

2

Liberation

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22

RELY FULLY ON LANDLESS AND POOR PEASANTS AND COMBAT REVISIONISM

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

At a very heavy price, at the cost of much blood, we have learnt the lesson that revolution is the higher form of class struggle and that class struggle is the only way to solve every problem. Class struggle can be carried on only by our own class, the landless and poor peasants. Unless the landless and poor peasants are raised to positions of leadership, the revolutionary possibility, no matter how great it is, will inevitably be frittered away. This is a lesson for which we have paid heavily in blood. Any refusal to learn this lesson will cost us more blood and cause still more losses.

How can the initiative of the landless and poor peasants develop? Their initiative can develop only by learning Mao Tsetung Thought; their initiative can develop if squads of landless and poor peasants are given full democratic rights. To give democratic rights to the squads of landless and poor peasants is a political question. It is our bourgeois thinking, revisionist thinking, that prevents us from giving democratic rights to these squads. This concrete manifestation of revisionism, that is, the dependence on petty bourgeois intellectuals, has caused us considerable losses.

We know that the road to revolution is crimson with the blood of martyrs. We also know that the blood of martyrs gives birth to a new type of man. The laying down of their lives by our most beloved comrades generates immeasurable strength to conquer death. This is why the soil that is soaked with the blood of martyrs is transformed into a iron bastion. Many of our comrades have laid down their lives and many more will sacrifice theirs. For, the Indian revolution can never win victory without paying a price. This sacrifice of lives will create men who have conquered death, men who will smash all

the forces of imperialism and will selflessly build a new India, beautiful India, an India that will become a source of great hope for the people of the world. We know that the lives that are being sacrificed today will kindle the flames of revolution in the hearts of hundreds of people, and revolution will surge forward irresistibly. The enemy can never weaken the forces of revolution by murdering us; on the contrary, revolution sweeps on irresistibly.

Educate the landless and poor peasant in Mao Tsetung Thought. Let him learn to find guidance from the "Quotations". Teach him to plan on his own. Help him so that he can develop into a leader. In order to do this it is necessary to help him read the "Quotations" and the "Three Constantly Read Articles"; it is also equally necessary to politically educate the masses. Today, the oppressed masses who have suffered from exploitation and tyranny for thousands of years yearn for their liberation and want revolution. Never hesitate to give them politics. It is only the politics of the seizure of political power by armed force that can bring about changes in their outlook; it is only the politics of the seizure of political power by armed force that can create tremendous enthusiasm in their minds, bring about the festival of the masses and can enable them to make bitter sacrifices.

Put politics in command. Give democratic rights to the revolutionary squads and unleash their initiative. No power on earth can prevent the onward march of the Indian revolution. Chairman Mao has said that, today, the reactionary forces are not merely paper-tigers, they are trembling in utter panic. They are frightened and terror-stricken. The day of the liberation of mankind is not far off. Let us strike at the enemy with all our strength to fulfil the most sacred task—the task of liberating mankind. Victory certainly belongs to us.

—July 14, 1970

TO THE COMRADES OF SRIKAKULAM

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

Valiant Comrades of Srikakulam!

You are the foremost fighters of the Indian revolution. It is you who have established the first people's political power in India. That is why you had to pay the heaviest price. The blood you have shed will not go in vain. Today, the people of the whole of India are inspired with your ideal. They have taken up the task of building Srikakulams in their respective areas. So, to the oppressed millions of India Srikakulam is an immortal name, a great hope. Srikakulam is the future history of India. The death of a revolutionary never goes in vain and the blood you have shed will not be in vain. These selfless sacrifices of yours will rouse new hope in the hearts of hundreds of millions of people and kindle the raging flames of revolution. Srikakulam will be the bulwark of revolution and no reactionary force in the world can block the road of its liberation. This is because the blood shed by so many martyrs can never go in vain.

Comrades, stand on your own feet. Many of your leaders are no more, but you remain. Take up the task of leadership in your own hands, give democratic rights to every squad. Let every squad make its own plans and carry them out successfully on its own. Form small squads and spread them out all over the area. Inspire everyone to avenge every drop of blood shed by you. Extend your hand to the masses to get their co-operation. Form revolutionary committees in every village. These revolutionary committees will be the organs of our own state power. Obey yourself every instruction issued by the revolutionary committees and also teach others to obey the same. The Party Committees should not inter-

✓ fere with the work of the revolutionary committees unless there is any deviation of a very serious nature. Only in this way can the state power of the revolutionary committee be established and developed. The majority of the members of a revolutionary committee should be taken from outside the Party and from among the landless and poor peasants who are earnestly trying to understand and adhere to the Party line. The relation between the Party unit and the revolutionary committee should be close and friendly—like that between the two hands of a man. Let everyone obey the instructions of the revolutionary committee. When this is done, the political power of your area will not remain mere political power, there will emerge a vast liberated area—Srikakulam.

The small guerrilla squads will, on the one hand, annihilate the class enemies and, on the other, will carry on attacks on the reactionary police force. This battle of annihilation will enable the guerrilla forces to collect modern rifles from the reactionary state power, and there will emerge the people's army all over Srikakulam.

✓ Inspire the masses so that they actively co-operate with us. Apply all kinds of methods against the enemy—from giving false information to him to killing enemy troops by mixing poison with their food. This will enable the struggle in Srikakulam to develop to a higher stage—the stage of the struggle in Vietnam—within six months. It is Srikakulam which is, today, illumining the path forward for the people of the whole of India. In the days to come, Srikakulam will also show the way to build a new India.

Do not let the blood shed by the martyrs go in vain. Launch the fiercest offensive in a new way. Class struggle will solve all our problems. This struggle will spread to the whole of Andhra and Orissa which are like volcanoes about to erupt. Terror-stricken, the reactionary forces will be forced to flee in utter panic. That day is not far off when Srikakulam will become a truly liberated area. Yes, that day is not far off.

FORGE CLOSER UNITY WITH PEASANTS' ARMED STRUGGLE

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

For the last few months the students and youths of Calcutta and West Bengal have declared war against Gandhi and bourgeois leaders and have been celebrating a festival — the festival of idol-smashing. They have launched their attack on colonial educational system : undaunted by repression, they are spreading the flames of their struggle throughout West Bengal. What the students and youths are doing is, without any shadow of doubt, just and proper ; for, no revolutionary educational system and culture can be created in India without destroying the colonial educational system and without demolishing the images raised by the comprador bourgeoisie.

The people of India fought to overthrow British rule ; many heroes laid down their lives in the course of the struggle. But they have not been depicted as models, their images have not been installed : on the contrary, it is those who have served and defended the interests of imperialism who are held up before the students and the people as models and whose images have been built. That is why those who

(Continued from page 4,)

Long live the immortal Srikakulam !

Long live the Peasants' Armed Revolution !

Long live the Communist Party of India

(Marxist-Leninist) !

Long live Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to

Chairman Mao !

—July 14, 1970

accuse the students and youths of waging war against the national tradition are in reality singing hymns in praise of the tradition created by imperialism's lackeys. A genuinely patriotic, revolutionary India cannot be built unless the images of these lackeys are swept away. That is why these deeds of the students and youths are, without doubt, revolutionary deeds and are, without doubt, preparing the path of India's progress.

But this struggle waged by the students and youths is no isolated struggle nor a struggle that is complete in itself. Unlike the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, this struggle is not aimed at demolishing the entire cultural superstructure nor can it be carried forward to that stage. This struggle is taking place because the armed agrarian revolution has emerged as a real fact in this state of West Bengal. The base is crumbling under the blows of the peasants' armed revolutionary struggle; as a result, the superstructure too is and shall be pounded by blows. The very process of smashing the base inspires this attack on the superstructure; this attack on the superstructure in its turn accentuates that process. It is the call of this agrarian revolution which has made the students and youths restive and they are directing their attacks against the images of those persons who have ever tried to put out the flames of armed revolution of the peasant masses by preaching the message of peace and reforms. That is why this struggle of the students and youths is part of the armed peasant struggle.

During the last few months, peasant guerrillas have annihilated about one hundred and fifty class enemies in different parts of West Bengal; thousands of poor and landless peasants have joined guerrilla squads, gone underground leaving their homes, initiated themselves in the ideal of self-sacrifice, taken the pledge to carry the revolution through to victory and have been trying to grasp Mao Tsetung Thought. These thousands of revolutionary poor and landless peasants have not merely been able to save themselves by relying on millions of other peasants but are also launching their attacks

on the enemies and destroying them. Refusing to be daunted by all the repressive measures of the enemies, these valiant revolutionaries are carrying the class struggle forward day after day and are spreading the flames of the struggle to newer and newer areas. They themselves have grasped the importance of the seizure of political power by armed force and are making other peasants realize it. As a result, the uneducated, ignorant, poor and landless peasants are today educated in the highest of all teachings and have emerged as the most advanced section, as the vanguard, of the people of West Bengal. It is this that marks the beginning of a new age. Never before has India seen such revolutionaries who have renounced all for the cause of revolution. All these revolutionaries making every sacrifice provide eloquent proof of the fact that one can love the people of the country by giving up all in this manner. Their struggle is rousing not only the people in the countryside but also the revolutionaries in urban areas. The revolutionary students and youths have responded as a contingent of the revolutionary masses: they are smashing into pieces every prop of reactionary ideology.

The revolutionary struggle of the peasantry has inspired not only the masses of students and youths but also the masses of workers. The working class is celebrating the festival of hoisting the Red Flag on the top of factories; the panic that has gripped the exploiting class is a matter of enjoyment to them, they are enjoying the helplessness of the police and the military. Students, youths and workers of the towns and cities refuse to submit quietly to the oppression by the police and the military: they are launching attacks on the police, they are annihilating police officers. The ruling class is powerless to stem the tide of this struggle however ruthless they may be in the urban areas. For, the source from which the tide of this struggle rises, is the revolutionary upsurge of the armed peasantry in the countryside. Neither the Indian government nor any other government in the world can suppress this revolution.

ary struggle in the rural areas; for, Chairman Mao's Thought has today entered deep into the minds of West Bengal's peasant masses. According to the inexorable laws of history, this struggle will suffer temporary set-back in certain areas and the struggle will seem to have ebbed away. Again, according to the laws of history, newer and newer men will enter the arena of struggle and a new high tide will set in. Today, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) has been founded: this Party is a revolutionary Party. So long as this Party exists, revolutionary struggle will continue, revolution will forge ahead. This is not the worship of spontaneity, this is the law of history.

Today, the peasant, exploited and oppressed for thousands of years, has found out the road to liberation: he has tasted power. The man who has always been despised in history has, today, become before our very eyes the maker of history. The wrath that has accumulated for thousands of years is about to cause a tremendous explosion: this explosion will shatter to bits every pillar of exploitation and out of this destruction will arise a new India, an India free from exploitation. This destruction is inevitable, no force on earth can prevent it.

The struggle that the workers, students and youths of urban areas are waging should be seen as complementary to the revolutionary peasant struggle. And, in this way, through protracted struggle, will be built the united front of the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. As India is not under the direct rule of imperialism, revolution must advance only along the path of class struggle, that is, through civil war. At this phase of the struggle no section of the bourgeoisie will unite with us. We may expect that when the unity of the working class and the peasantry has been achieved in the course of civil war, a section of the bourgeoisie will join hands with us. We shall call that section 'the national bourgeoisie'. So, today, during the civil war, we shall receive no help from bourgeois nationalism; rather, we shall face opposition from it. At this

phase of the struggle, bourgeois nationalism weakens the intensity of the struggle. So, we shall fail to carry forward this civil war unless we attack bourgeois nationalism. That is why we have shown scant regard for bourgeois nationalism and raised the slogan "China's Chairman is our Chairman." Today, revisionism is also directing its attacks on us taking its stand behind bourgeois nationalism. So, without attacking bourgeois nationalism we are unable to attack revisionism. That is why the students and youths are fulfilling a task that is historic.

