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Liberation

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sovereignty," the Chinese People's Liberation Army forced the Yangtse River. On April 23, it liberated Nanking, the centre of the counter-revolutionary rule of the Kuomintang and proclaimed the downfall of the reactionary Kuomintang regime.

Line 1&3: Mount Chungshan, the other name is Purple Gold Mountain which stands to the east of Nanking. Chinese classical writers compared the city of Nanking to a "crouching tiger" and Chungshan a "curling dragon." Later, the two comparisons put together, specially refer to Nanking.

Line 6: In the third century B.C., Hsiang Yu and Liu Pang respectively led peasant forces against the Chin dynasty and Hsiang Yu self-bestowed the title of "the conqueror." Wishing to appear generous after Chin's main force was put out of action, he did not kill his rival Liu Pang when the opportunity offered. In the end, he was defeated by Liu Pang and committed suicide.

Line 8: According to an ancient Chinese tale, a certain woman was so long-lived that she several times witnessed the seas dry up and become fields covered with mulberry trees.

We regret certain errors that crept into the text of the above poem as published in LIBERATION, Vol. II, No. 7.—Ed.

REPLY TO COMRADE KUO MO-JO

On this tiny globe
 A few flies dash themselves against the wall,
 Humming without cease,
 Sometimes shrilling,
 Sometimes moaning.
 Ants on the locust tree assume a great nation swagger
 And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree.
 The west wind scatters leaves over Changan,
 And the arrows are flying, twanging.
 So many deeds cry out to be done,
 And always urgently;
 The world rolls on,
 Time presses.
 Ten thousand years are too long,
 Seize the day, seize the hour!
 The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging,
 The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring.
 Away with all pests!
 Our force is irresistible.

January 9, 1963

Kuo Mo jo, famous Chinese writer and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Line 6: In the short story *Prefect of the Southern Branch* by Li Kung-tso, a writer of the Tang dynasty, a man dozing under a locust tree dreamed that he married the princess of the Great Locust Kingdom and was made prefect of the Southern Branch. When he awoke, he found that the kingdom was an ants' hole under the tree.

Line 7: In one of his poems Han Yu (768—824), a distinguished writer of the Tang dynasty, sarcastically compared people over-reaching themselves to "mayflies which attempt to shake the giant tree."

Line 8: Changan was the capital of the Tang dynasty and is now called Sian.

These two poems have been reprinted from THE CALL, No. 4, 1969.—Ed.

Make The 1970's The Decade of Liberation

—Charu Mazumdar

THE year 1969 has ended. What a year it was, what great victories the revolutionary masses of the India won during the year! The spring thunder of the Naxalbari struggle in 1967 came as the happy augury. The revolutionaries of India listened to the radio broadcasts from Peking to understand the significance of this event. In November of that year was formed the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. What vacillation and obstacles, what distrust and treachery were there both inside the Committee and outside. Gradually, the Committee became the meeting place of the revolutionaries, overcame vacillation and won recognition. Attempts to follow the directives of the Committee were noticed everywhere and it was this that made possible the Srikakulam struggle. As this struggle developed beyond the scope of the Co-ordination Committee, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed to meet the historical necessity. A new hightide appeared in the struggle with the formation of the revolutionary Party.

The peasant armed struggle is already raging everywhere, that is, in Tripura, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa and, above all, in Andhra. Red political power in rudimentary form has come into existence in Srikakulam. The struggle may spread to Tamilnadu and Kerala any moment. Active Party units have been formed in every province. And all this has happened in the space of just one year. We must certainly learn to recognize this tremendous advance of the

revolutionary peasant armed struggle as an uncommon phenomenon. This is why I have said that 1969 was a year of great victories of the revolutionary masses of India.

How was this uncommon advance possible? This advance was possible because the Indian revolutionaries received the guidance of Chairman Mao Tsetung's leadership every day through the radio broadcasts from Peking. This made it possible to arrive at a unanimity all over India regarding the general line and the main task of the Party. The experience of our struggle every day is constantly smashing the revisionist ideas in us and the unity among us is growing firmer in the light of this experience. The Party ranks are becoming self-reliant and their confidence is growing.

The ruling clique of India is caught up in a severe crisis and the revolutionary peasant armed struggle is daily accentuating the internal conflicts of the crisis-ridden ruling classes. It was in 1969 that the Congress party got split. All the governments, at the State level and at the Centre, are in the grip of instability. In Bihar the instability is such that no Cabinet whatsoever can be formed. The so-called United Front is proving incapable of standing on its own legs as the alternative to the Congress. Both in Kerala and West Bengal the conflicts among the parties of the United Front are taking the form of open clashes. The revolutionary situation in India is daily becoming more excellent. The year 1970 has arrived with the promise of the birth of a disciplined people's army and the emergence of extensive liberated areas.

Beset with crises at home and abroad imperialism and social-imperialism have come to their wit's end. To save themselves from these crises they are stepping up war preparations. Imperialism means war. The danger of a war is most acute today. This is precisely because imperialism and social-imperialism are in grave crisis. No matter

where it breaks out the war will inevitably be directed against the great socialist China, because China is, today, the pivot of all the revolutionary struggles the world over, the source of inspiration for them and their reliable base area.

Today, imperialism and social-imperialism are openly threatening to use nuclear weapons. Hence, the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons in this war is real, because this war will bring about the destruction of world imperialism. While ushering in the 1970's the great Communist Party of China has pointed out: "The emergence of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is but an episode in the course of imperialism heading for total collapse." Chairman Mao has taught us that the reactionaries will never "step down from the stage of history of their own accord." Hence, the danger of the use of nuclear weapons in the war, and the danger is very real, too.

The danger of a war has never been so real since World War II as at the present moment. This is why Chairman Mao has given the call to the world's people: "People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!" To be able to respond to this great call of Chairman Mao's we must make preparations—both theoretical and material. To be prepared theoretically means raising the level of our study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must constantly study *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* and his "three articles" and judge our own activities in the light of these teachings and try constantly to apply them correctly. To be prepared materially means, first, to carry on propaganda about the danger of a war not only among the members and sympathisers of our Party but also among the broad masses. The possibility of a nuclear war breaking out

must be clearly pointed out during this propaganda. We must however, be careful and see that our propaganda does not turn into the scaremongering of the revisionists. Our propaganda should be such as to create confidence among the masses and help them see that the horrifying picture of destruction of a nuclear war assiduously propagated for so long by imperialism and social-imperialism is false. The nuclear weapon is also a paper tiger. Nuclear weapons can do no harm to people staying in underground rooms or tunnels. There is a limit to the power of destruction of every weapon. Once we know this limit we can find ways to protect ourselves from it. The spectre of radiation effects and such other things which imperialism and social-imperialism have publicized widely is sheer nonsense concocted by them with a view to stifling the struggle of the revolutionary masses. We fear neither war nor the nuclear weapons. The confidence must be strengthened among the masses that in case the war breaks out it will bring our liberation as well as the liberation of mankind nearer. No force whatsoever can ever prevent the victory of the people and the onward march of the world.

