all the progressive forces of the world. Today, the ruling class is trying its best to create an atmosphere of chauvinism in India. All the parties in India are co-operating towards this end. The Soviet-Indian alliance has turned out to be the main enemy of the people of East Bengal. It is against the same enemy that the struggle in East Bengal and the struggle in India will be directed. As soon as the Indian Government has assumed this aggressive character, it is imposing fresh burdens on the Indian masses. It has enforced the notorious D. I. Rules to destroy all opposition. Today, it cannot stand opposition of any kind. But the people of India will not passively accept this burden imposed on them. Resistance is sure to grow. Militarily, the Indian government is also sure to put pressure on other neighbouring countries. For this is the nature of chauvinism. The burden of exploitation will increase and a few people will reap the benefits—such a state of affairs cannot continue for long in today's revolutionary situation. The broad masses of the people will be on our side in this struggle. In India and in East Bengal there are revolutionary Parties. Therefore, the struggle is bound to enter a new phase. Temporarily, we

may have to retreat in some places. But if the Party is there, the struggle will inevitably attain a higher phase. Our task is to intensify further the revolutionary struggle conducted by our Party comrades and to widely propagate this politics. Today, our comrades must go ahead firmly with this conviction that as a whole the situation is such that a revolutionary upsurge is bound to come.

—December 20, 1971

## Long Live The Heroic Peasants of Naxalbari !

—Charu Mazumdar

THE social system that exists in India is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. So the democratic revolution in this country means agrarian revolution. All the problems of India are related to this one task. On this question of agrarian revolution there has been difference of opinion in Marxist circles from the beginning of this century and among Marxists the struggle between the two policies—the one revolutionary and the other counter-revolutionary—continues. The Mensheviks side-tracked the question of State power and searched for a solution in municipalization. Lenin declared a crusade against it and said that it was not possible to solve the problem by side-tracking the question of State power. He showed that however progressive the legislation framed by one might be the present State structure could not implement it. The condition of the peasant will remain the same. That was why he said that only the democratic State of workers and peasants, led by the working class, could solve this problem. Only the other day even the Soviet

Party writer, Yudin, while criticizing Nehru's Basic Approach, said that Nehru had not till then been able to solve the peasant problem. He challenged Nehru to show, in practice, how this problem could be solved in a peaceful way and added that Nehru would fail to do so. History has proved that, far from solving this problem, Nehru was not able even to bring about an iota of change.

After the twentieth congress of the Soviet party, the door to revisionism was opened wide and, as a result, the Soviet State has been transformed from a Socialist State into a capitalist State. By making the theory of peaceful transition to socialism—adopted at that twentieth congress—their basic guiding principle, the revisionists of our country are shouting loudly that the peasants' struggle for land is a struggle for realization of economic demands and that it is adventurism to talk of the State machinery. What strange similarity between the words of Dange and Basavapunnia !

What strange co-operation between Biswanath Mukherji and Harekrishna Konar ! This is not accidental since its source is one and that is the Menshevik counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the cunning rulers of the Soviet State have repeatedly declared that it is only by using fertilizers, improved seeds and agricultural implements that India's food problem can be solved. It is in this manner that they are coming forward to save India's reactionary ruling clique ; they are concealing from the masses the basic and effective way of solving India's food, unemployment, poverty and other problems. This is because the Soviet State is today collaborating with British-American imperialists and has been turned into a State which exploits the masses of India. With the help of the native bourgeoisie the Soviet Union is also trying to invest capital in our country. In the sphere of trade and commerce with our country it has come to enjoy special facilities. That is why the arguments

of the reactionary ruling clique are pouring out from the mouths of its spokesmen in a continuous flow and at an uninterrupted speed. That is why, as a collaborator of Britain and the U.S.A., the Soviet State also is our enemy and it is by taking shelter under their wings that the reactionary Government of India weighs like a corpse upon the shoulders of the masses. But even then Naxalbari has been created and hundreds of Naxalbaris are smouldering. This is because on the soil of India the revolutionary peasantry is heir to the heroic revolutionary peasants of great Telangana. The then Party leadership betrayed the heroic peasant struggle of Telangana and it did so by using the name of great Stalin. Many of those who are occupying the positions of Party leaders today were a party to the act of betrayal on that day! On bent knees, we will have to take lessons from those heroes of Telangana, not only to have strength to carry the red banner of revolt but also to have faith in the international revolutionary authority. What boundless respect they had for the international leadership—the name of Stalin made them place their lives fearlessly at the disposal of the reactionary government of India. In all ages and at all times this revolutionary loyalty is necessary for organizing revolutions. We must learn from the experience of the heroes of Telangana: we must take the mask off the face of those who oppose Marxism-Leninism by using the name of Stalin. We will have to snatch from their hands the Red Flag dyed with the blood of hundreds of workers and peasants. The traitors have, by touching that Flag with their hands, stained it.

Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen

on it like a blessing. When Naxalbari receives congratulations from the heroes in the rubber plantations of Malaya who have been engaged in struggle for 20 years, when congratulations are sent by Japanese comrades who have been fighting against the revisionist leadership of their own Party, when such congratulations come from the Australian revolutionaries, when the comrades of the armed forces of great China send their greetings, we feel the significance of that immortal call, "Workers of the World, Unite", we have a feeling of oneness and our conviction becomes more strong and firm that we have our dear relations in all lands. Naxalbari has not died and it will never die.

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#### QUOTATION FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

**Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.**

## NOTES

### SMASH THE AGGRESSIVE, COUNTER- REVOLUTIONARY INDO-SOVIET MILITARY ALLIANCE

ON August 9, 1971, the reactionary Indian government turned India openly into a satellite State of the new tsars of the Soviet Union by entering into a military pact with them, which they named "Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty." On that day India was formally chained to the war-chariot of the Soviet social-imperialists. On that day, the Indo-Soviet military alliance emerged as one of the chief enemies of the people of India and Asia.

In the Soviet Union restoration of capitalism, overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppression of the working class and other toiling people began with the capture of leadership of the CPSU(B) and seizure of state power by the revisionist renegade clique headed by Khrushchov. In the name of defending world peace they joined hands with the U.S. imperialist bandits, the most ferocious enemies of mankind, to plunder and dominate the world. They peddled the revisionist theories of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition to socialism" in order to collaborate with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of different countries to put out the flames of national liberation wars and to establish their own neo-colonial rule. They succeeded in making most of the countries of East Europe their neo-colonies and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America became targets of their social-imperialist designs. In the name of providing economic "aid" they have been plundering India since 1955.

From that very year they began to extol the arch reactionary Nehru's "Socialism" and "policy of neutrality" and tried, together with Nehru, to hoodwink and suppress the Indian revolutionaries.

From the very beginning the clique of Soviet revisionist traitors took China to be their main enemy. Chester Bowles, former U.S. ambassador to India, writes in *Foreign Affairs* of July, 1971: "Although the outside world had no clear indication of the growing differences between China and Russia until a few years later, the possibility of a split must have been apparent to the Soviet leaders by the mid-1950s." He adds: "In February 1957, shortly before the Soviet-Chinese break became evident, I had a lengthy discussion with Nikita Khrushchov in Moscow, most of which centred on India and China. When I remarked that both the Soviet Union and the U.S. might ultimately face a common problem in regard to China, he did not disagree." This shrewd representative of the U.S. ruling circles remarks: "The motivation of the U.S.S.R. in assisting India has since the mid-1950s been primarily based on the Soviet estimation of India's geopolitical importance as a partial balance to the political influence and potential military weight of China." As the ideological and political struggle of the Soviet revisionists with Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China grew bitter, this revisionist renegade clique tried, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to build up India as the main base of their aggression in South and South-east Asia against China and the world revolution and began to provide military "aid" to the Indian reactionaries. They encouraged the Indian reactionaries to intrude into and attack the Tibet region of China by giving them economic, political and military "aid." But the result proved all their calculations wrong. Not only did the Indian reactionaries, who enjoyed the overt support of the U.S. imperialists and the covert support of the Soviet revisionists,

suffer shameful defeat in the battle-field. But the world-wide struggle against revisionism was led by Chairman Mao and from then on the unmasking and isolation of the revisionists all over the world began. Fighting and defeating revisionism, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties emerged in different countries of the world. In our country also, Comrade Charu Mazumdar issued the call for anti-revisionist struggle and raised the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. As a result, the historic peasant struggle of Naxalbari under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar ushered in a new era in the history of our great country and our Party was founded.

But the nature of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the reactionaries never changes. Since 1962, the Soviet social-imperialists have been providing immense quantities of military hardware to the Indian reactionaries. Today the Indian army is armed chiefly with Soviet weapons, the Indian navy and the Indian air force are built mostly with Soviet warships and Soviet planes. At the same time the Soviet social-imperialists have been fleecing India. In the name of helping the "State sector" they have helped the Indian reactionaries to pile up huge bureaucratic capital. Steel and other products of the "State sector", manufactured by exploiting cheap Indian labour and raw materials, are taken away by them at prices below the cost of production. In 1967-68, Rs. 53 crores were squeezed out of the Indian people only to pay interest on the loans advanced by them. They are also plundering this country in the name of carrying on trade. They sell their goods at exorbitant prices—sometimes twice as much as the international price and buy raw materials and other goods from India at prices much lower than the international prices. In 1955-56 the total Indo-Soviet trade amounted to Rs. 9 crore and 40 lac (Rs. 94 million) while in 1969-70 it increased to Rs. 374 crore (Rs. 3740 million). The Soviet Union is India's second biggest

trading partner—second only to the U.S.A. The Soviet social-imperialists hope that a new horizon of Indo-Soviet trade will open in the coming years. An article by Mikhailov in the journal "Soviet Union" states that during her last visit to Moscow Indira Gandhi discussed with the Soviet social-imperialists the question of drawing up a long-term programme (of 10—15 years) of extensive economic "co-operation" between the Soviet Union and India. Already the Soviet social-imperialists control important sectors of Indian economy. Much emphasis has been put on this economic aspect in the Indo-Soviet treaty. Article VI says: "Attaching great importance to economic, scientific and technological co-operation between them, the high contracting parties will continue to consolidate and expand mutually advantageous and comprehensive co-operation in these fields as well as expand trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and most favoured nation treatment..."

Some time ago Kosygin came to India and proposed to integrate the Indian economy with the Soviet Five-Year Plans, that is, to control Indian economy in the interest of the social-imperialists. Nikolai Mirotvortsyev, Deputy Chairman of the Gosplan, visited India last April with the same purpose. The reactionary Indira government has sold away to the Soviet social-imperialists the interests of our country for the sake of its own class-interests. They are all trying to shift the burden of their deep crisis on the people of our country.

Today, the Soviet social-imperialists have completed much of their preparation to use our country as a base against the Indian revolution, against the people of South and South-east Asia, especially against Socialist China. These merchants of death have not only sold a huge quantity of weapons, Mig. planes, helicopters and warships; their navy is not only using Indian ports like Visakhapatnam and

trying to exercise control in the Indian Ocean ; but they are also trying to use the Indian soil and the Indian resources and the Indian people for waging a counter-revolutionary war. Three of the articles in this so-called "Friendship" ✓ treaty are about military affairs. Article IX states : "In the event of either party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and security of their countries." This conclusively proves that this treaty is actually a military pact. Subsequent events also have borne evidence to this. On December 4, T. N. Kaul told press correspondents that India had invoked this article of the treaty and that for weeks serious discussions had been going on in New Delhi, Moscow and the U. N. between the governments of India and the Soviet Union. Actually, India had carried on a policy of naked interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Pakistan, caused systematic harassment and sabotage in East Pakistan for long eight months and then attacked Pakistan on November 21. According to Kaul's admission, this treaty was used for making war-preparations against Pakistan. Today this aggressive military alliance is a menace not only to Pakistan but to all countries neighbouring India.

What is the main object of the Indo-Soviet military pact ? The object is to establish control over the countries of South and South-east Asia, to suppress revolutionary struggles of the people in India and neighbouring countries, and to use India's land, water and air space and innumerable Indians (as cannon-fodder) in an aggressive, counter-revolutionary war against China, if the new tsars of the Soviet Union dare to launch it. The very first article of this treaty sows the seeds of war. "Each party", according to this article, "shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other party..." It is quite well known that both the governments have refused to settle the boundary disputes with China. In the past the Russian

tsars and the British imperialists took advantage of China's weakness and occupied vast areas of China. The new tsars of Russia have grabbed still more areas besides those ; and the Indian expansionists, heirs to the British imperialists, have occupied certain areas of Tibet and have laid claims to yet more areas. Already in the past the Indian reactionaries and the Soviet social-imperialists attacked China on the pretext of fighting for these spurious claims. If the Soviet social-imperialists launch a war of aggression against China, the citadel of world revolution, on the plea of "respecting" "territorial integrity", the articles of this treaty will be invoked to drag the Indian people into that anti-China war.

As the new tsars of the Soviet Union are trying to make the Indian economy an appendage to their own economy, so they are making the Indian army, the Indian navy and the Indian air force appendages to their own war machinery. Immediately before and after the conclusion of this military pact, representatives of the ruling classes of the two countries paid frequent visits to each other and held discussions. Besides Gromyko, Podgorny, Kuznetsov etc., Nikolai Firiyubin and the Soviet Air Marshal P.S. Koutakhov and several top-ranking military officers of the Soviet Union came to this country. Firiyubin is not only Soviet deputy foreign minister but also secretary-general of the Warsaw Pact military organization. He came not to discuss and determine policies with his counterparts here but to hold discussions with the officials of the India government and to give them necessary instructions. This pact is a new pact of the Indian people's slavery. This pact has reduced India into a satellite State of the Soviet social-imperialists. This "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation" is in essence a treaty of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet social-imperialists and their stooges, the Indian reactionaries, for waging war against the people of the whole world, especially the people of India, South Asia and China. Through this has been forged a counter-revolutionary, aggressive military alliance.

In his historic Statement of May 20, Chairman Mao said: "The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad ... U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle." Every word of what Chairman Mao said has come true. Today U.S. imperialism is being pounded by the blows of the world's peoples, especially the three Indo-Chinese peoples. Military defeats, one after another, have accentuated its economic crisis more and more and have forced it to retreat to some extent. That is why the British Prime Minister sarcastically called it "the sick man of the world." In order to keep the people under subjection it has revived Japanese militarism and made it its accomplice in East and South-east Asia. In return, it had to make many concessions to the Japanese reactionaries. Similarly, the main responsibility of suppressing revolution in countries like India and Pakistan in South Asia has fallen on the shoulders of the Soviet social-imperialists. That is why the stooges of U.S. imperialism in this country did not raise any uproar over this treaty, they have rather welcomed it. In the above-mentioned article in *Foreign Affairs*, Chester Bowles writes: "The U.S.S.R. is seeking to 'contain' what it believes to be an expansionist-minded China—much as we have been trying to do—by associating whatever Asian nations can be persuaded to co-operate in a loose political organization under its leadership. When asked, 'What is the basis of Soviet foreign policy in Asia?' a Soviet official recently replied with an eye to America's pull-back from Asia, 'We simply occupy the empty seats.'" The new Russian tsars are following the same policy of aggression and war as the U.S. imperialists. This was the purpose of the "Asian Collective Security System" proposed by Brezhnev about three years ago. By reducing India today into their satellite State they have led the Indian expansionists to occupy East Bengal, and swooped upon it like vultures in order to plunder it. At the same time they want to turn East Bengal into their military base against China and revolution.

Today, the revisionist chieftains like Dange, Sundaraya, Gopalan and Jyoti Bose, are playing the same despicable role that they and Ajoy Ghosh played at the time when the Indian expansionists intruded into and attacked the Tibet region of China. Then both the revisionist cliques here betrayed class interests as well as national interests in the name of "national defence", rallied behind the reactionary ruling classes, trampled underfoot proletarian internationalism and opposed Socialist China. Today also, these running dogs of the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian reactionaries are singing praises of the Indo-Soviet military pact and making vile attacks against China.

Chairman Mao said: "**Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.**" What these enemies of the world's people are expecting shall never come to pass. Their contradiction with the masses of the Indian people will grow still more acute; the contention between the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. and other imperialists over East Bengal, despite collusion, will be more bitter. It is not correct to think that all the enemies are the same and that they are one monolithic bloc. There is indeed collusion between them but there are also sharp contradictions and contentions. These contradictions are irreconcilable. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are colluding with each other with a view to suppressing the people's revolutionary struggles and encircling China; on the other hand, driven by their urge to satisfy their imperialist interests, they are engaged in bitter struggles with each other. The flames of anger of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries will reduce into ashes the Soviet social-imperialists and their dreams of dominating the world jointly with the U.S. imperialists. However loud may be the bluster of the Indian reactionaries, they and their masters will soon be swept away by the

approaching storm of revolution of the people of India and East Bengal.

*Workers, peasants and other toiling people of India,*

The reactionary Congress government has intensified its oppression on you. During the last year alone it has imposed fresh taxes of more than Rs. 400 crore and exploited you more brutally than before by resorting to heavy deficit financing. They have declared "National emergency" and have been carrying on a savage policy of repression. They have been killing revolutionary peasants, workers and youths—even within prisons. Backed by the Soviet social-imperialists, these enemies of the Indian people have occupied East Bengal and have, like vultures, swooped upon it. We must unite with the revolutionary people of East Bengal and hit hard at these common enemies; we must deal aethd blows at the Indo-Soviet counter-revolutionary, aggressive military alliance. We must quicken the pace of armed agrarian revolution and smash the war-plot of these enemies of mankind against China, and bring nearer the day of the liberation of India and the liberation of the world. Comrade Charu Mazumdar said: "For some time U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have been making elaborate preparations to launch a war of aggression against China, the land of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. And together with all other reactionaries of the world India's reactionary ruling clique and Japanese militarism are working hand in glove with them to carry out this task." Comrade Charu Mazumdar issued the call: "Today your struggle is not a mere national struggle of the Indian people, you are among the advanced contingents fighting for mankind's world-wide advance. Perhaps never before in the world's history the internationalist task had so merged with the national task as now. The world-wide revolutionary struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao have today reached a confluence of great unity. We are their partner and comrade-in-arms. So we have not a single moment to waste. March a head with all your strength. Victory will certainly be ours. A liberated India in a liberated world is looming large in the horizon. March on with all your strength to usher in that sacred day."

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## Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of The Communist Party of China

BY THE EDITORIAL OF DEPARTMENTS OF  
"RENMIN RIBAO," "HONGQI" and  
"JIEFANGJUN BAO"

FULLY 50 years have elapsed since the Communist Party of China held its First National Congress in Shanghai on July 1, 1921.

The birth of the Communist Party of China ushered in a new epoch in the development of Chinese history. For more than 70 years from the Opium War of 1840 to the May 4th Movement of 1919, the long-suffering Chinese people had waged heroic struggles to resist oppression by imperialism and feudalism. But all these struggles, including the large-scale revolutionary movements led by Hung Hsiu-chuan and Sun Yat-sen, had failed. Let us thank the great Lenin—the 1917 Russian October Socialist Revolution led by him brought the Chinese people Marxism-Leninism. The integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese revolutionary movement gave birth to the Communist Party of China, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat. As Chairman Mao said, "In China, the Communist Party was born, an epoch-making event."

At the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party there were only a few dozen members organized in a few communist groups. But they represented a new force, and new forces are always invincible by nature. Nothing could

wipe out the Chinese Communist Party, neither the aircraft and guns of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, nor white terror and the tyranny of secret agents, nor the machinations and sabotage of renegades and hidden traitors. On the contrary in half a century's arduous struggle it has grown into the Party leading the People's Republic of China. Semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China has been transformed into socialist New China with its first steps on the road of prosperity.

The 50-year history of the Chinese Communist Party proves that the success or failure of a political party depends on whether its line is correct or not. A wrong line will lead to the loss of political power even if it has been seized. A correct line will enable a party which has not attained political power to achieve it. However, a correct line does not drop from the skies or emerge and develop spontaneously and peacefully; it exists in contrast to erroneous lines and develops through struggle against them.

In his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Comrade Lin Piao said: "The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the Right and 'Left' opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the 'Left' opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first 'Left' and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti-Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and, after long years of struggle, shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Our Party has consolidated itself, developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggles to defeat the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi which did the gravest harm to the Party." It is precisely Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line that has

guided our Party and the Chinese people on the tortuous road of revolution in surmounting danger, developing from a small and weak force into a big and strong force, and advancing from defeat to victory and to such a great victory as we enjoy today.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance.**"

In celebrating the 50th birthday of the Chinese Communist Party, the whole Party faces the task of following Chairman Mao's teachings, carrying out the line laid down by the Ninth National Congress of the Party, **Unite to win still greater victories**, and fulfilling the fighting tasks set by the Congress and the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party. At present, it is particularly necessary for the whole Party to launch the movement of criticizing revisionism and rectifying the style of work, carry out education in ideology and political line, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and study and sum up the historical experience of inner-Party struggle between the two lines. This is the fundamental guarantee of further great victories for the cause of our Party.

### **Persistently Follow the Road of Seizing Political Power by Armed Force**

Marxism-Leninism holds that the fundamental question of revolution is political power and that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

Whoever denies this or admits it in words but denies it in deeds is not a genuine Marxist-Leninist. But specific conditions vary in different countries. And in what way could this task be carried out in China? On the basis of the great practice of the October Revolution, Lenin, in his *Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East* in November 1919, told the Communists of the Eastern peoples that they must see the characteristics of their own areas and that, relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, they must adapt themselves to peculiar conditions which do not exist in the European countries. Lenin stressed that this was **"a task which until now did not confront the Communists anywhere in the world."** Obviously, the seizure of political power and the victory of the revolution are out of the question if the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is not integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice of a specific country.

On the basis of the unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao analysed the history of China, its existing conditions and the main contradictions in contemporary Chinese society and gave correct answers as to the targets, tasks, motive forces and character of the Chinese revolution and its perspectives and transition. Chairman Mao pointed out: The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution and part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The Chinese revolution must take two steps. First the new-democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. These are two essentially different revolutionary processes which are at once distinct and interrelated. The second process, or the socialist revolution, can be carried through only after the first process, or the revolution of a bourgeois-democratic character, has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution.

Chairman Mao pointed out: A Communist Party built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we can seize political power and consolidate it. It is precisely along this course that the Chinese revolution has advanced.

The new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party went through four historical periods—the First Revolutionary Civil War, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation. It took 28 years in all, from 1921 to 1949, to solve the problem of seizing political power by armed force.

Our Party was still in its infancy during the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War. In the early and middle stages of that period the Party's line was correct. *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society, Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* and other works published by Comrade Mao Tsetung in that period represented the Party's correct line. On the basis of thorough and systematic investigation and study, Chairman Mao made a concrete analysis of the economic status and political attitudes of the various classes in Chinese society. He clearly pointed out: **"Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them."** He further pointed out: **"The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie."** Chairman Mao paid particular attention to the question of arousing and arming the peasants, indicating that **"without the poor peasants there would be no revolution."** At the same time, he indicated that the national bourgeoisie was a vacillating class;

their Right-wing might become our enemy and their Left-wing might become our friend, and we must constantly be on guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks. Thus, he solved the question of first importance for the revolution, namely, **"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?"** He opposed both Right' opportunism represented by Chen Tu-hsiu that wanted only the Kuomintang and not the peasants, and "Left" opportunism represented by Chang Ku<sup>o</sup>-tao that was concerned only with the labour movement and likewise did not want the peasants.

Chen Tu-hsiu, then General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, was actually a radical bourgeois democrat. He knew nothing about Marxism-Leninism. He even held that there had been no slave society in China and negated the universal truth of Marxism. He maintained that since the Chinese revolution at that stage was a bourgeois-democratic revolution in character, it could lead only to the founding of a bourgeois republic and be led by the bourgeoisie. He clamoured that the Chinese proletariat was not "an independent revolutionary force" and could not be the leading class and he slandered the peasants as being "loose", "conservative" and "unlikely to join the revolution." He flatly rejected Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct views and gave up leadership over the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and particularly leadership over the armed forces. He advocated "all alliance and no struggle" in the united front. When the masses of workers and peasants arose, he was very much afraid that they would terrify the bourgeoisie. Chen Tu-hsiu and his follower Liu Shao-chi went so far as to order the workers' pickets in Wuhan to hand their arms over to the Kuomintang. When Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, representatives of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, successively betrayed the revolution and slaughtered the workers and peasants, the broad masses of the people were unarmed and the dynamic great revolution ended in failure. Later, Chen

Tu-hsiu clung to the reactionary stand of Trotsky and asserted that the establishment of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government marked the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and that all the proletariat could do was to engage in legal parliamentary struggles and wait until capitalism had developed in China and then make a so-called socialist revolution. This meant liquidating the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese Communists were not cowed by Chiang Kai-shek's massacres. Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and Chen Tu-hsiu, those teachers by negative example, made us understand that **"without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and that it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph,"** and they made us understand this Marxist-Leninist truth: **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** To save the revolution, the Nanchang Uprising was staged on August 1, 1927. The firing of the first shot at the Kuomintang reactionaries was the correct aspect of the Nanchang Uprising. Its mistake lay in not going to the countryside to arouse and arm the peasant masses and set up base areas, but taking the city as the centre and relying on aid from abroad. The Central Committee of the Party held an emergency meeting in Hankow on August 7, at which Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationist line was corrected, and he was removed from his leading post. After the August 7th Meeting, Chairman Mao himself led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, organized the first contingent of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, founded the first rural revolutionary base area in the Chinggang Mountains and ignited the spark of **"an armed independent regime of workers and peasants."** In April 1928, the troops preserved after the Nanchang Uprising arrived in the Chinggang Mountains. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army successfully smashed the first, second and third counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression"

launched by the Kuomintang against the Central Red Base Area. And guerrilla warfare also made progress in Kiangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Anhwei, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechuan, Shensi and other places. Chairman Mao summed up the experience in good time and wrote *Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?*, *The Struggle in the Chingkuang Mountains*, *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* and other important works. In these works, he explained on a theoretical plane that in China the seizure of political power by armed force could be accomplished only by taking the road of setting up rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside, and finally seizing the cities, and not by taking the cities first and then advancing into the countryside, as in the capitalist countries.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "The history of our Party shows that Right deviations are likely to occur in periods when our Party has formed a united front with the Kuomintang and that 'Left' deviations are likely to occur in periods when our Party has broken with the Kuomintang." Shortly after our Party had broken with the Kuomintang and corrected Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, there occurred Chu Chiu-pai's "Left" putschist line between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928, Li Li-san's "Left" opportunist line between June and September 1930, and Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line between 1931 and 1934. During this period, although Chen Tu-hsiu's liquidationism, Lo Chang-lung's Right splittism and other Right deviations with their pessimism over the future of the revolution made their appearance, the "Left" opportunist line which occurred on the three above occasions was the main deviation. In particular, Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line which dominated the Party for four years did the greatest damage and gave us the most serious lessons.

Wang Ming usurped the leadership in the central leading

body of the Party at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in January 1931. Wang Ming called himself a '100 per cent Bolshevik.' While hoisting the banner of "opposition to the Li Li-san line," he alleged that the former central leading body "did nothing to expose and attack the consistently Right opportunist theory and practice of the Li Li-san line", and maintained that "the Right deviation is still the main danger in the Party at present." He in fact pushed an opportunist line even more "Left" than the Li Li-san line. Like other "Left" opportunists, Wang Ming knew nothing about the theory and practice of the revolution in China. They confused the distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions. They knew nothing about the workers and peasants, about how to fight a war, or about the unevenness and the tortuous and protracted character of the Chinese revolution. They made absolutely no investigation or study of class relations in China, but alleged that the intermediate groups were "the most dangerous enemy" and advocated opposing the whole bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie. They enforced many "Left" policies characterized by "all struggle and no alliance." As regards military line, they first practised adventurism and then turned to desperate recklessness and flightism. As regards organizational line, they practised sectarianism and deprived Chairman Mao of his power. They resorted to "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" against those who disagreed with their erroneous line. Acting as an all-powerful emperor, Wang Ming placed himself above the Party and the people and pushed his erroneous line everywhere. As a result, our Party suffered a loss of 90 per cent in the Red areas and almost 100 per cent in the White areas, and the Red Army was compelled to leave and embark on the Long March.