But the students and youths should always bear in mind that they cannot preserve their revolutionary character unless they integrate themselves with workers and poor and landless peasants. They should never slacken in their struggle for integration. This integration will give them new strength and this will again raise a new high tide in the struggle.

Chairman has taught us that it is not hard for one to do a bit of revolutionary work but what is very hard is to remain ever a revolutionary. The students and youths will become so only by integrating themselves with poor and landless peasants.

The students and youths have not waged this struggle in vain. It has had its impact on the working class; it has enthused the fighting peasantry in the rural areas. Today, the working class is coming forward to fight in defence of their self-respect. The strikes of the workers of the North-Eastern Frontier Railways and the South-Eastern Railways mark the beginning of a new age in the history of working class struggle. They fought the strike battles not to realize any economic demand but to defend their dignity and forced the ruling class to respect it. The greater is the progress achieved in uniting the revolutionary fighting peasantry with the workers, students and youths, the vaster will be the high tide of struggle and the newer and fresher will be the victories attained. So Chairman has said that the peasants' armed struggle will inevitably strengthen the democratic movements in urban areas. These struggles of the students, youths and

workers show how this prediction of his is coming true before our very eyes.

Today, in this era of inevitable collapse of imperialism, the tide of revolution will swell and swell and will lash the towns and cities of India. Every struggle will perhaps have its own distinctive character but, essentially, it will be a part of the armed peasant struggle. The Party must consciously try to integrate the workers, students and youths with the poor and landless peasants. It is by propagating resolutely the politics of seizure of political power among workers, students and youths that we can convince them of the necessity and significance of the struggle to create liberated areas in the countryside and can send inspired workers, students and youths to fight shoulder to shoulder with the peasants in their armed revolutionary struggle. Only thus will arise in future the united front of the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.

—August 5, 1970

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice.

— CHAIRMAN MAO

NOTES

END OF A PHASE, BEGINNING OF ANOTHER

The old phase is ending and a new phase is beginning in the history of the working class struggle in this country. This is a change of epoch-making significance, a change that is being brought about by the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle in this country and by the revolutionary line worked out by the C P I (M-L) led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Smashing the fetters of economism, the working class is entering the arena of struggle in a big way and is preparing itself to assume the role which history has assigned to it.

*Police
Seal
Strikes*

Recently, the working class has waged a series of struggles not on economic but on political issues, struggles that were initiated and led not by respective trade unions but by revolutionary workers themselves despite opposition of treacherous revisionist trade union leaders. On the evening of July 23, the workers and employees of the North-Eastern Frontier Railways struck work demanding the release of all those who had been arrested on the charge of attempting to annihilate the officer-in-charge of the Siliguri Police Station within the premises of the sub-divisional officer's court. This strike started by the revolutionary workers of the Siliguri railway junction swiftly spread to other areas and paralysed the entire railway system in the north-eastern part of India. The attempt of the reactionary government to run the trains with the help of the Central Reserve Police failed. The threat of Nanda, the railway minister, to employ the army to do the task and punish the railway workers and employees had little effect. All the efforts of the reactionary government to terrorize the revolutionary workers into submission and break the strike with the help of the Eastern Frontier Rifles and the Border Security Force, on

the one hand and the revisionist trade union bosses of both the Dange and Sundarayya-Jyoti Basu treacherous cliques on the other failed ignominiously. The militant workers put on fire a leaflet in which the revisionist scabs dared to slander the arrested workers and employees as criminals and anti-social elements.

To win a great, resounding victory, the railway workers who waged this heroic struggle against police oppression—this struggle to assert their dignity—had to fight the modern revisionists of different varieties, the henchmen of imperialism, social-imperialism and domestic reaction. So, on August 2, 1970, in an editorial entitled "Mischiefs on the Railways" the *Statesman* shrieked out: "The role of such a political group in the North-East Frontier Railway strike appears to be much more sinister. Mr N. N. Tandon, the NFR General Manager, said in Calcutta last Wednesday that the strike was 'possibly being led by extremists' through unrecognized, newly-formed staff councils. According to him, the leaders of the two recognized unions were trying for a settlement but were being terrorized by the strike leaders, who were also intimidating loyal workers. He hoped that once a skeleton service manned by Railway Territorial Army units was started, the loyal workers would resume duty; but the situation does not seem to have changed. The report that most of the important strike leaders have gone 'underground' is still more ominous."

Ultimately, after eleven days, the reactionary government had to surrender to the demands of the brave workers of the NFR led by the 'extremists' from the 'underground'.

The workers and employees of the Posts and Telegraph Department and the State Electricity Board and the students of Siliguri expressed their firm solidarity with the militant workers and employees of the NFR by bringing out processions and observing strikes in educational institutions.

The strikes and subsequent victories of the workers of the South-Eastern Railways are no less significant. On the night of July 26, some railway workers at the Adra railway station were assaulted by the reactionary police. The

workers, who have been humiliated and oppressed too long, rose up to assert their dignity. Immediately, they went on strike and the strike spread from the Adra division to the Chakradharpur and Kharagpur divisions. The entire railway system in the south-eastern part of India was completely disrupted. It was only when the reactionary government surrendered to the brave railway workers that they resumed their work. Again, on August 1, the workers of the Bilaspur division of the South-Eastern Railways struck work when some workers of the Bhillai marshalling yard were arrested. From the midnight of August 6-7, the railway workers of the Chakradharpur, Khurda Road and Adra divisions went on strike in solidarity with the workers of Bhillai. The railway workers of the Kharagpur division joined them on August 7. A *Statesman* report stated on August 9: "The loco-shed there [at Kharagpur] was also forcibly closed and two senior supervisors were dragged out by demonstrators. Electronic loco drives were pulled out of their locomotives and the engines were lying unattended. At Santragachi, near Calcutta, a crowd of 100 demonstrators were alleged to have turned violent and closed the telephone exchange on Friday night. As the loco staff for shunting engines had not reported for duty on Friday night, work in the Shalimar and Padmapukur yards remained affected from Saturday morning." Like the previous one, this strike, too, ended in a victory for the brave railway workers: the reactionary government was again forced to surrender to the workers. Like the previous one, this strike battle, too, was waged by the militant workers not to realize petty economic demands but to fight back the oppression of the reactionary government and to assert the dignity of the workers.

According to a *Statesman* report (which appeared on August 11), that revisionist scoundrel named Indrajit Gupta, a trade unionist by profession, had the shameless impudence to criticize the decision of the workers

to resort to such a lightning strike. Like his master, the lackey feels extremely worried at the change that the working class is undergoing. The union led by the revisionist scabs like Indrajit Gupta gave a written undertaking that "they would do their best to discourage wild-cat strikes in future". It is not the honour of the working class but the interests of the reactionary masters that are the chief concern of the revisionist scoundrels.

Another struggle that alarmed the reactionary ruling classes no less was the strike in the Central Dairy, a West Bengal Government undertaking at Belgacchia in north-east Calcutta. CPI(M) gangsters attacked in a most cowardly manner a worker comrade when he was travelling alone in a place outside Calcutta, severely injured him and then handed him over to the reactionary police in pursuance of the set policy of this counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. On receipt of this news all the workers of the Dairy were filled with bitter anger and hatred for the reactionary government as well as for its CPI(M) agents. The leaders of the union controlled by this clique dared not show their ugly faces anywhere near the factory—a fact much lamented by the reactionary government in a press note—for fear that they might be skinned alive. The authorities were forced by the revolutionary workers to secure the release of this comrade and to bring him to the midst of the workers before they resumed work.

These were all political battles that the working class fought and won. The people of Cossipore in north Calcutta set an example of militant working class solidarity and of solidarity between the working class and the petty bourgeois youth on August 9. The S. P. Engineering Co. had declared lock-out quite a long time ago. But on August 9 the reactionary police, bribed by the owners, came to remove the machinery from the factory. Led by the CPI(M-L), the workers living in near-by slums who themselves had never been employees in this factory and the petty bourgeois youth fought the police heroically and frustrated their plan. The police fired several rounds, yet the

workers, the revolutionary youth and other people of the locality set a wonderful example of class solidarity and beat back the reactionary police.

Stories of heroic struggles of the working class are coming from various places. On June 20, five workers of a department of the Hindusthan Steel Plant, employed by a contractor, were retrenched. Immediately all the workers employed by the contractor gheraoed the manager of the plant and another of its top-ranking officers. The gharao started at 8 in the morning. The revisionist trade union stooges belonging to the CPI(M) and the scabs belonging to the SUC tried various ways to lift the gherao but the workers chased them away. It was a militant gherao and the workers expressed their bitter class hatred by spitting at the officers and in other ways. At about 3 PM the revisionist running dogs brought the police to rescue the officers but the police had to withdraw in the face of the workers' resistance. At 5:30 PM the SUC scabs brought three truck-loads of troops of the Eastern Frontier Rifles. When the workers were preparing to resist them with iron rods and other weapons, the soldiers succeeded in rescuing the officers from the wrath of the workers at an unguarded moment. Next day, which was a Sunday, the officers did not turn up. The workers went on strike. On Monday, the SUC scab proposed negotiations but the workers rejected the proposal with contempt. The scab fled away to avoid a sound thrashing. Then the management unconditionally reinstated the five workers.

Almost throughout Calcutta and near-by areas workers led by the CPI(M-L) have hoisted the Red Flag, the symbol of proletarian internationalism, the symbol of the coming victory of the working people, atop their factories. In the entire port area (from the K. G. docks to the Strand Road), the Taratala-Hyde Road area, Behala-Barisha-Thakurpukur area and various other places, the Red Flag flew defiantly over mills and factories striking terror into the hearts of the imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie and their revisionist lackeys. Worker guerrillas hoisted the Red Flag over Angel India in the Taratala-Hyde Road area at 8 AM on July 15. When on July

23, the reactionary police came to pull it down, the workers came out to resist. Sensing the mood of the workers the police fled away. The workers declared that anybody who pulled down the Red Flag would be annihilated. The Red Flag is still flying proudly over this factory.

In the Hard Metal Factory in the Behala-Barisha-Thakurpukur area, the security officer under instructions from his reactionary bosses pulled down the Red Flag with the help of the C R P when the workers had left the factory. Next day the angry workers sent two representatives to the manager and told him that he must either hoist the Red Flag again atop the factory or he would be annihilated. The panic-stricken manager begged the workers' forgiveness and hoisted the Red Flag himself.

All these reflect the new mood of the workers—the transformation that is taking place among the workers. The revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry is rousing the working class. Rejecting revisionism and the peaceful methods of struggle the working class led by its Party—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—is taking more and more to the war-path, the path of violent revolution, as predicted by Comrade Charu Mazumdar.