Secondly, we must prepare the *materiel* for carrying on a revolutionary war. And what constitute our *materiel*? Are they the dynamites, explosives and fire-arms? Certainly not. Man is the main material in a revolutionary war. Once inspired with the revolutionary theory, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought, men turn into spiritual atom bombs which are more powerful than thousands of atom bombs. Ours is a country of 500 million people. Once we can rouse them with Mao Tsetung Thought so that they participate in revolutionary activity, we shall be able to put into effect all kinds of daring plans, carry the revolutionary war against the war of aggression through to victory, and even face a nuclear war.

Comrades, a great responsibility lies on our shoulders.

Let us overcome all our vacillations and recall Chairman Mao's teaching that true revolutionaries are those who voluntarily "take the heavy loads themselves." Think of the poor and landless peasants of our country and the boundless misery, endless oppression and grinding poverty which for thousands of years have oppressed and still are oppressing them cruelly. Comrades, it is you who possess Mao Tsetung Thought—the great magic weapon—with which you can end the exploitation and oppression weighing them down heavily, and bring happiness to the tens of millions of our countrymen. There is nothing more sacred and worthy than being able to lay down one's life for this great cause, and we are fortunate to have the privilege of being among the first to sacrifice everything for this great cause. This is precisely why we are Communists, why we are disciples of Chairman Mao.

The battle of annihilation started by our Party and led by the poor and landless peasants must be carried forward for the establishment of Red political power in various areas, and spread to every State and throughout India. The poor and landless peasants will become self-reliant and politically conscious, and their creative power will develop through waging the guerrilla warfare. What seems impossible today will become possible tomorrow, and a new man, who fears neither the most arduous hardship nor death nor sacrifice, will be born through this struggle. Faced with such men imperialism, social-imperialism and all their lackeys are certain to flinch and flee in dread like beaten curs. The people of the world will then chase them, frightened rats scurrying along the street, and beat them to death, the imperialist system will be buried and a new world without exploitation will arise.

The emergence of social-imperialism is but an episode in the era in which the world imperialist system is heading for total collapse. So, the various groups in India today,

that have united to oppose the battle of annihilation by using the name of Chairman Mao, are also bound to fail in their attempt. This is the law of history. World revisionism is trying to unify these groups under the banner of spurious politics. This attempt of theirs is also bound to fail. We must intensify further our struggle against these spurious theories of theirs. Only thus can we enhance the vigilance of the members and sympathisers of our Party and prevent the infiltration of the agents of imperialism and social-imperialism into the Party.

Comrades, this is not the time to scatter our forces for carrying on propaganda. Select a particular area, a particular unit and a particular squad and then proceed to carry out successfully the battle of annihilation. Then select another unit and another squad, and carry on as before. In this way concentrate your work in one third of your selected area and after our forces are consolidated in that part of the area spread the struggle to the remaining parts. This is the method pointed out by Chairman Mao, and this is the only correct method. Let us not indulge in aimless political propaganda; the political propaganda must serve the aim of carrying out successfully the battle of annihilation.

Organization means cadres. Therefore, we must exert ourselves to the utmost to raise cadres from the masses of poor and landless peasants. Learn how to apply Chairman Mao's cadre policy in every field of work. The rearing of cadres is closely related to our giving them increasingly more responsibility. Try to promote the poor and landless peasant cadres to higher committees and teach them how to carry out the responsibilities of the higher committees. The poor and landless peasant cadres will be able to organize work in a much better way.

Stop holding big conferences and meetings of cadres. Start consulting and exchanging opinions with the cadres at all levels as well as with the revolutionary

masses on all matters. Encourage criticism inside the Party. Self-reliance and confidence are no doubt very good qualities but these may also give rise to self-complacency and arrogance, the two most harmful vices for a revolutionary. These vices can be rectified only through criticism. That is why in the present period we must encourage the comrades in making criticism. We have many things to learn about criticism also. We should always encourage criticism on the basis of work.

We must lay special stress on our work among women and children. Our attitude to the children should be such as to help them realize their dignity. We must educate them in Mao Tsetung Thought. Only thus can we safeguard the future of the revolution.

Comrades, never belittle the work you are doing. Who else, if not you, made the victories achieved in 1969 possible? Who else, if not you, dealt a telling blow to bourgeois nationalism by declaring that "China's Chairman is our Chairman"?

The 1970's is here. Let us make this decade the decade of liberation of the vast exploited and oppressed masses of India. With Chairman Mao as our leader, we will surely triumph!

NOTES

• SOVIET NEW TSARS THREATEN CHINA WITH NUCLEAR ATTACK

"War is a continuation of politics by other means." The new Russian bourgeoisie, who have degenerated into social-fascists and social imperialists, are itching for a major war with Socialist China. They are in a desperate hurry. Their fond dream of dividing the world between themselves and the U.S. imperialists is being shattered. It is Socialist China and the revolutionary people of the world, who, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, defy their much-vaunted nuclear arsenal, thwart their counter-revolutionary global strategy of keeping the people of the world under their subjection and shatter this dream. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the seven hundred million people of China are already immeasurably strong—politically, economically and militarily—and are acquiring new strength every day, every hour. The revolutionary people of the world are rising arms in hand to destroy these monsters. Baffled and scared, the Soviet social-imperialists are preparing to launch a war against China and the revolutionary people of the world. Writing in the *London Times*, Neville Maxwell observed: "They [Russia's new tsars] know that China is growing stronger, and can foresee the point, not remote, when China's military and economic power will equal, then exceed, their own.....Now, the Soviet military could argue their *technical superiority* such that they have a range of options from among which one can be chosen to tame or break China: with every year that passes that range narrows. *It is the reality of the slowly shifting power balance between the U.S.S.R. and China which must add great force to arguments of the*

Kremlin's hawks for a pre-emptive blow and which makes 1970 such a dangerous year for the world as well as for China". "Some Kremlinologists (notably Mr Victor Zorza)," wrote Neville Maxwell, "are convinced that the U.S.S.R. has already taken the decision to attack China and is methodically preparing for war on both the military and political planes." Writing in the *Statesman* of January 24, '70, Victor Zorza himself observed; "Within a generation or so, a technologically mature China could dwarf the Soviet Union...They [Russia's new tsars] will want to act before it is too late." Out of this hatred for China and the anxiety to avoid war on two fronts, the new tsars of the Kremlin, casting off all sense of shame, are wooing the West German ruling classes, whom they have always dubbed as "revanchists" out to impose a major war on the world. Now they are cultivating the friendship of the same "revanchists" and their Foreign Minister Gromyko is busy negotiating a bilateral non-aggression treaty with them. To strengthen their diplomacy they have already concluded economic agreements with the West German monopolists. They have entered into similar agreements with the Japanese militarists and various other reactionary governments of the world.

Faced with the growing might of the people, these counter-revolutionary double-dealers, enemies of mankind, pin all their hopes on their so-called "technical superiority." Writing in the Red Army journal *Krasnaya Zvezda*, Marshal Krylov, Soviet Deputy Defence Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet missile forces, said that preparedness for strategic missile corps was readiness to strike a "retaliatory blow" with its entire might to attain resolute aims in armed struggle. "Such retaliatory blow may exert *decisive influence on the entire progress of war*." [our italics—Ed.] He described the present state of combat preparedness as "absolute" and added: "Only a few seconds are necessary for an order from the supreme command to

be brought to the knowledge of literally every missile crew of the missile weapon system and they will all immediately fulfil it. Uninterrupted vigil at all missile weapon system ensures constant preparedness." (*Statesman*, Feb. 5, 1970).