The two lines with their two outcomes educated the whole Party, both positively and negatively. When Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was followed, an army was founded and

revolutionary base areas were established where previously there were none. When Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line was pursued, revolutionary base areas were lost and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was placed in a most dangerous position. Repeated testing in revolutionary practice proved that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the only correct line. Wang Ming who put "me at the core" and styled himself "100 per cent" correct turned out to be a sham Marxist. In January 1935 when the Red Army on the Long March reached Tsunyi in Kweichow, an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was called, i.e., the great historic Tsunyi Meeting. The meeting put an end to the domination of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line in the central leading body, established the leading position of Chairman Mao in the whole Party and switched the Party line on to the correct Marxist-Leninist track. At what a high price and after what bloodshed!

The Tsunyi Meeting marked the growth of our Party from childhood to maturity. Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao after the Tsunyi Meeting, the world famous 25,000-li Long March was concluded victoriously. During the Long March, the First Front Army of the Red Army was formed into an anti-Japanese detachment advancing northward and marched to northern Shensi, inspiring the people of the whole country with the determination to resist Japanese imperialist aggression. Our Party then smashed Chang Kuo-tao's line of establishing another central committee and splitting the Red Army. In October 1936 the Second and Fourth Front Armies arrived in northern Shensi and succeeded in joining forces with the First Front Army and the Red Army of that area. By that time, the Red Army had decreased from 300,000 men to less than 30,000. Quantitatively the strength of our Party was reduced for the time being, but qualitatively our Party became stronger than before, thanks to the correct line.

In 1937 the Chinese revolution entered the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. Our Party brought about a successful change from the period of Agrarian Revolution to that of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. But the sharpening of the national contradiction and the formation for the second time of a united front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, which were like a surging tide, turned some people's heads. This found expression within the Party in the struggle between our Party and the Right opportunist line represented by Wang Ming.

Early in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the renegade Wang Ming jumped from the extreme "Left" to the extreme Right. On the pretext of establishing the Anti-Japanese National United Front, he placed more confidence in the Kuomintang than in the Communist Party, completely abandoned the Communist Party's principle of independence and initiative and put forward the idea "everything through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front." This meant in essence that everything had to go through the Kuomintang and be submitted to it, and it meant not daring to wage resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's reactionary policies and not daring to boldly arouse the masses, or develop the revolutionary armed forces, or expand the anti-Japanese base areas in the Japanese-occupied areas. This meant handing over the leadership of the anti-Japanese war to the Kuomintang. Thus Wang Ming returned to the erroneous line of "all alliance and no struggle" advocated by Chen Tu-hsiu in 1927. Meanwhile, Liu Shao-chi went to the revolutionary base areas from the White areas. He opposed the Wang Ming line and supported Chairman Mao's correct line in appearance, and boosted himself as the representative of the correct line in the work in the White areas and concealed his true features. Actually, he had long been a renegade, hidden traitor and scab and he had carried out an entirely erroneous line in the White areas. In his sinister book

*Self-Cultivation*, Liu Shao-chi did not touch at all upon the questions of defeating Japanese imperialism and of waging struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, nor did he touch upon the question of seizing political power by armed force; on the contrary, he urged Communist Party members to depart from the great practice of revolution, study "the ways of Confucius and Mencius" and indulge in idealistic "self-cultivation." What he preached was again a capitulationist line. The "literature of national defence" and the "philosophy of national defence" which cropped up during this period were in reality a literature of national betrayal and a philosophy of capitulation. They were products of Wang Ming's capitulationist line and of Liu-Shao-chi's wrong line in the work in the White areas as well.

Our great leader Chairman Mao systematically and thoroughly criticized the Right capitulationist line represented by Wang Ming. In his work *The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan* written in November 1937, Chairman Mao warned the whole Party against Wang Ming's Right capitulationism: "In 1927 Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism led to the failure of the revolution. No member of our Party should ever forget this historical lesson written in blood." Chairman Mao once again raised the question of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership and stressed that it was necessary to insist on proletarian leadership and "closely adhere to the principle of independence and initiative in all our united front work." But Wang Ming opposed Chairman Mao's line and continued to push his opportunist line. In his report and concluding speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party held in October 1938, Chairman Mao put forward the question of the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the national war, refuted Wang Ming's opportunist line and laid down the Party's line and policy of leading the armed struggle independently and with the initiative

in its own hands. The session adopted Chairman Mao's report and concluding speech. Later, in his *On Policy* and other works, Chairman Mao repeatedly taught the whole Party that the united front policy "is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle." Our Party defeated the Kuomintang's repeated anti-Communist campaigns and took firm hold of the leadership of the Anti-Japanese National United Front because Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had already attained the predominant position in the whole Party, and because we had thoroughly criticized Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line, corrected the "Left" deviation in the struggle against the Kuomintang, adhered to the correct policy of **developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hard forces** and carried out the principles of **making use of contradictions, winning over the many, opposing the few and crushing our enemies one by one and of waging struggles on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint** in the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards. Receiving no aid from outside but relying on our own efforts, we developed production, overcame difficulties, resisted the bulk of the Japanese invading forces and practically all the puppet troops, and developed and strengthened the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, the South China Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Column and the anti-Japanese base areas.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has attached great importance to building the Party ideologically since its early days. The Kutiien Meeting Resolution drawn up by Chairman Mao and his *On Practice, On Contradiction* and other philosophical works have played a tremendous role in educating the whole Party ideologically. In the early 40s, when the War of Resistance Against Japan was in the stage of stalemate, the Central Committee of the Party grasped the excellent opportunity to launch the rectification movement throughout the Party in order

to raise its Marxist-Leninist level. Chairman Mao published a series of works on the rectification movement such as *Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party's Style of Work, Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing* and *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, calling on the whole Party to "fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style in Party relations, and fight Party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing." Chairman Mao pointed out: "Though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology."

The Yen-an rectification movement personally led by Chairman Mao was a great, widespread movement of Marxist education. Through the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of Chairman Mao's works, and of dialectical and historical materialism and the exposure of the anti-Marxist-Leninist essence of the various "Left" and Right opportunist lines, the whole Party learnt to distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines and between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies and gained a great deal. The policy of **learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient** was adopted in the rectification movement. Through criticism and self-criticism, the cadres throughout the Party arrived at a new unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Presided over by our great leader Chairman Mao, the Seventh National Congress of the Party was victoriously convened in April 1945. At the Congress Chairman Mao made

the political report *On Coalition Government* and laid down the political line of the Party, that is, "**boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the aggressors and build a new China.**" The Seventh Party Congress was a congress of victory, a congress of unity; it encouraged hundreds of millions of people throughout the country to fight with a will like the Foolish Old Man, who removed the mountains, and strengthened their confidence in victory. By the time of the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the army led by our Party had grown to one million men and the Liberated Areas had expanded to embrace a population of 100 million. The revolutionary strength of the Chinese people was greater than ever.

The victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan brought about a drastic change in the situation and in class relations, both at home and abroad. With the assistance of U.S. imperialism Chiang Kai-shek, bent as always on destroying the Communist Party, decided to launch a counter-revolutionary civil war. Did we dare to struggle and win victory? "**To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie?**" This was the question confronting the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. At that moment Liu Shao-chi came out with his capitulationist line, preaching that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy." He loudly proclaimed that "the main form of struggle of the Chinese revolution should change from armed struggle to non-armed mass parliamentary struggle" and "all the work of our Party should be reorganized." Liu Shao-chi wanted our Party to hand over the army and the revolutionary base areas to Chiang Kai-shek, government and "build the country in co-operation" with

seek official posts in the reactionary Kuomintang the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. This line was a continuation of the Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming lines and an echo in China of the revisionist line of Browder, the renegade from the Communist Party of the United States of America. Chairman Mao resolutely opposed Liu Shao-chi's capitulationist line. He sharply pointed out: "**Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every curce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land.**" "The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over." Chairman Mao further pointed out: "**How to give 'tit for tat' depends on the situation.**" If they wanted to fight we would wipe them out completely, and this was tit for tit. If they wanted to negotiate, sometimes not going to negotiations was tit for tat, and sometimes going to negotiations was also tit for tat. In the light of the situation, Chairman Mao worked out plans and had operational preparations made to defeat offensives by the Chiang troops, and he went to Chungking in person for negotiations and thus exposed Chiang Kai-shek who paid lip service to peace but actually went in for civil war. In view of the prevailing morbid fear of the United States, Chairman Mao put forward the thesis, **All reactionaries are paper tigers**, exposing the nature of U.S. imperialism and all reaction. After Chiang Kai-shek started the all-round civil war, Chairman Mao, with revolutionary fearlessness, issued the great and timely call "**Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and liberate all China,**" and led the people of the whole country in defeating counter-revolutionary war by revolutionary war and in seizing state power by armed force. Chairman Mao laid down the general line and general policy of our Party at this historical stage, namely, a new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, waged by the broad

masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat; he laid down the principle of fighting by concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one; and in accordance with the progress of the revolution in different parts of the country he laid down a series of specific lines for work and specific policies regarding land reform, the consolidation and building of the Party and of the army, and other work. The Party issued the Outline Land Law of China in conformity with the wishes of the peasants throughout the country; it corrected both the Right-deviationist error of not daring to boldly arouse the masses and not meeting the peasants' demand for land and the line represented by Liu Shao-chi in land reform and Party consolidation, which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and characterized by encroaching on the interests of the middle peasants and private industry and commerce, regarding large numbers of Party cadres as "stumbling-blocks" and removing them wholesale, gathering a few "trustworthy" people through secret contacts instead of arousing the masses and, in disregard of Party policy, simultaneously unfolding the movement everywhere and beating people and struggling against them at will, and so on. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and with the support and assistance of the people in the Liberated Areas and the masses in the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control, the great Chinese People's Liberation Army wiped out 8,000,000 Chiang bandit troops armed by U. S. imperialism, liberated all Chinese territory with the exception of Taiwan Province and a number of sea islands and buried the Chiang dynasty, and the People's Republic of China was founded. The Chinese people stood up!

## Persist in Continuing the Revolution Under The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the basic conclusion of the stage of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of the socialist revolution. Back at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party on the eve of countrywide victory, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that the principal internal contradiction after the liberation of our country was **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie"**. The focus of the contradiction was on the socialist road versus the capitalist road and on the dictatorship of the proletariat versus the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Both the title of our Party and our Marxist-Leninist world outlook unequivocally demonstrate that the basic programme of our Party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the bourgeois dictatorship and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and that the ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism. Our 28 years of heroic struggle represented only the first step in the long march of 10,000 <sup>li</sup> towards this ultimate goal. The seizure of political power by the proletariat was not the end of the revolution but the beginning of the second step.

The vast territory of our country was liberated gradually. The several million troops of the People's Liberation Army served both as a fighting force and as a working force. Our Party relied on its own army which aroused the masses while fighting battles and

together with the masses, resolutely carried out the Party's line and policies, smashed the state machinery of the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and established the people's regime, which confiscated all bureaucrat capital comprising 80 per cent of modern industry and transformed it into socialist state enterprises. And boldly arousing the masses, we launched on a large-scale the land reform movement, the movement for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the movement to resist U. S. aggression and aid Korea. In a space of three years, we rehabilitated the national economy and strengthened the people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1953, after the frantic attacks of the bourgeoisie had been repelled in the movement against the **"three evils"** (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) and the movement against the **"five evils"** (bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation), Chairman Mao, in accordance with Lenin's theory on the transition period and our own practice, set forth the Party's general line for the transition period: **"Bring about, step by step and over a fairly long period, the socialist industrialization of China and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state."**

The essence of the Party's general line for the transition period was to solve the problem of the ownership of the means of production, making socialist ownership, that is, ownership by the state and collective ownership by the working masses, our country's sole economic base. This was an important step in further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We

tackled this problem firmly, yet gradually. In agriculture, this was done by proceeding through mutual-aid teams, which contained some embryonic elements of socialism, and the elementary co-operatives of a semi-socialist character, to the fully socialist advanced co-operatives. In capitalist industry and commerce, it was done first by the state placing orders with private enterprises to process and manufacture goods, purchasing and marketing all their products and using private enterprises as commission agents to purchase and sell goods for the state, and then by transforming private enterprises into joint state-private enterprises and paying a fixed rate of interest on the basis of an appraisal of the assets in accordance with the policy of redemption. Some people afflicted with impetuosity found this process not to their satisfaction and thought the transition period far too long; they wanted the problem to be solved overnight. This 'Left' deviation was overcome relatively quickly through education.

The socialist revolution is a struggle to bury capitalism; it has been acclaimed by the labouring people throughout the country but has met with reckless sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and company. Peng Teh-huai, Kao kang, Jao Shu-shih and others formed an anti-Party bloc in a vain attempt to split the Central Committee and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their scheme was smashed by the Central Committee of the Party in good time. Liu Shao-chi all along opposed socialist transformation. As early as 1949, wherever he went he preached the fallacy "exploitation is a merit" behind the Central Committee's back and in violation of the Resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. At the beginning of the 50s, he put forward the slogan "consolidate the new-democratic system". This meant 'consolidating' and developing the forces of capitalism and taking the

capitalist road instead of carrying out the socialist revolution. Chairman Mao promptly criticized this slogan, pointing out that it was an error in the nature of a bourgeois programme. He published *On the question of Agricultural Co-operation* and other brilliant works to criticize the Right-deviationist error committed by Liu-Shao-chi and his gang of slashing the number of co-operatives and criticize their fallacies of realizing "mechanization before co-operation" and of expanding the rich-peasant economy. This immensely inspired the masses of the poor and lower middle peasants with socialist enthusiasm for co-operation. In the year or so from the second half of 1955, the 500 million peasants of our country were all jubilantly taking the broad road of socialism. Because the proletariat had captured the positions in the vast rural areas, the bourgeoisie, now under cross-fire from the workers and peasants, was isolated and compelled to accept transformation. By 1956, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and of handicrafts had in the main been completed in our country with respect to the system of ownership. Instead of suffering any damage, industrial and agricultural production progressed in the course of this great change and the Party's general line for the transition period was crowned with great victory.

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, China's socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were confronted with a new problem. What was the principal internal contradiction? Were there still classes, class contradictions and class struggle? What were the future tasks of the Chinese revolution? Liu Shao-chi and his gang replied: "In China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already settled," "the contradiction between the pro-

Proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically resolved," and the principal internal contradiction "is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." This was a refurbished version in new circumstances of the "theory of productive forces" advocated by Bernstein and Kautsky. And it was a means by which the bourgeoisie waged class struggle against the proletariat. In the period of the democratic revolution they said that the proletariat could not seize political power until capitalism was highly developed; at the approach of socialist transformation, they wanted to "consolidate the new-democratic system"; and after the three great transformations of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce were completed in the main, they again dished up the above-mentioned fallacies, trying to stop the proletariat from continuing the revolution. In their opinion, class struggle died out when the question of ownership was settled, and there was no need to consolidate the socialist system, and all that was necessary was to grasp production; the socialist system was too "advanced" to suit the needs of China today and it was necessary to turn back and develop capitalism. Moreover, behind Chairman Mao's back, Liu Shao chi and his gang inserted this sinister trash into the Resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Party in their attempt to impose on the whole Party the line of taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao at that time pointed out that the words Liu Shao-chi and his gang had stuffed into the Resolution were wrong and anti-Marxist. Shortly afterwards, Chairman Mao made public his brilliant work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism, systematically answered the question of classes, class contradictions and class

struggle in socialist society after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership. He pointed out: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership...there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. ...the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." He said: "The present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days. If it were not so, the old system would not have been overthrown and the new system could not have been established." He pointed out: "To sum up, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base." Therefore, "Time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated." "We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions. Of course, new problems will emerge as these contradictions are resolved. And further efforts will be required to resolve the new contradictions." With the invincible theory of dialectical and historical materialism, Chairman Mao thoroughly refuted Liu Shao-chi's revisionist fallacies and armed our Party with the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The development of class struggle at home and

abroad constantly provides fresh facts to prove the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The wild attacks of the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 and, particularly, the gravity of the capitalist restoration in Lenin's homeland by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique which occurred after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have taught us a very profound lesson—the socialist revolution will not be consolidated if there is only a socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production without a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Just look at history to see how capitalism rises, grows and heads for its doom, and you will understand that the capitalist system, too, was not established at one stroke. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution for the complete elimination of all exploiting classes, it necessarily involves more acute and tortuous class struggle than the previous revolutions that replaced one system of exploitation by another. Taking the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the world unawares, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique restored the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is a bad thing, but a bad thing can be turned into a good thing. It has educated the Soviet people and the proletariat of the world. In the development of history as a whole, the restoration of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union is only a temporary phenomenon. The proletariat and the people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union are sure to vanquish the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique, re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue to take the road of the October Revolution charted by Lenin and Stalin. Socialism is sure to triumph throughout the world. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

The struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957

was a great battle between the Chinese proletariat and bourgeoisie on the political and ideological fronts. Throughout the country the masses were aroused to speak up boldly, air their views freely, put up big-character posters and hold great debates. The controversy centred mainly on such major questions as whether our work in revolution and construction was correct, whether we should take the socialist road, whether we should uphold the leadership of the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic centralism, and whether our foreign policy was correct. The great debates enabled the broad masses to make a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong, isolated the bourgeois Rightists and refuted Liu Shao-chi's revisionist fallacies. This was an immense contribution to deflating the arrogance of the bourgeoisie, boosting the morale of the proletariat, enhancing the enthusiasm of the people of the whole country for socialism and pushing forward China's socialist revolution and construction. In 1958, Chairman Mao laid down the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.** He formulated this general line on the basis of summing up the experience of our Party in building the revolutionary base areas, the experience in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy and the lessons of Khrushchov's restoration of capitalism, and of criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and his ilk, and on the basis of repeated investigation and study. This general line stresses putting proletarian politics in command and integrating Party leadership with the masses and is a new development of the Party's mass line. It stipulates that we take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and it lays down a series of principles summed up as "walking on two legs," such

as giving play to the initiative of both the central government and the localities, speeding up industrial construction in the interior while making full use of industry in coastal areas, simultaneously developing industry and agriculture, light and heavy industries and modern and indigenous methods, and building small, medium-sized and big enterprises at the same time. Under the guidance of the general line, our people created the people's commune as a form of organization in the rural areas. An invigorating great leap forward occurred in industry and agriculture all over the country. This was a great victory for the Party's general line.

In the excellent situation in which revolution and construction were advancing rapidly, Liu Shao-chi and company changed their tactics. Acting in an extreme "Left" manner at first, they opposed Chairman Mao's correct thesis that the rural people's commune is a system of socialist collective ownership, negated the law of value and commodity production and attempted to sabotage the revolutionary mass movement. Chairman Mao criticized their mistakes in good time, defended the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses and took concrete measures to guide the mass movement on to the correct path. At the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party held in August 1959, Peng Teh-huai came out with vicious attacks from the Right on the Party's general line; he frantically opposed the great leap forward, the people's communes and the revolutionary mass movement. Later, Liu Shao-chi also levelled repeated attacks from the Right on the Party's general line. They and their gang did their utmost to exaggerate the temporary economic difficulties caused by three years of natural calamities and the tearing up of contracts and withdrawal of experts by the Soviet revisionist renegade

clique. They denied the fact that, led by Chairman Mao and adhering to the Party's general line, the people of the country could overcome the difficulties and had already won initial successes. They openly put forward and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in domestic and foreign affairs, namely, san zi yi bao (the extension of free markets and of plots for private use, the promotion of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on a household basis) and san he yi shao (the liquidation of struggle in relations with imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries, and reduction of assistance and support to the world revolution) They were no longer waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, but were waving white flags to oppose the red flag.

The fact that the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique was running rampant was an indication not of their strength, but of their panic in the face of the deepening proletarian revolution. Historical experience proves that, invariably, the activities of domestic counter-revolutionaries and the opportunists in the Party are not only political struggles in character but are co-ordinated with those of foreign reactionaries. Liu Shao-chi and company regarded the rabid anti-China campaign launched by the U. S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the Indian reactionaries as their golden opportunity to restore capitalism. Facts prove just the opposite. The proletariat and the people of China are never afraid of difficulties. The imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries cannot harm us in the slightest with their blockades, embargoes, armed aggression and subversion from within, which, on the contrary, encourage us all the more to maintain independence and initiative, rely on our own efforts and work hard for the prosperity of the country and transform society with soaring revolutionary drive. It is not the Chinese people who

are isolated, but imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, including their running dogs Liu Shao chi and his pack.

The Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962 was of great historic significance. It marked the start of a new attack against the bourgeoisie by the Chinese proletariat and working people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. At this session, Chairman Mao issued the great call "Never forget class struggle" to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the nationalities throughout the country, summed up the experience of China and the international communist movement and more comprehensively put forward the basic line of our Party for the entire historical period of socialism, which has now been written into our Party Constitution. He also pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." After this session, Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* in which he criticized the bourgeois idealism and metaphysics of Liu Shao-chi. Under Comrade Lin Piao's guidance, the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* was compiled and published, and this promoted the widespread development of the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. At Chairman Mao's call, our Party launched attacks in such ideological fields as Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music, that had long been controlled by Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters; as a result, the heroic figures of workers, peasants and soldiers began to appear on the stage. At the same time, the Party started the socialist education movement throughout the country. In the course of this movement the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique used

the power they had usurped to launch a fierce counter-attack against the proletariat and opposed the policy clearly set forth by Chairman Mao: "**The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.**" They hit hard at the masses of cadres and people and protected the handful of capitalist roaders by methods which were "Left" in form but Right in essence; they openly attacked the scientific Marxist method of investigating and studying social conditions advocated by Chairman Mao, branding it as "outdated"; and they opposed the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, opposed the revolution in literature and art and opposed criticism of the bourgeoisie. In November 1965, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, and in 1966 Liu Shao-chi and company produced the "February Outline" to oppose it. The twists and turns in the struggle further exposed Liu Shao-chi as the arch representative of the capitalist roaders in the country, the Khrushchov of China. The Circular of May 16, 1966 worked out under Chairman Mao's guidance called on the whole Party to guard against "**persons like Khrushchov.... who are still nestling beside us.**" The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Party, which was set up in accordance with the Circular, firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in August 1966, Chairman Mao presided over the adoption of the Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and put up his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," formally taking the lid off Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. And so came the high tide of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This revolution which Chairman Mao personally

initiated and has been leading with the boldness and vision of a great proletarian revolutionary, and in which the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions have been taking part is "a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuo-mintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." It may also be called China's second revolution. At first many of our comrades had a very poor understanding of this revolution. When the masses rose and split into two groupings, and even struggle by force occurred, everything under heaven seemed to be in chaos for a time. Some people ask: Since Liu Shao-chi and his handful usurped part of the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it needs only an order from Chairman Mao to dismiss them from office. Why should the present method be adopted? Practice shows that the other method, dismissal from office, could not solve the problem, though it was adopted on many occasions. This revolution is not merely about the dismissal of a few people from office; it is a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Liu Shao-chi not only had a revisionist political line but also had an organizational line which served his political line. The leadership in quite a number of our units was not in the hands of Marxists and the worker and peasant masses. Only by arousing the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below would it be possible to clean out the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, temper hundreds of millions of people in class struggle, educate them in the struggle against revisionism and enable them to gain experience in seizing back that portion of power which had been usurped by a handful of capitalist roaders. Speaking of chaos, it occurred be-

cause there were firstly counter-revolutionaries and secondly capitalist roaders who engaged in sabotage and created disturbances under flags of all descriptions. But they could only hoodwink some of the people for some of the time. Armed with *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*, the masses took part in debates and gradually learnt how to distinguish between good and bad people and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line, and how to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies correctly. In this way the whole country became a great school for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, and the broad masses learnt in the stormy struggle what they could not have learnt in normal times. Therefore, in the final analysis, the chaos threw only the enemy into disorder but tempered the masses. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has made new contributions in the service of the people by taking part in the "three supports and two militaries" ( i. e., support the broad masses of the Left, support industry and support agriculture and military control and political and military training ). Since the day of its founding, our People's Liberation Army has been a fighting force and at the same time a working force and a production force, and it has more than 40 years' experience in doing mass work. That is why our army men could easily become one with the masses and help to bring about a speedier development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in different places, and this has enabled our army to further steel itself. The revolutionary committees at all levels, born in the storm of class struggle, constitute a double three-in-one combination in the sense that they comprise representatives of the army, the cadres and the masses and of old, middle-aged and young people. Members of the Party committees at all levels elected after Party consolidation include not only proletarian revolutiona-

ries of the older generation but also middle-aged and younger ones. All this has created favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and given our Party and country more vitality than ever. As Chairman Mao said, "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." Under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, the Ninth National Congress of the Party was convened in April 1969, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had won great victories. The Congress adopted Vice-Chairman Lin's political report and the Constitution of the Communist Party of China and elected the new Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. In his political report, Vice-Chairman Lin systematically expounded Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and summed up the basic experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Therefore, in this article, we will not go into detail about this revolution.

Since the Ninth National Congress of the Party, the development of class struggle at home and abroad has proved that the line of the Congress is completely correct. The tasks and policies defined at the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party are also completely correct. Though splendid victories have been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the tasks ahead are still arduous in carrying out struggle-criticism-transformation on various fronts and particularly in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. We still have to wage a protracted struggle to fulfil the task of further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat politically,

ideologically, economically and organizationally. Chairman Mao teaches us that no one must think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. For socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the Marxist theory of continued revolution and on practice under its guidance. Our whole Party must keep Chairman Mao's teachings firmly in mind and recognize that this struggle is protracted and complex. We must resolutely carry out the fighting tasks laid down at the Ninth National Congress of the Party and the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and strive to win still greater victories.

### The Important Thing Is to Be Good at Learning

A review of the fighting course traversed by our Party over the past 50 years confirms this truth: When our Party departs from Chairman Mao's leadership and goes against Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's line, it suffers setbacks and defeats; when our Party closely follows Chairman Mao, acts in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought and implements Chairman Mao's line, it advances and triumphs. Comrade Mao Tsetung's works are the most comprehensive summary of the theory and practice of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the revolution and construction. In summing

up the historical experience of our Party, Comrade Mao Tsetung said in 1939: "To sum up our eighteen years of experience and our current new experience on the basis of our understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution, and to spread this experience throughout the Party, so that our Party becomes as solid as steel and avoids repeating past mistakes—such is our task."

Of the historical experience of our Party summed up by Chairman Mao, what in particular should the whole Party pay attention to and study today?

1. It is necessary to adhere to "the consistent ideological principle of our Party," namely, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

The history of our Party tells us: In his great practice in leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always adhered to the world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and used the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to make thorough investigations and studies of the political and economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and their inter-relations, make a concrete analysis of the conditions of our enemies, our friends and ourselves, scientifically sum up positive and negative historical experience and correctly formulate the Party's line and policies; he has thus inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and led the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in their triumphant advance. But the divorce of theory and practice and the split between the subjective and the objective are the ideological characteristics of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and other sham Marxists. Proceeding from their idealist and metaphy-

sical world outlook, they opposed and distorted dialectical and historical materialism, opposed investigation and study and class analysis, and opposed the unity of theory and practice, either from the Right or from the "Left." They, too, talked about Marxism-Leninism and even pretended to be Marxist theoreticians, but only to bluff and hoodwink worker-peasant cadres and innocent young people, whereas they themselves never intended to act in accordance with Marxism but were always anti-Marxist. Hence their words and deeds inevitably ran counter to the objective laws of social development, to the desires of the masses and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line which correctly reflects objective laws and the desires of the people, and they were bound to go bankrupt in the practice of revolution. For a time, some of our comrades were unable to distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines because, as far as the subjective factor was concerned, they had not read Marxist-Leninist works or, though having read some, they were unable to apply the fundamental ideological principle stressed time and time again by Comrade Mao Tsetung in observing and handling problems and remould their subjective world in the process of transforming the objective world. This is a most profound historical lesson all Communist Party members, old and new, must always bear in mind.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "Read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism," comrades throughout the Party, and primarily senior cadres, are now conscientiously studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, and studying the Party's historical experience over the past 50 years and its current new experience. The integration of the cadres' study movement with that of the masses has produced positive results and will

continue to do so. We must persist in this. In reading and studying, it is essential to keep to the principle of integrating theory with practice. It is essential to read and study with problems in mind, problems arising in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and problems in the Chinese and the world revolution. This means combining reading with investigation and study and with the summing up of experience, combining the study of historical experience with the present-day struggle and the criticism of opportunism in the past with the criticism of modern revisionism. Since countrywide liberation, Chairman Mao has led the whole Party in making a number of criticisms—from the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the bourgeois ideology reflected in the study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, the criticism of Hu Shih, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and the bourgeois Rightists to the criticism of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique; these criticisms have deeply educated the whole Party, army and people. The criticism of modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre conducted by the whole Party under Chairman Mao's leadership and the great polemics on the general line of the international communist movement especially provide most profound and vivid Marxist-Leninist education for the whole Party. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is a struggle of principle between the two lines in the international communist movement. Khrushchov, Brezhnev and company are renegades from the proletarian revolution, mad present-day social-imperialists and world storm-troopers opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people. It is our Party's bounden internationalist duty to continue the exposure and criticism of modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism at its centre and carry the struggle

through to the end. Comrades throughout the Party must combine the study of Marxism-Leninism with the criticism of modern revisionism in China and abroad and learn to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and acquire a really good grasp of Marxism in the course of struggle.