Defining the Party's tasks among the workers, Comrade Charu Mazumdar said: Today, "it is not our task either to organize trade unions or to bring them under our control or to bother ourselves about the trade union elections." "The gravest crime of the revisionists", Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out, "is that they try to keep the working class—the class that must lead the revolution—confined within the four walls of economic struggles. To serve the interests of their masters—the reactionary ruling class—the revisionists try to make the working class forget that it has to shoulder its sacred task of leading the revolution." What, then, are the tasks of the Party among the workers? "The task of our comrades," said Comrade

(Continued on page 45)

COMMUNISTS SHOULD BE THE ADVANCED ELEMENTS OF THE PROLETARIAT

—In commemoration of the 49th anniversary
of the founding of the Communist Party
of China

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi"
and "Jiefangjun Bao"

At a time when the struggle of the people of the world against U. S. imperialism is in a new upsurge, when China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is advancing triumphantly, and when the movement for consolidating and building the Party is continuing to develop in depth, comrades throughout the Party and the whole Chinese people are warmly celebrating the 49th anniversary of the birth of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China.

In nearly half a century of revolutionary storms, the Chinese Communist Party nurtured and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself has gone through protracted struggles against the enemies at home and abroad, and won one great victory after another in seizing political power and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat by arming the masses. The glorious fighting course the Chinese Communist Party has lived through shows that she is worthy to be called the core of leadership of the working class and the revolutionary people of the whole country and a shock force of the interna-

tional proletariat of our time in the struggle against U. S. imperialism, against modern revisionism represented by social-imperialism and against all reaction.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "*The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.*" The movement for the consolidation and building of the Party is meant precisely to go on building and consolidating our revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, *get rid of the stale and take in the fresh*, strengthen party organizations at all levels as fighting bastions in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and further temper the broad masses of the Party members into advanced elements in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What are the criteria for the advanced elements of the proletariat? They are the five requirements elucidated by Chairman Mao and stipulated in the new Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Party Congress, which the party members must meet.

First, study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. This refers to what guides our thinking, and to our political orientation. Chairman Mao teaches us: "*Cadres should be educated to grasp some Marxism-Leninism; it would be all the better if they grasp more of it. That is to say, they should go in for Marxism-Leninism and not revisionism.*" It is by relying on the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thou-

ght that the advanced elements of the proletariat grow in maturity. The new Party members and the activists who aspire to join the Party should study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and the older Party members should do the same; leading cadres at all levels, in particular, should study it conscientiously and assiduously. They should apply what they have learnt. The essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is to make revolution, carry on class struggle and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. By living study and application we mean to integrate theory with practice, adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his general and specific policies in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction and be daring to struggle against the class enemy, against the "Left" and Right deviations, and against the non-proletarian ideology in one's mind.

Second, work for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world. Chairman Mao teaches us: "*We must work for the interests of the vast majority of the people, for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and for the interests of the vast majority of the people of the world; we must not work for a small number of persons, for the exploiting classes, for the bourgeoisie or for the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements or Rightists.*" To work for the interests of the vast majority of the people, Communists must carry on class struggle, overthrow U. S. imperialism and all its running dogs, and devote every ounce of their energy and even their lives to the

overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to the emancipation of all mankind. Some persons profess to serve the people, but in reality they work only for their small mountain-strongholds, their small groups and themselves. Such persons are not genuine Communists and should not be allowed to sit on a leading body, still less to head it.

Third, be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries. It is all for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat that the great majority must be united with and the bad elements prevented from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level. Chairman Mao teaches us: *"It is necessary to unite with the masses of the people and unite with the masses of cadres, to unite with 95 per cent of both."* Communists, particularly leading cadres of the Party, must have the broadness of mind of the proletariat, and should not be narrow-minded. They must consider the general interest and keep the whole situation in mind. They must understand that *"people can change."* *"We should persuade those who have made mistakes to mend their ways and help them correct their mistakes. We must not keep on criticizing*

a person without end once he has conscientiously corrected his mistakes."

Fourth, consult with the masses when matters arise. Chairman Mao teaches us: *"Communists must have a democratic style of work, and not a patriarchal style of work."* *"When matters arise, consult with the comrades, have full discussions, listen to different views and allow even those who have dissenting views to speak out."* That is to say, we should adhere to the practice of "letting all people have their say" and oppose the practice of "what I say counts". *"Don't say yes at a meeting and go back on your words and say no after it."* Communists should be willing pupils to the masses, identify themselves with the masses and adhere to the principle of *"from the masses, to the masses."* It is all the more necessary for Party cadres to go deep among the masses, make investigations and studies, grasp outstanding typical examples and do a good job as regards the work as a whole by first grasping one-third of it. There are many things we do not understand, which the masses have put forward; we must learn from them and popularize their advanced experience.

Fifth, be bold in making criticism and self-criticism. This is a fine tradition of our Party. It is only through criticism and self-criticism that Communists can temper and improve themselves. Chairman Mao says: *"Don't think you are always right, as if you alone possess all the truth. Don't think that you alone can do everything while others can do nothing, as if the earth would stop turning without you."* Communists must, both

during and after the Party consolidation movement, open their minds to the masses and welcome their comments. If a person has made mistakes but has readily made self-criticism, invited others' criticism and corrected the mistakes, then he is a good comrade.

The five requirements that Party members must meet boil down to these: one is to be loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; another is to have faith in the masses and rely on them; and the third is to take a correct attitude towards oneself. Paramount in solving the three questions is to remould one's world outlook conscientiously and strive to wholly join the Party ideologically. Only by establishing the proletarian world outlook and setting strict demands on themselves according to the five requirements Party members must meet, can they become advanced elements of the proletariat worthy of the name. The greater the number of such advanced elements, the better the role of fighting bastions our Party organizations can play, and we will certainly be able to triumphantly fulfil our great historic task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, under the brilliant guidance of the Ninth Party Congress, our Party has achieved unprecedented unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and around the Party Central Committee with our great leader Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy

leader. Our Party is advancing in great strides. Tempered in the movement for Party consolidation and Party building, it will surely become even more powerful, more consolidated and more vigorous.

Let us conscientiously study and fulfil the five requirements for Party members, conscientiously study and carry out the new Party Constitution and Chairman Mao's theory on Party building, and greet the 50th anniversary of the Party with great achievements in Party consolidation and Party building and in the socialist revolution and socialist construction!

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

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

(July 1, 1970)

The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.

— Chairman Mao

PEOPLE OF ASIA, UNITE AND DRIVE U. S. AGGRESSORS OUT OF ASIA !

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi"
and "Jiefangjun Bao"

ON June 25 twenty years ago U. S. imperialism brazenly launched a war of aggression against Korea, and two days later it occupied by force China's sacred territory Taiwan Province. This is an unpardonable crime perpetrated by U. S. imperialism against the people of Korea, China and the rest of Asia ; it has written a most despicable page into the criminal history of U. S. aggression in Asia. Today, with infinite hatred for the U. S. aggressors, the 700 million Chinese people and the fraternal Korean people wrathfully denounce U. S. imperialism for its barbarous aggression against Korea and China's territory Taiwan.

The Korean war was another serious trial of strength between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces in the world following the victory of the Chinese revolution. Led by their great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people had completely driven the U. S. forces of aggression off the Chinese mainland. But U. S. imperialism was not reconciled to its defeat ; it started its war of aggression against Korea the year after the founding of New China. Led by the Korean Workers' Party headed by their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean people rose valiantly to resist the U. S.

aggressors in a great Fatherland Liberation War. The Chinese people sent the Chinese People's Volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people against their common enemy. Fighting courageously and tenaciously, the Korean and Chinese people defeated the armed aggression by U. S. imperialism, the reputed No. 1 'power', and its accomplices. This was a big defeat in the history of U. S. imperialism. Its defeat in China and in Korea was a turning point in the development of U. S. imperialism ; it marked the fall of U. S. imperialism from its zenith and the beginning of its slide downhill.

The great victory of the Korean and Chinese people's war of resistance against U. S. aggression has further punctured the paper tiger of U. S. imperialism and exploded the myth of its so-called invincibility, and has tremendously encouraged the oppressed nations and people of Asia and the whole world in their struggle for liberation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out in his solemn statement in support of the struggle of the people of the world against U. S. imperialism : *"Ever since World War II, U. S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors."* Such is the history of post-war Asia as well as its present-day reality. U. S. imperialism has not learnt nor can it learn the historical lesson of its disastrous defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has been continuously starting war adventures and frantically carrying out

aggression everywhere. But none of its attempts to hit back nor its desperate struggle can free U. S. imperialism from what is determined by the law of history: it will be continuously defeated by the revolutionary people till its doom.

U. S. imperialism has never stopped its activities of aggression against Korea since the Korean armistice. It has kept large numbers of aggressor troops in south Korea and turned it into a U. S. colony and military base. It has dragooned the South Korean puppet clique into supplying cannon-fodder for its war of aggression against Indo-China. It has not only made desperate efforts to obstruct the reunification of Korea in a vain attempt to perpetuate its occupation of south Korea, but has continuously intensified its military provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in an attempt to seize an opportunity to start a new war of aggression. The heroic Korean people have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the U. S. aggressors and dealt hard blows at the U. S. robbers invading from land, sea and air.

As Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people, points out: "*Our people...are keeping up a tenacious struggle to be fully prepared to crush any surprise attack by U. S. imperialism and its stooges and their manoeuvres for the provocation of a new war, and to accelerate socialist construction and the unification of the fatherland under the leadership of our Party.*" If U. S. imperialism dares to invade the Democratic People's Republic of Korea again, what awaits it can only be a still heavier defeat than that of its previous war of aggression against Korea.

To date U.S. imperialism still occupies our territory Taiwan Province and uses it as a spring-board for attacking the Chinese mainland. The U. S. aggressors have stationed large numbers of ground, naval and air forces in Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits, dotted the island with military bases and military installations, continuously sent warships and planes to intrude into China's territorial waters and air space and instigated the Chiang Kai-shek gang to harass coastal areas of the Chinese mainland. At the same time, U. S. imperialism has been stepping up its efforts to engineer "two Chinas" and plot for an "independent Taiwan," in a vain attempt to perpetuate its occupation of China's territory Taiwan Province. We warn U. S. imperialism: Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of China's territory. U. S. imperialism must get out of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. No one on earth can prevent us from doing this!

While occupying south Korea and China's territory Taiwan, U. S. imperialism has sent large numbers of aggressor troops to invade Indo-China. Unable to win in its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Laos, it has now spread the flames of war from Viet Nam and Laos to Cambodia, even tried to extend the war to the rest of Southeast Asia, in defiance of strong opposition on the part of the American people and angry condemnation by people throughout the world. By frenziedly expanding their war of aggression in Indo-China, the U.S. aggressors have been caught in the ring of flames of people's war waged by

the three Indo-Chinese countries and have been badly burnt.

The people of Asian countries must keep particular vigilance over the fact that U. S. imperialism is hastily employing Japanese militarism as the "gendarme in Asia" to press ahead with its criminal plot of "using Asians to fight Asians." Japanese militarism has been revived with the backing of U. S. imperialism. It is stepping up arms expansion and war preparations and making active preparations for sending its troops over seas. It has rendered direct services to U. S. imperialism in expanding the war in Indo-China, has tried in every way to join U. S. imperialism in its armed provocations against Korea, and has openly stretched its talons of aggression into south Korea and China's territory Taiwan Province. In 'automatically prolonging' the Japan-U. S. 'security treaty,' it has enlarged the scope covered by the aggressive U. S. - Japan military alliance. Japanese militarism, which once brought disaster to the people of Japan and other Asian countries, has again embarked on the road of aggression against Asia and of war preparations. This absolutely will not be tolerated by the people of Japan and other Asian countries. If the Japanese militarists are bent on tailing after U. S. imperialism in pursuing its policies of aggression and war, in a futile effort to realize their old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," they are bound to be badly battered by the powerful revolutionary forces of the people of Japan and other Asian countries and

given still heavier punishment.