Like the imperialists, the revisionist traitors rely not on men but on weapons. They fondly hope that a sudden nuclear blow against China "will exert *decisive influence on the entire progress of war*." How can the revisionist renegades, who have turned into enemies of the people, have faith in the masses? Opposed to this is Chairman Mao's teaching: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." Long ago he declared that it is not the atom bomb that will conquer man; on the contrary, it is man that will conquer the atom bomb. Besieged by the people at home and abroad the Soviet social-imperialist maniacs are brandishing nuclear weapons!

"Technical superiority"—relatively greater—was enjoyed by Hitler's hordes when they invaded Stalin's Soviet Union about twenty-nine years ago. If the new tsars of the Kremlin decide to follow in the footsteps of Hitler, they will no doubt share Hitler's fate. They will be engulfed and drowned in the sea of people's war the like of which the world has never seen. Long ago Chairman Mao said:

"The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon."

SMASH THE ANTI-CHINA WAR PLOT

In this war against Socialist China and the revolutionary people of the world, which the Soviet social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists have planned, they have assigned a role to India's reactionary ruling classes. Relying on their prop in this country—the native princes, the other

feudal lords and the compradors—the British imperialists used India during their long direct rule as a base of aggression against neighbouring countries like Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, China and Afghanistan. India's huge natural resources were employed by the British imperialists to support their wars to enslave other nations: India's vast man-power was used as cannon-fodder in imperialist wars of aggression. It is common knowledge that the leaders of India's so-called freedom struggle—men like Gandhi—representing the feudal and comprador capitalist classes, served as the British imperialists' recruiting agents during imperialist wars. Since India was transformed from a colony into a semi-colony, Nehru and his men representing India's reactionary ruling classes have feverishly tried as faithful lackeys, first of the British imperialists and then of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, not only to maintain but also to strengthen India as a base of aggression against New China and the revolutionary peoples of Asia including those of India. Much hope was reposed by the imperialists on Nehru and company for carrying out counter-revolutionary plots against China, socialism and the people. In October, 1949, the *New York Times*, the organ of the U.S. imperialists, frankly wrote: "Washington's hopes for a democratic rallying-point in Asia have been pinned on India...and on the man who determines India's policy—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru."

The lackeys, chief among whom was Jawaharlal Nehru, have been serving their masters with all the zeal and energy they are capable of. Like their imperialist and social-imperialist masters, they have always been inveterate enemies of China, socialism and people. Their sole object has ever been to build an India that will best serve as imperialism's and social-imperialism's base for aggression against China and the people—economically, politically and militarily. All their economic plans were directed

towards the same end. Speaking in the Rajya Sabha on November 9, 1962, Nehru admitted: "No modern war could be fought without a proper industry and no industry could be built up without an agricultural background. Through the Five Year Plans, India had been...strengthening the country, even from the defence point of view." "India", he added, "had tried in the past years to build up a base which could, when necessity arose, be turned into a proper war machine". He made it amply clear that the target of this "base building" and "war machine" was Socialist China.

The so-called "non-alignment" policy, so much lauded by both the Dange and Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu revisionist cliques to deceive our people, was also aimed at isolating China. M. C. Chagla, India's former Foreign Minister, pointed out: "India's present policy had prevented the two Communist countries the [Soviet Union and China] coming together and bridging the gulf which exists between them...We might succeed by our non-alignment policy in bringing the West and Russia closer together and isolating China." (*Hindusthan Standard*, January 13, 1963). Dange noted with glee: "India's non-alignment policy was successful in isolating China from other Communist countries." (PTI, February 17, 1963)

Perhaps many do not know that even in the hey-day of non-alignment and *panch sheel* (five principles of peaceful co-existence) the Indian rulers were engaged in a dirty intrigue to stir up revolt of the serf-owners in Tibet. The following extracts from *Tibet in Revolt* (1960) by George Patterson, who was a correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* and stayed in Kalimpong, are quite revealing:

"With the deterioration of the Chinese in Tibet, except militarily, the Indian Government decided to try to secure some advantage from the situation..."

"In the autumn of 1954 I was asked by an Indian

Government official to advise on what might be done to redeem India's prestige in some way. The matter would have to be carefully handled, for with the international acclaim following the signing of the Sino-Indian Trade Pact and the subsequent success of the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence' at Bandung, India must not be caught out in any subversive action concerning the affairs of Tibet. I was not at all sanguine that anything can be done with the material available in Kalimpong and I said so....

"The only possibility of doing anything lay with Rapga Pangdatsang (a Khamba Chief. He was in Kham, E. Tibet and was earlier expelled from India). If the Indians would rescind their expulsion order, I said, I was certain that Rapga would leave Kham, come to India and work for Tibetan independence from China, bringing in Topgyay, his brother, and the other leaders in Amdo, with their followers.

"After consultation with New Delhi my plan was adopted. I sent a note to Rapga, in a bottle of medicine which I knew he would open and use, informing him that if he wanted to come to India now the way was open. In March 1955, Rapga arrived in India, his appearance in Kalimpong renewed speculation there, as no one knew that I sent for him...."

"When word of the new situation in Tibet reached the U.S. authorities they were immediately interested. After preliminary discussions with officials in India an official from Washington, in the guise of a tourist, was flown to India for secret personal talk with Rapga. I acted as interpreter and we met on several occasions for discussions over a period of four days."

While India's reactionary rulers proclaimed from the house-tops the ideals of non-intervention, non-interference in each other's affairs and mutual respect for each other's

(Continued on page 78)

A Few Words About Guerrilla Actions

—Charu Mazumdar

[This article is based on notes taken at a recent meeting of revolutionary peasant cadres at which Comrade Charu Mazumdar gave some practical advice regarding guerrilla actions in the countryside. The notes are approved by the author.—Ed. *Liberation*]

1. **How to form guerrilla units:** *Complete secrecy* must be observed in forming a guerrilla unit. The unit should be kept secret from those among the local people whose vigilance has not yet reached the required level, and even from those Party units which have not yet fully mastered the methods and discipline required for illegal work.

The method of forming a guerrilla unit has to be wholly conspiratorial. No inkling of such a conspiracy should be given out even in the meetings of the political units of the Party. This conspiracy should be between individuals, and on a person to person basis. The petty bourgeois intellectual comrade must take the initiative in this respect as far as possible. He should approach the poor peasant who, in his opinion, has the most revolutionary potentiality, and whisper in his ears: "Don't you think it a good thing to finish off such and such a jotedar?" This is how the guerrillas have to be selected and recruited singly and in secret, and organized into a unit.

However, before proceeding to do all this it is imperative to propagate to a fairly considerable extent the politics of seizure of political power by armed force among the masses, and in particular, among the masses of poor peasants. But it would be wrong to put too much stress on the importance of carrying on an intensive propaganda before starting the guerrilla attacks. The point that

political power has to be seized by armed force must be made very clear, that is, the peasants must be roused, and emphasis must be put on liberating their own villages.

The peasants have to seize power *locally* in their respective areas so that the peasant masses themselves, instead of the feudal exploiters, become the sole authority in settling all their local affairs. This is precisely why we must begin by *eliminating the local class enemies*. Once an area is liberated from the clutches of class enemies (some are annihilated while some others flee) the repressive state machinery is deprived of its eyes and ears making it impossible for the police to know who is a guerrilla and who is not, and who is tilling his own land and who tills that of the jotedars (this makes it possible even to carry out the work of land reform under the supervision of a revolutionary committee which is a part of the people's state power).