2. It is necessary to wage inner-Party struggle correctly. Making a correct distinction between the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves—and handling them correctly are the fundamental guarantee that the Party will strengthen its unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in defeating the enemy.

It is essential thoroughly to expose the few bourgeois conspirators, careerists, renegades and enemy agents, who have concealed themselves in the Party, and the hidden traitors who have illicit relations with foreign countries. Bad people invariably disguise themselves and resort to conspiracy and double-dealing. But since they are engaged in evil-doing, they are bound to expose themselves. For example, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi who had hidden inside the Party for decades was exposed in the end; Wang Ming fled abroad and finally became a "100 per cent" traitor and enemy agent.

As for comrades in the Party who have committed errors, they must all be dealt with according to a different principle, namely, "unity, criticism, unity" and "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient" so as to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among

comrades. In explaining this principle, Chairman Mao said: "The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones.' But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death." Chairman Mao once again stressed this principle during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, pointing out: "Apart from those obstinate anti-Party and anti-socialist elements who have refused to mend their ways after repeated education, people should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to atone for their misdeeds." This correct principle of Comrade Mao Tsetung's in handling inner-Party contradictions is different from both the Right opportunist fallacy of "inner-Party peace," which negates contradictions and confuses right and wrong, and the "Left" opportunist fallacy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows." We should study the historical experience of inner-Party struggle waged under different historical conditions so as to enable our Party to play its leading role as the vanguard of the proletariat still better.

3. Efforts must be made to guard against arrogance. This is of particular importance to a Party which has won great victories, a Party which is in power and leads the people of all nationalities of the country in carrying out the socialist revolution and construction and a Party which shoulders great internationalist obligations to the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world.

Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: "There have been several occasions in the history of our Party when great

conceit manifested itself and we suffered in consequence. The first was in the early half of 1927. The Northern Expeditionary Army had reached Wuhan, and some comrades became so proud and overweening as to forget that the Kuomintang was about to assault us. The result was the error of the Chen Tu-hsiu line, which brought defeat to the revolution. The second occasion was in 1930. Taking advantage of Chiang Kai-shek's large-scale war against Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsishan, the Red Army won a number of battles, and again some comrades became proud and overweening. The result was the error of the Li Li-san line, again causing some losses to the revolutionary forces. The third occasion was in 1931. The Red Army had smashed the Kuomintang's third 'encirclement and suppression' campaign and, immediately afterwards, faced with the Japanese invasion, the people throughout the country started the stormy and heroic anti-Japanese movement; and again some comrades became proud and overweening. The result was an even more serious error in the political line, which cost us about 90 per cent of the revolutionary forces that we had built up with so much toil. The fourth occasion was in 1938. The War of Resistance had begun and the united front had been established; and once again some comrades became proud and overweening. As a result they committed an error somewhat similar to the Chen Tu-hsiu line. This time the revolutionary work suffered serious damage in those places where the effects of these comrades' erroneous ideas were more especially pronounced. Comrades throughout the Party should take warning from these instances of pride and error." They should "not repeat the error of becoming conceited at the moment of success."

"Modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind."

4. We should follow the theory of two points, not the theory of one point. While paying attention to the main tendency, we should take note of the other tenden-

cy which may be covered up. We must take full notice and firmly grasp the principal aspect and at the same time solve one by one the problems arising from the non-principal aspect. We should see the negative as well as the positive aspects of things. We should see the problems that have already arisen and also anticipate problems which are not yet perceived but which may arise.

During the democratic revolution, when our Party formed a united front with the bourgeoisie and alliance became the main trend, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to opposing the Right tendency of "all alliance and no struggle." When the alliance between our Party and the bourgeoisie broke up and armed struggle became the main form of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to opposing the "Left" tendency of "all struggle and no alliance." On the eve of the countrywide victory of the People's War of Liberation, Chairman Mao foresaw that "there may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugarcoated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets." Chairman Mao issued this call to the whole Party: "The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."

During the socialist revolution, whenever our attacks on the bourgeoisie and our victories over them become the main trend, Chairman Mao invariably reiterates various proletarian policies and reminds us to remain prudent, help more people through education and narrow the target of attack, unite with all forces that can be united, and prevent and overcome the "Left" tendency running counter to these policies. But when

the bourgeoisie launches attacks on us or when our Party encounters temporary difficulties on its way forward or concentrates on correcting certain shortcomings or mistakes in work, Chairman Mao invariably reminds us to remain firm, persist in proletarian leadership, distinguish between the principal and secondary aspects, not to regard everything as positive or to negate everything, to guard against sabotage and counter-attacks by open and hidden enemies and oppose and overcome the Right tendency away from the socialist path. At every crucial moment in history when a certain tendency has developed to such extent as to endanger the cause of the Party, Chairman Mao always firmly steers the course for us with proletarian revolutionary fearlessness against the current.

5. It is necessary to adhere to the mass line. The basic line for all work in our Party is to rely on the masses, have faith in them and fully arouse them, "from the masses, to the masses," "take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through." We adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts precisely because we firmly believe that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

Both in the democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung has repeatedly stressed the importance of the mass line. He regards perseverance in the mass line as fundamental to perseverance in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and regards working for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world as a requirement for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has sharply refuted the reactionary viewpoints of such pseudo-

Marxists as Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi who slandered and repressed the masses. And he has constantly criticized and corrected the various tendencies in the Party towards keeping aloof from the masses. Chairman Mao has taught us time and again: The relation of the Communist Party to the people is that of fish to water. At no time should a Communist divorce himself from the masses. Today when we have won tremendous victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the ties between the Party and the masses are closer than ever, we should pay still greater attention to going to the masses, showing concern for them, listening attentively to them and consulting with them as matters arise. We should run the May 7 cadre schools well. We should regularly participate in collective productive labour. It is necessary to guard against repeating the mistake of divorcing oneself from the masses. In contradistinction to the type of person who claims to be a "humble little commoner" but is actually a big careerist, we should sincerely learn from the masses while tirelessly educating them in Mao Tsetung Thought, overcome erroneous tendencies and raise the political consciousness of the people.

Chairman Mao has always showed concern for the unity of all nationalities of the country. Ours is a multi-national country; it is essential to ensure good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. We should oppose both Han chauvinism and local nationalism, develop the fraternal relations the various nationalities have forged in the revolution and in the struggle to build the motherland, and strengthen the great unity of the people of all nationalities of the country.

6. It is necessary to uphold democratic centralism.

Our Party Constitution clearly stipulates that the organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism, that is, centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Both inside and outside the Party, we must create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Our Party is a militant Party, and without centralism, discipline and unity of will, it cannot defeat the enemy. But there can be no correct centralism without democracy. Therefore, Comrade Mao Tsetung always opposes the practice of "what I say counts" and advocates the practice of "letting all people have their say." He opposes telling lies and advocates speaking the truth. He makes it a requirement for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to be bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We should give play to our Party's traditional democratic style of work, constantly make criticism and self-criticism, uphold the truth and correct mistakes. However, whether in army or in civilian work, our democracy is aimed at consolidating centralism, strengthening discipline and raising militancy, and not the opposite. Party committees at all levels must institute and strengthen the Party committee system, strengthen centralized leadership, prevent excessive decentralization and the practice of "many centres," that is, no centre, and must achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader.

7. It is necessary to build a powerful people's army. The historical experience of the Party shows that "without a people's army the people have nothing." The

Chinese People's Liberation Army is a proletarian army created and led by our great leader Chairman Mao and commanded by Vice-Chairman Lin. "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." Upholding the Marxist-Leninist line, Chairman Mao has defeated sabotage by "Left" and Right opportunism, and as a result, our army has grown in strength and become the pillar of our dictatorship of the proletariat. The world will have no peace as long as there are classes, as long as there is imperialism. The two superpowers, U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, are today contending and colluding with each other and pushing politics of hegemony in a vain attempt to divide the world. Japanese militarism, too, is trying to realize its old fond dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." Therefore on no account must we ever overlook the danger of their aggression and subversion against our motherland. Our principle is: **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** We must never for a moment forget preparedness against war. We must at all times be ready to smash aggression and subversion by any imperialism. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We need not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize the people's militia on a big scale. Thus, should any imperialism dare to invade our country, we will drown it in the vast ocean of people's war.

8. It is necessary to uphold proletarian internationalism. Chairman Mao has always educated the whole Party and the people of the whole country in proletarian internationalism so that they can overcome both "Left" and Right opportunist interferences and correctly handle the relation between the revolution

in China and her support and aid to the world revolution.

In its struggles over the past 50 years, the Chinese Communist Party has always enjoyed the support of the world proletariat and the people of all countries, the support of friendly countries and organizations, and the support of fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world. The victories we have won are inseparable from their support. We will be for ever grateful to them and will never forget them. Chairman Mao teaches us: "According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe upon which all mankind will be emancipated." The fundamental interests of the Chinese proletariat and Chinese people are identical not only with those of the people of Albania, Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Korea and all Asian, African and Latin American countries, but also with those of the people of all countries, including the people of the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. As Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970, "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." The task of the Chinese Communist Party is: On the one hand, to lead the proletariat and the people of the country in doing a good job in revolution and construction at home; on the other, to exert our greatest efforts to struggle together with the people of all countries to defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs, oppose the politics of hegemony pushed by the two superpowers and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. This is our principled stand which is firm and unshakable. Although we have achieved some success in our

revolution and construction, our country is still comparatively poor and backward. Our contribution to the world revolution is still very small. We must continue our efforts. But even when China becomes a strong socialist country after several decades, we should never become tainted with arrogant great-power chauvinism or big-party chauvinism either. We should always remember Chairman Mao's teaching: "In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." Every nation, big or small, has its strong and weak points. We should learn from the strong points of the revolutionary people of other countries and always unite with them, fight side by side and win victory together.

Thousands upon thousands of martyrs dedicated their lives to the cause of liberation of the people of China and the world in protracted arduous struggle. Their revolutionary spirit is for ever an inspiration to us. Whatever the difficulties and hardships, nothing can stop our advance.

We are living in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Compared with the days when the Chinese Communist Party was born 50 years ago, the revolutionary situation throughout the world today is excellent; it is better than ever before. The final destruction of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries is not far off.

**Unite to win still greater victories!**

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

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

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

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

## Report on the Revolutionary Armed Struggle in East Bengal

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist), the armed peasant struggle began in East Pakistan in October, 1970. To intensify the class struggle, to build the People's Liberation Army and to seize power locally, guerrilla units led by the Party waged the battle of annihilation of class enemies. It spread to various districts and hundreds of youths went to the rural areas to boldly rouse the poor and landless peasants with the teachings of Chairman Mao.

The U. S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and their Indian henchmen had no time to lose. Their old conspiracy with the Awami League, a clique of traitors, to turn East Pakistan into a base against revolution, people and Socialist China developed feverishly. So began on March 25 the counter-revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Awami League. The imperialists, the social-imperialists, the Indian expansionists and their Awami League lackeys had been exploiting fully the widespread anger and discontent of the people with the rule of the reactionaries and their imperialist masters, had been depicting the big Pakistani compradors as wholly responsible for the misery and persecution of the people and had been rousing chauvinism as best as they could. But never for once did these "liberators" of the people of East Pakistan mention the contradictions between the people on the one hand and feudalism, imperialism and social-imperialism—the most vicious enemies of the people—on the other.

Thus the Pakistani ruling classes, which had been opposing the U.S.-Soviet global war-strategy in this part of Asia because of their contradiction with the Indian expansionists, were faced with a bitter struggle against the Indian expansionists and the Awami League traitors, who were supported by the new tsars of the Soviet Union and other imperialist powers. But the Pakistani ruling classes did not distinguish between the broad masses of the people and a handful of enemy agents and did not try to win over the masses. Instead, because of their basic contradiction with the people, they went on committing unspeakable brutalities on the people roused their bitterest hatred, drove most of them into the camp of the enemy and thus indirectly helped the imperialist and social-imperialist conspiracy of dismembering Pakistan to succeed. The revolutionaries in East Pakistan could not rally behind the Yahya government, for support to the Yahya government meant liquidation of the class struggle and support to the rabid anti-people policies pursued by Yahya's army, Razakars and die-hard feudal elements. Though, at the same time, they realized that the main aspect of the situation was the conspiracy of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists. The call for a united front between the Yahya government and the Marxist-Leninist Party which would retain its independence and initiative—a united front that would be directed *not* against the people but against the foreign interventionists and their collaborators—was futile, for the Marxist-Leninist Party had not acquired sufficient strength to force the Yahya government to agree to it. Only by waging class war the Party could develop that strength.

So, under the leadership of the CPEP (M-L), the peasants' armed struggle for seizure of power locally

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## A Review of Armed Struggle in Birbhum

—West Bengal-Bihar Border

Region Committee, CPI (M-L)

The peasant met his wife at the market. The peasant asked, "Won't you go back home?" The wife replied, "I shall be back if only you take part in revolution, otherwise not."

About 50 *adibasi* peasants have collected in a hut. The comrades are singing a song of revolution. It is they who are composing the epic of India's liberation. They are singing :

Sidu-Kanu-Chand-Bhairav<sup>1</sup>

Hul dekin naj matale,

Mao Tsetung-Charu Mazumdar

Hul dekin rafa ruarke.

( The revolution which could not be accomplished by Sidu-Kanu-Chand-Bhairabh will now be led to victory by Mao Tsetung-Charu Mazumdar. )

The great People's Liberation Army is marching along the length and breadth of a vast area. The peasant masses rushed from the fields to greet the Army. Warmly pressing the hand of the landless peasant commander, the peasants said in a voice charged with emotion, "The military is oppressing us. Let it oppress us. But you must not stop your struggle. Revolution must continue."

<sup>1</sup> They were heroic leaders of *adibasi* revolts ( which were essentially peasant revolts ) against imperialist-feudal oppression in the 19th century.

The guerrillas from the rural areas around Suri said, "Comrades, it is impossible to liberate our country without sacrificing our lives." They fought against the reactionary armed forces of India and sacrificed their lives. They gave their lives so that our great revolution could march ahead.

Comrades, this is Birbhum. Innumerable such scenes are being enacted in the entire area from the deep jungles in far-away Santhal Parganas to the vast plains of Murshidabad. Hundreds of thousands of peasants in the area have tasted power and their hearts are brimming with revolutionary ardour. This explosion of the class-hatred of the awakened peasant masses is smashing that gang of devils who have for ages been trampling the masses under their feet. This prairie fire is reducing to ashes those who have been sucking the blood of peasants for thousands of years and have showered insults and humiliation on them in return, those who have forcibly taken away everything from the peasants and have been compelling them to lead a life of starvation and semi-starvation all through. No reactionary power on earth has been able or shall be able to arrest the march of this hurricane--this violent storm of a peasant uprising. This is the experience of history. This is the law of revolution. The Chinese revolution has been successful, revolutions of tens of millions of the world's people have been successful, our revolution will also be successful. Only, let us be steadfast in our loyalty to Mao Tsetung Thought, let us humbly accept the leadership of our great Party, the CPI (M-L), and of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Comrade Charu Mazumdar is the great helmsman of Indian revolution. It is by depending on him that we shall have to sail across the ocean of revolution.

Why are we saying this? Because, this is our experience. This is the experience of the armed revolu-

tionary struggle of Birbhum. When our Party began working in three thanas (i.e., police station areas) of Birbhum about three years ago we were completely ignorant of the process through which armed peasant struggle develops. It was beyond our capacity to realize Mao Tsetung Thought. Then Comrade Charu Mazumdar came to our help and said: Try to know the poor and landless peasant, try to understand him, accept him as your *guru* (teacher). Help poor and landless peasants to dream revolutionary dreams, reach Chairman's "Three Constantly-read Articles" to them.

#### CLASS LINE

Comrades, it is by grasping the class line of the poor and landless peasant with Chairman's "Three Constantly-read Articles" as the guide that we have been able to build up the struggle of Birbhum. We could not make the slightest progress until we grasped this class line of the Party. We took shelters in houses of middle peasants and were deceived. The more imminent the struggle becomes and the sharper the class struggle develops, the more afraid is the middle peasant--and we have to lose our shelters. If one lives with a middle-peasant family, he cannot, moreover, earn the confidence of the poor and landless peasants. Taking shelter in houses of poor and landless peasants is the first condition for mobilizing the masses of poor and landless peasants, and for building up the People's Army under the leadership of poor and landless peasants as an instrument of class struggle. That is why we must conduct class analysis properly. It will not also do to depend on such landless peasants as are vagabonds. Any thought of making a front with middle peasants or other forces of revolution at this stage will only adversely affect the fundamental

work of grasping the Party's class line. The more firmly we sought to grasp this class line of the Party in accordance with Comrade Charu Mazumdar's teaching, the more effectively were we able to extend and broadbase our activity. We were able to make contacts with village after village, we were able to propagate the politics of our Party. But it is through struggle that a fighting organization, a revolutionary organization, is built. The urgent task then was to start the struggle. But how to start the struggle? Comrade Charu Mazumdar placed before the Party the great line—annihilation of class enemies in the guerrilla style. Guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants were formed. Since the guerrilla squads were formed without middle peasants or intellectual comrades, the Party's class line in relation to our struggle was strengthened. Our experience shows that on this depend the release of the poor and landless peasant's initiative and establishment of their leadership over the struggle.

The first attack on a class enemy in Birbhum was made in Dubrajpur *thana* in 1969. The attack was unsuccessful as there were middle peasants in the squad and the action was undertaken at the initiative of intellectual comrades. We took lessons from this failure and became firm in our decision to work steadfastly until the poor and landless peasant's initiative was unleashed. By that time the Party's work spread from Bolpur and Suri to Santhal Parganas in the west. The annihilation campaign started from the beginning of 1970.

The guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants in Bolpur, Suri and Santhal Parganas annihilated class enemies. Comrades from Sagardighi in Murshidabad contacted comrades in Nalhati in Birbhum and the annihilation campaign began in the Nalhati area also. As the struggle began at the three places in the district,

the vast areas in between became involved in it. The struggle spread to the wide area from Rampurhat, Mayureswar, Ahmedpur to Rajnagar.

We have realized through our experience that it is as much urgent to start quickly the campaign for annihilation of class enemies as to grasp the Party's class line. This is because the Party's class line becomes more firm through the campaign for annihilation of class enemies. The hatred of ages is preserved in every particle of blood of the poor and landless peasant. Therefore, no other class is capable of jumping upon the class enemy so successfully and with such intense class hatred. We think that the contradiction that exists between grasping the Party's class-line and initiation of the struggle is resolved through this line—the campaign for annihilation of class enemies. This is because if, in some place, the campaign for annihilation of class enemies begins at the initiative of intellectual comrades, subsequently the poor and landless peasants are impelled by their natural class hatred to come forward, take initiative in this regard and assume their leading role in the struggle. Despite the inclusion of poor and landless peasants in the guerrilla squads the campaign for annihilation of class enemies in the rural areas of Bolepur began at the initiative of intellectual comrades. But subsequently the annihilation campaign was conducted entirely at the initiative of poor and landless peasants and under their leadership. In the absence of intellectual comrades they themselves planned annihilation of class enemies. In broad daylight they went to the farm-yard of a class enemy, tied the enemy's *durwan*, and annihilated the enemy with traditional weapons after having snatched his gun. In fact, the Party's class line has been put on a firm footing by the political line given by Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the various instructions given by him from the time of the formation of the Party to this day: 'take shelter in the houses of poor and landless

peasants', 'carry forward the campaign for annihilation of class enemies', 'arm the squads of poor and landless peasants by seizing rifles'—all intended to strengthen the Party's class line.

### CAMPAIGN FOR ANNIHILATION OF CLASS ENEMIES

Comrades, the campaign for annihilation of class enemies is a great line in the concrete situation of India. Reactionaries and revisionists of all hues are attacking this great line and seeking, through their mischievous efforts, to destroy the very basis of the Party. We believe that in our country annihilation of class enemies is the starting-point of armed revolutionary struggle. In our opinion, any attack on this line of the Party Congress—this great line of Comrade Charu Mazumdar—strengthens revisionism, strengthens the reactionaries. We are not worried over the propaganda of the reactionary combine against the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, because tens of millions of poor and landless peasants and other toiling people have tasted freedom through this campaign for annihilation of class enemies. In reality, we have deprived the class enemies and their armed force of the exclusive right to murder, which they have enjoyed for ages. They murder workers, peasants and the petty bourgeois toiling people. But we kill the few hated class enemies, the feudal lords, and the police and the military which protect them. Their violence is counter-revolutionary violence. That is why they deliberately resort to cold-blooded mass-murder everywhere, on roads and even in jails. They commit murder to serve the interests of a few, to preserve this dirty social system marked by exploitation, oppression, humiliation and starvation. And we? We stand for revolutionary violence. We kill in order to

serve the interests of the broad masses. We kill so that a bright People's Democratic India is built through destruction of this abominable social system. It is they who first direct their counter-revolutionary violence against the people. Think of 1959 and 1966. There was no Naxalbari then. The CPI (M-L) had not been formed then. Who then killed hundreds of unarmed and hungry people with lathis and bullets? Every year the feudal exploiters and their hired goondas jump upon thousands of poor and landless peasants and conceal their bodies after murdering them. And, afterwards, these men move about with Gandhi caps on and are termed great. Yes, the exclusive right to counter-revolutionary violence is Gandhism, and to oppose that violence with revolutionary violence is Mao Tsetung Thought. Violence, murder and war are inherent in class-divided society based on exploitation. Only after a society free from exploitation is built through elimination of counter-revolutionary violence by means of revolutionary violence will violence, murder and war be effaced from the face of the earth. This is the teaching of historical materialism. This is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. That is why without taking cover under any political trickery we unequivocally give the call: Attack the hated feudal lords, eliminate the counter-revolutionary war of their mercenary forces by waging revolutionary war, accept humbly Comrade Charu Mazumdar's great line of annihilating class enemies.

This line is great, because it is a wonderful tool for mobilizing the poor and landless peasants and sharpening class struggle. It is the only effective way of breaking the firm grip of the class enemy on the villages. Keeping in view the objective of seizure of power, we have carried forward the annihilation campaign. Without the objective of seizure of power the annihilation campaign is meaningless. That is why we have selected the most

cruel and oppressive leaders of the rural reactionaries and annihilated them. To us the size of the land or property is not the criterion for determining our target in the annihilation campaign; the criteria are the reactionary and cruel character of the class enemy and the class hatred of the poor and landless peasants against that enemy. In this regard, we have entirely depended on the class hatred of the broad masses of poor and landless peasants. Again, in the present situation, it is not always possible for us in most cases to openly try and sentence the enemy to death in the presence of all. It is only possible after the liberated area is permanently established. In almost every case the guerrilla squads have, as far as possible within existing limitations, followed the method of conducting detailed investigations among the masses. It is in this way that the Party's guerrilla squads composed of poor and landless peasants have conducted investigations and annihilated 70 to 75 class enemies in villages in 20 *thanas* in the area. In some cases *jotedars* have been punished after taking the people's verdict at people's courts. As we have kept mobilization of the peasant masses in view, in our annihilation campaign we have tried everywhere to enlist the support of the vast peasant masses as far as possible. At Sultanpur in Ilambazar *thana* Panchanan Chatterji a *jotedar*, was annihilated on the basis of the verdict of the assembled broad masses. The people's court held that Jiten Halidar, a *jotedar* of Itanda, a village in the Bolepur area, need not be sentenced to death. The peasant guerrillas ordered him to leave the village in accordance with the verdict of the people's court. In the Bolepur area the peasant masses summoned a guerrilla squad to annihilate the hated class enemy, Amalendu Pain. The guerrilla squad carried out the people's directive. At Ghoshnagar in Dubrajpur the peasant masses wanted that one of the class enemies be

annihilated and the others let free. The verdict of the masses was carried out. Since in the campaign for annihilation of class enemies we followed this method—this method of depending on the broad peasant masses—we were able to mobilize and activate the vast numbers of poor and landless peasants and simultaneously to further strengthen the Party's class line. The poor and landless peasant guerrillas have, instead of becoming isolated, learnt to depend all the more on their own class.

We have learnt from our experience that the annihilation campaign is not only a very strong weapon for sharpening the class struggle and for mobilizing the peasant masses. It is also an effective way of isolating the revisionists. As soon as the struggle for annihilation of class enemies began in the district, the leaders of the CPI, CPI (M) and SUC started a propaganda campaign against it. They placed before the poor and landless peasants the example of the movement based on economism. Then they sought to keep the peasant masses away from the CPI (M-L) by playing on their fear of the police and the military. Their dirty character became clear to the peasant masses. On whose side are those who create obstacles in the way of annihilation of class enemies? It became as clear as daylight that they are not certainly on the side of the peasants. The fact is, as the campaign for annihilation of class enemies progressed, the CPI (M-L) became the only party of peasants, workers and other toiling people in towns as well as in villages. The leaders of all the revisionist parties locked their offices and disappeared from the scene. Some workers of these parties became inactive. A considerable number of their workers were influenced by our politics and left their respective parties.

#### THE STRUGGLE IN TOWNS

As the campaign for annihilation of class enemies progressed in the villages, the tremendous impact of the

armed peasant struggle was felt in towns also. Responding to the call of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, youths and students of towns flung themselves into revolutionary work. Bolpur, Hetampur, Suri, Rampurhat, Nalhati - these small and medium sized towns of the district are surrounded by villages. These towns have grown, mainly centring round the feudal lords of the villages. The main form of exploitation in these towns is usury. In the beginning the student and youth comrades of towns propagated in urban areas the Party's politics. Now, under the impact of the armed peasant struggle attack was launched also on urban reactionaries who are mainly feudal exploiters. The Party's work in the slums of the towns began and a few class enemies were attacked in accordance with the wishes of the toiling people living there. Attacks on the police and their agents also began. The objectives were: first, to mobilize the toiling people in towns (many of these toiling people have their relations in the villages. Naturally, the struggle in towns will have its impact on villages also); secondly, to create a certain amount of red terror in towns and to reduce the class enemies' oppression on the toiling people; thirdly, to develop urban youths and students as fighting guerrillas; fourthly, to harass the State machinery not only in villages but also in towns and thus to attack the reactionary demons from all sides, to strike at their hands, legs and heads.

We welcomed the attack on the colonial educational system and culture launched by youths and students, because this education and culture cripple the revolutionary consciousness of students and youths and make them hate and neglect workers, peasants and other toiling people. That is to say, we rejected totally Satyanarain's hated document regarding urban struggles and welcomed Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line as the most correct one. As the urban struggle was built up as complementary to the struggle in villages, the gulf between villages and towns was bridged

by revolutionary struggle. Inevitably, this had its impact on the armed peasant struggle in rural areas. The peasant masses of villages became all the more confident of the victory of revolution. Since the attack began in the very citadel of reaction, the peasant guerrillas became all the more inspired and exerted themselves to make the peasant struggle sharper.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE BIRTH OF NEW MEN

This struggle of ours is not only a struggle for seizure of power. Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said that we must become new men. This is a struggle for the birth of new men.

The new man is born after being steeled in the fire of class struggle. This new man is ceaselessly fighting against selfishness, narrow-mindedness and illusions, setting up examples of sacrifice, and is marching forward after having conquered death and smashed all obstacles in the interest of the people and revolution.

In the Rampurhat area a landless peasant guerrilla lost one finger completely while annihilating a class enemy. In the midst of the excitement of annihilating a class enemy he could not feel it. When another guerrilla later drew his attention to this, he felt no sorrow at all. He said, "Comrade, I am a revolutionary. This hand (with one finger lost) will remain as a memento of the revolution." This comrade was subsequently caught by the police and was brutally tortured. When one of his relations went to see him in jail some time later, he said, "Once I go out of jail, I shall again annihilate the vile enemies." Without caring in the least for their personal safety, two guerrillas of Kuntahit *thana* jumped upon a class enemy and his gang of goondas, annihilated the enemy and came out, swinging their *tangis*.