In West Asia, U.S. imperialism is using Israeli Zionism as its tool of aggression against the Arab world. Since it instigated Israel to launch a war of aggression against Arab countries three years ago, U. S. imperialism has kept up unbridled military provocations and armed aggression against them. Recently, it engineered the bloody repression of the Palestinian guerrillas and people by the reactionary pro-U.S. forces in Jordan, in a futile attempt to wipe out the armed forces of the Palestinian people. But this vicious scheme of U.S. imperialism was frustrated by the Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries.

At a time when the people of Asian countries are strengthening their unity in a fierce struggle against U.S. imperialism, there are certain persons who are collaborating with U.S. imperialism in evil-doing, fraternizing with the Japanese reactionaries and even maintaining dirty relations with Lol Nol and his like. They are in mortal fear of the Asian people's revolutionary struggle against U. S. imperialism and are doing their utmost to restrict, control and repress it so as to serve U.S. imperialism, which is vainly trying to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Asian people. Like U.S. imperialism, these persons are playing the role of teachers by negative example.

Today, the situation is developing more and more in favour of the revolutionary people and to the disadvantage of U.S. imperialism and

all its running dogs. The flames of revolutionary armed struggles are raging in Southeast Asia. The people of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam have won one victory after another in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Across the vast expanse of Asia, revolution is surging violently, the people are striding ahead and the anti-U.S. united front is broadening rapidly. The revolutionary situation in Asia is better than ever.

U.S. imperialism is still hanging on to many places in Asia and refuses to get out. But it will have to leave. Its aggression, plunder and massacre of the Asian people not only have encountered the resistance of the people in Asia, but are being opposed by the people in the United States. The white people and the black people and the Indians in the United States are awakening. They firmly oppose the U. S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and demand that the Nixon government withdraw its aggressor forces from abroad. The people of all countries in Asia are confronted with this historical task : Unite closely, support and assist each other, and wage a fierce and protracted struggle against their common enemy, U. S. imperialism, and drive the U. S. aggressors out of Asia and the West Pacific !

China and Korea are fraternal neighbours linked by mountains and rivers and closely related to each other like lips and teeth. The people of our two countries have supported each other and fought together in protracted struggles against Ja-

panese imperialism and U. S. imperialism. The revolutionary friendship cemented in blood between the people of China and Korea has stood the test of storms. The Chinese people highly admire the brilliant victories won by the Korean people in the great struggles to defend and build up their fatherland under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party. Today, in the face of the new threats of aggression and war by the U. S. and Japanese reactionaries, the Chinese people will remain firmly united with the fraternal Korean people and fight and win victory together with them.

The Chinese people firmly support the Korean people in their struggle against U. S. imperialist aggression and for the reunification of their fatherland, firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries in their war of resistance against U. S. aggression and for national salvation, firmly support the Palestinian people and other Arab people in their struggle against the U. S.-Israeli aggressors, and firmly support the Japanese people, the American people and the people of all Asian countries in their struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U. S. and Japanese reactionaries. The Chinese people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of Asia and the whole world to defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs and carry the struggle through to the end !

(June 25, 1970)

PEOPLE'S WAR RAGES IN MALAYA AND SARAWAK

Revolutionary war to destroy the old, long-suffering Asia and to build in its place a new Asia free from the yoke of imperialism, social-imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capital is sweeping different countries of this vast continent. The heroic struggle of the Malayan people led by the glorious Communist Party of Malaya is also advancing rapidly. The brave people of Malaya, who have a long tradition of heroic fighting and the courageous people of Sarawak are dealing hard blows at their common enemies—U. S. and British imperialism and their stooges, the Rahman-Razak clique. Victory certainly belongs to the people of Malaya and Sarawak: the day of their liberation is approaching.

The following Hsinhua despatches give some idea of the rapid advance of people's war in Malaya and Sarawak :

"Voice of Malayan Revolution" Calls on People to Fight Puppet Clique

The "Voice of Malayan Revolution" broadcast an editorial on July 11 calling on the people of various nationalities of Malaya to take action to intensify their struggle and resolutely hit back at the criminal plots of the Rahman-Razak clique, lackey of British and U. S. imperialism, to force the people in the border areas into concentration camps so as to enlarge the colonial war.

The editorial said: "In early June, the Rahman-Razak clique brazenly declared that they would force the rural population in the Perak area bordering Thailand into concentra-

tion camps within four months and will erect once again barbed-wire entanglements at several cities and towns in north Perak to keep strict watch and control over the people. This is a new evidence of the crime of the puppet clique in intensifying the persecution of the people of our country under the instigation of its imperialist masters."

The editorial said that since the puppet clique assumed power, it has followed the instructions of its imperialist masters and continuously launched military attacks on the revolutionary bases and guerrilla areas, especially those at the Malaya-Thailand border. It openly carried out the fascist tactics of looting all, burning all and killing all and created no-man's lands in an attempt to cut off the ties of flesh and blood between the masses of the people and the National Liberation Army. However, this anti-people criminal policy has not only failed to intimidate the masses or prevent the development of their revolutionary armed struggle, but has aroused stronger resistance from the people. The enemy's counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" operations have ended in ignominious failure. The National Liberation Army has grown stronger in fighting and the bases and guerrilla areas have become more consolidated and expanded, while the political and economic crisis of the puppet clique have worsened and its predicament become more serious.

The editorial said: The masses of workers and peasants in our rural areas have been steeled in the protracted revolutionary armed struggle and have rich experience in struggle against the enemy. They had waged an arduous and excellent struggle against the British imperialist plots of eviction. Now in face of enemy persecution, the people in the rural areas of north Perak will certainly bring into full play the revolutionary tradition of courageous fighting, take various actions and resolutely struggle against the enemy's atrocity of eviction.

The editorial said: "The more frantic the enemy becomes, the more its weakness is revealed. Chairman Mao has pointed out brilliantly: 'The unbridled violence of all the forces of

darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory. This is true of China, of the whole east and of the entire world.'

In conclusion, the editorial called on the people of various nationalities of Malaya to unite, take action and launch extensive struggle of various forms to smash the criminal plots of the enemy.

—*Hsinhua*, July 14, 1970

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"Voice of Malayan Revolution" Hails Victories of Malayan National Liberation Army

The "Voice of Malayan Revolution" in a broadcast on July 4 hailed the victories scored continuously by the courageous and resourceful Malayan National Liberation Army in Baling, Kroh and the northeastern part of Kedah state, Malaya.

The radio said that a certain unit of the 12th detachment of the Malayan National Liberation Army, fighting staunchly in the border areas of Perak and Kedah states, waged a series of attacks on the enemy from the end of May to early June. They dealt heavy blows at the enemy and captured a quantity of arms, ammunition and other military supplies.

The radio said: On May 30, the Malayan National Liberation Army laid mines near an enemy camp at Baling on the highway leading to Kroh. The mines hit two enemy patrols, causing some casualties. The surviving enemy men were thrown into such a confusion that they shot at each other.

In all, the enemy lost more than 20 men killed or wounded.

The radio said that on June 3, the fighters of the 12th detachment of the National Liberation Army laid an ambush at Kroh area. As soon as a patrol of the Rahman-Razak clique entered the ambush area, the fighters opened fire. After more than one hour of fierce fighting, they killed 9 enemy men, wounded 12 others and captured a quantity of arms and other equipment.

The radio said that the fighters of a certain unit of the Malayan National Liberation Army active in the border areas in the northeastern part of Kedah state used mines on June 2 to kill intruding enemy troops. On that day, a team of enemy troops guided by two spies entered into the forests. On their way, they trod on mines which killed and wounded nine enemy men, including one officer.

—*Hsinhua*, July 7, 1970

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Malayan National Liberation Army Wins New Victory

The Malayan National Liberation Army recently laid a remarkable ambush against the enemy, according to the "Voice of Malayan Revolution" yesterday.

The radio said that on June 26, a unit of the 8th detachment of the Malayan National Liberation Army, which is active in the area from Kedah to the Malaya-Thailand border valiantly ambushed an enemy patrol. The enemy troops were fiercely assaulted immediately after they entered the ambush ring. They struck land mines laid by the Liberation Army. In this battle the National Liberation Army killed or wounded over 10 enemy troops and

captured a quantity of weapons and other war materials.

The radio said that in many villages of Kelantan, Perlis and Kedah states, the Malayan National Liberation Army has recently done extensive propaganda and organization work among the masses, and is warmly welcomed and supported by the local people of various nationalities.

Another broadcast of the "Voice of Malayan Revolution" said that on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the anti-British war for national liberation waged by the Malayan people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Malaya, the revolutionary masses in various parts of Malaya unfolded extensive armed struggles which dealt serious blows at the enemy. At midnight on June 23, a time-bomb, laid by revolutionary people in Kuala Lumpur under the eyes of the enemy post, exploded and damaged the garter bridge leading to the "parliament building". Armed resistance of the revolutionary masses against the puppet regime and reactionary elements also took place in Kluang and other places.

The radio said that on this occasion, the revolutionary masses put up many Red Flags and streamers inscribed with revolutionary slogans in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Penang and their outskirts and in many towns in Johore, Negri-Sembilan, Pahang, Selangor and other states. They also laid land mines and other explosives against the enemy.

—Hsinhua, July 13, 1970

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Sarawak People's Armed Forces Score New Victories

The heroic Sarawak people's armed forces have recently scored new victories by smashing the enemy's counter-

revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" operations and taking the initiative in attacking the enemy, according to a Kuching report.

According to Sarawak press reports, the people's armed forces mounted a fierce attack on two vessels of the Rahman-Razak puppet clique near Sarikei in the third division of Sarawak on June 29. They killed or wounded seven reactionary officials and members of the enemy's "security forces." After the victorious attack, they moved away in safety.

Meanwhile, according to a recent report of the radio "Voice of Malayan Revolution", the Sarawak people's armed forces, with the support of the masses, have surmounted various difficulties in their valiant counter-attacks against the puppet troops and police of the Rahman-Razak clique and the Indonesian reactionary troops, inflicting casualties on the enemy. Following the successful ambush against the enemy in Sarikei area at the end of last February, the Sarawak people's armed forces smashed the enemy's counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaign. On March 19, they mounted two attacks on the patrols of the puppet security forces at Nonok area, killing and wounding a number of enemy troops. Earlier, they launched three successful attacks on the enemy on March 14 and 15.

The radio said: "The Sarawak people's armed forces, who are daring to struggle and to win, will surely grow in strength and win final victory so long as they are guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, rely on the masses and persist in a protracted people's war."

—Hsinhua, July 7, 1970

PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE SURGES FORWARD IN WEST BENGAL

There has been an upsurge of peasant guerrilla struggle in West Bengal since the successful conclusion of the historic Party Congress. From one end of West Bengal to another, from the *Terai* regions in the north to the *Sal* forests in the south-west, the entire countryside is ringing with the sound of the footsteps of brave peasant guerrillas. Landless and poor peasants are coming forward to assume the leadership of the revolutionary armed struggle. In accordance with the instructions of our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar small squads of landless and poor peasants led by the CPI (M-L) are carrying forward the battle of annihilation of class enemies to newer and newer areas every day. While the politics of seizure of political power by armed force is gripping the minds and hearts of the landless and poor peasants, who are feeling a new sense of freedom and who are resolved boldly to strike smashing blows at the tottering regime of exploitation and oppression, the class enemies and their revisionist henchmen feel panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind.

The following reports received since we last reported in *Liberation* show how a new high tide in the peasants' guerrilla struggle has started after the Party Congress.