The guerrilla units must be small, well-knit and mobile. So, a guerrilla unit should not, in general, have more than seven members. Generally speaking, the yardstick to judge the members of a guerrilla unit is whether or not they can annihilate one or two persons by a sudden attack with the help of ordinary traditional weapons.

The following information must not be known outside the guerrilla unit. They are :

- (a) The names of the guerrillas ;
- (b) the identity of that particular class enemy for whose elimination conspiracy has been made ; and
- (c) the time and date of the guerrilla action.

2. **Leader** : It is necessary to appoint a commander after the unit is formed.

3. **Investigation** : We should rouse the hatred of the majority of the local peasant masses against the particular class enemy marked out by us. And it is for this reason that we should arrange an investigation on a small scale with a view to knowing their opinions. In other words,

The state will not interfere even in the mean time!

All this will be kept a secret from the Party unit. Over the guerrilla unit formed by a petty bourgeois intellectual comrades secretly the Party will have no influence or control except through the petty bourgeois individual!

the point is that we should not be guided by subjective thinking in determining our target ; on the contrary, we should be guided by the will of the majority of the people. Once the target is determined we must keep watch over the movements of the class enemy in a thoroughgoing manner so that we can fix the best possible time and place for the attack. This part of the investigation should be done especially by the leader of the unit himself.

4. **Shelter** : The most important job before the guerrilla action is to make arrangements for safe shelters. This job must be done with utmost care and attention. Every guerrilla must *himself* arrange for his own shelter in the house of a person he relies upon most. None else should do it for him.

It is possible for a peasant to live in hiding among the peasant masses. But this is not easy at all for a petty bourgeois intellectual comrade who is a suspect to the enemy. He faces great inconvenience in this regard. Therefore, great care should be taken in finding a shelter for him in a safe place.

The shelters should be separate and located in *different* villages far removed from the place where a guerrilla action is to take place. In the town it is possible for one to live in hiding in a house without letting even one's next-door neighbour know about it. But it is an altogether different matter in the village. Therefore, in the village the house in which a comrade has taken shelter should have around it the houses of people who have sympathy with our work.

5. **Weapons** : We should not use any kind of fire-arms at this stage. The guerrilla unit must rely wholly on choppers, spears, javelins, and sickles. The tendency to lay stress on making or purchasing locally-made guns, and on capturing guns from the class enemies may arise. We must fight this tendency and patiently explain to the comrades that even if we manage to get hold of a few guns at this stage we shall not be able to retain them and

these will, almost inevitably, fall into the hands of the police. If, however, we come to possess a few guns in spite of this, surely we are not going to destroy them or hand them over to the enemy; we must *hide* them for use *in future* and resist any attempt to make futile use of them now.

The petty bourgeois intellectual cadres and those leaders who have to travel far and wide may, however, carry small pistols with them to frighten away, disperse or kill the enemy if they find themselves suddenly surrounded by him. But we should never give unnecessary importance to it, because that might encourage us to put our reliance not on the *people*, but on *weapons*, which is dangerous.

6. Planning: The petty bourgeois intellectual comrade must then sit together with the guerrilla unit and, basing himself on the findings of the investigation, proceed to work out a plan of the whole thing, including the paths of retreat, and when and where they are to meet next. This plan must be made carefully and in great details.

7. Attack: The guerrillas should come from different directions pretending, as far as possible, to be innocent persons and gather at a previously appointed place, wait for the enemy and when the opportune moment comes, spring at the enemy and kill him.

We must never be impatient or hasty, especially so in case of the first attack which has the greatest importance. We should rather be prepared to make several attempts than make a hasty attack and fail. It may be difficult in the first few actions to raid the house of the class enemy and confiscate his movable property; so, it would be better to lay more stress only on killing him. Later, when the masses are roused and take part in various kinds of work, and the attacks become regular, easier and more powerful, the enemy can be killed even in his stronghold and his property confiscated. The conditions will gradually become so favourable that after carrying out a guerrilla action,

the guerrillas themselves will be able to address the masses, explain before them the importance of such actions and, with arms in their hands, even inspire the masses by making fiery speeches.

Before the first attack is carried out successfully we must remove the rich peasant cadre, if there be any, from the guerrilla unit even if he is willing to stay on. The middle peasant cadre and the petty bourgeois intellectual comrades should also be removed, if possible. When guerrilla actions become more frequent we have to gradually bring in these willing fighters. In fact, a time will come when the battlecry will be: "He who has not dipped his hand in the blood of class enemies can hardly be called a communist."

8. Dispersal: After an attack is made the guerrillas must be ordered to disperse and go to their respective shelters. Everything that may serve as a clue must be destroyed.

The guerrilla unit must be visited frequently, regularly and in secret in order to keep up the morale of the fighters. The fear that invariably grows in their minds after the first action has to be dispelled with the help of politics and inspiring stories.

9. Political Work: Even though completely calm outwardly, the atmosphere will be charged with the expectancy of some impending event. Though the people will inevitably be elated they will still remain hesitant and neutral. At this time the political cadre and the guerrilla units will have to work their way forward secretly and with great caution. Through verbal propaganda and by explaining the programme of guerrilla actions they will have to gradually remove the indifferent attitude of the masses, win them over firmly to our side and enlist their sympathy and active support for us.

The political cadre will rather pose to be a neutral person, and start a whisper campaign like this: "So, that

Pol. work comes after!

It seems, all the while police remains inactive! CP lives in a world of imagination which has no touch of reality.

EM's
politics
ends up
in ego
nonsense!

devil of a man has got killed after all, a good riddance, eh? Can't find enough words to praise those who have done it. They have done a heroic thing, haven't they? Wish they would carry on with this business until the whole pack of those blood-suckers is finished off. Oh, how fine will be everything then! Just think, when they are gone all this area will belong to us, all this land, all this crops, all the riches will be ours! Because, once these scoundrels are gone how can the police know who is tilling whose land?" The moment the masses begin to respond to such propaganda the political cadre must gradually become much bolder and hold small group meetings.

Then the petty bourgeois intellectual comrade, who had so long been hiding and watching the developments, should come out boldly with his group of courageous fighters and hold meetings to rouse the masses. This stage is a very important one. For, in spite of all his efforts till then to drive off fear from the minds of the guerrillas it had not been possible for him to succeed wholly in his efforts. But, when the heroic fighters begin to *stay among the masses* where their class brothers praise them, cooperate with them and love them and pat them on their shoulders in warm appreciation of their work, they are fired with a new wave of enthusiasm and their hatred against the enemy increases manifold. It is then that they work out new plans of action, find out new targets and form new units. Then each of them becomes tempered like steel and is able to kill ten enemies single-handed.

10. Re-mobilization: At this stage the morale of the guerrillas is higher than ever and they become eager for new actions. The masses also begin to awaken, and rally around their heroic group of fighters and extend their hands of cooperation to them. They also want new guerrilla actions, and eagerly point out their enemies, give advice about new targets of attack, come forward to keep watch over the movements of the enemy and provide important

information to the guerrilla unit. Naturally, all subsequent activities can be carried on with a higher morale, in a more favourable condition and will enjoy a more powerful mass support. Even then we must never violate the rules of secret work.