The village *chowkidar* has come along with the police and they are carrying on repression in every house. The *chowkidar* is helping the police to identify the houses of active peasant workers. At this oppression on the people and this enmity towards the Party, one comrade—a landless peasant guerrilla, 10 or 11 years old—was burning with class hatred. As soon as the police force withdrew, the young guerrilla jumped on the *chowkidar*, annihilated him and said in a loud voice, "Today or tomorrow, we shall in this manner kill those who oppress the people."

Every day new men are born through the struggle against selfishness. On the very night he was married, a peasant guerrilla left for a place 10 miles away to participate in the campaign for annihilation of class enemies. When he was asked not to do so, he said, "I am a guerrilla of the People's Army. To me, the Party and the interest of the struggle are paramount." In the Rampurhat area an aged landless peasant handed over his 12-year-old son to the Party and said, "Admit him into your guerrilla squad. He will certainly be able to fight." This reminds us of one incident. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China a soldier of the PLA sacrificed his life while trying to rescue people who were marooned at a flood affected place. At the meeting called by the Party to mourn his noble death, his aged father handed over to the Party his only surviving son and said: "Admit him into the PLA. Let him follow in the footsteps of my other sons and dedicate his life to the cause of the people." Comrades, in India too, we are witnessing the birth of new men who do not hesitate to jump upon the enemy in the face of certain death. A bright example of such self-sacrifice was set by two peasant guerrillas of Chatra, a village in Suri, and an organizer-comrade—Comrade Lakshman Mal, Comrade Gopal Majhi and Comrade Raghunath Sengupta. The military and the police were then carrying on repression in village after village. The

comrades said, "If revolution is to be carried forward, attacks have to be launched against those who are oppressing the poor peasant masses. However small our strength may be, we must demonstrate to the peasant masses that even the army can be attacked. We shall die, but Chairman has said that there is nothing greater than courting death in the interest of the people." Inspired by Chairman Mao's Thought these comrades—conquerors of death—fought with extraordinary heroism and sacrificed their noble lives. We know that the great sacrifice of these heroic comrades will not and cannot go in vain. Thousands of heroic comrades will march forward along the path made crimson with the martyrs' blood—they will liberate our dear motherland by shedding their blood.

Chairman has urged us to fight ~~against~~ self and <sup>combat</sup> ~~smash~~ revisionism. It is by fighting ~~against~~ self and smashing revisionism that poor and landless peasants and urban youths and students are marching forward in the struggle for the birth of new men. The revisionists have so long been propagating the idea that the people do not come forward on the issue of seizure of political power and that it is through economic movements that people are drawn into struggle. The meaning of their propaganda is that people are more keen on gaining economic advantages. That is why, the revisionists focus attention on the movement for distribution of vested land and on the movement for bonus and wage increase. The poor peasant masses here have given a slap on their face and are carrying forward the struggle for establishing their political power. That is why after having occupied 70 bighas of land of a *jotedar* who had fled, the peasant masses declared, "There is no need to distribute this land. We shall all enjoy the fruits of this land under the guidance of the Revolutionary Committee." To ensure that their lives were spared, hated class enemies offered to place all their wealth—gold, cash, property worth

lacs of rupees—at the disposal of the peasant guerrillas. The guerrillas kicked off all that was offered and annihilated the enemies. In various places of the district comrades did not even touch currency notes worth thousands of rupees. They burnt them instead. They caused much damage to property worth lacs of rupees. Wherever they confiscated the money, gold, watches and other articles of class enemies, they promptly handed over the articles to the Party. They did not think of retaining even a copper for themselves, because they are revolutionaries, they want to make revolution, they want to become new men.

Comrades, innumerable such new men have been born in our area by carrying forward the struggle against the concrete manifestations of revisionism as indicated by Comrade Charu Mazumdar and by launching attacks on and fighting against the vile enemies with traditional weapons and from close quarters.

### CAMPAIGN FOR SEIZING GUNS

The new man is born. Chairman Mao has said that such new men are the decisive factor in a struggle. Weapon is a necessary factor. That is why we want guns now. The new men of Naxalbari—the heroic peasants—snatched rifles from the hands of the police at Magurjan. This marked the beginning of a new stage in the struggle—a new period when the political power of the poor and landless peasants, of India's great proletariat, is to be firmly established. The revolutionary struggle underwent a qualitative change. At the Party Congress Comrade Charu Mazumdar had said that in the hands of a poor and landless peasant the rifle snatched from the enemy would roar like a hundred thousand cannon. In our revolutionary struggle the historic Magurjan event

resounded like the roar of a hundred thousand guns. On behalf of the Party Comrade Charu Mazumdar issued the call for arming the peasant squads by seizing rifles and guns. Responding to the call, revolutionary youths and students and poor and landless peasants—in short, the Party with its entire strength—threw themselves into this struggle in our area. Whether in towns or villages, there began a widespread mass movement for snatching rifles and guns.

The first seizure of a rifle in the district took place in the Rampurhat area about the middle of March this year. The rifle was seized from the hands of the police. This initiated the campaign for arming peasant squads with guns snatched from class enemies. On an average, five to 10 guns reached the Party every day. It became difficult for us to keep count of them.

This occurred at Vinaybhaban, Santiniketan, in Bolpur. From investigations guerrilla comrades had the impression that two guards armed with rifles were on duty there. Arming themselves with traditional weapons, 11 guerrilla comrades went out in the evening. Final investigations showed that there were on duty four guards, not two, and each was armed with a rifle. Asked whether under the circumstances the guerrillas should return without attacking, the guerrilla commander said: "There is no question of returning without making an attack—jump upon them." With traditional weapons, the comrades jumped upon the guards. The other side started firing. Then began a hand-to-hand fight—a tug-of-war with the rifles. The guards went on showering bullets. But the indomitable guerrillas, full of extraordinary courage, were also desperate—they were determined to snatch the rifles. Ultimately, the guerrillas seized three rifles after having annihilated three of the guards. One guard escaped.

In Ilambazar a squad composed jointly of peasants,

youths and students jumped upon a four-man police picket. Since each of the four policemen surrendered by raising hands, the comrades let them go after taking possession of the four muskets.

In Iantipara in Birbhum 10 guns of class enemies were seized in a day. The next village is Parashia. The class enemies of that village threw a challenge: "Let the Naxals come here. We shall blow the skulls off their heads." The guerrilla comrades took up the challenge and went out with traditional weapons. There were 11 guerrillas. With their guns pointed, nine class enemies were waiting on the roofs of their houses. As the guerrillas entered the village, they shouted slogans: "Long live the CPI (M-L)", "Long live Comrade Charu Mazumdar." The class enemies trembled in fear and started shooting at random. With remarkable efficiency, the guerrilla commander led his squad forward. His loud voice was heard: "Comrades, ready. Charge dynamite.—Well, wait a little. Allow them a little time." As the guerrilla commander shouted like this from time to time, the comrades proceeded forward step by step. Seized with terrible fear, one class enemy said, "Take my gun and cartridges. Do not blow us off with dynamite, sons." The guerrillas then observed that two girls were looking at them through the partly-opened door of a class enemy's house. At once a guerrilla jumped on the door and brought the girls to the front of the guerrilla column. The guerrillas then began marching, keeping the two girls at the head of the column. The girls went on shouting: "Please do not shoot or we shall die." Some of the class enemies surrendered immediately while the doors of the other enemies' houses were broken open and all their guns seized. The guerrillas of the area set many other examples of indomitable courage in braving the world combined with skill in applying guerrilla tactics.

In one *thana* (police station area) in our area a poor

peasant commander led an attack on a class enemy's house with a toy pistol and seized a few guns.

It was exemplary courage that made possible the snatching of three rifles after annihilating one sub-inspector and injuring two constables in west Rampurhat

Even in the midst of the massive "encirclement and suppression campaign" by thousands of military and police personnel rifles were snatched from the state police and the CRP. These were snatched in Suri, Ahmedpur and Nanur. In Nanur a squad of poor and landless peasants was out on a campaign for annihilation of class enemies. Accidentally they came to know that there was a six-man police picket nearby. The peasant guerrilla commander said, "Let us first snatch rifles." Thus the programme was changed. Two members of the CRP were on duty while the others were sleeping elsewhere. After annihilating one CRP man and chopping off one hand of the other, the guerrillas snatched both the rifles and then promptly left the place. Gun-snatching has taken place on roads, streets and everywhere else, even inside buses. The Party received about 200 rifles and guns and innumerable cartridges.

### THE MARCH OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY AND THE EXPLOSION

May 8, 1971. The peasant guerrilla squads picked up their rifles and placed them on their shoulder. The People's Army was formed. In the Rampurhat area of Birbhum some guerrilla squads joined their forces and began marching through one village after another day and night. In the beginning the People's Army conducted its campaign in villages where our Party organizations were weak or where local squads could not be formed. The campaign was conducted in Basudevpur, Tapan, Telpara and other

villages. In every village the broad peasant masses came forward and actively helped their People's Army. We realized the great truth. "Without a People's Army the people have nothing".

In Nalhathi *thana* (police station area) Shyamchand Singh had been annihilated earlier and Sridam Singh, the biggest moneylender of that *thana*, narrowly escaped death after being severely injured. Shyam Mohanto was a cruel and oppressive rogue of the same *thana*. This rogue, who took full advantage of the poverty of the peasant masses, had trampled upon the honour of many peasant women. To annihilate this rogue the People's Army marched from the Rampurhat area to Nalhathi on May 15. The local squad acted as the guide. In the afternoon the village in which the rogue lived was besieged so that he could not escape. As the cunning Shyam Mohanto sought to escape, the guerrillas caught hold of him with the help of the people and annihilated him. All his property was confiscated and distributed among the peasant masses. The sky and the air resounded with the slogans of the Party. The people began dancing in joy. Touching their foreheads with both hands, women saluted the People's Army, their liberator. All the documents of the class enemy were burnt. Amidst the documents were found 10 ugly photographs. The rogue had got photographed scenes of how he played with the honour of peasant women. Seeing the photographs, the guerrillas, who were burning with class hatred, again jumped on the devil's body. From among the peasant masses one rushed to the guerrillas and said, "Give me a weapon. Let me strike the rogue's body to my heart's content."

Hasun, a village in the Rampurhat area, was a stronghold of the reactionaries. Here also a squad of the People's Army annihilated a *jotedar* and seized a gun. In Ahmedpur *thana* a squad of poor and landless peasants killed three

*jotedars*, one after another, and also seized a few guns.

On May 31 the house of Sudhir Mandal in Raipur, a village in Bolepur, was attacked. His entire property was confiscated and distributed among the people. In broad daylight, on June 2, a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants annihilated in his own house, Umapati Sadhu, a notorious *jotedar* of Surul, a village in Bolepur. On June 9 and 10, an 11-member squad of the People's Army of Bolepur *thana* marched in the western part of the *thana*. The houses of a few *jotedars* in Jadavpur, Sultanpur and Bishnukhanda were attacked, their property was confiscated and distributed among the peasant masses. The guerrillas snatched 11 guns in all. On June 15 a guerrilla squad of landless peasants of Bolepur *thana* walked 35 miles to Dubrajpur *thana*, joined force with the local squad of landless peasant guerrillas and annihilated Subodh Ghosh, a *jotedar* of Rajgunj village. On June 17 the People's Army conducted a campaign in the eastern part of Bolepur *thana*. Tarapada Chatterji, the notorious *jotedar* of Mahadevpur, was tried at a people's court in the presence of the broad masses and sentenced to death in accordance with the verdict of the people. The houses of a notorious *jotedar* of Charipur village and of Narayan Hazra, the notorious *jotedar* of Madhyajara village, were attacked. These two *jotedars* succeeded in escaping. Their entire property was seized, documents burnt and the property distributed among the people. The People's Army also got hold of two guns in the course of this campaign.

In Suri area also a few class enemies and their agents were annihilated. The guerrilla squads of the area seized, on an average, four or five guns a day and took possession of about 50 guns in all.

In Mayureswar *thana* of Birbhum a guerrilla squad of

poor and landless peasants annihilated three class enemies, one after another.

On the other side, in Rajnagar in Birbhum and nearby Raniswar and Kundahit thanas in Santhal Parganas, guerrilla squads—contingents of the People's Army—attacked class enemies, one after another, from the very beginning of June. Sankar Mandal, the oppressive *jotedar* of Kathgar village in Rajnagar thana, was killed by a guerrilla squad of two landless peasants. Thereafter, the peasant guerrillas conducted campaigns in five villages in succession. In Amrajoray the enemy fled. All his documents were burnt and all his belongings broken into pieces.

In Mosabani village peasant guerrillas killed the class enemy, Debi Pal. All his documents and belongings were burnt. Attacks were conducted in Gobagan and Patanpur villages in Rajnagar thana. One class enemy was killed, two others were injured. In Parol, a village in the same thana, guerrillas of the Party annihilated a class enemy in a field in broad daylight.

In Nanur thana at the south-eastern end of Birbhum Chandrasekhar Mandal, a class enemy of village Hatgovinda, was annihilated on June 19. At about midnight a guerrilla squad of 20 poor and landless peasants killed him in front of his house.

On June 20, reactionaries caught hold of a peasant comrade in Gajidangal, a village in Bolepur thana, tortured him and informed the police. The news soon reached the peasant guerrillas of the area and the guerrillas, armed with rifles and other weapons, immediately left for the spot. Hearing that the People's Army was coming, the reactionaries tried to escape. But the People's Army surrounded the village at lightning speed, shot dead two members of the wicked gentry and rescued the peasant comrade. Our People's Army annihilated Amiya Saha, a tyrant of Supur village in the same thana, on June 21.

The struggle had also its impact on Sagardighi area in Murshidabad. Guerrilla squads seized about 45 rifles and guns in Sagardighi, Jangipur and Jiagunj thanas. A number of guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants assembled at a place and marched through some villages in the area. Three class enemies were annihilated and about 20 guns were seized by squads of poor and landless peasants.

Class enemies were also killed in Sitalgram, Bujung and another village in Nalhati thana. The storm of this struggle also hit Rajmahal area in Santhal Parganas. In that area, too, three money-lenders and *jotedars* of three villages were annihilated.

In fact, the entire area was swept by the huge storm of a peasant upheaval during the three months of May, June and July. The class enemies have become terribly panicky and have been thrown into utter confusion. But the revolutionary temper of the peasant masses is excellent.

#### THE TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE AND THE PANIC AMONG THE ENEMIES

The storm of less than three months' armed revolutionary struggle appears to have changed, in the people's view, the complexion of the entire world. On one hand, they are having the taste of freedom and enjoying the panic among the class enemies. On the other, they are enforcing their own rights. To safeguard these rights and to establish them still more firmly, the people are helping the armed struggle in different ways. When our People's Army marched in one village after another, the people gave them information about the enemy, arranged food and accommodation for the Army and guided it through village roads. During the Army's march in west Bolepur 100 to 200 peasants participated in its actions in each village. In many

cases the people themselves snatched guns, placed them on their shoulders, marched in their respective villages and shook the entire villages with slogans—"Long live Naxalbari," "Long live CPI (M-L)," "Long live the great leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar," "A long, long life to Chairman Mao."

In some cases landless peasants promulgated, to the beat of drums, the rule of the revolutionary peasant committee throughout the village. In some places they themselves fixed the rates of wages of poor and landless peasants working for the landlord on daily basis or for long periods. In the rural areas of Suri the peasant masses summoned the class enemies to appear before the revolutionary committee and place before it all facts relating to their property. The peasant masses of one village in Bolepur served an order on five *jotedars*, to leave the village and instructed them not to come back before 1975. Today we are realizing through our experience the correctness of the saying of the great Lenin, "Revolution is a festival of the masses." That is why the people are helping the armed peasant struggle in various ways. Some peasants of Bolepur went to Burdwan for earth-cutting work. There was no work for them, so they decided to do something for the Party before returning. They attacked the houses of class enemies in a village there and deposited three guns with the Party on their return to Birbhum. As we have been able to go deep among poor and landless peasant masses no reactionary power on earth can uproot our Party from the villages. That is why, despite severe police repression and torture of peasant women by India's reactionary military, the peasant masses have risked everything to protect the Party. This is their Party. They have realized that so long only "magistrates are allowed to burn down houses" and they "are forbidden even to light the lamps." Today they have earned that right through this Party. They are not afraid of oppression. Is oppression something new to the tens of millions of poor and

landless peasants of India who have been the victims of poverty, hunger, deception and torture for ages and have been bled white bit by bit? They live despite severe repression because they must make the great Indian revolution successful. The experience of every village in our area faithfully reflects the temper of the peasant masses. A poor peasant of the Rampurhat area courted arrest in order to prevent the otherwise certain arrest of four guerrillas of the Party. In Nalhati *thana* the masses of poor peasants jumped upon the police and snatched away a peasant guerrilla from their hands. Even peasant women have attacked policemen, and encircled police vans to prevent the police from arresting peasant cadres and taking them away. Guerrilla squads of peasant women have also been formed. Now, women tell their husbands that they will not live with them unless they participate in revolution. Truly, comrades, the revolutionary temper of the masses is excellent. That is why when the Party's guerrillas killed a police spy in the Bolepur area in the midst of the most severe and ruthless military oppression in one village after another, a landless peasant unknown to the Party left his work in the field unfinished, rushed to the guerrillas and said: "You have done your work. It is my duty to bury the body so that there is no trace of it. Let me do it." Comrades, another Vietnam will be created in India by these peasants, the successors of the heroic peasants of Telangana.

What is the condition of the reactionaries? In his historic call of May 20 to the people of the world, Chairman Mao said that today the reactionaries tremble at the mere rustle of leaves. Really speaking, such is the condition of the class enemies and the police force of our area. Class enemies of one village after another are leaving. In some cases they are advancing the false plea of going to the market to "buy oil-cakes," but are not returning to their

villages. When a *jotedar* of Basudevpur heard that the People's Army might again pass through the neighbourhood he promptly distributed paddy among the peasants and left for the town and sent a message from there that he would abide by all the rules of the Party. This is how those class enemies who have not fled are surrendering to the Party. Some *jotedars* are jointly raising 'volunteer' forces. What is their condition? Let us mention one incident. Seven comrades held a meeting at some place in the rural area of Suri. The meeting ended at 2 in the night. A comrade said that a *jotedar* of a nearby village and his 'volunteer' force had thrown a challenge, "If the Naxals dare so much, let them come here." At once a programme was drawn up and the comrades went out. They had with them only two knives and a torch. On the way, they first broke open the door of a class enemy in one village, seized his gun and some cartridges. Then they proceeded towards their destination. As soon as they entered the particular village there were shouts—"Thieves, thieves." Armed with lathis, spears and other weapons, the 'volunteer' party rushed towards the comrades. One comrade shouted: "We are not thieves. We are workers of the CPI (M-L). With our nails, we rip open the heart of anybody who dares oppose us." Ignoring this warning, the 'volunteer' party was still advancing towards the comrades. At this stage one of the comrades fired a blank shot from the gun. Immediately, there was complete chaos in the ranks, of the 'volunteers' and they vied with one another in running away. One of the volunteers fell into a heap of ashes, another fell on a heap of cow-dung and a third was taken as a thief by a peasant as soon as he entered the latter's house. As the peasant caught hold of him, he shouted, "I am not a thief. I am a member of the volunteer party." With torch in hand, our comrades were still pursuing the other 'volunteers'. At this stage some members of the 'volunteer' party turned

back and raised slogans of our Party." In a loud voice, they said: "We were forced to join the 'volunteer' party. Don't kill us. Come, we shall show you the *jotedar's* house." The comrades attacked the *jotedar's* house and, after seizing another double-barrel gun and some cartridges, left the village before dawn. Unable to rely on 'volunteer' parties, the *jotedars* in many places are now handing over their guns to the Party to save themselves.

The entire police force of the district was immobilized under the impact of the armed peasant struggle. The police force became terribly panicky after policemen had been attacked and their rifles snatched in six or seven places and the campaign for seizing guns under the leadership of the Party forged ahead. In some places the guerrillas of the Party took cover after annihilating class enemies and waited for hours for the police force to arrive so that they could attack it. But they had to come back disappointed as the police did not arrive even after several hours. In one area in Ahmedpur the police arrived after the annihilation of a class enemy. While inspecting the body, the officer-in-charge warned his companions: "Hold your rifles properly. This is not an ordinary murder. This murder has been committed by the Naxalites." The village reactionaries insisted: "Let a police dog be brought here. Then only we shall allow the body to be removed." Making faces at them, the officer-in-charge said: "What will the dog do? It will just go about and if it finds a mound it will urinate there. Police dogs cannot save you. If you want to be saved, pray to Him." He finished speaking by pointing a finger at the sky and then quickly left the place with the body. At present thousands of members of the armed forces have been deployed in the district but they are not camping anywhere in the villages. In the "encirclement and suppression" campaign in one area in Bolepur, 97 vans and 7,500 military personnel were deployed. Severe repression is only impeding

thousands of peasants to rally more firmly round the Party. They have placed before the Party the demand: "You have annihilated *jotedars*. Now you should annihilate the military." The seeds of active resistance are being sown gradually by the masses themselves. They are spreading all sorts of stories to hoodwink the enemy. When the military arrived at one place after annihilation of an enemy, the people said: "The murder was committed by outsiders who were in shorts and shirts and had caps on." Where the guerrillas had come with two rifles, the people spread the story that they had 'come with 20 to 25 rifles and bagloads of bombs.' The 'invincible' Indian Army is terribly afraid of bombs. Whenever army men arrest peasants they invariably say: "Tell us who are the people that make bombs." They are desperately searching for men of "the *murderer* Party." Some time ago some guerrillas and an organizer-comrade were arrested at a place in Rampurhat. They were taken to the army major. The 'jawans' had great faith in the major and believed that he would be able to recognize who were the men of "the *murderer* Party." The comrades were made to stand in a row. Looking his usual 'serious' self, the major observed the faces of the comrades and said like a wise man: "There is no member of the *murderer* Party among these men. They are all destitute people." The destitute peasant masses are today enjoying such incidents. Instead of stories of ghosts, giants and demons, the peasant masses now love to hear stories of the revolutionary struggle. Their revolutionary imagination has been fired through revolutionary struggle. They are dreaming dreams of revolution. They are composing songs of revolution. In their revolutionary imagination some one has seen Comrade Kanu Sanyal in his area, another is saying that the Radio has broadcast the news of annihilation of four *jotedars*, while some other peasant has heard that a 10-year-old girl has annihilated a policeman. Comrade

Charu Mazumdar said, "Show them how to dream dreams of revolution." Today, while the class enemies of the area are dreaming of their graves and sitting day and night inside their houses with doors and windows shut, the peasant masses are dreaming dreams of struggle, dreams of revolution, dreams of a People's Democratic India—a New India. Truly, before the very eyes of the peasant masses, the entire world is changing at the speed of a tempest.

### REVOLUTIONARY PEASANT COMMITTEES

Comrades,

Our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has urged us to attach the greatest importance, at the present stage, to the task of establishing the political power of the peasant masses through revolutionary committees. Generally speaking, we did not realize the importance of this work. It was our idea that until the condition of a liberated area was created, it would not be possible to enforce the law of the revolutionary peasant committees in villages. That is to say, we thought that peasant committees in our rural areas would be the exact replica of the peasant committees formed during the Hunan peasant movement. That is why we did not from the beginning pay attention to the task—in the concrete situation of India—of secretly forming revolutionary peasant committees. Obviously, revolutionary peasant committees cannot be formed here spontaneously and without the Party playing an active role. This is because for about 40 years the revisionist parties exercised their poisonous influence over the peasantry in this country, made the peasant masses passive by exercising their control over all matters from above, had them steeped in economism and tried to prevent them from becoming conscious of their political rights. We have said that we carried forward the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, keeping in view

the objective of seizure of political power. Then why should we not be able to start, from the very beginning, the work of building up revolutionary peasant committees as organizations for seizure of political power? Why should we not be able to start the work of building a new society simultaneously with the destruction of the old social system? How will it be possible for our People's Army to continue to remain in the villages unless we take up the task of establishing the political rights of the peasant masses and organizing them politically by making them participants in the activities of the revolutionary peasant committees? Will not exclusive attention to the spreading of the struggle at the cost of this work threaten the entire existence of the Party in rural areas? Have we not already had some such experiences?

Comrades, we, therefore, consider the task of forming revolutionary peasant committees as a very important one. We formed revolutionary peasant committees at some places in the area. It is our experience that as soon as the campaign for annihilation of class enemies begins, it is possible to form revolutionary peasant committees with poor and landless peasants who are, on the whole, active. At the initial stage middle peasants should not be included in these committees. It takes some time to establish the leadership of poor and landless peasants over these committees. The level of political consciousness of the poor and landless peasants needs to be raised. Otherwise, middle peasants who are good at talking lord it over poor and landless peasants and establish their leadership over the committees. It is also our experience that if an active supporter of the Party from among landless peasants or a landless peasant guerrilla is given the responsibility to form a revolutionary peasant committee, it yields good results. This task should not be entrusted to any organizer belonging to the intelligentsia, because in that case the initiative of

the poor and landless peasants within the committee is arrested. Whenever any problem arises, the peasant runs to that organizer and unconsciously the intellectual comrade establishes his leadership over the committee on many occasions. The result is that the peasant committee ceases to function in the absence of the intellectual comrade. Such has been our experience in the rural areas of Suri. It is necessary to maintain contacts between the Party Committee and the revolutionary peasant committee and that should be the responsibility of an active peasant cadre of the Party or a peasant guerrilla. The names of the members of the revolutionary peasant committee should be kept a secret from the class enemies. Without this secrecy revolutionary peasant committees break up in the face of white terror. Because secrecy was not observed by the revolutionary peasant committee of a village in the area most of its members were arrested.

What are the tasks of the revolutionary peasant committees? Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said that at the present stage the revolutionary peasant committees will have to perform four tasks: first, seizure and distribution of the land of the landlords who have fled; secondly, trial and punishment of class enemies and their agents; thirdly, resolution of contradictions among the peasant masses; and fourthly, formation of the village self-defence force and promotion of production. Of these tasks, the fundamental one is seizure and distribution of land, i.e., land reforms. Instead of considering this task from an economic point of view, we should view it politically. That is to say, this task is one of establishing political power, one of establishing political rights. That is why this work cannot be carried forward unless the village is liberated. In one case, even after the liberation of a village, the peasant masses did not respond to the revolutionary peasant committee's proposal for seizure of land for distri-

bution among the peasants. It was then decided that the land would be seized by the revolutionary peasant committee and tilled jointly. In another village in the area the peasant masses themselves proposed that they would jointly till the land seized from a landlord who had fled. In places where it is possible to seize land at this stage of the struggle the peasant masses prefer establishing their rights firmly, in an organized manner and under the revolutionary peasant committee. In our limited experience we have seen this.

We have also realized that it is possible to perform the other tasks of the revolutionary committee at the very initial stage of the struggle. In some places the village self-defence forces set up under the revolutionary peasant committee guarded the village and kept watch on enemy agents. Even then, we shall openly admit that we did not realize the significance of the work of forming revolutionary peasant committees as directed by Comrade Charu Mazumdar and that we greatly ignored the task. Even though the conditions and factors for forming revolutionary peasant committees were there, we could not make use of them.

### RESOLUTION OF CONTRADICTIONS

Comrades, a movement was started against usurers in some towns and villages in the area. In every town one or two of the big usurers and money-lenders, who mainly exploited the peasant masses of nearby villages, were annihilated. The business of usury carried on by others was closed and all the mortgaged articles of the toiling people were ordered to be returned to them. As a result, the money-lenders stopped their exclusive business. The impact of this movement was felt in the villages also. The peasants of Bhubandanga in Bolepur area ordered that the business

of usury conducted by the *jotedar*-money lenders be stopped. Although they seized articles mortgaged to some petty bourgeois villagers whose main source of income is not usury, they later returned the articles to them. This is how they isolated the class enemies from the small land-owners and the petty bourgeoisie and consolidated their attacks on the class enemies. In Nalhati area the land of some small landowners was seized in the beginning but the revolutionary peasant committee later returned the land to those owners. This is how the peasant masses consolidated the attack on the area's class enemies and enlisted the support of small landowners.