Midnapur District

On June 27, a squad of peasant guerrillas, annihilated Bishnu Pada Maity, a notorious, despotic jotedar of village Ramnagar in Panskura thana area with primitive weapons.

On June 29, a squad of three brave guerrilla fighters,

Comrades Gurudas Murmu, Sashi Mirdha and Sudeb Chakrabarty, annihilated a hated jotedar of village Baihat in Keshpur thana area in the day-time: While returning, our comrades were surrounded by jotedars and their men who had 14 fire-arms, besides other weapons like bows and arrows. Our comrades, who had only three pole-axes, fought bravely for one hour, snatched away bows and arrows from the enemies and seriously injured seven of them. Then our heroes laid down their lives for the cause of revolution, for the noblest of all causes — the liberation of mankind. The Bengal - Bihar - Orissa Border Regional Committee of CPI (M-L) has issued the following call to the people: "Avenge the death of the Immortal Martyrs of Keshpur: Spread among the Masses the story of the Noble Self-Sacrifice of the people's Heroes: Intensify still further the Battle of Annihilation of Class Enemies." The revolutionary peasants and brave guerrilla fighters of Midnapur, burning with fierce class hatred and imbued with the deepest love for the people, are responding to this call and carrying forward the battle of annihilation of class enemies to newer and ever newer areas.

(Excerpts from our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar's letter to the Secretary of the Regional Committee, who sought his advice after the murder of our valiant comrades, will be found at the end of this report.)

On July 13, a squad of seven guerrilla comrades, of whom five were landless peasants, annihilated Gour Mondal, a most notorious jotedar, usurer and government contractor of the village Sundargeria in Garbeta thana area. This devil of a man had ruined many peasant families, was guilty of many crimes against women and had been planning the murder of our comrades.

On July 4, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated in broad daylight Sudhir Bhuiyan, a hated big jotedar of Amnavani village in Gopiballavpur thana area. This man was notorious for his lechery.

On July 6, Naderchand, an agent of jotedars, who lived in village Hoomtia, 3 miles from Amnavani and was guilty of

many crimes against women, was annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas.

About noon on July 14, a squad of four guerrilla comrades suddenly attacked and annihilated Iswar Sahoo while this devil of a man was returning from a shop. A notorious jotedar and usurer of Bloc No. 2 within Sankrail thana area, he had sent many peasants to prison, acted as a police agent and threatened to murder our comrades. While the people rejoiced over the annihilation of this class enemy, who was a member of the district committee of the jotedars' counter-revolutionary "resistance" organization in Midnapur, the reactionary government sent police dogs to trace our guerrilla comrades, who are safe under the protection of the people.

On June 12, a squad of brave peasant guerrillas attacked in his own house Lal Mohan Sahoo, the hated son of a hated jotedar of village Hoomtia in Gopiballavpur thana area and annihilated him.

24 Parganas District

Nalini Das, a most notorious black-marketeer and police agent of Mahestala thana area, met his doom at the hands of four brave guerrilla comrades at 9 P. M. on June 30. This millionaire had committed many crimes against the people and our Party. A C P I (M) M. L. A. was his accomplice in his black-marketing operations.

Bankura District :

At 8. 30 P.M. on July 18, a guerrilla squad of six brave landless and poor peasants attacked and annihilated with country-made weapons Banshi Mukherjee, a hated jotedar and usurer of Patpur mouja within Onda thana area on the Bankura-Bishnupur road. This class enemy had been trying to organize jotedars to suppress the revolutionary peasants.

FORGE CLOSER UNITY WITH PEASANTS' ARMED STRUGGLE

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

For the last few months the students and youths of Calcutta and West Bengal have declared war against Gandhi and bourgeois leaders and have been celebrating a festival — the festival of idol-smashing. They have launched their attack on colonial educational system : undaunted by repression, they are spreading the flames of their struggle throughout West Bengal. What the students and youths are doing is, without any shadow of doubt, just and proper; for, no revolutionary educational system and culture can be created in India without destroying the colonial educational system and without demolishing the images raised by the comprador bourgeoisie.

The people of India fought to overthrow British rule; many heroes laid down their lives in the course of the struggle. But they have not been depicted as models, their images have not been installed: on the contrary, it is those who have served and defended the interests of imperialism who are held up before the students and the people as models and whose images have been built. That is why those who

(Continued from page 4,)

Long live the immortal Srikakulam !

Long live the Peasants' Armed Revolution !

Long live the Communist Party of India

(Marxist-Leninist) !

Long live Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to

Chairman Mao !

— July 14, 1970

ary struggle in the rural areas; for, Chairman Mao's Thought has today entered deep into the minds of West Bengal's peasant masses. According to the inexorable laws of history, this struggle will suffer temporary set-back in certain areas and the struggle will seem to have ebbed away. Again, according to the laws of history, newer and newer men will enter the arena of struggle and a new high tide will set in. Today, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) has been founded: this Party is a revolutionary Party. So long as this Party exists, revolutionary struggle will continue, revolution will forge ahead. This is not the worship of spontaneity, this is the law of history.

Today, the peasant, exploited and oppressed for thousands of years, has found out the road to liberation: he has tasted power. The man who has always been despised in history has, today, become before our very eyes the maker of history. The wrath that has accumulated for thousands of years is about to cause a tremendous explosion: this explosion will shatter to bits every pillar of exploitation and out of this destruction will arise a new India, an India free from exploitation. This destruction is inevitable, no force on earth can prevent it.

The struggle that the workers, students and youths of urban areas are waging should be seen as complementary to the revolutionary peasant struggle. And, in this way, through protracted struggle, will be built the united front of the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. As India is not under the direct rule of imperialism, revolution must advance only along the path of class struggle, that is, through civil war. At this phase of the struggle no section of the bourgeoisie will unite with us. We may expect that when the unity of the working class and the peasantry has been achieved in the course of civil war, a section of the bourgeoisie will join hands with us. We shall call that section 'the national bourgeoisie'. So, today, during the civil war, we shall receive no help from bourgeois nationalism; rather, we shall face opposition from it. At this

to be wetted with our tears and the road made firm with our blood.

Did we commit any mistake? Who can say that no mistake will be committed? But this is not the day of repentance, this is the day when one should blaze up like a flame of fire, this is the day when the blood-debt should be repaid in blood. For thousands of years the poor and landless peasants of our country have shed their blood and sacrificed their lives to build up this country; it is through their sacrifice that our society, culture, wealth, riches, tradition — all these have been built up. The burden of that debt rests on our shoulders. It is our task to repay that debt. But we must correct the mistakes, if we have committed any. Without correcting them we shall be unable to sharpen the edge of our attack. It seems to me that our mistake there arises from the old political deviation, that is, the division between the tribals and non-tribals. The class enemies could unite only by exploiting that advantage. If they hadn't this advantage, each of them would have been busy saving his own skin and they would never come forward to help one another.

Out of every martyrdom arises new life. I shall live to hear the wonderful news of the rich harvest of new life the martyrdom of these three heroes will yield.

Red Salute,

July 6, 1970

CHARU MAZUMDAR

(Continued from page 16)

Charu Mazumdar, "is to propagate revolutionary politics and build secret Party organizations." While generally lending support to the economic struggles waged by workers in defence of their interests, the Party will neither initiate nor lead them. It will be the task of the Party cadres to inspire the workers with revolutionary politics so that they take the initiative independently. Comrade Charu Mazumdar

predicted: "Today, the struggles can no longer develop peacefully or without bloodshed. To develop, the struggles must take the forms of *gherao*, clash with the police and the capitalists, barricade fights, annihilating the class enemies and their agents etc. according to the given conditions. The revisionists are turning *gherao* into *sotyagraha*, we must turn *gherao* into what it really is so that it can strike terror into the hearts of the capitalists, This will create tremendous enthusiasm among the workers and thus bring about a high tide of enthusiasm among them and their solidarity will grow at an accelerated tempo. Through such actions, the working class will invent newer ways of waging struggle."

Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out certain shortcomings in our propaganda work among the workers. He said: ".....in many cases we try to inspire the workers to participate in revolutionary work by holding out before them the prospect of future economic gains..... Instead of winning over the worker to the politics of revolutionary sacrifice, it instils in them the revisionist politics of self-aggrandizement so that he feels inclined to remain in the city merely as a passive supporter of the agrarian revolutionary struggle rather than to go to the countryside prepared to sacrifice his all and to integrate himself with the peasant in order to participate in the rural revolutionary struggle. But if we bring the revolutionary politics directly to the worker, the result will be immediate and we must do exactly this."

Comrade Charu Mazumdar also pointed out: "The working class struggle is a struggle for asserting its dignity and for establishing social justice." "The worker", he said, "irrespective of his party affiliation, carries in his breast a burning sense of indignity for having to slave away for the capitalist.....Now, once we are able to rouse his sense of dignity by giving him the revolutionary politics, it would be easier for him to smash the trammels of economism that hold him down now, and then he would become a terror to the capitalist with his daring and boldness."

He would not only rid himself of his fear ~~of~~ the losing his job but would also conquer the fear of death." of/

Comrade Charu Mazumdar said: "The working class can fulfil this task (as leader of the revolution) only by grasping Mao Tsetung Thought firmly and by integrating themselves with the poor and landless peasants in the countryside and by participating in the armed peasant struggle."

This revolutionary line worked out by Comrade Charu Mazumdar was bitterly opposed by the old revisionist line of trade unionism, a line that waxes eloquent on the virtues of trade union struggles for winning over workers to politics. This struggle between the two lines within the Party and outside has ended in an ignominious defeat for the revisionists including those of the new species who pay lip service to Chairman Mao's Thought and, at the same time, indulge in the old revisionist practice of getting the workers steeped in economism and opportunism and of blunting their revolutionary consciousness. But the recent battles that the working class has fought repudiate with contempt the revisionist calumny that the working class fights only for petty self-interest, only when baits of economic gains are held out before it. These battles vindicate Comrade Charu Mazumdar's stand that "the working class struggle is a struggle for asserting its dignity and for establishing social justice." These battles confirm the correctness of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's assertion that it is revolutionary politics alone that can rouse the masses of workers as nothing else can and that only Party organizations composed of advanced workers can give this politics to the working class and can lead it in the struggle for smashing the chains that bind the working people today.

The peasants' revolutionary armed struggle, the formation of the CPI (M-L), the revolutionary line worked out by the Party led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar on the working class front, all these are creating an upheaval among the workers. No doubt this upheaval will, in its turn, bring

about a newer, vaster and swifter upsurge of peasants' armed struggle in the countryside. We are on the eve of a very great change.

—August 12, 1970

PEOPLE ARE INVINCIBLE

Calcutta, revolutionary Calcutta—the city of nightmares to the imperialists and domestic reactionaries—is today writing a new chapter in the history of her glorious, heroic struggles against hated oppressors. Calcutta, the rare city beloved of the revolutionaries, is today surpassing herself.

Three days ago Samir Bhattacharyya, a young revolutionary, was arrested by the police and beaten to death in a police lock-up in north Calcutta as part of reaction's open fascist offensive to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the students and youths. Far from frightening or demoralizing them, this heinous murder roused so much wrath and hatred that the life of the entire city has been paralysed for the last three days. The retaliation was swift and sure. Bonfire has been made of several tram cars and state buses, as a result of which these have been withdrawn from most areas of the city. The main targets of attack are police pickets and police vans, jeeps and cars patrolling the streets. Scores of policemen including police officers have been seriously injured, if not killed. The police have fired many rounds in different areas and killed several pedestrians. The squads of guerrillas who have led the attack in large parts of Calcutta and the suburbs are safe under the protection of the people. The paper tiger nature of the reactionaries is quite apparent. The CRP pickets and camps at fixed places have mostly been withdrawn out of fear of the people. With death-defying valour the revolutionary youth and people of Calcutta have forced the armed bandits to retreat. The battle is still on.