The guerrilla group then meets and, guided by the advice of the masses and relying on the information provided by them, works out plans for further annihilation of class enemies.

Further guerrilla actions take place and the steady expansion of such actions gives rise to new guerrilla units and the targets of attack spread steadily to ever newer areas—such is the process which goes on repeating itself. The masses become more active and their participation increases with every new guerrilla action and a reign of terror is imposed firmly on the local class enemies.

After some offensive actions take place and the revolutionary political line of annihilating the class enemy is firmly established, the political units, through their practice and work, raise, through a whispering campaign, the broad economic slogan: "Seize the crops of the class enemy." This works like a magic in the villages and even the most backward peasant comes forward and joins the battle. Thus, the fight for the seizure of political power initiated by a few advanced sections is nourished by the tremendous initiative of the masses and mass actions, and the flames of people's war engulf the whole of the countryside.

Possibility of World War and The Task Before The Indian Revolution

—S. N.

SOON after the October Revolution, the Great Lenin predicted that imperialism was doomed if the proletariat became victorious in Russia, China and India. This prediction of Lenin's, like his other predictions, was not a result of speculative thinking but was based upon scientific analysis of the correlation of forces obtaining in his epoch. Lenin took into account the vastness of the area and the population of these countries besides their contiguity. He had in mind the tremendous impact that these countries together would generate under the leadership of the proletariat throughout the world. He knew that with the victory of the proletariat, these three countries would act as a reliable bastion for world revolutionary forces struggling against imperialism and reaction and would ultimately destroy imperialism and reaction all over the world.

The October Revolution which established the dictatorship of the proletariat in one sixth of the world opened the eyes of the oppressed people and nations the world over. As Chairman Mao said, "the salvoes of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China." The Chinese Communist Party under the infallible leadership of Chairman Mao led the most long-drawn people's war in history and ultimately the proletariat established its dictatorship in China.

In 1949, it seemed to most of us that Lenin's prediction would be fulfilled sooner than we had imagined. For the proletariat India alone remained to be conquered and

imperialism was going to be thoroughly smashed by a by a mighty anti-imperialist upsurge of the world's people. However, history does not move in a straight line.

The imperialists too drew their conclusions from the October Revolution. They made strenuous efforts to "kill Bolshevism in the cradle" itself by war of intervention. They did everything with the support of the Russian reaction to destroy proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. However, the victorious proletariat under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin smashed the imperialist intervention and strengthened and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and built a socialist society in the Soviet Union. Although imperialism and reaction were defeated, their desire and attempts at capitalist restoration did not cease. When their direct assaults failed, they acted through the revisionists and reformists who had been hiding in the leading positions in the Party—the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites and Bukharinites. But Stalin, on whom the mantle of defending and developing Marxism-Leninism had fallen, tirelessly fought and smashed all the attempts at undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. Imperialism, however, did not abandon their game. They armed Hitlerite Germany to the teeth and instigated her for a tremendous attack on the Soviet Union, hoping that the first socialist state would be smashed and subsequently flames of revolutionary struggle would be stamped out all the world over. However, things turned out bad for world imperialism and the Soviet Union emerged victorious. The smashing defeat of the German fascists at the hands of the Soviet people under the leadership of Stalin and the rout of Japanese fascist aggressors by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao tremendously weakened world imperialism and shifted the balance of power in favour of socialism and world revolutionary forces.

However, the famous Fulton speech of Winston

Churchill again reminded the oppressed people and nations of the world that imperialism would not give up its nature and would persist in its efforts to deprive the people of the gains of the October Revolution and the Chinese revolution. After the death of Stalin, the revisionists, the hidden agents of imperialism and reaction, succeeded in usurping the Party and state leadership of the Soviet Union. Since then, they have converted the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the socialist system into a capitalist system. They are oppressing the people at home and carrying unbridled exploitation abroad. They have become the chief accomplice of U.S. imperialism and are colluding with it for a redivision of the world. They are social-imperialists,—socialists in words and imperialists in deeds.

Thanks to the treachery of the Khrushchov revisionist clique, imperialism has got peacefully what it sought to get through war—the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The proletariat has been deprived of the gains of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, though temporarily.

Imperialism had already succeeded through its agents in the leadership of the Communist Party of India in derailing the entire communist movement from the path of revolution. Thanks to the treacherous role of the leadership, the CPI was turned from a revolutionary party into a parliamentary party, from a party of proletarian internationalism into a national chauvinist party and from a weapon of class struggle into a weapon of class-collaboration.

It is again only in China that imperialism met its Waterloo. Through the historic and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao smashed revisionism and their efforts at capitalist restoration, strengthened and consolidated the dictatorship of

proletariat and the socialist system. The triumph of Mao Tsetung Thought in China has not only smashed the plot of imperialism and modern revisionism but transformed China into the reliable bastion of the world people fighting against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

With the triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the imperialists and modern revisionists have found their path blocked. Socialist China has given them a setback from which it will be impossible for them to recover. They are just licking their wounds.

The triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has dealt a mortal blow to modern revisionism. It has taken Marxism-Leninism to a new height, to a new stage, i.e., to Mao Tsetung thought. Marxist-Leninist parties who take Mao Tsetung Thought as their theoretical guide are being formed in every part of the globe including the countries where the modern revisionists have usurped the state power. A line of demarcation has been drawn between the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. Modern revisionism which robbed Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul after the death of Stalin and was using the name and prestige of the Party of Lenin has now come to be disgraced and discredited all over the world. The dark clouds of revisionism are being dispelled by the bright rays of Mao Tsetung Thought. Revisionism—the ideological shield of imperialism—is nearing its doom.

The people of the countries where power has been usurped by the revisionists are fast awakening. They will certainly overthrow the revisionist oppressors and restore proletarian dictatorship and march forward to socialism. As Chairman Mao said: **“The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the**

conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long." Thus revisionist regimes in the Soviet Union and other countries where the proletariat had wielded power are only temporary phenomena. The masses have begun to move.

It is this that fills the minds of the imperialists and modern revisionists with despair. They regained the lost paradise and they are again going to lose it. This despair is making them hysterical and each day they are frantically and feverishly stepping up their preparations for a war of aggression against Socialist China. Socialist China must be destroyed if the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have to be kept within the capitalist orbit—and it must be destroyed before the people of the world arise to destroy imperialism. Thus the danger of an imperialist war of aggression is becoming real and we can ignore it only at our peril.

Then, again, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been delivering devastating blows at imperialism and modern revisionism. In 30 countries people have embarked on the path of armed struggle. The Vietnamese people are proving in the battlefield that freedom can be attained only by fighting and destroying imperialism and not by reasoning with them. With the emergence and rapid development of armed struggle in 30 countries, imperialism and social-imperialism are being besieged ring upon ring by the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. The oppressed people are each day gaining new confidence and advancing rapidly along the path of people's war. The colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies which used to be the reserve of imperialism are rising like giants breaking all the fetters that hitherto bound them.

The perspective of losing the colonies and semi-colonies on which imperialism and social-imperialism survive

has driven them into a tight corner and that is why they are feverishly planning and plotting for an immediate war of aggression against Socialist China. China is shining like a beaconlight inspiring confidence and courage among the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and hence the imperialists and modern revisionists would like to destroy it before they are destroyed by the people.