Comrades, as we could not consolidate the work of building revolutionary committees and arming the peasant masses when the villages, on the whole, took the form of a liberated area, there was a vacuum in the administrative system of the villages. Gangs of dacoits and snatchers took full advantage of the situation. The number of cases of dacoity and snatching increased. In such a situation it became urgent to carry on struggle against dacoits and snatchers and the Party put forward its class line in this regard also. That is to say, the line was to apply the method of resolving contradictions among the people in respect of those among the poor masses who had been driven by poverty to resort to dacoity and snatching and thus to transform them with the politics of our Party. But the method to be adopted in regard to the reactionaries who directed the gangs of dacoits was the one of resolving contradictions with the enemy. Since dacoities were committed in the name of our Party and peasant masses were oppressed in some cases, the Party units first warned the leaders of dacoits and snatchers. As this did not produce the desired effect, two leaders of dacoits and one leader of a gang of snatchers were annihilated.

Under the impact of the peasants' armed struggle in the

area, cadres of some reactionary and revisionist parties severed connections with those parties and have associated themselves with the political work of our Party. We applied the policy of isolating the ordinary workers of those parties from their leadership only after the armed peasant struggle had made considerable progress. Instead of being directly admitted into organizations of our Party, erstwhile workers of other parties were given carefully selected tasks. The line of fighting ceaselessly against the wrong ideas they cherished in the past is also being pursued. We annihilated a candidate for election or a leader of a revisionist party only after it had been clearly established that he had been acting as a police agent. This had a wonderful effect on the ordinary workers of the Party concerned. After witnessing the dirty character of the leaders, they left their parties and helped the development of the peasant armed struggle in various ways.

As the armed peasant struggle spread, a section of the police force in the area began to help the Party in different ways. In some places where the guerrilla comrades faced resistance during their attacks on police pickets, they killed the policemen and snatched their rifles. Where the policemen surrendered instantaneously they were let free, but their rifles seized. During their attack on the Ahmedpur outpost the guerrillas shouted "Hands up" but the policeman on guard duty sought to aim his rifle at them. The policeman was shot dead at once. As the other policemen of the outpost surrendered they were let free after the Party's politics had been explained to them. At Ilambazar also all the four policemen on duty at the outpost surrendered as soon as they were surrounded all on a sudden. They were let free after their guns were seized. All these had their impact on a section of the police force. As a result, this section of the policemen supplied secret information regarding the police force to the Party in some cases. At least in one

case an ordinary police constable turned his rifle against a police officer. The inner contradiction of the reactionary armed forces is increasing as a result of the development of the peasant struggle. Contradictions and bickerings among the police, the CRP and the Army over their respective jurisdiction and rights have developed. The party workers are thinking of utilizing these contradictions in the interest of the revolutionary struggle.

Comrades, when confusion arose among the people because of some mistake and some contradiction between party workers and the people arose, the Party units sought to find out the political causes of the mistakes and resorted to self-criticism through publication of leaflets or secretly circulated the points of self-criticism. Because of admission of mistakes and self-criticism by the Party, the people's faith in it has become more firm and deep.

#### OUR DEFECTS AND DEVIATIONS

Were no mistakes committed in the process of developing the armed revolutionary struggle in Birbhum? Did we not make mistakes? Mistakes were certainly committed and we must take lessons from them. We are focussing attention on only the main defects and deviations that have come to our notice in the course of struggle. We hope that our comrades, supporters and the people will come forward to bring to our notice such deviations as have not yet been located by us. We shall learn from them because Communists have no greater interest than to carry forward the revolution.

Our main deviation was in respect of grasping the Party's political and ideological work. Our political and ideological tools are Chairman Mao's Red Book, the "Three constantly Read Articles", the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, Chairman's historic call of May 20 and the guiding principles taught by our great leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar in regard to every aspect of our

work. It is with these political and ideological weapons that we will have to equip every Party unit and guerrilla squad. As we ignored this political and ideological work in respect of peasant guerrillas, as we did not entrust them with greater responsibilities in organizing the people, as we did not help them sum up their concrete experiences, we could not develop a greater number of organizers and political commissars from among poor and landless peasant cadres and guerrillas. Without fulfilling these tasks, the organizers belonging to the intelligentsia used almost their entire energy to plan how to spread the struggle. We have realized that it is a fatal mistake at this stage of the struggle to ignore the task of developing peasant guerrillas as political organizers.

Our second deviation was that although we mobilized the people through the campaign for annihilation of class enemies we terribly ignored the task of organizing them. Comrade Charu Mazumdar taught us on different occasions that if the peasant masses were to be organized, we would have to set up Party units and form more and more peasant guerrilla squads from among them, build Revolutionary Committees and organize village self-defence forces under the Committees. Comrades, we have neglected very much the task of organizing the people through these four types of organizations.

Our third mistake was that in some areas the guerrilla form of the struggle was overlooked and the guerrillas, accompanied by big groups, devoted their energy for hours to holding trials of class enemies, annihilation or confiscation of property. The guerrillas cannot be developed as fighters through such campaigns. Many join these groups in a rather playful spirit and create confusion. The secrecy about the campaigns is lost. We must encourage courageous campaigns conducted by small guerrilla squads in the guerrilla style. In special circumstances in which the enemy

is strong the peasant commander of the area may mobilize a number of guerrilla squads at one place to attack the enemy successfully. But under no circumstances the principle of attacking the enemy all on a sudden and of withdrawing quickly should be lost sight of. We must remember that it is the task of the revolutionary peasant committee to confiscate and distribute the land of the landlord who has been killed or has fled.

We were not able to establish completely the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the campaign for seizure of guns in each area. This is also one of our serious shortcomings. If the People's Army is to be developed as a weapon of class struggle, as envisaged by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, we must attach special importance to this task. In the villages youths and students have seized quite a few guns without the leadership of poor and landless peasants. Wherever the youths and students have failed to respond to the great call of the Party to arm the peasant guerrilla squads, they have misused the guns, weakened the Party's class line and surrendered in the face of the terror created by the enemy. We must take care to carry on efforts to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasant guerrillas and commanders over every campaign for seizure of guns and rifles. It is a question of grasping the class line of the Party.

Fifthly, in the face of the widespread white terror created by the police and the military we should encourage the peasant masses to adopt different kinds of tactics for hoodwinking them. It is thus that we shall be able to help release the creative genius of the peasant masses. This is what Comrade Charu Mazumdar has taught us. We could not perform well this task also.

## OUR EXPERIENCE DURING THE STRUGGLE AND ITS LESSONS

Comrades, innumerable are the experiences in the course of the revolutionary struggle in Birbhum and its lessons. We have not yet been able to sum up completely these experiences and their lessons after examining all aspects of the development of the armed peasant struggle. We are placing here, in brief, those experiences and lessons of this struggle which were summed up by the organizer-comrades from the areas of struggle at a conference on July 23, '71.

In general, the lesson we have learnt is that armed peasant struggle can be developed only by firmly establishing the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar at all levels of Party work. The question of applying Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete situation of India and of grasping the Party's class line is the same as the question of establishing firmly the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar.

The concrete lessons that we have learnt are:

- (1) Grasping the Party's class line, the class line of the poor and landless peasants, is the main guarantee of the development of struggle not merely in the initial stage but throughout the entire period of the revolution.

- (2) If the campaign for annihilation of class enemies is started on the basis of the Party's class line, at two or three points in an area, the poor and landless peasants of the vast zone in between become involved in this struggle. If guerrilla squads are then sent to spread the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, the development of the armed peasant struggle becomes quicker.

- (3) The annihilation campaign should be carried forward by keeping the objective of seizure of power and mobilization of the peasant masses in view. If the annihilation campaign

is conducted by depending on the class hatred of the broad peasant masses, the Party's mass base is strengthened quickly and the development of armed struggle is speeded up.

- (4) When the struggle enters a new phase or there is a qualitative change, organizational isolation develops naturally. That is to say, the organization is then unable to work in tune with the new stage of the struggle. Therefore, it becomes necessary to thoroughly remould the Party organization at each stage of development of the struggle.

- (5) The tide of the struggle and the wide extension of the mass base, on many occasions, generate slackness among comrades in regard to the grasping of politics. At such a time the Party's class line should be grasped more firmly. Revolutionary consciousness and alertness should be developed further.

- (6) How fast an area takes the form of a liberated area depends on how successfully the gun-collection campaign can be carried forward in that area under the leadership of the guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants and on how successfully the peasant guerrilla squads can be armed with guns.

- (7) It is not possible to consolidate the strength of the broad masses without forming revolutionary committees and village self-defence units under them. Revolutionary committees will not be formed spontaneously.

The revolutionary committee will have to be formed with the help of some active peasant worker or peasant guerrilla, who will pace before that committee the political line of the Party. If emphasis is laid on the formation of the revolutionary committee's militia or village self-defence squads, the committee, in enforcing its laws in the village, will be dependent on the village self-defence squads under it, instead of being dependent on the PLA. This will help realize the objective of arming the people.

- (8) Party cadres or committees will have to give emphasis

mainly to the task of raising the political consciousness of the guerrillas, who are the main force in consolidating the people's strength even during the period of the high tide of struggle. In the face of the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign the Party will have to shoulder the responsibility of preserving the entire strength of the peasant guerrillas by spreading the struggle in the form of waves.

(9) Only after the class line of the landless peasant is established through struggle is it possible and desirable to build a united front with the other forces of revolution.

(10) Priority must be given to the struggle for creating new men. That is why the courageous campaigns of small guerrilla squads armed with traditional weapons should be encouraged simultaneously with the sharpening of the fight against the concrete manifestations of revisionism among the peasantry.

(11) Excessive organizational centralism is an obstacle to the development of struggle. If area committees and guerrilla squads are encouraged to take initiative independently, keeping the Party's politics in the forefront, it will help the development of the struggle.

(12) The carrying forward of the work of propagating the Party's politics by relying on peasant cadres and guerrillas is one of the conditions for the development of struggle.

### TWO MORE NEW EXPERIENCES

Comrades,

We have had two entirely new experiences in the course of the armed struggle in Birbhum. The comrades of Suri set an example of how a general strike could be successfully observed, keeping the political objective in forefront through the Party's underground units. Life in the entire town of Suri was paralyzed. This unprecedented *hartal* (stoppage of all work) was observed in

memory of the noble death of three comrades who had died the martyrs' death in the rural area of Suri. The Party's workers had first ascertained public opinion secretly and on a wide scale. Subsequently, comrades collected at different points in the town and simultaneously raised slogans, calling upon the people to observe a *hartal*. All these were secretly and efficiently organized within a very short time under the very nose of the police and reactionary state apparatus. The *hartal* in Suri proved that a mass movement could be organized without so-called open mass organizations. If we keep in the forefront the line of relying on the people in all matters and if we are able to build strong Party units having strong links with the people, it is possible to organize, through guerrilla methods, any type of mass political and economic movement, complementary to revolutionary armed struggle, in any place. That is why we think that any doubt regarding Comrade Charu Mazumdar's bold conclusion—that in the present era of revolutionary upsurge revolutionary mass movements can be built without mass organizations—is a concrete manifestation of revisionism.

Our second experience is: The more we advance, through the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, towards the struggle to attack the State machinery, the more firmly shall we be able to establish the united front of workers and peasants. That is why recently, in launching the courageous attack on the Ahmedpur outpost, in annihilating the D. I. B. Inspector in Suri town and in conducting the campaign for annihilation of police informers in the rural areas of Suri, workers and landless peasants formed squads jointly. The attacks were conducted successfully. It is not merely through annihilation of class enemies but through attacks on the State machinery that the worker-peasant front—the basis of the revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Party—is built even more firmly.

Comrades, we have decided to smash the "encirclement and suppression" campaign carried on by the reactionary police and the Army, by keeping in view these experiences and lessons. How can we achieve this? Only by spreading further the campaign for annihilation of class enemies and for seizure of guns, by extending farther the area of struggle. How fast we shall be able to totally defeat this "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the enemy depends on how fast we are able to perform these tasks. At present we are devoting our energy mainly to this task. For this we will have to depend entirely on poor and landless peasant guerrillas. Through this we shall be able, on the one hand, to develop peasant guerrillas as better organizers and, on the other, to make the character of the People's Army more firm and strong. Simultaneously, we will have to give importance to the task of establishing the political power of the peasant masses in areas where the struggle is developing.

Comrades, in the mean time, in the midst of this massive "encirclement and suppression" campaign, the guerrillas led by the Party have performed heroic actions directed against class enemies, the police and, at least in two cases, the Army. These occurred in Rajnagar, Suri, Bolpur, Nanur, Mayureswar and Rampurhat thanas of Birbhum. Peasant squads have attacked the police outpost at Ahmedpur, jumped upon the police picket in Nanur and snatched rifles. We feel that in the present phase these two events mark the beginning of a new chapter in the struggle in our area.

Comrades, what is the condition of the reactionaries today? In his call of May 20 to the people of the world, Chairman Mao said that today the reactionaries tremble at the mere rustle of leaves. Because of contradictions, rivalries and dog-bite-dog relations among themselves, the reactionaries are today crippled and overpowered and are dying. In fact, day by day they are being

turned more and more from paper tigers into rotten paper tigers. But our condition is becoming more and more excellent day by day. Blows have been dealt at them in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Blows have been dealt at them in India, East Pakistan and the world-over. Analysing very correctly the characteristics of the present era, our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said that this is the era of great upheavals, this is the era of forging ahead, this is the era of launching attacks. Strategically, i.e., considering the present era as a whole, this is the correct guiding principle for us. Can they change this characteristic of the era by resorting to encirclement, suppression and oppression and murdering revolutionaries? If they seek to arrest the march of struggle in Birbhum, will it not kindle the flame of revolution in Burdwan, Murshidabad and North Bengal? If they try to arrest revolution in West Bengal, will Bihar, Punjab and Andhra remain quiet?

Comrades, we know that we may suffer setbacks, our struggle may be temporarily beaten in one or two areas. The path of revolution is zigzag. That is why we do not think of an easy victory. We will have to advance through a protracted war. The balance of forces as between ourselves and the enemy will have to be changed gradually. Chairman Mao has said that we will have to view the enemy seriously from the tactical point of view, to assess the enemy's strength in planning every attack, to tackle the enemy, part by part, mouthful by mouthful, by spreading guerrilla war skilfully and thus finish him off.

Comrades, today, the People's Army has been formed under the leadership of our great Party. What we need is a base area. But how and where can we build our base area? Must we leave the people and search for mountains and jungle areas for this? Or, must we cry a halt to the struggle in the vast plains of West Bengal

and go first to the Himalayas and the Chambal valley and come back to this place afterwards? In the course of China's First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) was formed the great Chinese Party's powerful People's Army, which was assembled at Ching kang by Chairman Mao, Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Chu Te. Have we such a strong People's Army already? On the contrary, are we not faced with the task of continually forming newer and newer guerrilla squads by spreading the struggle in the vast plains, of strengthening the People's Army? Does not championing, at this stage, of the mountain-jungle theory amount to advocating a theory for abandoning these tasks, a theory for denying the present struggle in West Bengal and Punjab? It is one thing to dream petty-bourgeois dreams about jungles and mountains and to idle away the time by indulging in theoretical jargons. It is another thing to carry forward the painful revolutionary work of building a base area in reality. Our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has shown that this is not the era of Ching kang of 1928, this is the decade of the '70's, the era of the downfall of the imperialists and reactionaries in one country after another. That is why it is possible today to build a base area in the vast plains. The proof of this is the Mekong delta of Vietnam. The proof of this is the vast plains of Cambodia. Comrades, the three conditions for the building of a base area are: a broad and deep mass base, a comparatively strong People's Army and a firm and strong Party organization. How can we fulfil these three conditions? The more we are able to extend our Red area by establishing the peasant's political power in the wide countryside, the more firm and deep-rooted will be our mass base. The more we are able to spread the peasants' armed liberation struggle in a vast area by forming guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants, the stronger will be our People's Army and the enemy will be compelled to divide his forces.

to find himself in the helpless position of having to spread his ten fingers in ten directions. The more we grasp, under Comrade Charu Mazumdar's leadership, the Party's correct political and ideological line through the performance of these tasks and a continual fight against the incorrect line, the more firmly united we shall be. A well-built revolutionary Party organization will develop thus. A deeply-rooted mass base, a strong People's Army, a strong Party organization—these three requirements of a base area are not such that these can be met easily within a short time. Comrades, fighting shoulder to shoulder with all other comrades of the Party under Comrade Charu Mazumdar's leadership, we are, at this stage of the struggle, marching forward to carry out the difficult task of fulfilling the conditions of building a base area.

Comrades, the struggle between the two lines within the Party has sharpened. We are viewing this struggle as a question of uniting ourselves even more firmly under Comrade Charu Mazumdar's leadership. Today we must hold aloft the line of Comrade Charu Mazumdar to completely defeat the heinous conspiracy of those who, while remaining inside the Party, are seeking to set up a rival Party centre by sacrificing the principles and methods of carrying on inner-party struggle. Despite the introduction by the Party leadership of the correct democratic method of circulating the dissentients' say at all levels of the Party, these conspirators are circulating outside the Party the views of their clique in the name of the Party through manifestoes and leaflets, are challenging the centralism so very essential for a secret revolutionary Party and are thus trying to make the Party appear helpless in the face of enemy attacks. We want to clearly tell those who are doing this that this is not the period of indulging in jargons after withdrawing from struggle. Asit Sen, Nagi Reddy and Satyanarayan have, for such practices, been thrown into the dustbin of history. The same fate awaits these people.

Comrades, today, we must take upon our shoulders the sacred duty of establishing even more firmly the great leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Establishing the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar means grasping the Party's class line, propagating the politics of the "Three Constantly-Read Articles", forming more and more peasant guerrilla squads, developing poor and landless peasants as organizers, intensifying the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, arming more and more peasant squads by intensifying the campaign for seizure of rifles and guns, setting up revolutionary peasants' committees, carrying forward the work of land reforms, establishing peasants' political power, building up a vast red area, intensifying the fight against revisionism, carrying forward the struggle for creating new men imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice, mobilizing the working class in the political struggle and defeating, through all these the anti-China war conspiracy on the soil of India. In brief, establishing the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar means applying Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India and making India's great revolution successful.

Comrades, today we must sweep off our minds all thought that breeds doubt, pessimism and weakness. Today, there are with us in Birbhum and all along its border with other areas hundreds of thousands of poor peasants, thousands of revolutionaries imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice and we have about 200 guns and rifles. Look ahead, comrades, and see how along the path made crimson with the blood of Comrade Babulal, Comrade Ranjim and hundreds of other martyrs is marching our great People's Liberation Army, at the head of which is the landless peasant commander with a rifle on his shoulders. The helmsman of the world revolution, Chairman Mao, has sent his blessings, "You are the hope of India". With us is Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Who can stop us?

Today the red sun of Naxalbari has taken on the appearance of the sun as it is between eight and nine in the morning and is shining brightly in the sky over Birbhum.

Long live the great Communist Party of India (M-L), the Party dyed red in the blood of martyrs!

Long live our dear leader and helmsman Comrade Charu Mazumdar!

A long, long life to the helmsman of the world revolution, Chairman Mao!

September, 1971.

## Fight Against Revisionism

[Following is the English version of a Party Letter addressed by the Andhra State Committee of the CPI(M-L) to all Comrades in Andhra. In this important document the Andhra State Committee sums up the experience of the armed peasant struggle in that State for the last three years, analyses the causes of the setback, firmly upholds Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line and issues a call for fighting revisionism within the Party and outside].

After severe setbacks, our Party in Andhra is moving ahead with firm confidence in the victory of our struggle, disappointing the expectations of the enemy.

The state-wide revolutionary struggle during the past three years is significant for its victories as well as a matter of sadness for the setbacks.

Our losses can be summed up in a word. In Andhra we lost almost the entire leadership of the Party. It is common in the history of revolutionary struggles that

whenever there are serious setbacks, ideological confusion sets in, giving birth to doubts regarding the Party's general line and its tactics.

Such is the situation the Party is facing today in our state and throughout the country.

In our state, the ideological confusion, besides the loss of leadership, has become a big obstacle to the advancement of our revolutionary struggle.

Unless we successfully overcome this ideological confusion (that is, unless we achieve ideological unification in the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought), we can neither find out the real causes of our past setbacks nor carry forward the struggle with correct understanding. Concerning our mistakes both in theory and in practice in the course of our struggle for the last three years and our mistakes in understanding which persist even today, it is necessary to come to clear-cut decisions on the basis of resolutions adopted in our Party Congress, so as to play successfully our proper rôle in the Indian revolution which is a part of world revolution.

Only then can we overcome the present ideological confusion that has become an obstacle to our revolutionary practice. Only then can our struggle advance irresistibly.

With this aim in view the Andhra State Committee is addressing this Party letter to all comrades in Andhra.

It is our Party that waged a real struggle against revisionism that has its roots deep in the communist movement of the past three decades. The Naxalbari struggle which is the harbinger of the consciously-led revolutionary armed struggle in India dealt a very powerful blow at revisionism in India. The truth that should never be forgotten is that from the time of the Naxalbari struggle to the present day, the history of the communist Party (M-L) is the history of struggle between various forms of revisionism on the one hand and Mao Tsetung Thought on the other. This has

been the history of the Party in the past and the present and will continue to be so in the future.

In a semi-colonial and semi-feudal backward country like India, where small commodity economy is predominant, the necessary material basis is there for the repeated rise of revisionism in the course of our struggle for a very long time. Our struggle can advance towards victory only when we are also able to fight battles in future against new forms of revisionism. This is the first lesson we have to learn from the history of the world revolutionary movement.

### REVISIONIST LINE

Following are the arguments that have arisen out of the ideological confusion, nourished under the influence of the severe setbacks suffered during our three year-old struggle:

- 1) We took the enemy lightly not only strategically but also tactically. This resulted in severe setbacks.
- 2) Though our understanding was correct to a certain extent, we suffered setbacks because of the centre's line of adventurism.
- 3) Because of the wrong policy of annihilating all class enemies and because we failed to exploit the contradictions among the class enemies, we suffered many losses.
- 4) As we did not consider the fact that a section of landlords would certainly join the democratic revolution, we resorted to an adventurist line in practice and courted setbacks.
- 5) Squad actions are not permissible. We can annihilate the class enemy or confiscate his property only when there is people's participation. We suffered setbacks because of our squad actions.
- 6) As we did not wage economic struggles in the past in certain areas, the people did not participate in the actions in those areas. In those areas we must train the people for revolution through economic struggles. We suffered

setbacks because we started our armed struggle by relying on guerrilla squads.

7) It was wrong to start armed struggle in the plain areas as the people were not prepared to participate in the actions. Hence we suffered setbacks.

8) It is wrong to launch armed struggle before securing modern weapons. We suffered setbacks because of a paucity of weapons.

9) As we faced setbacks in Srikakulam, it is better to move one step backward and start mobilising people through economic struggles.

It is not correct to think that only a few of our comrades are entertaining such ideas. These ideas are prevalent in the Party from top to bottom, of course, in different degrees and in different shades.

If we arrange all these ideas into a comprehensive thought, we can arrive at the following conclusions regarding our liberation struggle:

"Through economic struggles, people get the necessary primary consciousness for waging armed struggle. The direct participation of the people in a considerable number is a correct indication that the people have acquired such primary consciousness for carrying on armed struggle. We must launch armed struggle only when people are ready to participate directly in the armed struggle. In the absence of such people's participation, we must concentrate on mobilising the people through economic struggles with the aim of giving them primary consciousness to wage armed struggle. After launching armed struggle we have to annihilate only the wicked class enemies. Regarding other class enemies we can teach them revolutionary politics and leave them off. A section of the landlord class either joins the democratic revolution or supports us indirectly. We must secure modern weapons before launching such armed

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## NOTES

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### HOMAGE TO COMRADE SAROJ DUTTA AND OTHER MARTYRS

Liberation pays homage to all martyrs who gave their lives for the cause of revolution during the last few months.

Among them was Comrade Saroj Dutta, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and Secretary of its West Bengal State Committee. He was the life and soul of "Deshabrati", the Party's Bengali organ.

He played a great role in propagating Mao Tsetung Thought and Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line and in fighting long-entrenched revisionism in the Communist movement in India. He also played a leading role in the inner-Party struggles against revisionism and in consolidating the Party around Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line. He did pioneering work in the fight against the long reign of the comprador and feudal cultures in this country. With his powerful pen Comrade Saroj Dutta lashed at and stripped open many reactionary and revisionist frauds and falsehoods which were intended to deceive the people and strengthen their fetters. The reactionaries and revisionists were afraid of him. So the police-hounds murdered him on the very night they were able to capture him. He died a hero's death befitting a leader.

The blood of the martyrs is fertilizing/seeds of new men in this country. As in South Viet Nam and elsewhere, the killing and persecution of revolutionaries and other people shall bring the doom of the reactionaries and their masters nearer.

## THE INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS AND THEIR MASTERS ARE DOOMED

**B**ACKED by different imperialist powers, especially the Soviet social-imperialists, and condemned by all the progressive forces of the world, the Indian expansionists attacked Pakistan and have occupied the whole of East Pakistan—a land of 75 million people. Savage wars of aggression were launched by Hitler “to save the world from international communism”; by Tojo to build up the “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere”; by the U.S. imperialists “to defend the Free World”; and the Soviet social-imperialists invaded and overran Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and thus repeated Hitler’s performance in order “to defend socialism and the socialist community”! Now, plotting in secret for several years with the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, the Indian expansionists launched on November 21 last a most shameless war of aggression against Pakistan with the slogan of “liberating Bangladesh”—that is, “liberating” one part of Pakistan from another part! The imperialists and the social-imperialists and their expansionist henchmen have a nice, convenient vocabulary. So they charge with opposite meanings the most beautiful words of men. Their “Free World” means the world ruled by the imperialists—a world really slave; their “Socialism” means social-imperialism; their “democracy” means fascism; their “liberation” means enslavement.

The war of aggression against Pakistan, denounced by the entire progressive world, was the culmination of more than a decade-old imperialist conspiracy to force Pakistan to join India as a subordinate in an alliance directed against Socialist China and the world revolution. Several years ago, a pamphlet, issued by USIS in Dacca and withdrawn later under pressure, harped on the economic, political and

social ‘disparities’ between the two wings of Pakistan. In 1965, the U.S. imperialists, it is quite well-known, tried to topple down Ayub Khan’s government by a two-pronged attack—an attempt at a coup d’etat and an invasion of Pakistan by the Indian reactionaries. About this time Mujib was being groomed by the U.S. imperialists for the role he has now been playing. It was immediately after the Indo-Pak war of 1965 that Mujib raised his six-point demands, which meant secession for all practical purposes and actually led to the creation of “Bangladesh”. The Pakistan government imprisoned him on the charge of conspiring to dismember Pakistan as an agent of the Indian reactionaries and started what is known as the Agartala Conspiracy case. The Pakistani ruling classes had not the courage to say the whole truth, for Mujib was not merely a paid agent of the Indian reactionaries but also a paid agent of the U.S. imperialists. His visits to the U.S. Embassy during the Round Table Conference at Islamabad in 1969 and his close links with Haroon, Pakistan’s former minister and ambassador to the U.S.A., one of the top industrialists and C.I.A.’s most important man in West Pakistan, are no secrets. In 1969, a secret C.I.A. document came to light. It contained a detailed plan of how to organize an armed uprising for making East Pakistan “independent” and described in detail what role different organizations like the Awami League were to play in this uprising. A photostat copy of a part of this plan was given to the press by Bhasani and published by some newspapers in Dacca. It was published in full in *Marxbad*, the monthly organ of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist). One may also recall the fact that during Mujib’s talks with Yahya Khan in March last year, it was the U.S. ambassador who came all the way from Islamabad and played the role of his mentor. Early last year the CIA and the Indian reactionaries stage-managed the hijacking of an Indian plane

from Kashmir to Lahore and had it burnt there. The Indian expansionists raised an uproar and used this as a convenient plea for denying overflights to Pakistani planes in preparation for what was to come.