The reactionary government is still powerless to enforce their rule in many areas of the city which Calcutta's police commissioner chooses to call "Naxalite-infested". This city saw many heroic uprisings in the past. But there is a basic difference this time. In the past, all the heroic revolts of the people were led along a blind alley by the revisionist skunks. But this time the revolt is inspired by the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry and has become part of the country-wide revolutionary civil war which is today being led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). And the revolutionary people of Calcutta have adopted the guerrilla method of struggle with which the reactionary state apparatus finds it difficult to contend.

Events are moving with incredible rapidity. One realizes how true are Chairman Mao's words: "The enemy rots with every passing day while for us things are getting better daily."

Against the background of this very excellent revolutionary situation, a situation that is more excellent than ever before, a multi-pronged offensive has been launched during the last few months by the enemy and his agents against the revolutionary people and the CPI (M-L). The reactionaries and revisionists of all sorts, stricken with panic on seeing the writing on the wall, have rallied their forces in a vain attempt to defeat the revolutionary struggles of peasants, workers, students and youths led by the CPI (M-L). Though ridden with very sharp contradictions and engaged in a fierce fight among themselves for the crumbs from the master's table, all the reactionary and revisionist parties — the Jana Sangh, the Swatantra, both the Nijalingappa and the Indira Congress, the Dange and Sundarayya-Ranadive-Jyoti Basu revisionist cliques as well as various other self-styled 'socialists' and 'communists'—have joined the offensive of the reactionary ruling classes against the revolutionary peasants, workers and youths. It is their gnawing anxiety about their very survival which has drawn them together despite the bitter fight among themselves.

The reactionary Indira government at the centre, which today rules West Bengal, has mounted a fascist offensive against the people—an offensive much more ruthless than before. The rural areas of West Bengal, where the peasants' armed revolutionary struggle is threatening to become a prairie fire, are now dotted with EFR (Eastern Frontier Rifles), BSF (Border Security Force) and CRP (Central Reserve Police) camps. A city like Calcutta looks like a big war base with reactionary police men and troops strewn everywhere, with police and army vans, jeeps, trucks and cars heavily loaded with armed bandits and equipped with wireless apparatus constantly patrolling the streets, and with CRP camps at different places. The entire police machinery has been reorganized. Such is the panic of the reactionaries that Calcutta is said to have been placed under joint police-military control. The army and police officers jointly hatch in secret plans of suppressing by fascist measures the revolutionary struggles of the students, youths and workers, which surge forward throughout West Bengal. The police officers are instructed every day to shoot to kill the cadres of the CPI (M-L) when they come across them. Arrest, torture and shooting are daily occurrences. Frightened like mice, the reactionary ruling classes are trampling underfoot their own laws and resorting more and more to naked fascist measures. But, far from suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the youths, students and workers, this stepped-up offensive, this brutal fascist rule, is rousing the hatred of the people and stiffening their resolve to overthrow the dark rule of the oppressors.

That bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionist scabs known as the CPI (M) is today acting as one of the prongs of the offensive unleashed by the reactionary government. This fascist clique anxious to serve its masters, the imperialists and domestic reactionaries, in this hour of grave crisis to them has also stepped up its campaign of lies and slander against the revolutionary people and their Party, the

CPI (M-L), and has instructed its followers to spy on our comrades and launch wherever they can murderous attacks on our cadres in the right Hitlerite tradition. They have openly come out with statements and leaflets slandering us as "counter-revolutionaries" and "agents of the ruling classes." They accuse us of inviting police repression on democratic movements by our militant "adventurist" actions. These skunks seem to be dying to build up democratic movements and to make revolution, but they would make revolution ~~from~~ under the protection afforded by the reactionary ruling classes. Revisionist scoundrels like Jyoti Basu and Harekrishna Konar are still surrounded all the time by security men provided by the reactionary ruling classes for whose overthrow they claim to be leading 'revolutionary struggles of the working people.' They ceased to be ministers several months ago; yet, believe it or not, the reactionary Indira government is very much interested in their security and has arranged for their special protection by the reactionary state apparatus so that they can make revolution. However, one may ask: protection from whom? It must be the people from whom the enemy must be protecting them. And why? The answer is obvious. They and their sham struggles are so much needed by the enemy. cap/

These revisionist henchmen of the imperialists and domestic reactionaries are slandering the brave youth and students for attacking the present semi-colonial semi-feudal educational system and for destroying the images of notorious tools of imperialism like Gandhi. Who does not know that the present educational system is a colossal fraud? Besides, the few who receive this 'education' are fed mostly on lies during the most impressionable and precious years of their lives. Far from giving them any revolutionary ideas, as these revisionist scoundrels would have us believe, it stuffs their minds with all backward, reactionary ideas and makes them self-centred and selfish. How true are Chairman Mao's words that the lowly are

e/ the most wise and the elite are the most ignorant! Who would suffer if this educational system ceases functioning for a few years? Only the beneficiaries of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, that is, the imperialists, domestic reactionaries and their agents, would suffer in that event. Naturally, the revisionist skunks are perturbed. They are also justly perturbed at the smashing of many images by the revolutionary students and youths all over West Bengal. For a long, long time the imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords carefully, painstakingly reared up the images and built up effigies of those who served them well. Today, the revolutionary students and youths are judging them by one yardstick—whether they were on the side of the people, on the side of the innumerable peasant struggles (which were the only genuine freedom struggles), or on the side of imperialism and the reactionary exploiting classes. Without sweeping away these images, the images of the leaders of the people, the leaders of the genuine freedom struggles, cannot be installed. Without destruction, there can be no construction, as Chairman Mao has taught us. These images represent rival, antagonistic class interests and ideologies. When the brave peasant guerrillas are dealing shattering blows at the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, the students and youths, inspired by this heroic struggle, are breaking the images of those who served best the interests of the imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal class and who expressed best the ideology of these enemies of the Indian people. There is adequate reason for the revisionist scoundrels to feel worried. From their ravings it seems that the ghost of Goebbels has descended on them: so they should face the unpleasant truth that the fate of Goebbels is also awaiting them.

e/ The revisionist scoundrels, the last reserve of the reactionary ruling classes, have joined hands with the police to hound out the revolutionaries. Today, their role is the despicable role of police informers. Besides, in

many cases the GRP (Central Reserve Police) bandits and CPI (M) gangsters have jointly planned and carried out their attacks on the cadres and sympathisers of the CPI (M-L). The enemy is welcome to attack us so viciously. Chairman Mao said: "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

With fox-like cunning the Dangeites tried to mobilize all the reactionary and revisionist intellectuals, including the American CIA's open agents like Buddhadev Bose and Amlan Dutt, in a futile campaign to malign the revolutionary youth and students and to defend their 'father'—the arch-traitor Gandhi. When the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of political power by armed force is advancing rapidly, the Dange revisionists have started with a great fanfare what is known as the land-grabbing movement to disrupt the peasants' revolutionary struggle. These are all old revisionist tricks which can hardly deceive the revolutionary people today.

Despite their differences, all the reactionaries and revisionists are jackals of the same lair. Fearful of the doom that is near, their attacks on the revolutionary people and the CPI (M-L) are becoming more and more frenzied. Chairman Mao said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale. Did not the persecution of the revolutionary people by the tsar of Russia and by Chiang Kai-shek perform this function in the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?" Indeed, a new generation, a new people, is arising tempered in the fire of

repression, free even from the fear of death. The reactionary ruling classes, the fascist gangs of that counter-revolutionary clique known as the CPI (M), and all other reactionaries and revisionists who have ranged themselves on the other side of the barricade are lifting the rock only to drop it on their own feet. The sun is rising—the sun of India's long-dreamt-of freedom: the entire east will soon be aflame, all these ghosts and monsters shall perish.

u) But we must not forget even for a moment that we are in the midst of war—the revolutionary civil war—the bitterest of all wars. In June 1949, Chairman Mao said: “Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position.” Refusal to follow this teaching, refusal to take the enemy seriously from the *tactical* point of view, has already exacted a heavy price from us. When the enemy and his revisionist agents are intensifying their frantic attacks on us, we must tighten up our organization, plug all loopholes, get rid of self-complacency and abhor open functioning in both urban and rural areas. As Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out: “What do I mean when I say that we should be vigilant against the enemy agents in the Party? Wrong political thinking and wrong methods of work are the enemies and you should be vigilant and see that such things do not get any indulgence whatsoever.”

West Bengal's countryside is today echoing the footsteps of the landless and poor peasant guerrillas who, dreaming of liberating themselves and the entire country from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism, are carrying the battle of annihilation of class enemies to every corner of the state. Defying hardships, defying death, workers, students and youths are scaling new heights of heroism. They are almost flinging away their most precious lives for the cause of revolution, the cause they hold dear. It is time that political vigilance is heightened, that the

old revisionist methods of work, the method of open functioning etc., are totally rejected.

—August 22, 1970

'IT IS NO LONGER MUNICH TIME'

Attempt has been made by U. S. imperialism and its accomplice Soviet social-imperialism to perpetrate another Munich, a Middle East Munich. It is the notorious U.S. imperialist plan known as the Rogers Plan which the two “super-powers” have sought to impose on the Arab people in order to carve out spheres of influence for themselves at the cost of the blood and tears of the Arab people. This sinister plot, which declares its purpose to be one of bringing back peace to the war-torn Arab lands, is one more attempt at stamping out the revolution of the Palestinian and other Arab people, legalizing the Israeli and U. S. imperialist rape of Palestine and other Arab territories, stabilizing the imperialist base of aggression there and at perpetuating the indirect rule of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, its chief accomplice, over 100 million Arab people. Taking advantage of the treachery of the reactionary ruling classes of certain Arab countries like Egypt and Jordan, the two “super-powers” have tried to impose this fraudulent “peace” plan and to decide at will the destiny of other countries like their ‘esteemed’ predecessors, Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier etc.

What does the much-trumpeted Rogers plan propose? First, it insists that the “parties” must stop shooting and restore the ceasefire. It deliberately refuses to make any distinction between the aggressors and the victims of aggression. The ceasefire would mean that while the U. S.-Israeli aggressors remained in occupation of Palestine and large chunks of other Arab territories, the Palestinian and other Arab people would have no right to wage an armed struggle for national liberation. Three years ago,

after the U. S.-Israeli aggressors had launched a large-scale war of aggression against the Arab countries, the U. S. imperialists in connivance with the Soviet social-imperialists had imposed the "ceasefire" on the Arab countries with the help of the United Nations. Using the "ceasefire" as a cover, the U. S.-Israeli aggressors have not only consolidated their base for aggression but have repeatedly launched their ground and air attacks on the Arab countries.

Speaking at the Knesset on August 4, Golda Meir, Israel's Prime Minister, said that "ceasefire must apply to all forces operating from the territory of a country which accepted it." So, the "ceasefire" under the Rogers plan is no better than a demand that the Arab people stop fighting against the U. S.-Israeli aggressors and that the brave Palestinian guerrillas give up their arms and cease to fight from their bases in the Arab countries.