Then, again, in the "heartlands" of capitalism, in Japan, Western Europe and North America, the people are rising in an unprecedented revolt. The sweep and tempo of the struggles of the Afro-American people, the rising crescendo of working class strikes, the revolutionary solidarity of the workers and students, the militant opposition of the people to the war in Viet Nam—all these are shaking the foundations of the capitalist society. The imperialists feel they must involve their people in a war or else nothing will be left of them.

And, again, we find the strongest bulwarks of reaction—the U. S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists—enmeshed in insoluble contradictions. As Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out in his report to the Ninth Congress, "they collude and at the same time contend with each other in a vain attempt to redivide the world. They act in coordination and work hand in glove in opposing China, opposing communism, opposing the people, in suppressing the national liberation movement and in launching wars of aggression. They scheme against each other and get locked in strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, important strategic points and spheres of influence. They are both stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, each trying to realise its own ambitions."

Thus, imperialism and social-imperialism in their attempts to redivide the world are desperately preparing for launching a war of aggression. Imperialism ceases to be imperialism if it does not make war. Imperialism means war.

To sum up, the development of Marxism-Leninism to completely higher stage, i.e., to Mao Tsetung Thought, the victorious triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the unprecedented upsurge of national liberation struggles, the gigantic strides of people's struggles in the capitalist countries and the development of acute contradictions among the imperialist and the social-imperialists, chiefly between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have given rise to a mortal fear among the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries. The spectre of World Revolution is haunting them and to lay this spectre they are making feverish war preparations.

India and the global aims of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism

The global aims of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are to destroy China, suppress national liberation wars and people's struggles and redivide the world for domination and plunder. In pursuance of their anti-China, anti-communist anti-people global aims, they have devised the global strategy of encircling China and provoking border-wars from all sides. On the one hand, they proclaim their desire for a "settlement of all disputes through peaceful negotiations"; on the other, they nakedly march their troops across the borders of other countries to subjugate them. The Vietnamese war, invasion of Czechoslovakia and launching of a border-war against China are the clearest manifestations of this strategy of the imperialists and the social-imperialists. Besides, in their drive towards war, they are conducting a most ruthless exploitation of the resources of various neo-colonies in their respective spheres of influence. They are tightening their grip on the economies and administrations of their puppet regimes. And in order to cover up these nefarious aims, they spin out ignoble theories of "limited sovereignty", "collective security pacts" and "regional alliances and mutual aid."

India with its vast manpower and immense resources occupies a very important position in their anti-China strategy. India must be kept hostile to Socialist China, Asians must be made to fight Asians. Having lost China, for ever, the imperialist world sees that India does not go the Chinese way. They must see to it that the Indian people are filled with distrust and hatred of China, socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat. With most of the countries of Southeast Asia engaged in people's war against imperialism and their lackeys, the imperialists and the social-imperialists know that if they lost India too, they would be doomed. Hence their efforts to turn India into a consolidated base area for conducting imperialist war of aggression against China. That is the reason why the stooge Government of India was asked to attack China in 1962. This attack was a part of the imperialists' overall strategy of completing the encirclement of China impregnating the Indian masses with national chauvinism, bringing the entire economy and administration of India under their absolute control and turning the whole country into a consolidated base area for imperialist war of aggression. Thanks to the dirty role played by the Dange renegade clique, they succeeded, though very temporarily, in duping the Indian people with anti-China national chauvinism. They succeeded in temporarily tearing our people away from the national liberation current of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The neo-revisionists, too, by their anti-China, anti-people and "national" approach immensely helped their process. India seemed won over completely by imperialism, revisionism and reaction ideologically, politically and materially. However, the very nature of our epoch makes things worse for the enemies of the people. It is an epoch in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. So the deceptions practised by imperialism and revisionism cannot prove effective for long.

The Naxalbari struggle and the rapid advance of armed guerrilla struggle in India

The armed struggle in Naxalbari led by the Communist Revolutionaries guided by the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought was a great turning point in the struggle of India's 500 millions against imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism. Not only that it was the first concrete application of Mao Tsetung Thought in Indian conditions, not only that it inaugurated a complete break with revisionism, parliamentarism and legalism, not only that it heralded in India an era of people's war, but also that it delivered telling blows to national chauvinism—the ideology of reactionaries and revisionists in India.

Thus, for the first time in the history of our struggle against imperialist and feudal bondage appeared a force that combined revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, that showed to the Indian people the real road to emancipation, that proved that genuine patriotism and internationalism were not contradictory, and that proved that the great Socialist China was the most trustworthy leader of the international proletariat. The Naxalbari struggle was the first offensive of the Indian people against imperialist plots and intrigues against socialism and national liberation struggle, against anti-China conspiracies. It was the first great attempt to link the struggle of the Indian people with the national liberation struggles raging in the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The very fact that the Naxalbari struggle had to bear the brunt of most savage and barbaric repression at the hands of the reactionary Indian state and their revisionist lackeys, proves that their fond hopes of destroying revolutions and China are coming to dust.

With the firmation of CPI (M-L) asked guerrilla struggles have been emerging and developing in almost all

corners of India. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, following the Chinese path, proletarian revolutionaries are creating Naxalbaris everywhere. Within 2½ years, within such a short time and despite mighty obstacles put in our way by reactionaries and revisionists, armed struggle has spread to nine States and in Srikakulam it has reached a new stage with more than 300 villages coming under Red political power. Mushahari, Midnapur, Lakhimpur-Kheri—all these are developing with a rapidity which has no precedence in the history of India. The revolutionary peasants under the leadership of the proletariat are developing small bases of armed struggle and the imperialist dream of transforming India into a consolidated base for war of aggression is fast crumbling. The slogan, "China's Chairman is our Chairman, China's path is our path", echoes throughout the vast expanse of our motherland.

The anti-China and national chauvinist bad wind is on steep decline. And, we have come to a stage when it can be said with certainty that Lenin's prediction would be fulfilled as far as India is concerned.

All this inevitably exercises a powerful influence on the entire people of India. The working class is resorting to strikes of a pretty long duration. The middle class and the students are restless and are fighting against the tyrannies of the reactionary state. As a result, the crisis of India's ruling classes is being intensified. The major party of India's ruling classes has split. Revisionists are in doldrums and the parliamentary illusions are fast disappearing. India is well set on the road of revolution.

Material Preparations for a War of Aggression

It is under these conditions of intensification of the crisis and advance of armed guerrilla struggle in 9 States of India that imperialism, social-imperialism and Indian reactionaries are preparing for a war against China. The

imperialists and social-imperialists have already under their control vital sectors of Indian economy. U.S. imperialism has brought under its control the communications, transport and electric power and is penetrating into fertilizer and chemical industries. Through PL 480, they already control over 50% of Indian currency. Through World Bank loans and 'aids' they have brought many industries under their tutelage. In TISCO, for each rupee invested by the Tatas, American investment comes to one rupee forty paise. In TELCO, the ratio of foreign component to Tata's investment comes to Rs. 1.60 to Re. 1.00. India has already a debt-burden (foreign loan) of several thousand million rupees. The Soviet social-imperialists control one fourth of the iron and steel industry, half of the oil refinery industry and one fifth of the power industry. They now control 75% of India's export of woollen fabrics, 57% of leather, 75% of raw hides, 57% of wool, 95% of jute, 35% of tobacco, 53% of waste cotton, 37% of spices, 47% of vegetable oil, 73% of oil cakes and 58% of coffee. Soviet 'aid' to India has totalled 1350 million U.S. dollars topping the list of their "aid" abroad.