For about eight months the Indian expansionists, encouraged and helped by the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists, carried on a policy of naked interference, harassment and sabotage in East Pakistan. Certain houses in Calcutta served as "Mujibnagar"—the mythical capital of an equally mythical "independent Bangladesh government", a clique of Awami League stooges who had fled from the country; a section of the reactionary Indian radio became the "Independent Bangladesh Radio"; and the "Mukti Bahini" ("Liberation Army"), except the hard core formed by the East Bengal Regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles and the police, was recruited on the Indian soil; they were all trained by reactionary Indian army officers, and paid their wages and rations and equipped with arms by the reactionary Indian government. *Statesman* wrote on October 16, 1971: "All preparations for staging a full-scale guerrilla warfare by the Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh are nearly over. With the completion of the selection and training of men and organization of operations, the gestation period of an independent Bangladesh (sic!) is also coming to an end. The peripheral commando raids, which have so far been the primary tactics of the Mukti Bahini, will shortly give place to organized guerrilla action deep inside Bangladesh, according to well-informed circles." For about eight months "peripheral commando raids" were being launched from the Indian soil by "Mukti Bahini" guerrillas as well as Indian military and para-military forces in order to destroy roads, bridges and different installations in East Pakistan. Then, on November 21, the Indian expansionists launched a massive attack from different sides on East Pakistan with tanks and planes and the puppet

soldiers, called the "Mukti Bahini", were formally put under the command of the Indian army. Within less than four weeks the Pakistani army in East Pakistan surrendered. At a public meeting at Lucknow on January 8, Indira Gandhi congratulated herself on this naked invasion and forcible occupation of East Pakistan by saying that the mistake of partitioning the country in 1947 had been corrected now with the "liberation of Bangladesh". (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, January 9, 1972).

How could the reactionary Indian army and its puppet troops win so easily in East Pakistan? The helplessness of the Pakistani army was due not so much to material conditions, which were indeed difficult, but to its very poor morale. This army as well as the para-military organization named the Razakars and other fascist gangs committed such unspeakable barbarities on the people that the people who had been mostly disillusioned about Mujib and the treacherous Awami League soon after March 25, were extremely anxious to get rid of their rulers. It was this utter isolation from the people and their intense hatred that were the causes of the low morale and helplessness of the Pakistani army before the Indian invaders. One need not be surprised if there was treacherous collusion between Pakistani men at the top and the imperialists for dismemberment of Pakistan.

The recent events have proved that the compradors, who rely on their masters and not on the people, can hardly oppose their masters' policies for a long time. The Pakistani compradors opposed rather timidly the U.S.-Soviet global war-strategy in this part of Asia for some time because of their contradiction with the Indian expansionists, who threatened their very existence. While opposing their masters' policies, they sought crumbs from the same masters' table and allowed their people to be fleeced by them. Their

opposition could not be effective enough because of their dependence on the imperialists on the one hand and their basic contradiction with the people on the other. One can see that the compradors must kiss the very feet that tread upon them.

So the aim of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists to turn East Pakistan into a protectorate and a base against Socialist China and the world revolution has been achieved—for the time being. Were the U.S. imperialists opposed to the creation of "Bangladesh"? It will be naive to think so, for this was the very thing they had been trying to accomplish for the last few years. While the support of the Soviet social-imperialists was open and unashamed, the U.S. imperialists' support to the Indian aggression was both open and hidden. A number of very important representatives of the U.S. ruling circles like Senators Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson came to India to provide open encouragement and support to the Indian expansionists, and the leading organs of the U.S. ruling classes like *New York Times* and *Washington Post* were loud in supporting the Indian reactionaries' role. The U.S. government refused to call India an aggressor and did little to support Pakistan, except introducing some ineffective and unsatisfactory resolutions at the U.N.O. Instead of blaming India, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers has blamed Pakistan. According to an AFP report from Washington, dated January 29, Rogers said on the previous day that "the USA recognized that it was Pakistan which had originally created the problems that led to the Indo-Pakistani war". Rogers also said that the USA intended to have realistic relations with all nations in South Asia." (*Statesman*, 30.1.72) Notorious McNamara, World Bank chief, who was former U.S. War Secretary, visited Dacca, besides New Delhi, asked Mujib to join the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and assured

him of 'precious' imperialist "aid." The consolidation, though temporary, of all the reactionary forces in this country behind Indira Gandhi points to the collusion between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The fact is, the creation of "Bangladesh" has served the needs of the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary strategy in this part of Asia.

No doubt, the very invasion and occupation of East Pakistan will sharpen the contradictions between the two so-called superpowers. Pounded by the blows of the world's peoples, especially the three Indo-Chinese peoples, beset with sharp contradictions with its own people and afflicted with a deep economic crisis, the U.S. imperialists have been forced to make concessions to the Japanese militarists in East and South-east Asia and to the Soviet social-imperialists in South Asia. These forced concessions will further accentuate their own crisis and intensify more and more with the passing of days the contention between the two so-called super-powers. Already the Soviet social-imperialists have reduced India into their satellite by concluding a military pact with the Indian expansionists and their influence in the Indian Ocean has increased. There will no doubt be a bitter struggle over "Bangladesh" between the two super-powers.

The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are out-tsaring the Russian tsars. They have built up a neo-colonial empire vaster than the wildest dreams of the tsars. While the British and U.S. imperialists are being forced to pull out from certain strategic areas, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to replace them. Today, the Soviet fleet arrogantly patrols the Indian Ocean and uses Indian ports as its bases. According to a press report, the so-called Bangladesh government will allow the Chittagoug port to be used as a Soviet naval base. According to a *Statesman* article "The New Equation in S.-E. Asia" by Alan Bennett,

Singapore Prime Minister "has implied that...ships of the Soviet Indian Ocean fleet will be as welcome to call at Singapore for servicing—provided the sailors behave themselves in the streets—as were formerly the ships of the British navy, now withdrawn to cover withdrawal from the Gulf."

In the U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs* of July 1971, Chester Bowles writes: "The U.S.S.R. is seeking to 'contain' what it believes to be an expansionist-minded China—much as we have been trying to do—by associating whatever Asian nations can be persuaded to co-operate in a loose political organization under its leadership. When asked, 'what is the basis of Soviet foreign policy in Asia?' a Soviet official recently replied with an eye to America's pull-back from Asia, 'We simply occupy the empty seats.'" This is the essence of what is known as Brezhnev's "Asian Collective Security System", proposed successor to the U.S.-organized military bloc called SEATO. In an article published on May 26, 1969, in the Soviet government organ *Izvestia*, Vikenty Matveyev discussed the possibility that a power vacuum would be created in Asia by Britain's withdrawals from Far Eastern, Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf bases, and by the eventual withdrawal of U.S. from South Vietnam. In the name of "Asian collective security", the new tsars of the Soviet Union are keen on stepping into the shoes of the British and U.S. imperialists. They are determined to practise neo-colonialism and bring under their domination various lands and peoples; to encircle in collusion with the U.S. imperialists Socialist China, the bastion of world revolution and the hope of the world's people, and to help as munition merchants and in other ways the reactionary ruling classes in different countries to put out the flames of revolutionary struggles there. Today the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are among the fiercest enemies of the people of Asia, especially South and South-east Asia.

It may be recalled that Indira Gandhi, the arch Indian reactionary, hailed the Soviet plot of the "Asian Collective Security System" (which is similar to the Japanese imperialists' "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere") from the very beginning and peddled it among reactionaries in other countries. On June 30, 1969, she said in Djakarta, "We think that if the system is based on economic co-operation, then India is for it." She further said, "We think that economic co-operation will not itself solve the (security) problem but will be a step towards doing so." She wanted "some system of guarantees" for "Asian security" by major powers. One remembers that these people have a curious vocabulary. According to the reactionaries and revisionists, the security of a country is not ensured by the withdrawal of an imperialist power but by its replacement by another imperialist or social-imperialist power. (Otherwise, according to these people, there would be a "power vacuum.") They talk of ensuring security while they actually trample upon it, as in East Bengal.

Armed to the teeth by the Soviet social-imperialists and supported by other imperialists, the Indian expansionists have, like vultures, swooped upon East Bengal and turned it into a protectorate to be jointly ruled and fleeced by them and their masters. A large Indian army remains there as an army of occupation. According to a PTI report, "Bangladesh Foreign Minister" Samad, during his talks with Jagjivan Ram, exchanged ideas on long-term co-operation in the defence sector to safeguard the security of the two countries. (*Statesman*, 7. 1. 72) So, after fulfilling the historic task of "liberating" "Bangladesh", Jagjivan Ram's army will stay on there in order to fulfil another historic task—that of defending it. Two facts are illuminating. First, the entire "Mukti Bahini", the regular army of "Bangladesh", is still being paid its wages and supplied with rations as during the "liberation struggle." Secondly,

Boards at different levels—from the Central Board to the Sub-divisional Boards—have been set up to recruit, organize and train the national militia, which will chiefly perform police duties, and these will all have Indian “advisers” to guide them. To be “liberated” by Indian arms and to play at decision-making under the shadow of Indian arms is “liberation”, “independence”, “sovereignty” and what not! Mujib, the puppet prime minister of “independent and sovereign Bangladesh”, even echoed Nehru. “Bangladesh”, he told a press conference on January 14, “would have a socialistic pattern of economy. But the process to achieve this would be democratic.” (*Statesman*, 15. 1. 72)

The Indian compradors have been cherishing wild dreams of expansion for a long time. As early as 1945, when India was still a colony, Nehru wrote in “The Discovery of India”: “The Pacific is likely to take the place of the Atlantic in the future as a nerve centre of the world. Though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the centre of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in South-east Asia and right up to the Middle East. Her position gives [her] an economic and strategic importance in a part of the world which is going to develop rapidly in the future.” (*Signet Press*, April 1956 edition, p. 569) Since direct British rule ceased, the Indian compradors have used the State machinery to pile up huge bureaucratic capital while plunging the masses into an abyss of dismal misery and destitution. At the same time they have tried every means to realize their expansionist ambitions. Immediately after coming to power they marched troops upto the illegal McMahon Line and beyond, occupied Kashmir and turned Sikkim and Bhutan into their protectorates; they tried to grab Nepal with the help of some stooges, but failed. The emergence of the People’s Republic

of China dashed to the ground their hopes of exercising control over Tibet. But Nehru and men of his ilk placed their services at the disposal of the U.S. imperialists to prevent the liberation of Tibet. Even when the Indian compradors were shouting their loudest the slogan “*Hind: Chinee Bhai Bhai*” (Indians and Chinese are brothers), they were engaged in a criminal conspiracy with the U.S. imperialists to stir up a revolt in Tibet with the help of Khampa bandits. One may refer to “*Tibet in Revolt*” by George Patterson, one of the actors in this sordid drama, for the account. Though the conspiracy of the Indian reactionaries and their masters to organize a successful uprising in Tibet with the help of its inhuman serf-owners was foiled in 1959, and though their “Forward policy” in the direction of Aksai Chin was smashed in 1962, the Indian expansionists are still using Dalai Lama as an instrument of their reactionary policy. Now, exploiting the anti-people policy of the Pakistani ruling classes and depending chiefly on full Soviet support, the Indian expansionists have inflicted defeat on the Pakistani compradors, their old rivals, and grabbed East Pakistan as a source of raw materials and as a market for their goods.

The Indian compradors are in a hurry to shift the burden of their crisis on to the people of East Bengal. They have begun the job in right earnest. D.P. Dhar, Indira Gandhi’s special envoy, that is, the man behind Mujib’s throne, said in Dacca on December 25 that “India and Bangladesh were ‘partners’ in the task of consolidation of the newborn State.” Indira Gandhi declared on January 2: “India is a vast country. She can do many things with her own resources and capacity which many countries of the world cannot even imagine...we can supply all the needs of Bangladesh without asking for aid from any quarters.” (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 3. 1. 72) So the Indian compradors have taken upon themselves the noble and brave task of consolidating “\*be

new-born State" and supplying all its needs. For this purpose they have not only kept the army there but have also sent a substantial number of civil and police officers. They have also undertaken the printing of currency notes for "Bangladesh" and agreed "to look after the new nation's trade for some time." The Indian compradors are getting East Bengal's damaged roads, railways, bridges, power houses, ports etc. repaired by Indian engineers and technicians. They expect a flourishing and lucrative "trade" with East Bengal. They hope to dump textiles, coal, cement, petroleum and various other shoddy products of theirs (which have no market elsewhere) in the East Bengal market at high prices and to buy cheap different things like raw jute, hide and skin, newsprint, paper etc. The Indian jute industry had it never so well during the last 24 years as in these days. The Indian compradors are seeking ways of investing capital in East Bengal in collaboration with foreign capital. During the last few days Dacca was visited not only by D. P. Dhar and his men but also by economic, shipping, insurance and aviation delegations from India. So the Indian compradors have assumed the task of controlling every sphere of life of the people of East Bengal—including their education. So they are jubilant in the hope that through "aid" on the imperialist pattern and unequal trade they will be able to suck the blood of the already impoverished people of East Bengal. Not only Indian vultures but also vultures from different imperialist and revisionist countries are flocking to have a share of the feast that is "liberated Bangladesh." The U.S. monopolists, too, are represented by the World Bank chief McNamara and others.

What kind of liberation have the Indian "liberators" of "Bangladesh" achieved for the people of India? While accumulating huge capital, many times of what they had 24 years ago, in collaboration with foreign plunderers, they have brought cruel suffering and anguish, shame and

humiliation, semi-starvation and slow death to the vast majority of the Indian people—hundreds of millions of peasants, workers and other toiling people.

What price must the Indian people pay for the conquest and exploitation of East Pakistan by their own oppressors? Already the reactionary Indian rulers have imposed taxes to the tune of more than Rs. 400 crores and will surely realize much more. The people have also been bled white through "massive doses of deficit financing the country has been subjected to because of the heavy increase in expenditure on the Bangladesh refugees and the Indo-Pakistani war", according to a *Statesman* report of January 7. India's Finance Minister Chavan warned the people on February 1 that they would have to bear still heavier burdens. He said that "to increase the pace of development and provide assistance to Bangladesh" his intention was "to harness more surplus through the fiscal system." So the cost of "liberating" Bangladesh for the Indian compradors has fallen on the cruelly exploited people of India. The ruling classes want to utilize the chauvinism that they have been able to rouse for the purpose of putting an end to class struggle and for making the people rally behind them and pile up more profits for them. Addressing a public meeting at Poona on January 5 Indira Gandhi called for a moratorium on strikes, lock-outs and other agitations to increase production. The need of the hour, she said, was to work hard and produce more—all for the benefit of the exploiting classes. In his "Republic Day" message Giri repeated his call for a moratorium on strikes and industrial disputes for three years. The Indian ruling classes have imposed a "national emergency" on the people and assumed unrestricted powers to shoot down all opposition. At the same time they are seeking to hoodwink the people and put out the flames of all revolutionary struggle by creating an atmosphere of chauvinism in this country.

In this task they are being faithfully assisted as ever by both the Dange and Sundarayya-Gopalan-Jyoti Bose cliques. Immediately after the Indian expansionists had launched on November 21 a large-scale attack on East Pakistan from different sides, Dange said that the Indian working class was fully prepared to carry out their tasks "in defence of their country." He referred to cases of victimization of thousands of workers on the railways and of many others in the Defence, Posts and Telegraphs and other sectors. He shamelessly told his masters that if the reactionary government continued victimization there might not be a breakdown of production, but efficiency would be affected. And, he pleaded, "We shall try to hold down the temper of workers, but how long can that be possible?" The working committee of Dange's AITUC met at this time and stated in a resolution that "in the face of Pakistani intrusions into Indian air and land space there was no alternative for India but to hit back at Pakistan." It called upon all trade unions and workers "to fulfil their tasks" (*Statesman*, 27.11.71). These running-dogs of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction tried their utmost "to hold down the temper of workers" when the reactionary rulers ruthlessly oppressed the workers and carried on a policy of plundering, maiming and killing people both at home and abroad. The Sundarayya-Gopalan-Jyoti Bose clique vied with the Dange clique in supporting the criminal actions of the Indian expansionists and their puppets—Mujib and the Awami League—and thus proved themselves to be faithful running dogs of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction. As early as October 17, 1971, A. K. Gopalan, CPI (M) leader, publicly declared his party's unequivocal support to the ruling classes "if there was any threat or aggression from Pakistan". He also said that "the CPI (M) would not object to the Central Government declaring a national emergency to meet the threat of aggression". (*Statesman*, 19.10.71) Like their masters, the

revisionist lackeys are good at calling black white and white black—good at calling aggression defence and defence aggression. They too played their shameful role in supporting the diabolical conspiracy of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists against revolution, the people and China, in rousing chauvinism and in trying to disrupt the ranks of the people. History will not forgive them.

In East Bengal, where darkness reigns today, one can hear a howling in the wind. It is the howl of glee raised by many—wolves, hyenas and jackals. They roam all over East Bengal in search of their prey—the famished, much-oppressed people of East Bengal—and smack their lips thinking of the feast that awaits them. Will darkness rule? Who will win in the end—man or beast, the millions of long-suffering peasants, workers and other toiling people of East Bengal or the imperialist wolves, the social-imperialist hyenas and the pack of comprador jackals? No, darkness shall be chased away by light; the days of the wolves, hyenas and jackals are numbered. Chairman Mao said: "**Revolution is the main trend in the world today.**" A genuinely revolutionary Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the fire of struggle has emerged stronger; a People's Army that was born in the course of struggle will march from strength to strength as the revolutionary war of resistance against foreign invaders and their collaborators develops; and a revolutionary united front of all people willing to fight against these enemies will emerge under the leadership of the Party. With these "magic weapons" the people of East Bengal, a contingent of the world's revolutionary army led by Chairman Mao, shall surely slay all the wolves, hyenas and jackals.

And in this great struggle the Indian people will stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of East Bengal. Unhappily, the Indian people could not prevent the Indian



a squad of poor peasants and workers annihilated a sentry attached to the Railways, snatched his rifle and confiscated a large amount of money. The action was led by the Party.

Some time ago the Andhra State Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L) issued a document, initiating a struggle against revisionism within the Party. This document has boldly upheld the line of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, as "the concrete application of Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India". In this document the Andhra comrades have reviewed the struggle in Srikakulam and have shown that it was revisionism which was responsible for a temporary setback in the struggle. They have analyzed the different manifestations of revisionism within the Party and have realized, at the cost of much blood and suffering, the correctness of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line. In order to help comrades conduct their political work correctly, the committee has published selected writings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar in Telegu. In the course of this inner-Party struggle the revisionist trends within the Party were mostly overcome and the new wave of revolutionary peasants' struggle followed.

In jails also, the Andhra comrades have begun a fight against revisionism. With unflinching faith in the victory of the revolution, Comrade Ramanna Reddy declared in the court that no power on earth could destroy the armed struggle in Andhra. He exposed the revisionism of Satyanarain Singh and other renegades. Comrade Nagbhushan Patnaik said in the court that he had nothing to do with the "mercy petition" filed by his father. He challenged the reactionary government to carry out the death-sentence against him.

—December 29, 1971

## A REVIEW

### **Punjab Comrades Sum up Their Experience of Armed Peasant Struggle**

To review the over-all situation of the peasant armed struggle led by the Party in Punjab, the State Committee of the C.P.I.(M-L) met a few days ago. The Committee thoroughly discussed a wide range of questions arising out of the historic advance of the peasant armed struggle since the historic Party Congress. Reports of all the District Committees and the reports of all the leading bodies in the guerrilla zones were thoroughly discussed and on the basis of our own we arrived at the conclusion that our victories have been great although some errors were also committed. The situation arising out of the naked aggression against Pakistan by the Indian expansionists backed and supported by imperialism and, especially, Soviet social-imperialism was also discussed. On the basis of these discussions we arrived at the following conclusions.

#### **OUR ACHIEVEMENTS**

After the historic Party Congress, especially after thorough discussions—on the problems of the armed struggle in Punjab, in particular—with the leader of the Indian revolution, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, in the beginning of 1971, the Punjab State Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L) fighting against revisionism took the peasant armed struggle to a higher phase by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the most valuable instructions of our beloved leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, to our concrete conditions.

71 "Learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones", we integrated ourselves with the poor and landless peasants to a great extent according to the instruction of Comrade Charu Mazumdar: "Rely upon the poor and landless peasants, release their initiative, and all the difficulties and obstacles will be removed." This is one of our great achievements. Relying upon the poor and landless peasants we continued our struggle under the heaviest repression and most ruthless oppression by the ruling classes. And despite the treachery of the revisionists of all hues we took it to a higher phase when a guerrilla unit of the poor and landless peasants snatched away four rifles and 200 rounds of ammunition from the armed forces of the enemy by destroying a police post at village Dadhahoor in Sangrur district on September 23. In August, before this action was carried out, the most hated deputy superintendent of police was annihilated at Patiala. That is why we say now that the formation of the People's Liberation Army has begun also in Punjab. And, here in Punjab, the armed peasant struggle has acquired the character of "a liberation war", as Comrade Charu Mazumdar put it. After the successful attack on the police post, the police chief Aswini Kumar, the most faithful dog of the reactionary ruling classes, has adopted the policy of "burn all, loot all, kill all" out of desperation. But, contrary to their vicious dreams, our struggle has assumed a higher character. Despite the establishment of an anti-Naxalite brigade and employment of more and more armed police battalions they have failed to recover even a single rifle seized by our guerrillas. This is only due to the active help and co-operation of the poor and landless peasants.

Advancing "wave upon wave" and carrying the battle of annihilation of class enemies forward, attacking the most hated and cruel police officers and snatching rifles from the enemy agents and the armed forces of the enemy, our

guerrilla units have started arming themselves. Our guerrilla units have also started moving with loaded arms to rouse the peasant masses at appropriate times. The guerrilla units concentrate to attack the enemy and disperse to rouse the masses by propagating revolutionary politics and the Thought of Mao Tsetung among them.

The establishment of the revolutionary peasant authority by setting up Revolutionary Committees of the poor and landless peasants is also going on. These Revolutionary Committees have been formed in many villages in the developing guerrilla zones. Thus, this victorious march of the peasant armed struggle has struck deep terror among the hated police officers, class enemies and the wicked gentry in the countryside. On the other hand, poor and landless peasants have started rallying round these Revolutionary Committees in great numbers. These Committees provide valuable information to the guerrillas about the activities of the enemy. Our guerrillas enjoy the full support and sympathy and warm love of the peasant masses. The peasant masses, especially the poor and landless peasants, have started thinking of the Party as their own Party and the Party line—the line of Comrade Charu Mazumdar—as the only way for their emancipation. 71

Guided by the Thought of Mao Tsetung and led by the Party, the Revolutionary Committees of the poor and landless peasants have started winning over the middle peasants and isolating the diehards and the wicked gentry who oppose the Party line. Rich peasants, small usurers and small police agents have started approaching these Revolutionary Committees, which establish appropriate relations with them on the principle of unity through struggle. That is, they put strict demands on them, e.g., (1) stoppage of opposition to the peasant armed struggle, (2) payment of leaves, and (3) reduction of rent. Neither the unity in itself nor the struggle can serve the purpose 72/

of forming a broad united front of all the revolutionary forces that can be united against the common enemy. "If unity is sought through struggle it will live, if unity is sought by yielding it will perish." Acting on this principle of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Revolutionary Committees are setting a glorious tradition for the establishment of the revolutionary peasant authority in the countryside.

The Party has won great victories on the ideological and political front by taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the instructions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar as our guide against revisionism. Fighting uncompromisingly against revisionism of various brands, the Party ranks have been united and the Party as a whole has been consolidated as never before. During the short period of our struggle revisionism attacked the Party line—the line of Comrade Charu Mazumdar—again and again and almost on all important issues and was defeated whenever it raised its head. All of our party members are thoroughly convinced of the truth of the most valuable words of our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, "Without fighting against revisionism, without combating its concrete manifestations within us and without, the Indian revolution cannot move forward." Thus, in the fight between the two lines—the line of all revolutionaries on the one hand and the line of counter-revolutionary renegades on the other—the Party ranks have been matured to a great extent.

#### OUR SHORTCOMINGS

During this period when important victories have been won, there were also some errors committed by us, which caused great losses to the struggle. The State Committee is thoroughly convinced that these errors were committed due to the influence of the petty-bourgeois tendencies still prevailing among us. On the other hand, the performance of those units which are dominated by the poor and landless

peasants has been very good and their achievements great. We also lagged behind in thoroughly arming the Party ranks with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the instructions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and failed to encourage discussions on the documents of the Party Congress. Due to this weakness there was a lack of analytical approach to a serious extent. The great teacher and the great leader of the proletariat Lenin has said, "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the soul of Marxism." Party members, especially, the leading bodies are lacking in the analytical approach to a serious degree. We also failed to produce analytical articles in our State Party organ "Lok Yudh". Due to this weakness some wrong trends like "revolutionary impetuosity", "Left" sectarianism and mountain-stronghold mentality appeared in the Party, which are the root cause of our errors.

Deep hatred for revisionism could not be roused, hence it could not be hit as hard as it should have been. Hatred for revisionism, for Khrushchovism, for the theory and practice of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-chi, could not form a part of the mental habit of all our comrades.

Owing to the active support and help of the peasant masses and, especially, the poor and landless peasants our successes in spite of our shortcomings are near about seventy per cent. This hard fact proves the correctness of our programme, policies and tactical line. The Great CPC has said in the article "Long Live the Victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" that "only through the practice of the masses in class struggle can a correct programme of line be formulated, developed, tested and carried out."

After taking into consideration the entire situation—our victories as well as our shortcomings—the State Committee of the CPI (M-L) arrived at the conclusion that an excellent revolutionary situation prevails today. This situation

immediately demands from us, communists, that the edge of the armed struggle should be sharpened more and more so that miracles can be performed. Much greater responsibility awaits us because the Indian expansionists, with the active support and backing of Soviet social-imperialism and other imperialist powers, have attacked Pakistan and swallowed a big part of East Pakistan \* with the vicious aim of expanding their territory and creating a protectorate. The labouring people and, especially, the peasant masses of Punjab, which is a border State, directly suffer from the ravages caused by this shameless attack. Displacement of millions of peasants from the border area has caused tremendous loss and destruction to the people of Punjab. Thousands of brave young sons of the peasantry are being used as cannon-fodder in this unjust war waged in the name of so-called "national self-defence", which is "a bourgeois slogan", as Comrade Charu Mazumdar has put it. He said, "with this slogan the bourgeois want to suppress the lawful right of the workers, peasants and the toiling petty-bourgeois to live and they want to use the whole strength of the nation for their own interest. Therefore, in no circumstances, that slogan will be ours. That is why our slogan is 'national revolutionary war' and this war will have to be conducted along the path of people's war." This war is an unjust war, hence we must oppose it with all our might. So, we should unhesitatingly expose the unjust character of this war. The aim of this war, supported and backed by Soviet social-imperialism, is to "contain" and attack People's China. Some time ago our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar said, "Chairman's China may be attacked"; to-day that possibility has very

\* The whole of East Pakistan was occupied by the reactionary Indian troops and a puppet regime installed there within a short time after this review was prepared.  
—Ed. *Liberation*.

much increased. For, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have been continuously launching wars of aggression to "contain" and attack the People's Republic of China. In Indo-China U.S. imperialism leads the attack while Soviet social-imperialism is in the rear. Here, in 'Bangla Desh', the situation is reverse. Hence both are colluding with each other for launching wars of aggression to 'contain' and attack China while at the same time they contend with each other for spheres of influence. *the/*

In the face of such an excellent revolutionary situation we must resolutely carry on class struggle—that is, the line of annihilation of class enemies, and the arm-snatching campaigns, the building of the People's Liberation Army, seizure of political power locally and establishment of Revolutionary Committees. It is the only way to achieve the anticipated results and to fulfil our proletarian internationalist duty. It is only by carrying the armed struggle forward that we can smash the war-plots of the imperialists and the social-imperialists against China and against the great peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and lead the Indian revolution to victory.

Comrades of Punjab, shake off all hesitation. It is the time of self-sacrifice. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. Chairman Mao Tsetung has said, "A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause enjoys meagre support." U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are extremely isolated in the world today. They are all alone. On the other hand, People's China enjoys abundant support among the people all over the world. All the justice-loving people and countries are rallying round China. The future is ours and so victory is certain.

—December 7, 1971.

## Report From An Area In Uttar Pradesh

After Satya Narain Singh in Bihar and the Mahinder Singh group in U.P. turned out to be renegades, there was a temporary set-back in the struggle in Uttar Pradesh. But the comrades of U.P. fought valiantly against the wrong line and they have gained good support from the poor and landless peasants.

There were various reasons because of which actions had not taken place in U.P.

The spirit of self-sacrifice was not deep-rooted among the petty bourgeois comrades and that was why they were looking for fire-arms, etc, instead of rousing the landless and poor peasants with the politics of seizure of political power by armed force.

In some of the districts, especially in Kuraon district, instead of relying on poor and landless peasants, the petty-bourgeois comrades were relying mostly on middle peasants. When a guerrilla squad was formed with middle peasants they demanded fire-arms and made all sorts of bogus requests.