Will the "ceasefire" help in the withdrawal of aggressor Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories? There is a deceitful provision in the plan that the Arab countries and Israel must enter into negotiations on the so-called "Israeli withdrawal from the territories which it occupied during the 1967 conflict" in conformity with the U. N. Security Council "resolution." The hypocrisy of it all was exposed when Golda Meir told the Knesset that "Israel will not return to the frontiers of June 4, 1967." So, the "ceasefire" will not be followed by withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestine which Israel seized forcibly before or from all the Arab land it occupied in the war of 1967. According to a report in the U. S. newspaper *International Herald Tribune* of August 10, the United States assured Israel that "Israel need not pull back its forces from the Arab lands it now occupies until a peace treaty with the Arabs is signed, and it need not withdraw then from every foot of those lands."

Secondly, the Rogers plan insists on the recognition of the "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Israel". What does this recognition of Israel's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity actually mean? It means

the denial of sovereignty to the Palestinian people, the permanent deprivation of their right to their own country. It means that while the existence of Israeli Zionism artificially created by U. S. imperialism will be legalized, the Arab people cannot achieve their own national independence and national liberation. It means the recognition of the complete occupation of Palestine by Israel, running dog of U. S. imperialism, and the legalization of the Israeli invasion of the territory of the Arab countries under the pretext of guaranteeing the "security of Israel's boundary". All this means the liquidation of the Palestinian people's cause of national liberation while U. S. imperialism will be allowed to consolidate its base for aggression in the Middle East.

Thirdly, the Rogers plan demands protection of the "interest of the United States". To the U. S. imperialists, the Middle East, an area of great strategic importance with vast oil resources, does not belong to the people of the region but to the sphere of U. S. imperialist 'interest'. The net profit the U. S. oil sharks grabbed from Middle East oil amounted to more than 1000 million dollars every year. Joseph Sisco, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State, said on July 12: "The Mediterranean is important in terms of strategic importance to the United States. The Middle East is a gateway not only to the Persian Gulf, but to the Indian Ocean. It is important in terms of our policy in Africa." So, through the Rogers plan, the "political solution" plot, the U. S. imperialists are aiming at occupying the entire Middle East strategic gateway. Far from achieving "just and lasting peace" in the Middle East, it is meant to realize the U. S. policies of war and aggression.

Fourthly, the Rogers plan seeks "to maintain the balance of power" in the Middle East. The U. S. imperialists have assured their Israeli running dogs "that the United States will not retreat from the Middle East if a peace treaty is achieved, but will maintain a balance of power with the Soviet Union in this region". It is evident that the Rogers plan is not intended to bring back "a just and lasting peace" in the Middle East but to

strike a deal with Soviet social-imperialism, U. S. imperialism's accomplice as well as rival, and to divide spheres of influence between them.

The Soviet social-imperialists, afraid of U. S. imperialism and even more afraid of Socialist China and revolution, have joined hands with the U. S. imperialists in plotting another Munich. They have lent their support to the criminal plan of the U. S. imperialists and have been trying to impose it on the Arab people. They together are trying hard to force the Palestinian and other Arab people to lay down arms and give up their just struggle.

But it is no longer Munich time. It is the era of Chairman Mao. The days when a few big powers could decide the fate of the world are over. The people, so long oppressed and downtrodden, have now grasped in their own hands the destiny of their country.

Today, the awakened Arab people, despite the treachery of many of their feudal princes and bourgeois leaders, have declared their resolve to smash the Munich plot of the two "super-powers" and to grasp the destiny of their own countries in their own hands. In an editorial on July 26, *Fateh*, organ of the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, declared: "If those big powers still believe they are a force that still controls the world, imposes conditions, and draws maps, we will say no to them. We will draw the map of our land with our hands, ...and we, the people of this land, should determine our destiny ourselves." Chairman Mao said: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." And the masses of the Arab people, especially, the Palestinians have decided to persist in the armed struggle till national liberation is achieved. Now this heroic struggle has become a part of the world-wide struggle for the liberation of mankind—a part of the struggle for the complete defeat of imperialism, social-imperialism and all other reaction. Already the brave Arab people are winning great, resounding victories in the different fields of battle.

FLAMES OF NAXALBARI STRUGGLE SPREAD TO MADHYA PRADESH

The struggle for the seizure of political power by armed force has started in Madhya Pradesh, so long the happy huntingground of feudal princes and landlords and the home of all kinds of reactionary ideology. A beginning, though small, has been made and this is of immense significance. What is small today is sure to grow big tomorrow and what appears to be big and frightful will crumble to the dust under the blows of the peasants' armed struggle. The dying class of feudal oppressors shall no longer be able to prolong its most corrupt, degenerate and brutish existence. Chairman Mao said:

"People say the Yangtse is a very big river, but actually, bigness is nothing to be afraid of. Isn't U. S. imperialism very big? But there wasn't much to U. S. imperialism once we stood up to it. So there are big things in the world which are actually not to be feared."

A squad of peasant guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L) attacked and severely injured Krishnakumar Agarwal, the hated *malguzar* and landlord of village Gurriah near Bhatapara in Madhya Pradesh on July 20. Leader of the reactionary Jana Sangh, this class enemy owns 1000 acres of land. Besides, he has a big money-lending business and cheats poor peasants out of their lands by lending them small sums of money. He is also notorious for his crimes against peasant women. This devil of a man somehow managed to escape death.

PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE IN SOUTH BIHAR

Under the leadership of the CPI(M-L), the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle is making rapid advance in Chotanagpur in South Bihar.

Ranchi District :

Two more hated class enemies have been annihilated in the Ranchi district. Rafiq Mian, a despotic jotedar, usurer and merchant of village Koorkoora within Kalibira thana area of Simdega sub-division, close to the Bihar-Orissa border, was annihilated in his own house by a guerrilla squad of seven landless and poor peasants on June 24 at 5 P. M. The oppressed peasants are jubilant while the class enemies are panicky.

Darshan Lal Dubey, a hated landlord and usurer of village Karaulia in Khelani area of Ranchi district, was annihilated on July 17 by a newly-formed guerrilla squad with traditional weapons in his ownhouse. This action has roused the peasant masses and more peasants have joined guerrilla squads with the determination to carry on the guerrilla struggle.

Singbhum District :

On June 9, a guerrilla squad of five landless peasants annihilated Jagdish Prasad Singh, the despotic landlord and usurer of village Doogni, which is about three miles from Sini railway station on the S.E.Rly. This hated class enemy, who cruelly oppressed the peasantry not only of this village but of many neighbouring villages, met his doom in his own house at about 2-30 P. M. Cash and gold were

(Continued on page 61)

PEASANTS' GUERRILLA STRUGGLE ADVANCES IN TAMIL NADU

The battle of annihilation of class enemies has started in Tamil Nadu. Under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated a hated landlord of Udampet in Coimbatore district in the month of May. Last month peasant guerrillas annihilated a notorious agent of three absentee landlords, who oppressed the peasants ruthlessly, in the district of Tanjore. In the same month a hated usurer was annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas in Dharmapuri district. The storm is rising—the storm of peasants' revolutionary armed struggle that will soon sweep the whole of Tamil Nadu.

(Continued from page 60)

seized and all legal deeds, promissory notes etc., were burnt. Peasants danced in joy on hearing the news of the annihilation. For a long time they had submitted to the tyranny of this class enemy because they did not know how to free themselves from it. About six months ago they saw the light when they came in contact with the CPI (M-L) and learnt about the path to liberation indicated by the Party and its leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar.

On July 25, a squad of six peasant guerrillas armed with Mao Tsetung Thought annihilated in broad daylight Mohan Lal, a notorious landlord, usurer and merchant, with traditional weapons while he was on his way to Chakradharpur town. The poor and landless Adibasi peasants who took part in this action as guerrillas showed bitter hatred for such class enemies and great courage and determination to carry forward the guerrilla struggle to new areas. This action has roused not only peasants but also biri workers of surrounding villages.

MORE REPORTS ON PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE IN WEST BENGAL

Reports of more annihilation of class enemies in West Bengal are coming as we go to press.

On July 30, a squad of four poor and landless peasants under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) annihilated a notorious jotedar and usurer, Bholanath Ganguli, of village Sreekrishnapur within Habra thana area in the 24 Parganas district.

A squad of four poor and landless peasants annihilated Amay Mondal, a hated jotedar and usurer of village Haldarpukur within Bishnupur thana area in the 24 Parganas district on August 15. The entire action was planned and led by the landless peasants.

On August 10, a squad of peasant guerrillas led by a worker annihilated Girin Mondal, a notorious jotedar of village Poladanga within Jalangi thana area in Murshidabad district.

At midnight on August 11-12, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Paramanand Pandey, a hated jotedar of village Dharampur within Nalhati thana area in Birbhum district.

On August 15, Prafulla Chatterjee, a notorious usurer, was annihilated by a squad of guerrilla comrades in village Napara within Habra thana area in the 24 Parganas district.

On August 9, a squad of four guerrilla comrades annihilated Ram Patra, a notorious jotedar and usurer of village Uttar Bhatara within Amta thana area in Howrah district. This is the fourth class enemy annihilated in Howrah district till now.

On June 23, a guerrilla squad of students and youths in Purulia Sadar thana area in Purulia district dragged out of a bus Subhankar Ojha, a Congressite agent and gangster, and

annihilated him. They also seriously injured a police agent who was trying to help the police arrest our comrades.

On August 13, Gour Garai, a hated jotedar, usurer and merchant of village Madhatali within Raghunathpur thana area in Purulia district, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of eight landless and poor peasants. The battle of annihilation of class enemies could not start in this area so long as the Party relied on intellectual comrades and not on landless and poor peasants. The Party Committee realized the correctness of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instruction that the armed guerrilla struggle can develop only by relying on landless and poor peasants and by developing their leadership and that the use of traditional weapons, not fire-arms, can release the initiative of the peasant masses and carry the struggle forward. The Purulia Regional Committee realized that every instruction of our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar should be followed in all its detail.

On August 11, a squad of three guerrilla comrades annihilated in Purulia Hiralal Mukherjee, a notorious police sub-inspector who was out carrying systematic raids in the night and arresting and torturing our comrades.

At the call of the West Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Region Committee to avenge the murder of the three heroic comrades—Gurudas, Sashi and Sudeb, the battle of annihilation of class enemies is spreading in waves in the district of Midnapur.

On August 4, a guerrilla squad of three poor and landless peasants annihilated with choppers and pole-axes Nabadwip Pramanik, a despotic jotedar, usurer and leader of a bandit gang of village Debhog within Sabang thana area in Midnapur district.

On July 21, Mukunda Chel, the most hated class enemy of village Sidda within Panskura thana area in Midnapur district, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of two landless peasants. This class enemy was a jotedar, usurer and merchant.

On August 4, a guerrilla squad of two landless peasants annihilated with axes Paban Maity, a hated usurer and merchant, notorious for his lechery, of village Arisanda within

Panskura thana area in Midnapur district. The annihilation was carried out in broad daylight in a village market but the guerrillas reached their place of safety with the help of the people. After this action, poor and landless peasants are forming newer and newer guerrilla squads and taking the initiative in annihilating class enemies with bare hands.

On July 25, Srihari Bhol, despotic jotedar and merchant of village Manusmundia within Baharagora thana area in Singbhum district, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of five landless peasants. This is the sixth class enemy annihilated in Baharagora.

On August 2, a guerrilla squad of five landless peasants annihilated Trailokya Sarangi, a hated big jotedar of village Rohini within Sankrail thana area in Midnapur district, with tangis (pole-axes) and daggers. The annihilation was carried out in broad daylight at a distance of only 50 yards from a CRP camp. This is the fourth class enemy annihilated in Sankrail.