The control by U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism of such vital sectors as iron, steel, power, transport, oil, chemicals and important raw materials, besides ruining the Indian people, is at the same time a material preparation for war. TELCO and Hatia are already producing "defence requirements". Secret aerodromes are already being built in various parts of our country. Soviet arms "aid" is being profusely thrust on India. The bogey of "threat from the North" and Pakistan is being raised to justify these war preparations. India is the classic example of how U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism are colluding and contending with each other at the same time, while marching to the precipice of a war.

Ideological Preparations for a War of Aggression

The imperialists, Indian reactionaries and their revisionist agents are trying to malign Socialist China as

"expansionist" and "war-monger". Socialist China's refusal to bow before imperialists and social-imperialists, her refusal to restore capitalism in her country and her refusal to turn her back on national liberation struggles is sought to be painted as great power chauvinism. Feeling of revenge is sought to be created in the hearts of the Indian people. Everyday through radio, magazines, cultural shows and films the Indian people are told to hate China and avenge the "humiliation of 1962". Revisionists and neo-revisionists are assigned the role of painting China black and confusing the Indian people. The Indian experiment in parliamentary democracy and the so-called "democratic path", the foreign policy of "neutrality and non-alignment" etc. are lauded to the skies by the revisionist and neo-revisionist chieftains of reaction with a view to deceiving the masses.

Our National and International Tasks Have Merged Into One

By doing all these the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries went to achieve two aims, firstly to isolate and destroy Indian revolution and secondly to isolate and destroy Socialist China.

It is this that combines our national revolutionary tasks with our proletarian internationalist tasks. Chairman Mao has sharply pointed out: "With regard to the question of world war there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."

It means for us in India that we must mobilise all our efforts to unleash revolutionary people's war throughout India and we must create hundreds of Naxalbaris throughout the length and breadth of the country. This would not only help in beseiging the enemy at home from all sides but would also frustrate the imperialist plot to use India as a base for aggressive war. Unleashing guerrilla struggle and carrying on annihilation of the

class-enemies extensively throughout the country, developing guerrilla zones and building revolutionary base areas alone would enable us to smash imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys in India. By smashing feudal authority and by building up people's organ of power, by building a people's liberation army our Party can confront a war of aggression with a revolutionary war. Innumerable small bases of armed struggle would divide the forces of the enemy and ultimately strangle him to death. Innumerable small bases of armed struggle would radicalise the 500 million people of India and would act as an antidote to the national chauvinist poison.

Then also must we conduct a tireless ideological political campaign to educate the Indian people in proletarian internationalism. We must expose the designs of imperialism and India's ruling classes against revolution, against the people and against China. We must educate the people with the lessons of India's attack on China in 1962. We must expose the dirty role of revisionists and neo revisionists in India who support imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism using the name and banner of Marxism-Leninism. They act as the spearhead of national chauvinist forces trying to deceive and confuse the masses. Their mask must be torn off.

And, above all, the "socialistic" pretensions of Soviet "aid" to India must be exposed thoroughly. We must show to our people how the Soviets are engaged in plundering our resources and robbing the fruits of our labour. Indian revolutionaries by tireless work created a mighty fund of goodwill for the Soviet Union as it was a proletarian state. Now, the task is to drive home to our people the true features of Soviet social-imperialism.

We must show to our people the living, organic connection between the destiny of world forces fighting against imperialism and Indian revolution. We must

show how the future of the triumph of socialism is bound up with the future of Socialist China. We must show to our people how a victorious revolution in India will, together with Socialist China, usher in a new era for the whole of mankind.

Let us remember that, October Revolution heralded a new epoch and the Great Chinese Revolution inaugurated another new epoch. It is most certain that a victorious revolution in India would take entire mankind to a still higher and newer epoch.

Perspective

Even if imperialism succeeded in launching a war of aggression, what would happen? As India's ruling classes would naturally become the aggressors against China, the Indian communists would experience some difficulties. However, these difficulties cannot be compared with the difficulties that were faced by the revolutionaries in Japan, Germany and Italy during the last world war. This would not be so, as the agrarian revolution has already started in India, the armed struggle against the reactionary state is already a reality in nine States and Mao Tsetung Thought is gripping the minds of growing numbers of workers, peasants and youth each day. It would not be as difficult as it was in 1939-45 for the revolutionaries in fascist countries.

And what would ultimately happen if a war of aggression is launched by imperialism and social-imperialism against China?

The Great Stalin had predicted thus with regard to the question of the Second World War: "The world imperialist war (1914-17) was the first attempt to redivide the already divided world. That attempt cost capitalism the victory of the Revolution in Russia and the undermining of the foundations of imperialism in the colonies and dependencies".

"It goes without saying that the first attempt at redivision is bound to be followed by a second attempt. Preparations for which are already under way in the imperialist camp.

"It is scarcely to be doubted that a second attempt at redivision will cost world capitalism much dearer than the first." (Report to the Seventh Plenum of ECCI, December 7, 1926)

Stalin had thus predicted the result of the Second World War well a decade before the war started. And we now know how correct he was.

Hence, the Third World War for which imperialism and social-imperialism are feverishly making preparations would cost them much dearer this time.

Comrade Lin Piao has very sharply drawn our attention saying, "Whether the war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents the war, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not last long."

With this confidence, let us redouble our vigilance, let us make ideological and material preparations to confront a war of aggression with a revolutionary people's war. Let every inch of the Indian soil turn into a graveyard for imperialism, social-imperialism and reactionaries.

To Win Victory In The Revolution We Must Establish The Revolutionary Authority

—Observer

OUR great Indian revolution is advancing irresistibly. The flames of armed peasant revolution are already raging in nine States of our great motherland. The basis of our Party has been established in all the States and the Red political power has appeared on the soil of our country, the red banner of which is flying high in Srikakulam.

In its irresistible onward march the great Indian revolution has not only provided us with extremely valuable experience and lessons, it has at the same time produced great heroes of the new era, the successors of the glorious tradition of the long anti-imperialist struggle of our great country, and genuine communists imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought and reared by the teachings of our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, heroes who have laid down their lives in the struggle against revisionism, and native and foreign reactionaries.

The onward march of the great Indian revolution is making the prospect of our victory brighter with every passing day but we are, at the same time, called upon to pay an increasingly heavy price for this, and we have to pay this price. Chairman Mao has taught us that we must give something in return for what we get. The happiness of millions of people can be won only by sacrificing the lives of a few. This is precisely the law of dialectical development of history. As we think of these great martyrs we are "moved to song and tears." While we cannot but mourn the death of our class brothers it fills our hearts with pride

at the same time and we feel like raising our clenched fists and declaring that our comrades have been able to take their place among the fighting communist heroes of the rest of the world, and that our revolution has produced Chairman Mao's good soldiers. The shedding of blood by our martyrs further intensifies our class hatred and spontaneously we take the vow: "We will avenge your murder by stepping up daily the battle of annihilation of the feudal class enemies in every corner of the vast countryside of India."