After studying the above facts the petty-bourgeois comrades are now becoming integrated with the poor and landless peasants and are carrying to them Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line that annihilation of the most hated, oppressor class-enemies is the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla war in the countryside. One hated class enemy has been annihilated in Banda of Eastern U.P. and another seriously injured at Tirhar, which is attached to Allahabad district, by poor and landless peasants. More actions are expected soon.

• On the night of 2nd July a squad of two poor-peasant guerrillas attacked a big *jotedar* and hated money-lender, Inder Singh, and annihilated him with country-made pistols in Banda.

The guerrillas are safe among the vast masses. The *jotedar* owned 1,400 acres of land. After this action there is a feeling of joy and relief among the poor and landless peasants.

The propaganda of this action was carried on by the poor and landless peasants themselves.

On the night of 8th July a squad of two poor peasant and one petty-bourgeois guerrillas attacked a hated *jotedar* and goonda, Kanta Prasad, with the help of conventional weapons (*gandasa*), in Kuraon attached to Allahabad district.

The *jotedar* is very much hated by the poor and landless peasants of his village. He forcibly took away eight peasant women from the adjoining villages, and his brother is a police officer. After the above action the confidence of the poor and landless peasants has increased and more actions will be carried out in that area within a very short time.

On the night of July 17, a big and hated money-lender was attacked at Tirha and was seriously injured.

—August 19, 1971

## Armed Peasant Struggle In West Bengal Forges Ahead

Combating reaction, revisionism and chauvinism, the armed peasant struggle in different parts of West Bengal is marching forward. The poor and landless peasants and workers of Naxalbari attacked the nearby Magurjan police camp and snatched rifles over a year ago and thus raised the peasants' armed struggle to what Comrade Charu Mazumdar called the stage of a liberation war. Since then the creativity of the poor and landless peasants has been unleashed more and more. Simultaneously with the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, the revolutionaries intensified their attacks on the reactionary State machinery during the last few months. The struggle for seizure of power in different rural areas was carried forward. Grasping firmly the truth that **"Without the People's Army, the people have nothing"**, the revolutionaries are steadfastly carrying on the battle for strengthening and arming the guerrilla forces. They continue to snatch rifles and cartridges from the police and class enemies. An all-night campaign for seizure of class enemies' guns in two villages on the borders of Kotwali and Nakasipara thanas of Nadia a few months ago turned into a "festival of the masses." Seven guns were collected. As 23 poor and landless peasant guerrillas marched through the villages and sang revolutionary songs, the villagers joined them.

The activities of revolutionary committees of poor and landless peasants, the organs of the new State power, are making the broad peasant masses participants in the struggle.

However small its beginning may be, a mass movement has been initiated through the struggle for seizing crops of class enemies in some areas. After consulting the peasants of a village on the basis of Chairman Mao's class analysis and in the light of the objectives of the democratic revolution, the comrades of a certain area concluded: (1) the entire quantity of paddy of *jotedars*, who are dead or have fled, should be seized; (2) a portion of the paddy of *jotedars*, who have surrendered, should be seized; (3) the paddy of middle peasants must not be "touched"; and (4) revolutionary committees will impose a levy on rich peasants after ascertaining the size of their land-holdings, amount of harvest and their family conditions. This is how the comrades are applying the principle: **"From the masses, to the masses."**

Under the impact of the struggle in the villages, urban mass movements, organized on the basis of propaganda conducted secretly by Party units, have begun to develop. In some cases, general strikes have been organized on political issues in district and sub-divisional towns without the help of any open mass organization. Sustained and secret work by Party units in some industrial areas has begun to bear fruit and the workers in such areas have been roused. In north-east Calcutta the workers of factories in Sinthi struck work in protest against the murder of Comrade Shyamal Chaudhuri by the reactionary police. An increasing number of Party units is taking to the working class, leader of the revolution, Comrade Charu Mazumdar's words: "Only by ending the unbearable exploitation", to which the poor and landless peasants are subjected, can the working class establish in society its dignity as "creator of wealth". An organizer writes: "The Party will now have to take repeatedly the politics of seizure of power—Comrade Charu Mazumdar's politics and the teachings of the 'Three Constantly Read Articles of Chair-

man Mao'—to the working class". Inspired by the politics of revolutionary self-sacrifice, the more advanced workers are going to the villages.

The struggle in West Bengal during the past few months has developed in the face of the chauvinism nurtured by the ruling class on the "Bangladesh" issue and the repression let loose by it with the co-operation of the revisionists. On the walls of several factories in the northern suburbs of Calcutta and in other industrial areas of the State are seen posters, denouncing the puppet Bangladesh government backed by the Soviet-Indian military alliance and calling upon workers and other toiling people to quicken the pace of revolutionary work to defeat the conspiracy to make East Bengal their colony and a base against revolution in the sub-continent and against China. A few days ago four revolutionary youths of Murshidabad gave a slap in the face of the reactionary Soviet-Indian alliance by snatching a stengun from a member of the so-called liberation army of Bangladesh near the Khandua border outpost in Lalgola. The West Bengal Police and the Border Security Force jointly combed the entire area but failed to trace the youths or the stengun. Again, the repression let loose by the reactionaries has evoked the most determined resistance of revolutionaries armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. To preserve this man-eating system in the interest of a few exploiters, the reactionaries have started killing revolutionaries everywhere, on roads and in jails. Despite bickerings amongst themselves, reactionaries and revisionists of all hues unitedly planned the mass-murder of youths in the Baranagar-Cossipore area north of Calcutta a few months ago. The revolutionaries of Howrah promptly avenged the mass murder by executing two leaders of the "resistance party", the fascist group reared by the police. Comrade Madan of Sukhchar, an industrial area in 24-Parganas, battled heroically against the enemy with his rifle till he died, when several reac-

tionary policemen surrounded him and three other comrades and started shooting at them. When, on November 26, the armed reactionaries strangled several revolutionaries in Ward No. 9 of Alipore Central Jail and severely beat almost all the remaining 250 prisoners, our comrades put up whatever resistance was possible. This is evident even from the following description by a journalist in a bourgeois paper: "Slogans written in red on the walls of the ward-cell on the first floor, like 'Red salute to Mao', convinced the most casual observer that the extremists were not sleeping behind the bars. The crumpled blanket sheets on the floor, empty aluminium utensils and the twisted and broken iron railings on the verandah spoke of the intensity of the storm fury." Today, it is the ruling class that is really afraid of the revolutionaries. That is why groups of revolutionaries are being transferred from jails in West Bengal to jails in faraway Tamil Nadu and other places. Nearly 1,000 prisoners were transferred in the first half of January.

In Naxalbari and adjoining areas a new consciousness is discernible among members of Revolutionary Committees, which are led by poor and landless peasants. A leading comrade writes: "They are now conscious that the Committees are the new government and that the Committees must, therefore, look after the People's Army." People are requesting that their sons be admitted into the People's Army. Two tea-garden workers also want to join the people's armed units. A large area has been virtually freed of class enemies and the guerrillas operate in a still larger area. There is great enthusiasm among the people. Crops of class enemies have been seized in some places. Villagers have even started digging some tunnels and are discussing how best to do the work. While guerrillas were out on a campaign for snatching guns in the Thakurganj police station area in nearby Purnea in broad daylight, it

required a lot of persuasion to stop a 65-year-old peasant from joining the campaign. Two guns and some quantity of gold were seized during the campaign. In Buraganj, a young member of the Red Guard annihilated a policeman. After two enemy agents were annihilated in Pathar Harharia by a guerrilla squad raised by the local Revolutionary Committee, the people heard the revolutionaries explain at a meeting how to defeat unitedly possible police repression on villagers. The recent martyrdom of Comrade Ranjit Bhowmik of the People's Army, who was surrounded by two police parties in succession in Jorpakri, Hoterhat, filled the people with the determination to avenge the murder. Grasping firmly Comrade Charu Mazumdar's teachings and inspired by the spirit of self-sacrifice for furthering the cause of revolution, Comrade Ranjit Bhowmik showed wonderful courage and fighting spirit when a party of police marauders suddenly raided his shelter. He jumped upon the armed bandit who was leading the party, snatched his loaded rifle, shot four policemen and killed at least one of them. The other police bandits hastily retreated, but when our brave comrade was leaving that area, another party of police bandits came and murdered him. Within a few days the revolutionaries attacked the Birsingh Jote police camp and killed a head constable of the State Armed Police. The reactionary police have become so panicky after this attack that they have decided to fortify all the police camps in the region with trenches and sentry boxes.

Both in rural and urban areas the revolutionaries of Burdwan district have initiated movements that have great significance. In villages, a beginning has been made in regard to linking revolutionary mass movement to armed struggle. Again, the comrades are helping to create a revolutionary atmosphere in regard to the complementary struggle in urban areas as a step towards the building up of the worker-peasant alliance. Several months ago a guerrilla

squad of five poor and landless peasants of Srikhand in Burdwan district set up an example of revolutionary heroism by snatching two rifles and securing the release of two captured comrades from a police party in a crowded train. Since then the snatching of rifles from the enemy has become a common occurrence in the district and the initiative of poor and landless peasants is being unleashed more and more. It was the initiative and leadership of poor and landless peasants that made possible the participation of even middle peasants in the recent seizing of paddy in a village in Burdwan district. Twentyone poor and landless peasants, six women from poor peasant families and three middle peasants took part in the action. The land belonged to a *jotedar* who had been annihilated. While members of the People's Army kept a watch with rifles on their shoulders, members of the local Revolutionary Committee of poor and landless peasants guided the action. Pledged to observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points For Attention, the participants were disciplined. There was great enthusiasm among the villagers as the 30 peasants proceeded towards the field, shouting "Long live the revolutionary Government", "Long live, Chairman Mao", "Long live Comrade Charu Mazumdar". Many people of nearby villages came to witness the seizing of crops. Frightened at the revolutionary mood of the peasants, a relation of the dead *jotedar* fled. The paddy seized was thrashed and then distributed among the peasants. Widows or others who could not come because of illness were also given a share. The next day, after doing propaganda campaign in favour of seizing of crops in a nearby village, the peasant guerrillas attacked a police jeep on their way back. The occupants of the jeep could, however, manage to remove the barricade put up by the guerrillas and leave the place in the vehicle. The day after, the seizing of paddy was resumed and this time the number of participants rose to 70. But as arrangements

were being made that night for distributing the paddy seized during the day, the news reached the village that a number of police parties had been sent to encircle it. All the peasant comrades except a member of the revolutionary committee could leave the place before the arrival of the police. The committee member was, however, captured. The peasant comrades are now carrying on propaganda work outside the area combed by the police and planning to attack the police and the "resistance" group raised by them.

In certain areas of Burdwan district the comrades have for long been integrating themselves with the workers. The workers of Durgapur and other places in the district have already given proof of their revolutionary initiative. As early as July last year the workers of the Fertilizer Corporation of India at Durgapur took out a procession in protest against the killing of revolutionaries in jails. Revisionist trade union leaders were forced to participate in the procession. The recent general strike at Katwa, a sub-divisional town, was an unprecedented event in the district. The strike, observed in protest against the murder of revolutionaries in Ward No. 9 of Alipore Central Jail, was organized on the basis of propaganda carried on secretly by Party units and without the help of any open mass organization. With a view to making the toiling people of the town participants in the revolutionary struggle, the comrades of Katwa town secretly organized the strike mainly with the help of such workers as had already given some proof of their initiative. In different localities small squads of young comrades suddenly raised slogans in favour of the strike call and then disappeared among the masses. The response to the strike call was remarkable among rickshaw-pullers and other toiling people. People were heard to say: "The police are killing those who fight for the poor. We must resist this." Sensing that public opinion was in favour of the strike, the police had opened fire in some localities and

injured a youth and a worker. But this only made the people more determined in observing the strike. Schools and colleges were closed and business was paralyzed. Summing up the experience, a leading comrade of Katwa writes: "It is possible to build up mass struggles on the basis of propaganda carried on secretly and without open mass organizations. But to achieve this it is essential to build up secret Party organizations among the toiling people." The comrades have admitted that the poor response to the strike call among railway workers was because of lack of Party organizations among them. The comrades are now trying to correct the mistake.

—January 20, 1972

(The report of the armed struggle in Birbhum district is printed elsewhere in this issue. —Ed. *Liberation*.)

#### Report From Punjab

### Armed Struggle in Punjab Reaches a Higher Stage

On August 28, a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants annihilated a hated police officer. On 23rd September a guerrilla squad attacked a police post and destroyed it. All the arms and ammunition were seized. Dadhahur (Barnala), a revolutionary village, has become the 'Magurjan' of Punjab. In Sangrur district six cartridges and a rifle were snatched from a hated police agent of Jabandh village. In Andhera village (Barnala) a gun was snatched from a local jagirdar's agent, who is also a leader of the reactionary Akali group there

All these armed actions have advanced the armed struggle in Punjab to a higher stage.

With the attack on the armed forces of the enemy and the snatching of guns the building up of the People's Liberation Army has begun also in Punjab. To arm the guerrilla squads the snatching of rifles, guns and pistols has started. What has happened at Dadhahur today will happen throughout the Punjab tomorrow. No power on earth will be able to check this historic advance. Today, the peasants' armed struggle has struck deep roots in Punjab and no power on earth can uproot it. Aswini Kumar, a running dog of the reactionary Indira Government, has shouldered the responsibility of finishing off the "Naxalites" in Punjab. The formation of an "anti-Naxal" brigade has been decided upon and the Central Reserve Police (C.R.P.) has been sent for. In order to crush the new upsurge in the guerrilla zone of Bhatinda-Sangrur districts, six more battalions of the Punjab state police have been employed, all the police stations of Punjab have been provided with wireless sets and the district headquarters have been connected with the control room at Chandigarh with teleprinters. And fascist measures have been taken to close the borders between Punjab and neighbouring states with a view to checking the spread of armed struggle there. But all these shall fail to suppress the agrarian revolution led by the C.P.I. (M-L).

Today we, comrades of Punjab, imbued with the spirit of revolutionary self-sacrifice, are marching forward, strictly obeying our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instructions. Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said, "Comrades, today, the peasants' revolutionary struggle is acquiring the character of a liberation war. So attack must be launched on the armed forces of the enemy. To wage attacks now against class enemies only amounts to a certain form of economism. If we fail to wage attacks against the armed

forces of the enemy simultaneously with our attacks on the class enemies we shall land ourselves in the mire of a certain kind of economism. There need be no doubt whether so many tasks can be performed at the same time; for the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses can carry out all these tasks with their many-sided genius. We were busy till now with unleashing the initiative of the poor and landless peasants. Now we have to strengthen the unity of the broad peasant masses and see that their genius has free play. We must undertake our tasks with faith in the revolutionary genius of the masses. Once this genius has free play we shall advance at an irresistible speed and will surely achieve victory. Inspire the cadres with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, for we are a contingent and comrades-in-arms of the world-wide anti-imperialist front. Chairman Mao is leading the world revolution; victory will certainly be ours." We are boldly, resolutely and wholeheartedly following his revolutionary line.

Today, revolutionary armed struggle has been spreading rapidly in the whole of the countryside of Punjab. Revolutionary armed struggle is engulfing Hoshiarpur, Ropar, Patiala and Ludhiana. The guerrilla zone in Bhatinda-Sangrur is gradually extending itself. The annihilation of a D.S.P., the attack on the police post at Dadhahur and the snatching of a rifle from a police agent have created red terror in this area. The enemy has withdrawn small police pickets from the villages; small bands consisting of four or five policeman dare not enter the villages; they do so only in large numbers. The police have asked their agents to surrender their guns, because they cannot protect them from the "Naxalites." Smaller class enemies and the members of the evil gentry have been forced to come to a compromise with the Revolutionary Committees. The government policy to form

"anti-Naxalite" squads with goondas equipped with guns supplied by the Government is failing. Village *panchayets* and other people are refusing to have guns from the government. They boldly assert that they have nothing to fear from the "Naxalites" because there is no enmity between them and the "Naxalites".

In this guerrilla zone the political power of the ruling classes is crumbling. The peasantry, especially the poor and landless peasants, are realizing that the revolutionary armed struggle is the only way of their liberation. They can analyse and find out who are their enemies and who are their friends. That is why they are rallying round the red banner of the C.P.I.(M-L). The guerrilla units of the People's Liberation Army are smashing the age-old monopoly of political oppression and economic exploitation by the exploiting classes over the peasantry and are thus defending the prestige and dignity of the peasants. In order to safeguard their own dignity, the poor and landless peasants are relying more and more on the People's Liberation Army—their own army. They have realized that the institutions like *panchayets*, *thana* (police stations) and courts are only the instruments of exploitation in the hands of the ruling classes and have boycotted them. Our comrades in this region declare proudly: "From now on we will not allow the class enemies, the police agents and the evil gentry to outrage the honour of our peasant mothers, daughters and sisters. The evildoers shall be wiped out."

With the spread of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside of Punjab, the students and the toiling masses are joining the struggle for political power. The revolutionary students of Muktiswar are fighting a heroic battle to safeguard their dignity. The whole student community of Punjab joined their struggle. The university students at Patiala launched a strike-battle when a fellow

student was arrested on the charge of being a "Naxalite", and secured his release. The students of the Sangrur College held an angry demonstration when a professor was arrested. In the Batala area ten thousand revolutionary people fought a heroic battle against the oppressor police of the reactionary Indira government and held an angry demonstration. The oppressor police had murdered two students and were propagating that they had been "Naxalites" and killed in an encounter. When a watchman of the S.S.D. Higher Secondary School was arrested by the police, the students and school staff jointly struck work and declared that they would keep the school closed until the watchman was released.

As the fascist character of the reactionary Indira government is thus being exposed, the people's resistance against it is growing from strength to strength. Chairman Mao has said, "**Where there is oppression, there is resistance.**" When the sacred body of the heroic martyr, Comrade Jaspal Singh, was brought to his village Baladfala (Sangrur) the students of the nearly Kosba Bhabanigarh Higher Secondary School came to the village to pay their homage to this hero of agrarian revolution. A few other schools in the neighbouring villages also closed. The heroic masses of the whole village rent the sky with slogans like "Long live Naxalbari", "Long live Agrarian Revolution", and "Long Live Martyr Jaspal Singh". The same night the youth put up posters in the village announcing their determination to avenge the martyr. This is how revolutionary actions are taking place. The day is not far when the spark of the agrarian revolution will kindle a prairie fire throughout Punjab.

Under the leadership of the C.P.I.(M-L) the following guerrilla actions were carried out in Punjab during the last few months.

#### **SANGRUR-BHATINDA :**

A guerrilla squad of the People's Liberation Army of Dadhahoor village (Barnala) smashed the police post in the village on 23rd September. This action was carried out by six poor and landless peasants. Five mounted policemen were posted here. The revolutionary initiative of the commander, the flawless planning by the guerrillas and the intensity of the attack did not allow the enemy any chance to mount a resistance. The mercenary police force of the enemy just surrendered. Havildar Darbara Singh, in-charge of the police post, made a frantic effort to kill one of our comrades and was therefore shot dead. Four 303 rifles and 200 rounds of ammunition were seized. The squad then raised the slogans "Long Live Agrarian Revolution," "Long Live Heroic Martyrs," "Long Live C.P.I.(M-L)," "Long Live Comrade Charu Mazumdar," "Long Live Chairman Mao," and danced a Bhangra dance to express their joy of victory and merged themselves in the vast ocean of the revolutionary peasant masses.

#### **KAJHLA :**

On 21st September a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants annihilated Kapur in the evening. He was an exploiter of the worst type, usurer and lecher. His companions were allowed to go.

#### **SANCHERA :**

On September 17, the gun of an agent of a jagirdar (big landlord) was snatched. Earlier, a class enemy had been annihilated in this village and red political power was established. The peasants forced usurers to destroy the hand-notes (documents showing usurious loans at very exorbitant interest) in their possession.

The overseer Sukhdev of Canal Rest House was annihilated on September 21. This hated canal overseer helped the police to arrest our comrades. Recently he helped the police to capture three of our guerrilla comrades and finally to kill them. By annihilating him the guerrilla squad implemented the verdict of the People's Court.

#### **PATIALA-ROPAR-LUDHIANA :**

The peasants' armed struggle in this area has had to face many set-backs. On the one hand, the mercenary police force of the enemy have murdered nine of our heroic leading comrades, among whom were Daya Singh and Taresam Bawa. By making martyrs of them the reactionary Indira-Akali Government has tried its best to deprive our agrarian revolution of its leadership. On the other hand, the revisionist traitors who were hiding within the Party made every effort from within to put out the flames of armed revolution. Revolution succeeds only by combating revisionism. So the Party in this area won victories for the revolutionary line by waging ceaseless struggle against revisionism. Under the leadership of the reorganized Party Committees, the following actions have been carried out.

#### **SONDA :**

On September 9, three peasant guerrillas attacked a big jagirdar Harpal and severely wounded him. This goonda jagirdar dispossessed peasants of 100 acres of land. He was the chairman of the "Market Committee" and Sarpanch. After the attack he fled to the town. The guerrillas of this area attacked a notorious licence-holder and police agent and snatched his revolver. A guerrilla squad of the People's Liberation Army attacked the hated enemy Kripal's house with bombs. The peasants of this area have highly praised this action of the guerrilla squad. Red terror has been created among the police agents. Kripal had helped the police to kill three of our comrades.

According to the latest reports, the Party units in the rural areas of Bhatinda-Sangrur are making rapid advance. Peasant youths are joining the guerrilla squads. The Indira Government has been confiscating the houses of Party functionaries and is shooting them to death. This brutal repression on our Party functionaries has aroused deep regard and boundless love among the peasants for them.

The people treat the confiscated houses of our comrades as their own. Peasant women are looking after our guerrillas like their own children. For the first time in their lives our peasants have realized what revolution is and how it is carried forward. This is the result of armed struggle. That is why our peasants are devoting all their strength to advance revolution. The armed struggle of the peasants in our area has convinced us of the correctness of the teachings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar: "There need be no doubt whether so many tasks can be performed at the same time; for, the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses can carry out all these tasks with their many-sided genius." The revolutionary peasant masses are protecting our comrades, they are keeping an eye on the movement of the enemy and providing information about the activities of the enemy and their agents correctly and unmistakably.

Many villages in this region are free from class enemies and police agents. The political power of the exploiting classes has crumbled down. The people of the Barnala region look upon this area as a "Naxalite" base area. The enemy also is forced to admit this. The class-enemies who have so long plundered the people are fleeing from this area. Small landlords have given up their anti-peasant activities and are therefore being requested not to leave the villages by our peasant masses.

People are convening their own meetings and are deciding on the steps to be taken to defend the villages against police oppression. They are consolidating their unity in order not to allow the police to enter the villages. The people have decided not to sell even a piece of bread or tea to the police. A large police force went to Mahmudpur village to confiscate the houses of the comrades who have gone underground. The police were surrounded by the people. The D.S.P. escaped in his jeep. The people of the

village gave a sound beating to the police force, who fled the village in panic. At this active co-operation of the revolutionary masses our comrades' revolutionary enthusiasm was enhanced greatly. With the confiscation of their houses our Party cadres' determination has grown stronger. They fear neither hardship nor death. Can the reactionary Indira government check the revolutionary high tide by unleashing white terror? No, never. This revolutionary high tide is sure to engulf the entire country and will inevitably sweep the Indian reactionaries and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters to their doom.

(The above is an incomplete report of the armed peasant struggle in Punjab.—Ed. *Liberation*.)

## NOTES

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### EVERY CRIME OF THE OPPRESSORS MUST BE AVENGED

More than a thousand political prisoners detained without trial under the fascist laws of the present reactionary government were taken away in secrecy from prisons in West Bengal to prisons in Tamil Nadu—about twelve hundred miles away.

Speaking of U.S. imperialism, Chairman Mao said: "It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind." The Indian reactionaries, the lackeys of the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists, fear the people even more. So, out of desperation, as the revolutionary struggle spreads, the Indian reactionaries have been committing murders and perpetrating all kinds of fascist atrocities—even in prisons. Yet these have failed

to break the morale of the imprisoned revolutionaries. Grasping firmly Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line, they have rid themselves of opportunism and have been fighting against 'self'. Fearing neither hardship nor death, they have been struggling against wrong and injustice and have preserved their revolutionary integrity inside prisons. In this heroic struggle many of our comrades have given their lives and many have defied all dangers to come out of prison. Never before in India's history did such a revolutionary atmosphere prevail in the enemy's most guarded places—the prisons. It is not the enemy's fascist atrocities but the imprisoned revolutionaries' morale that has won in this battle. We are sure that the new despicable tactics of the enemy to break it by isolating them and removing them from the revolutionary atmosphere in prisons in West Bengal will ignobly fail.

In the midst of heavy repression the people of Suri, Bolpur and Katwa towns stopped all work for one day on different occasions to denounce the brutal murders of revolutionaries immediately after their capture or in prison. More and more people will rise everywhere to condemn the oppressors and will hit hard at them whenever they can. By boldly rousing the people with the politics of seizure of political power and by integrating ourselves with the poor and landless peasants and workers, we will avenge every crime of the oppressors.

### ON THE PASSING AWAY OF COMRADE CHEN YI

Comrade Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, who died on January 6, 1972, was one of the veteran members of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China. He lived through and played a

great role in the long and arduous struggle led by the Party under Chairman Mao's guidance in seizing political power by armed force and founding the People's Republic of China, in accomplishing the socialist revolution and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Taking lessons from the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1924-27 because of the capitulationist line of Chen Tu-hsiu, Chairman Mao organized the first contingent of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, founded the first rural revolutionary base area in the Chingkang Mountains and lighted the spark of "an armed independent regime of workers and peasants". One of the great stalwarts who rallied round Chairman Mao in that great moment of Chinese history was Comrade Chen Yi, who became Secretary of the Army Committee while Chairman Mao was Secretary of the Border Area Special Committee. Since then, he remained a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao and led the Chinese People's Liberation Army in heroic battles against the imperialists and the Chiang reactionaries. Great was his fame as a military commander and great was his service to the cause of building the People's Republic of China into an impregnable bastion of socialism—the centre of world revolution and the hope of mankind. Together with the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world, we mourn his loss.

### REPORT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN EAST BENGAL

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developed rapidly between the months of April and October, 1971. Hundreds of most hated class enemies and their agents were annihilated, their properties seized and distributed among the people. Large areas in several districts,

especially Jessore, Khulna and Noakhali, became freed of class enemies and their agents. Here the P.L.A. was formed, Revolutionary Committees were set up as organs of power, and the land of the class enemies was seized and distributed. Here in many of the villages, People's Courts functioned. While the local tyrants, so long high and mighty, were brought under arrest and sat on the ground awaiting their trial, the poor and landless peasants, down-trodden for ages, sat on elevated seats of judges, and tried and punished them. A violent storm of peasant uprising swept away the old feudal class relations and overthrew the rule of the comprador and feudal classes and the imperialists. The Marxist-Leninists also boldly exposed the anti-China campaign waged by all imperialists, social-imperialists and reactionaries. It was China that had consistently warned the people against their criminal plot and had correctly pointed out that this criminal plot was the main aspect of the complex situation.

In Jessore district the Party's influence spread from the Madhumati (on the Faridpur border) to Maheshpur (on the Indian border). The area in which the peasantry performed the above great deeds was about 50 miles in length and 50 miles in breadth with some enemy pockets within it. The armed struggle led by the Party created a mass upsurge throughout this area. Revolutionary Committees and People's Courts sprang up almost spontaneously in many villages. Five police stations and several Razakar camps were attacked, many reactionary army-men, policemen and Razakars were killed and arms were seized. Fire-arms were also seized by attacking the "Mukti Bahini" and capturing supplies sent to the "Bahini" by the Indian expansionists. Both the Pakistani government and the "Mukti Bahini", organized, trained, armed and paid by the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists, carried on numerous "campaigns of encircle-

ment and suppression". There was a time when the P.L.A., supported by the local guerrilla forces, had to wage daily battles against the Pakistani army and the para-military Razakars on one front and the "Mukti Bahini" on the other front.

In Noakhali district, a temporary base area covering almost the whole of two *thanas*—Rangamati and Laksmipur—developed in the course of the struggle. Here 10,000 bighas (3 bighas=1 acre) of land and several thousand *maunds* of paddy belonging to the class enemies were distributed among the poor and landless peasants. Here, People's Courts constituted by poor and landless peasants tried local tyrants, bullies and evil gentry. Forty big and hated landlords were punished with death. The PLA fought against the Pakistani army but was defeated. When the Pakistani army withdrew from this area after massacring thousands of people and setting up Razakar camps, the PLA destroyed the Razakar camps and re-established red political power.