On August 8, Hemanga Satpathi, a despotic jotedar and usurer of village Beldangri within Gambani thana area in Midnapur district, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of four landless peasants. There are signs of a mass awakening in Jambani thana area after this annihilation.

A guerrilla squad of three poor and landless peasants annihilated in the first week of August Upen Nayak, a police agent, within Kharagpur Local thana area in Midnapur district. This annihilation was carried out by the peasant guerrillas on their own initiative and with traditional weapons.

—August 20, 1970

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTHS AND STUDENTS WAGE A VALIANT STRUGGLE

“The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of youth, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.”

For the last several months the youths and students of West Bengal have been waging a valiant struggle that is a part of the country-wide revolutionary civil war. The peasants' revolutionary armed struggle in Naxalbari gave a new meaning, a new purpose, to the lives of the long-deceived youth of West Bengal: it gave them revolutionary dreams to dream and make real, a revolutionary cause to fight for. They woke up in tens of thousands and spread the message of Naxalbari—the message that armed revolution had already started in India under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought along the path followed by the epoch-making Chinese revolution. They have stencilled Chairman Mao's portrait and written on the walls of houses in all towns and cities revolutionary slogans hailing Naxalbari, Srikakulam etc., greeting Chairman Mao and the great CPC, greeting the CPI (M-L) and Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Everywhere they reproduced Chairman Mao's great teaching: “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

Thanks to the revisionists of all brands—flunkys of imperialism and domestic reaction, the reactionary ruling classes had successfully stirred up in the past bourgeois chauvinism and hatred for great China, the bastion of world revolution, to divert the people from the path of struggle. Now, the youths and students launched a bold, frontal attack

on bourgeois chauvinism by raising the full-throated slogan "China's Chairman is our Chairman, China's path is our path." These proud, defiant standard-bearers of proletarian internationalism stopped by force all over West Bengal the exhibition of the notorious anti-China film "Prem Pujari". Their very action was a stern warning to the imperialists, social-imperialists and domestic reactionaries that the year 1970 was not the year 1962, that all the anti-China conspiracies hatched on the soil of India by these enemies of mankind would be fought and smashed by the Indian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Party based on Mao Tsetung Thought.

It did not escape the eyes of the awakened youths and students that the imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and native reactionaries still rely on that despicable tool of imperialism—Gandhi—for deceiving the people and saving their tottering regime. The entire life of this vile man was one long, inglorious career of devoted service to imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie. This traitor, who actively served his British imperialist masters during their wars against the Boers & the Zulus in South Africa and energetically assisted the British imperialists in recruiting Indian soldiers to the British army to defend the British empire during World War I, appeared on the Indian political scene at a time when the whole of India had become a volcano about to erupt. The first task of imperialism's lackey of lackeys was to disarm the Indian people with his spurious theory of 'non-violence' in the face of savage imperialist attacks. In the absence of a genuine Communist Party for many years and then in collusion with the treacherous reformist leadership of the CPI, this shrewd impostor successfully led a movement for sham independence, which was essentially a movement to sabotage the struggle for national liberation and to save imperialism, feudalism, and the comprador bourgeoisie from the wrath of the people. The deception could not have worked if there was a genuine Communist leadership to call the bluff. Instead, the revisionist flunkies—P. C. Joshi, Dange, Ranadive, Namboodiripad and

men of their ilk—called this traitor 'father of the nation' and perpetrated a fraud on the people. So, the struggle to save imperialism and its main props in this country became known as a struggle for national freedom; the henchman of imperialism passed off as the leader of a liberation struggle, and connivance at violent repression of the people by the imperialists was termed 'non-violence'. It was this traitor's opposition to class struggle, sabotage of the anti-imperialist struggles at critical moments of history and obscurantist religious ideas that helped the imperialists and domestic reactionaries to kindle the flames of communalism and divert the anti-imperialist struggles into a fratricidal war that ended in the partition of the country and in the holocaust of 1946-47. This traitor, whose life was hypocrisy abounding even whose lechery and sexual depravity passed off as *brahmacharyya* (celibacy or continence), perished in the flames he and his reactionary and revisionist accomplices had kindled.

For too long a time the fraud that was Gandhi remained unexposed. But the long-delayed Indian revolution has started: the peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) are striking relentlessly at the base of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. This struggle has inspired the youths and students to shatter into fragments the image of this arch-enemy of the Indian peasantry. They have trampled underfoot and smashed his effigies and portraits wherever in West Bengal they found these, flung his poisonous works into the fire and set fire to a film idolizing him. **Sham is sham and the mask must be stripped off**, as Chairman Mao has taught us. The youths and students are to be congratulated for the historic task they have performed. They have stripped off the mask of one who has long hoodwinked the Indian people. Naturally, the reactionary children and the revisionist bastards whom this man fathered are gripped with alarm. They and their imperialist masters have raised a howl in the vain hope of resurrecting the image of this impostor.

The struggle that the youths and students launched is

developing both in breadth and in depth with the passing of days. They have attacked all over West Bengal the rotten, stinking educational system of this semi-colonial, semi-feudal country—a legacy of the colonial days—that is designed to serve the interests of the imperialists, the feudal class and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. Fed systematically on lies and stuffed at best with barren knowledge during the most precious years of their lives and taught to despise workers and peasants, the intellectual products of the system—other than the revolutionary intellectuals who have overcome its venomous effects—are interesting specimens of humanity, most backward, most reactionary, most self-centred and most laughably vain. Pounded by the blows of the revolutionary youth, this utterly reactionary educational system, guilty of untold crimes against the youth of this country for long years, is in chaos today. While attacking the educational system, the youths and students have unfurled the Red Flag atop the educational institutions all over West Bengal. The Red Flag flying proudly over educational institutions inspires the people with the hope and the faith that the day of the victory of the Indian revolution is not far off and that a new culture, a new educational system, will soon arise on the ashes of the old.

While dealing blows at the vicious system of education, the youths and students have smashed the images and effigies of many "eminent" men like Rabindranath Tagore, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Vivekanda and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, besides trampling underfoot the portraits of traitors like Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. Their praises have been sung for a long time by imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists. Drawing inspiration from the revolutionary peasant struggle which is smashing the feudal authority in the countryside and from the Programme of the CPI (M-L), the revolutionary youths and students are judging all these 'honourable' men by one yardstick: On which side of the barricade were they? Were they on the side of the Indian people's War of Independence of 1857, on the side of the innumerable peasant revolts (the only genuine freedom

struggles), on the side of the people struggling to remove the two mountains—imperialism and feudalism, or on the side of these enemies of the people? The friends of the imperialists and feudal princes and landlords cannot justly claim to be friends of the oppressed people. They have been idolized by the reactionaries and revisionists: on the other hand, the lackeys of imperialism like Rajani Palme Dutt have slandered the War of Independence of 1857 as a reactionary, counter-revolutionary revolt. While he waxes eloquent on the sham struggle for independence led by the comprador bourgeoisie, he rarely mentions the countless peasant struggles that shook the imperialist and feudal rule in this country. The treacherous revisionists—Joshi, Hiren Mukherjee, Sushobhan Sarker, Gopal Halder etc., etc.—have all idealized the leaders of the so-called Bengal Renaissance and their successors, who served imperialism well and expressed best the ideas and aspirations of the new feudal lords and the new comprador bourgeoisie whom British imperialism brought into existence so that they might serve as its main props in this country. For all these years the revisionist running dogs of imperialism and domestic reaction have been at pains to distort the class outlook and to blunt the revolutionary consciousness of the people. They have tried to make the people forget that "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class", that "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." This smashing of the idols raised by the imperialists and domestic reactionaries by the revolutionary youth helps in restoring the class outlook and in raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people. Without demolishing these models, new models—those of the heroes of the people—cannot be created. This mass cultural movement of the youths and students, who mainly belong to the petty bourgeois class, is new in the world's history. The youths and students are attacking all those who were against the peasantry.

Are the youths and students committing excesses? The answer was given long ago by Chairman Mao in his celebrated Hunan Report: "To right a wrong it is necessary to exceed the proper limits, and the wrong cannot be righted without the proper limits being exceeded."

In the course of this historic struggle the revolutionary youths and students have set up new records in heroism. The reactionary government has tried to suppress their struggle by the most brutal methods. CRP battalions have been rushed to Calcutta and other towns and cities, CRP camps have been set up even within the campuses of universities and colleges, troops have been called in, the cities and towns are infested with plainclothes policemen armed with fire-arms and instructed to shoot our cadres, and they are all aided by that bunch of fascist gangsters and spies known as the CPI (M); arrest, torture and shooting are indiscriminate. Yet, undeterred by the fiercest repression, the struggle of the youths and students is surging forward. With death-defying heroism they have been attacking police pickets, police and military vans, and plainclothes police officers and men from close quarters. Guerrilla squads of revolutionary students and youths have annihilated scores of CRP and other police men including police officers and *Jawans* and injured many more sent by the reactionary government to oppress the people. The reactionary government is afraid of publishing the news of the annihilation of police men and *Jawans*, especially CRP men. In various areas of Calcutta and the suburbs, in Kharagpur, Nadia, Purulia, Jalpaiguri etc., the revolutionary youths and students have displayed wonderful courage and valiantly fought and defeated the armed bandits sent to suppress them. By their brave deeds they are actually smashing the morale of the reactionary police and causing alarm to the reactionary ruling classes. They are also hitting hard at the fascist gangsters organized by that counter-revolutionary clique—the

a/ CPI (M). It is a tale of extraordinary bravery and heroic self-sacrifice — an inspiring, thrilling one — that the revolutionary youths and students are writing today with their blood. There will soon be an upheaval when the revolutionary youths and students will be joined by the working class. The valiant struggle of the youths and students, inspired by the armed peasant struggle, is in its turn enthusing and inspiring the peasants and workers. A new high tide of revolutionary struggle, vaster than anything witnessed till now, will soon sweep the country.

LIBERATION *August 1970*
IN THIS ISSUE

Re. 1.00

- 1 RELY FULLY ON LANDLESS
AND POOR PEASANTS ... Charu Mazumdar ... 1
- 2 TO THE COMRADES OF
SRIKAKULAM ... Charu Mazumdar ... 3
- 3 FORGE CLOSER UNITY
WITH PEASANTS' ARMED
STRUGGLE ... Charu Mazumdar ... 5
- 4 NOTES : ... 11
- End of a Phase, Beginning of Another*
People are Invincible
'It is no longer Munich Time'
- 5 COMMUNISTS SHOULD BE
THE ADVANCED ELEMENTS
OF THE PROLETARIAT 17
- 6 PEOPLE OF ASIA, UNITE AND
DRIVE U. S. AGGRESSORS
OUT OF ASIA! 24
- 7 PEOPLE'S WAR RAGES IN
MALAYA AND SARAWAK 32
- 8 PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE
SURGES FORWARD IN WEST BENGAL 38
- 9 BIRTH OF THE NEW MAN ... Charu Mazumdar ... 44
- 10 FLAMES OF NAXALBARI STRUGGLE
SPREAD TO MADHYA PRADESH 59
- 11 PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE
IN SOUTH BIHAR 60
- 12 PEASANTS' GUERRILLA STRUGGLE
ADVANCES IN TAMIL NADU 61
- 13 MORE REPORTS ON GUERRILLA
STRUGGLE IN WEST BENGAL 62
- 14 REVOLUTIONARY YOUTHS AND
STUDENTS WAGE A VALIANT
STRUGGLE 65