In Khulna district red political power was established in two areas. The Party's work extended to many *thanas* (police station areas). Here also the PLA was formed, police stations of the reactionary government and Razakar camps were attacked and arms seized. The PLA, supported by the local guerrilla forces, had to fight both against the Pakistani army, Razakars and the "militia" on one front and the "Mukti Bahini" hirelings on the other front. In one incident in Raghunathpur village in Dumuria thana 40 armed policemen and Razakars were ambushed and killed.

The battle of annihilation of class enemies for seizure of power locally spread to at least eight other districts of East Bengal: Kusthi, Faridpur, Dacca, Barisal, Mymensing, Chittagong, Sylhet and Rangpur.

The temporary base areas in Jessore and Khulna fell before the vicious and treacherous attacks of the "Mukti Bahini" hirelings in October and November. In Noakhali the people suffered a setback after December 16.

With the direct invasion and occupation of East Bengal by the Indian expansionists, who were fully backed by the Soviet social-imperialists, the revolutionary armed peasant struggle has no doubt met with a reverse. But already the true character of the Awami League government and different political parties as puppets and collaborators of foreign invaders is getting exposed and the people's disillusionment has started. The people saw how the Indian expansionists dismantled machinery of several factories and despatched them to India, how they plundered and sent hundreds of thousands of bales of jute to India, how the Indian army imposed curfew in different areas and looted gold and other articles.

The Party has emerged out of the struggle reborn and purged of its weaknesses; the PLA under the leadership of the Party is being reorganized. By their immense sacrifice and heroism they have established themselves in the hearts of the people, especially poor and landless peasants, who too have tasted power, though for a brief while. We are sure that the Party will go deep among the people, boldly rouse them, infuse into them the spirit "**Dare to struggle and dare to win**" and lead a mighty united front of all those who are ready to fight the foreign invaders and their collaborators. A storm of revolution far vaster than the recent one will then sweep away the enemies of the people to their doom and a new dawn will then break over a truly liberated East Bengal.

—January 15, 1972

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struggle. It is impossible to launch armed struggle without securing a minimum number of modern weapons. We must give preference to terrain along with weapons. It is not possible to wage guerrilla struggle in the plains. We must select a convenient terrain of mountains and forests and systematically work to launch guerrilla actions in these areas. As the guerrilla struggle advances and as we gain initiative, then alone we can extend our struggle first to the plains and then to towns. Until we reach that stage we cannot fight in the plains or in the towns, for such fighting can provoke the enemy. Self-defence is important. If we can save the revolution from the attacks of the enemy, the future is definitely ours".

No doubt, this understanding is another variant of the wrong understanding advocated by the Nagi Reddy clique in Andhra for the last three years. This understanding runs quite contrary to the policies advocated by our Central Committee from the very beginning. From the beginning we opposed this wrong understanding and broke away from the Nagi Reddy clique, which is a revisionist clique parading its revisionist counter-revolutionary ideas under the guise of Chairman Mao's Thought.

#### REVOLUTIONARY LINE

Let us consider the understanding of our party in regard to our liberation struggle. It can be summed up briefly as follows:

"We are living in a glorious era—the era of the total collapse of imperialism and its lackeys and the world-wide final victory of socialism. This decade is a decade of liberation. Victory is not far off. The revolutionary situation is excellent throughout the country. The Indian revolutionaries must be prepared to make daring sacrifices to play their key-role in the world revolution that is advancing.

by leaps and bounds and delivering death-blows to imperialism. It is suicidal to think that self-defence is important. When the imperialist monster is being attacked by the revolutionaries of different countries—one attacking the head, the other feet and so on—the Indian revolutionaries have to play their part successfully. It is our immediate revolutionary task to mobilise and prepare the exploited of our country to make boundless sacrifices. It is an illusion to think that economic struggle gives people necessary primary consciousness to wage armed struggle. This understanding is the royal road to revisionism. It is also suicidal to think that the direct participation of people in the armed struggle

Economic struggles on a broad front make the people class-conscious. It is the Party which then gives the wings for armed struggle. Guerrilla tactics will be cranked up without the people's participation.

This is another wicked weapon in the hands of revisionists to injure revolution. The direct participation of people in the struggle is an indication of spontaneity among the people and not a sign of revolutionary consciousness. It is our revolutionary task to create consciousness among the people—to help them understand that without the people's army the people have nothing—and it is our revolutionary task to build the Red Army. It is only through guerrilla warfare that we can mobilise the people and develop their initiative. We must discard all methods that encourage open battles against the enemy. We must adopt guerrilla tactics. From mobilising people to fighting the enemy—we must employ guerrilla tactics.

People's armies were found in different countries in different ways and in different historical conditions. The urgent problem before Indian revolution is not the problem of what military tactics to be adopted in the revolutionary war with an already found Red Army. Our problem is the problem of building the Red Army from grass roots. The immediate revolutionary task is to rely honestly and completely on workers, poor and landless peasants, mould their inherent class hatred to the revolutionary purpose, develop their

initiative, advance the class struggle to the highest stage and build the Red Army with the militants coming from the struggle.

The battle of annihilation of class enemies, the political line formulated by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, is the successful practical method of fulfilling this revolutionary task of building the Red Army. This method is creatively developed from Indian revolutionary practice to solve the problem of building the Red Army.

There are two aspects of the battle of annihilation. The first aspect is that it is the higher stage of class struggle that prepares the people to take revenge on the class enemy. The second aspect is that it creates red terror that forces the class enemy to flee from the villages and paves the way for the seizure of political power by the basic classes under the leadership of the Communist Party. We can build the Red Army quickly and efficiently only when we implement this policy with the death-defying spirit of sacrifice. This is the only guarantee for the victory of Indian revolution. If we forget the second aspect of the battle of annihilation, then we invariably land on economism. As a matter of fact this was what happened in Andhra.

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In the era when we are leading our revolution, when world reaction is afraid of the people of the world, we need not follow from A to Z all the methods adopted by the Chinese comrades in 1936 in building liberated areas. The revolutionary situation is excellent throughout India. Throughout the world the revolutionary forces are advancing victoriously. There is the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party—the guarantee for the victory of world revolution. It is possible to build many liberated areas in different parts of our country. By waging the battle of annihilation in vast areas in a big way, we can pave the way for the building of the Red Army and liberated areas. In the course of our advance,

history will place before us the problem of the definite location of liberated areas. It is suicidal to think of concentrating all our forces in a 'convenient terrain, waiting for the glorious future'.

The battle of annihilation can be successful only when we rely completely on poor and landless peasants. Squads should be formed of basic classes. The petty bourgeois comrades must work only as political commissars. All problems concerning the battle of annihilation are to be decided by the members of the squads in a democratic way. The problems such as the targets of annihilation and the practical problems concerning it are to be left to the squad members. The Party need not interfere unless the squads go against the aims of our revolution.

In brief this is the view of our Party on the practical implementation of our immediate tasks.

Comrades! Now it is clear that there are two understandings on the question of the war of liberation—one opposing the other.

While economism is the basis of one understanding, Marxism is the basis of another. While new-type revisionism under the mask of Chairman Mao's Thought is the basis of one understanding, the creative application of Mao's thought to the concrete conditions of India is the basis of the other. The first understanding damages the cause of revolution by throwing the revolutionary situation into the cess-pool of revisionism; the second understanding demands the spirit of sacrifice to build the Red Army and liberated areas by developing and extending the battle of annihilation basing firmly on the excellent revolutionary situation in the country. The first understanding is the last breath of revisionism on its death-bed, the second understanding is the living expression of Mao's thought.

Hence our comrades must firmly fight against revisionism of the first understanding. We must sweep away

all such counter-revolutionary trash from our understanding. Revisionism under the guise of Chairman Mao's thought is more dangerous because it can create considerable confusion among the revolutionary ranks. Hence our conference has correctly defined this type of revisionism as the last reserve of imperialism.

We can go ahead only by defeating this new-type revisionism.

### Revisionist understanding is the only cause of our setbacks

Let us consider in detail "certain causes" advanced by some of our comrades for our setbacks in the struggle. The essence of their arguments (as already explained) is that we suffered because of left adventurism.

Some comrades say that "our understanding is correct in general. But we suffered setbacks because of the left adventurist directives imposed on us by the Central Committee or Comrade Charu Mazumdar. The State Committee firmly maintains that this view is not correct. It is necessary to understand that remnants of revisionism have been rampant in our understanding and practice right from the beginning of the Srikakulam struggle to the present day. To be more clear, in the past as well as in the present, it is not the understanding of Comrade Charu Mazumdar that was implemented. As a matter of fact something that was contrary to his understanding was implemented. In the name of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's understanding something different or alien to it was implemented in the past as well as in the present. Unless we understand this naked truth clearly, we cannot find out the real causes for our failures and there is the danger of landing on economism, confinement of armed struggle to forests and thereby damaging the cause of revolution—all in the name of "leading the struggle across smooth waters with no more losses in future". This self-complacent attitude cannot help us to understand the depths of revisionism.

To understand the above argument, it is necessary to understand the significance of the Srikakulam struggle.

The flames of the Naxalbari peasant armed struggle led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar set ablaze Srikakulam. Led by the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) the Srikakulam peasant struggle reached a new stage of guerrilla warfare, higher than the Naxalbari struggle, and has become an example and source of inspiration to the other parts of the country. The flames of the Srikakulam guerrilla struggle spread to all parts of Andhra and many other parts of the country. Guerrilla struggle reached a new stage in Bihar and Bengal. Our Bengal comrades have taken the struggle to the next stage of laying the foundation for the building of the Red army. The first People's Army in the history of Indian revolution is fighting valiantly against reactionary Indian troops and police in West Bengal.

For the past three years, by carrying on armed struggle in various parts of the country, we delivered powerful blows at age-old revisionism. We created an atmosphere of armed struggle throughout the country. Everyone in this country is discussing our armed struggle. Everyone is deciding what should be his attitude towards revolution. In a big way Mao Tsetung Thought has reached the exploited people and petty bourgeois intellectuals with low incomes. At least in some states we have created guerrilla areas. At least in one state we have laid the foundation of the Red Army. Thus we have advanced farther on the road to the protracted armed peasant revolution.

This in brief is the influence of the Srikakulam struggle on the Indian Revolution.

The achievements of our struggle for the past three years are not ordinary. It is no exaggeration to say that our struggle has written a new chapter in the history of the Indian revolution.

This is only one aspect of the Srikakulam struggle. As revolutionaries we have to consider also the other aspect of the Srikakulam struggle. Why did our squads fail to snatch fire-arms from the enemy in time? Why did we not seriously attempt to build the Red Army? Why did we not organize small squads and extend our activity to vast areas as the concentration of the enemy increased? Why did we fail to create red terror in the vast rural areas of Andhra making it impossible for the landlords to lead their lives peacefully and why did we fail to pave the way for the seizure of political power by poor and landless peasants? All these questions point to the second aspect of the Srikakulam struggle. All these questions have arisen not out of utopian thinking but in the course of the actual development of the struggle. They have emerged as urgent tasks before us. These problems are to be solved for the further development of our struggle. All these problems indicate our failure in the Srikakulam struggle. As we failed in solving these problems, the struggle failed to reach a higher stage. As a result of this failure, we lost initiative, suffered from many limitations and were exposed to many defeats. From the revolutionary point of view, the above are the real causes of our "setbacks in Srikakulam" and of "our temporary retreat in Srikakulam". Free from such deviations, Bengal comrades under the direct leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar opened a new chapter in the history of the Indian Revolution.

While the Naxalbari struggle convinced the people of India that protracted armed struggle is the only way for the liberation of India, it is Srikakulam that discarded open battles and laid the basis for guerrilla struggle. It is West Bengal that went one step forward, snatched rifles from the enemy and built the Red Army.

Unfortunately, those comrades who maintain that the setbacks are due to left-adventurism mention different causes for our failure. According to them, the arrest of

many comrades and the death of many comrades are the causes of our setback. According to them, we would certainly have courted much more loss if we persisted in following the same adventurist line. Hence they come to the wrong conclusion that we suffered because "we belittled the enemy tactically and pursued an adventurist line". So they came to the counter-revolutionary conclusion that "we must retreat a step backward and mobilize people on economic issues". The sixteen page pamphlet distributed in the name of the Srikakulam District Committee of the Party is nothing but the expression of such suicidal understanding. The State Committee unequivocally repudiates this sixteen-page pamphlet. It congratulates those comrades who fought against this pamphlet throughout the state. The Committee thinks that all this counter-revolutionary thinking is the climax of the revisionist thinking prevalent among us.

The State Committee firmly maintains that we can advance the cause of revolution only by discarding wrong thinking and by carrying on the battle of annihilation on a wide scale relying firmly on the landless and poor peasants.

Revisionism among us is not an accident; the seeds of revisionism have been there in our understanding from the beginning of the Srikakulam struggle

Though it is our Party that waged real struggle against revisionism that developed during the past thirty years, it is nevertheless a fact that revisionist remnants are haunting us. We played a praiseworthy role in fighting against the Nagi Reddy clique and demarcating ourselves from them. Yet on many issues our practice is within the orbit of Nagi Reddy politics.

Even though we—Andhra comrades—have the firm belief that we can establish a Peoples' democratic State under the guidance of Chairman Mao's Thought through protracted struggle by liberating villages first and encircling

and liberating cities later, still we have fantastic ideas on many issues. Our thinking is opposed to Chairman Mao's Thought in matters of revolutionary practice and in creatively applying the principles of protracted struggle to the concrete conditions of our country. Even though we find stray incidents of adventurism here and there, the remnants of revisionism have been predominant in our practice for the past three years. This revisionist understanding has become an obstacle to the progress of the Srikakulam struggle.

Though we demarcated ourselves organizationally from the Nagi Reddy clique, we failed to expose its politics clearly because of remnants of revisionism within us. We have sufficiently exposed them in matters such as their refusal to lead the Srikakulam struggle and their refusal at least to support the struggle. But we failed to hate economism, the basis of their politics. We did not effectively explain to our Party members that economism is counter-revolutionary. Rather, when our struggle was in full swing, we issued a circular named "Extend our Struggle to New Areas", which is another variation of economism under the mask of a call for armed revolutionary struggle. Though this circular did not come to lime-light because of the staunch resistance of fighting comrades, the same understanding dominated the leadership throughout. Because of the continuation of this wrong understanding, we faced setbacks and on facing setbacks, a call was given in the name of the Srikakulam District Committee once again: "Mobilize people on economic issues!"

There is general agreement in respect of what Chairman Mao said: "WITHOUT A PEOPLE'S ARMY THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING". But at first we had no clear understanding on the question of how to build the Red Army and liberated areas in the present Indian conditions. Rather, we had many utopian ideas. Though we

demarcated ourselves from Nagi Reddy, we still had faith in spontaneity. We had no clear understanding of the cause of development of the movement and failed to have initiative at every critical turn of the movement. We suffered from the wrong understanding that hills and forests were enough for building liberated areas. We also suffered from the utopian notion that a liberated zone would be created at a point from where revolutionary activity extended. That is the reason why—and no other reason can be attributed—we have sent many comrades from the plains to Srikakulam. It is one thing to send comrades from other areas to Srikakulam only after assessing the number of comrades required and the qualities necessary for them to meet the revolutionary demands of Srikakulam, the heart of the revolutionary struggle of our state and it is another thing to send all and sundry who express their mere enthusiasm to participate in the struggle. We concentrated all available comrades in one area because the leadership suffered from the utopian idea that a liberated area could be created in the near future. Hence we failed to mobilize and organize revolutionaries effectively throughout the state to lay the foundation for building many liberated areas by creating red terror throughout the state and by creating adverse conditions for landlords to continue to live in the villages, by paving the way for building the Red Army and seizing political power. Let us consider the struggle we waged in the plain areas. Even after taking the decision to launch struggle in the plain areas, we did not, in practice, attach importance to the instructions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. As a matter of fact, we continued to follow something contrary to his instructions. We mobilized a big number in each actions. (In many actions in plain areas the number of squad members varied between 25 and 75). We did not organize small squads. The life and the activity of the squad was placed under the direct

supervision of the Regional Committees that curbed the initiative of the squads. The leadership at different levels advocated the limited aim of annihilating only wicked enemies instead of carrying the battle of annihilation to terrorise the landlord class in a big way. In all these matters we went against the instructions of the central leadership. We did annihilate class enemies in the plain areas. But the point is that we carried out such actions with a wrong political and a wrong organizational understanding that imposed on us so many limitations.

Comrades! Annihilating the enemy alone is not the sufficient sign of revolutionary activity. We have to build the Red Army. People must seize political power at the local level. The annihilation programme is revolutionary only when it is carried out with the aim of laying the basis for establishing liberated areas. Otherwise, the annihilation programme becomes another form of economism. Hence Comrade Charu Mazumdar criticised Andhra Comrades that in practice they implemented one aspect of the annihilation programme and did not realize the proper significance of the second aspect of the programme.

Comrade Charu Mazumdar defined the battle of annihilation of the class enemy as "the higher stage of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla warfare". If we confine the struggle to the first aspect of annihilation programme—whatever our intentions may be—we slip into the mire of economism. Only when we successfully coordinate the two aspects of the annihilation programme, then only we can build the Red army, seize political power and lay the basis for the building of liberated areas. Then only the annihilation programme helps the advance of revolution.

It is clear now that we suffered setbacks in the plain areas because of our revisionist understanding. But some comrades argue that "it is impossible to conduct guerrilla

struggle in the plain areas". Some others argue that "squad actions without the participation of the people are adventurism". As it is not easy now to say that it is impossible to fight in the plains while the Red army is being formed in the plains of West Bengal before our very eyes, some comrades raise some other objections regarding our struggle in the plains. They say that it is impossible to carry on struggle without modern weapons and that "we can carry on struggle in the plain areas only by depending on the forests nearby" and that "it leads to losses if we fight in the plains without close links with the forest areas". This is a new variation of the old theory that it is not possible to fight in the plain areas.

As we were not clear about the aims of our struggle in the plain areas, we followed wrong method of struggle. We did not rely completely on the basic classes. These are the causes of our failure to extend our struggle to the plain areas and of the loss of leadership at all levels.

Let us consider the question of the role of different classes in our revolution. This is a question of strategy. Chairman Mao teaches us: "WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES? WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS? THIS IS A QUESTION OF THE FIRST IMPORTANCE FOR THE REVOLUTION". Ours is the New Democratic Revolution. Agrarian Revolution is the axis of New Democratic Revolution. Under the leadership of the working class and basing itself on the firm unity of the working class and the peasantry the united front is formed of the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This united front seizes political power by fighting against the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class. Though there is general agrument as regards the role of the rich peasants (a section of them will come over to us and most others will remain neutral while a tiny section may join the enemy camp) as the struggle advances, a discussion is going on in the Party

about the role of the rich peasant in the initial stages of the struggle. In the backward countries like India, the rich peasant also carries on feudal exploitation. So in the initial stages of the revolution, before our revolutionary forces assume a dominant position, the rich peasant opposes the revolution. So it is argued that we can win over middle peasants only by waging sharp political struggle against the rich peasant. But it will be wrong to think that a section of the landlords will either support our revolution or remain neutral. Unfortunately, our state leadership entertained such ideas. It is not accidental that the leadership declared in a pamphlet, "A section of landlords will join the Democratic Revolution and no force on earth can prevent them from joining our revolution". It is the reflection of our wrong understanding regarding the role of different classes in our revolution. As a result of this understanding strange slogans such as "Safely leave off some landlords after teaching them our politics" and "Exploit the contradictions among the landlords" raised their ugly heads. Is it not a fact that this attitude causes harm to our struggle to create red terror in the villages and liberate the villages from the landlords?

Though we repeatedly chanted the resolutions of the Party Congress, in practice the leadership including comrades at different levels in the Party suffered from this wrong understanding, which was at the root of many revisionist errors made in the course of our struggle.

The hegemony of the proletariat is another important aspect of the question of the role of different classes in the revolution. Great Lenin successfully buried the corpse of the Second Communist International's disruptive stand that "the proletariat need not be the leaders of the democratic revolution" and that "it is not the political task of the proletariat to be the leaders of the democratic revolution". Yet, during the period of modern revisionism, the prole-

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tarian hegemony was negated in practice even though it was upheld in words. It so happened also in our country.

Revisionism weakens proletarian dictatorship where we are in power and negates Proletarian hegemony where we are still in the struggle.

In the past thirty years of revisionist practice we led many peasant struggles. In many villages the Communist Party became a "considerable force" and a "majority Party". We gave pet names to those villages as "red villages". But as class struggle intensified, the hollowness of these "red villages" and "majority parties" was exposed. They collapsed like houses of cards. Why? Those "red villages" were not born of class struggle. They were the products of the policy of class-collaboration. The united front under the leadership of the working class with basic classes as chief allies and with the aim of accomplishing agrarian revolution is not the basis of those "red villages". They are the "red villages" under the leadership of landlords on the basis of class collaboration with the aim of preserving feudal exploitation—all in the name of the Communist Party. This is the result of modern revisionism. From top to bottom, at all levels, landlords became the leaders of the Communist Party. It is not accidental. It is the result of modern revisionism.

Then, what is our position after discarding revisionism? We are not cured of this disease. Even today our Party is dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. Our cadres are predominantly petty bourgeois. Even today the villages of poor and landless peasants are not the centres of our activity. Leadership is not from the basic classes. In the villages we still take shelters in the petty bourgeois and rich peasant houses and enquire whether any poor peasant is prepared "to co-operate" with us. Still we do not have such strong and living contacts with the basic classes that we can take shelter in the huts of poor peasants and enquire

whether any petty bourgeois is ready to co-operate with us. This is our fundamental weakness. We can overcome this weakness by intensifying the programme of annihilation of the class enemies. By this alone we can develop the fighting initiative of the basic classes. We can mobilize militants who participated in these actions, give them political consciousness and promote them to leadership. In this way we can lay strong foundations for building up the struggle. Revisionism within us has become an obstacle even in practising proletarian hegemony. Recently a strong argument was put forward that "we have to wait for a long time—for years—to organize squads based on poor and landless peasants". It is unrealistic to think in the context of the nature of the present revolutionary era that one has to wait for a long time to win over the basic classes. Moreover, it is better for those comrades to realize that there are no short-cuts for the victory of revolution.

Let us consider the question of Party organization. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that once a correct political policy is decided upon, it is the strength of the Party organisation that decides the victory of our class struggle. Great Lenin denounced the Second Communist International that negated the necessity of a disciplined Party organized on the principle of democratic centralism. But in the period of modern revisionism the leading role of the Communist Party is minimized. In the past three years we also suffered from revisionist practice in the matter of Party organization. For example, many comrades were sent to Srikakulam from plain areas. But the Party had no control on the arrival and sudden departure of those comrades. The Party had no assessment regarding the nature and amount of help needed by Srikakulam from the outside and it did not have clear ideas about what sort of cadres could exactly meet the demands of the Srikakulam struggle. The principle was: "Those who can come to

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Srikakulam, let them come. Those who want to leave Srikakulam, let them leave. The movement loses nothing as a result of this coming in and going out". This thinking shows spontaneity in organizational matters. It shows our failure to recognize the necessity of planning and foresight. As a result, we trailed behind the events. In practice, we suffered from this sort of spontaneity.

In the course of struggle, there arose contradictions between the local comrades and comrades from other areas. There arose contradictions between the Party leadership and the leadership of the agency area, which is the heart of our movement. It resulted in the worst type of factionalism that did great harm to the Party. We also faced many organizational problems in the course of the movement. But the leadership relied on spontaneity. It did not try to mould the situation. We minimized the subjective factor—the role of the Party—and suffered from the un-Marxist understanding that if objective conditions were favourable, these were enough for the revolution to succeed. The same understanding that if objective conditions were favourable, these were enough for the revolution to succeed. The same understanding could be noticed in the formation and functioning of the State Committee. The State Committee did not become the real Committee with grip on the total movement. Sufficient attempt was not made to make it a real Committee. No doubt, it takes some time for a Committee to develop into a real Committee. Here the problem is not the problem of time, it is the problem of correct understanding. In practice the State Committee became a general body and the Srikakulam District Committee became the real State Committee. For example, the members of the State Committee did not know of the contradictions within the leadership of Srikakulam, even though the news of these differences were appearing in the bourgeois papers in a big way. The causes for this sad state of affairs in Party organisation cannot be simply attributed to one or two individuals. This will

not help us to learn correct lessons. The main reason for this state of affairs is our revisionist understanding that refuses to recognize that the subjective factor (a disciplined party), besides the objective conditions, is essential for the victory of revolution. It is clear that remnants of revisionist understanding, that are prevalent in our Party from top to bottom, at different levels and in different degrees, are the main cause of our setbacks and not left adventurism, as some comrades are advocating.

To sum up, the following are the concrete manifestations of revisionism both in our theory and in our practice:

The idea that it is not possible to fight in the plain areas, our failure to organize small squads by conspiratorial methods, our failure to mobilize in large numbers poor and landless peasants within the squads and make them the commanders of the squads, our hesitation to allot specific areas to squads and give democratic rights to them, our counter-revolutionary estimate that a section of landlords would join our revolution at a time when a call was to be given for creating red terror to make it impossible for the landlords to live in the villages, our attitude that only the wicked ones could be annihilated and other landlords should be left untouched after they were taught our politics, our economism in the circular "Extend the struggle to new areas", our failure to concentrate on the next stage of the movement—that of building the Red army and seizure of political power that lead to the creation of liberated areas, the role of the State Committee (except for the members from Srikakulam) as mere spectators and the Srikakulam District Committee turning out to be the real State Committee in practice, and our failure to solve in the interest of revolution the organizational problems which developed in the course of the struggle—these are the concrete manifestations of revisionism in our theory and practice, that were prevalent at all levels and in different degrees.

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p. 185.

Even though the leadership stood in the forefront in fighting firmly against revisionism, we have not been free from the dirt of revisionism prevalent in our thinking for the last many years. We are not free from the influence of the traditions created by revisionism in matters of organization and methods of struggle. We have to wage a determined inner-Party struggle against these revisionist remnants and revisionist methods of work. Then alone we can advance the cause of revolution and successfully fulfil the historic tasks. In our inner-Party struggle against revisionism, we must not forget one important thing. It is a big mistake to think that a few individuals are responsible for this revisionist understanding that hindered our struggle. If we cannot understand the reality that this revisionist understanding is prevalent from top to bottom, at different levels and in different degrees, we cannot understand the necessity of the entire Party waging a determined inner-party struggle to purge revisionism. Moreover, it is an illusion to think that revisionism can be uprooted from the Party by taking action against a few individuals. The State Committee opposes all such thinking. It maintains that revisionism is a trend inherent in the whole Party and not with a few individuals in Andhra. The following extract from the "Resolution on certain questions in the History of our Party", adopted by the Enlarged Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the great Communist Party of China, will be helpful in understanding this problem and in conducting the inner-party struggle correctly: "The Enlarged Seventh Plenary Session points out that the struggles which the Party waged in the course of its history against Chen-Tu-hsiuism and Li-Li-sanism were absolutely necessary. The defect in these struggles was that they were not undertaken consciously as serious steps for correcting the petty-bourgeois ideology which existed on a serious scale in the Party; consequently they neither

clarified the ideological essence and roots of the errors thoroughly nor properly indicated the methods of correcting them, and so it was easy for these errors to recur. Moreover, undue stress was placed on personal responsibility in the belief that once an erring comrade was attacked, the problem was solved". The Enlarged Seventh Plenary Session pointed out: "The policy Comrade Mao Tsetung has adopted for the present rectification movement throughout the Party and for the study of Party history, namely, 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient', and achieve 'clarity in ideology and unity among comrades', is a model of the correct attitude for Marxist-Leninists in overcoming errors within the Party".

Comrades! We have noticed how for the past three years, revisionism, in different concrete manifestations, has become an obstacle to the development of our revolutionary struggle. Unless we fight against revisionism, we cannot go ahead.

There are five points which we should not forget in the course of our revolutionary practice. We must completely and solely rely upon poor and landless peasants. We must form guerrilla squads with poor and landless peasants. We must give democratic rights to those squads as regards all aspects of the battle of annihilation. In plain areas we should form small squads and carry out actions in the conspiratorial way as instructed by our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar. We must carry onward the battle of annihilation throughout the State as far as possible, creating such red terror that will make it impossible for the landlords to live in the villages peacefully. Pay serious attention to these points, defeat revisionism and march onward!

*'Long live the Peasant Armed Struggle*

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

*A Long, long Life to Chairman Mao'*

—March, 1971

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