The 1970's has arrived with great promise. The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has declared: "The 1970's will be years in which the storms of the people's revolution will rise still more vigorously throughout the world, years in which the collapse of imperialism will be hastened in the midst of countless contradictions."

The tremendous momentum that the Indian revolution is to gather during this decade is likely to surpass even our boldest imagination. But we shall also be confronted during this period with new problems and new contradictions without resolving which it will not be possible for the revolution to forge ahead.

In the beginning of 1970 Chairman Mao issued the call: "be prepared against war." Comrade Charu Mazumdar has called on us not to make the folly of treating this call of Chairman Mao's lightly.

Faced as they are with their total collapse, imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries will make a last desperate strike before meeting their doom. This is so because the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader has dashed all the hopes of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries to stage a come back in China by victoriously carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and by

consolidating the gains of that revolution through the historic Ninth National Congress.

Our revolution will also have to go through severe trials. The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has given the directive: "heighten our vigilance", "the principles of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle" set forth by Chairman Mao should be put into practice in every province, every county, every basic unit and every undertaking" and "the people of the world must heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundredfold!... We must be fully prepared both ideologically and materially. **The centralized leadership of the Party must be strengthened.**" (Our emphasis)

To be able to carry out this instruction we must be prepared for more arduous struggle and more bitter sacrifice, and must go forward by laying down many more revolutionary lives. There is no easy way to achieve our goal, no shortcut to avoid these hardships. We must know the enemy better and more concretely and heighten our revolutionary vigilance every moment against the possibility of all the attacks of the enemy both open and secret. And the sole condition for being able to do this is to establish firmly the revolutionary authority at every level of the Party and at every stage of the revolutionary struggle.

New Tactic of Revisionism

Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "Today, after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, revisionism which has turned into social-imperialism, has become the enemy of every revolution. That is why no revolution in any country can win victory without fighting revisionism." The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has pointed out: "The Soviet revisionist renegade clique—the centre of modern revisionism—is heading for total bankruptcy at an accelerated tempo. Khrushchov the clown, who swaggered like a conquering hero not long ago, is now

a heap of dirt beneath the contempt of mankind." The real face of modern revisionism is increasingly getting exposed in various countries of the world with the passage of time. That is why modern revisionism has begun to adopt new and more subtle tricks both internationally and nationally to meet the requirements of imperialism. Today, modern revisionism in its new form appears on the stage with the name of Chairman Mao on its lips and dons the deceptive cloak of allegiance to the Communist Party of China.

The excellent situation of world revolution and the tremendous advance of the great Indian revolution have frightened and struck panic in the hearts of the imperialists and their domestic lackeys. Realizing that they cannot prevent the revolution from advancing by "encirclement and suppression" alone, they have ordered their loyal lackey—revisionism—to create confusion inside the revolutionary Party and among the revolutionary masses and to try to divert their attention from the main task.

Acting under orders from their masters individuals like Asit Sen, Parimal Dasgupta, T. Nagi Reddy, Kunnikal Narayanan and Utpal Dutta, and groups like "Dakshin Desh" have started their foul business in our country, while in the international field it is being done by the new-type revisionists donning the cloak of revolutionaries.

In some cases their actions are quite apparent and clear and they attack us openly but in many other cases they do it quite subtly sometimes using the name of our Party and even by pretending to support our Party line.

In their periodicals they attack us and the theme is invariably this: The CPI(M-L) is not following Chairman Mao. Their main target of attack is Comrade Charu Mazumdar, who, according to them, is acting in a way which runs counter to Mao Tsetung Thought. They draw analogy by quoting passages from the works of Chairman

Mao arbitrarily and demand that things should happen in India exactly in the same way as they did in China. They want to find similarities between the China of 1927 and the India of 1969. But this is never possible, neither now nor later.

This is how they attack our Party from outside. A simultaneous attack is also being launched within the Party in a more subtle way. It consists in creating mutual distrust among the Party comrades, and weakening the authority of the Party, that is, the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar by such talks as: 'Comrade Charu Mazumdar is all right and, of course, we follow him. But, as for the others, we simply do not recognize them, not to speak of following them.' And of course, there is no dearth of arbitrary quotations in this case also. Just at a time when the battlecry of revolution is: "Have faith in the masses and have faith in the Party", they are raising the cry of "doubt everything". Their subtlety is turning increasingly into vile devilry aimed at confusing the simple-minded comrades and leading them astray. Basing on the theory that the "development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement"—the main thing in materialist philosophy—Chairman Mao has said: "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well-founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness."

Completely distorting this vitally important instruction of Chairman Mao's they are introducing into the Party the slogan: "doubt everything". This is a fascist slogan. It was Hitler who preached "trust none but yourself." At a time when in our struggle against the ferocious enemy we need most of all a fraternal unity in the Party based on iron discipline, this slogan renders the Party passive and disarms it in face of the enemy, exposes the Party organi-

zation before the enemy and nullifies this teaching of Chairman Mao's: "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. ...Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."

All of them have the same objective. Summing up the experience of the practice of the Indian revolution Comrade Charu Mazumdar taught us in April, 1969, the method to expand the guerrilla warfare in the Indian conditions. He pointed out that this method consists in forming guerrilla squads under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants and annihilating the class enemy (the feudal class and its agents). The tremendous significance of this teaching of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's has already been demonstrated in Srikakulam and by the rapid expansion of guerrilla war in eight States of India. It is the great credit of Comrade Charu Mazumdar that he has successfully applied Vice-Chairman Lin's famous theory of guerrilla war in the Indian conditions. This is a matter of great pride for us and has been upheld time and again by the international communist leadership—the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. This is the way to overthrow feudalism in India and march forward to seize political power by armed force, the way to lay the foundation for the successful completion of the democratic revolution, and to ensure the destruction of imperialism, social-imperialism, bureaucrat capital and feudalism. This is precisely why the revisionists have taken it up as their most sacred task to concentrate their attack against this revolutionary line. Their battlecry is what their masters have laid down for them: "Spare no efforts to stop this battle of annihilation."

They cannot afford to do it openly or they would be exposed. So they are resorting to all sorts of subterfuges

which are well-planned and have connections with one another.

Khrushchov the clown taught them that destruction of the faith of the revolutionaries should be the first step towards laying the foundation for revisionism, and that the way to do this was to attack the revolutionary authority. This is precisely what that clown did in his own country by launching a poisonous attack against the great Stalin.

These new-type revisionists have, from the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle, consistently obstructed the establishment of revolutionary authority, frantically opposed the creation of one centre, and vainly tried to turn the Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries into a meeting-place of various open and clandestine factions. Whenever there was any suggestion for building the Party these people loudly opposed it under all sorts of pretexts: "It is not yet time for building the Party"; "the Party will grow of itself from below"; "who do you think can lead it if we set to building the Party now?", and so on. But all the same, in face of their joint and active opposition, "the Marxist-Leninist Party was born out of the struggle" because of historical necessity. And as soon as the Party won recognition from the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China these people quickly changed their tactics, and started fresh attacks against the Party leadership and are creating confusion in the Party by using the name of the Party. Their sole purpose in doing all this is to "prevent the battle of annihilation and thus to obstruct the onward march of the agrarian revolution."

Quite recently a pocket-size pamphlet allegedly "published by a local unit of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)" is being circulated in the Party in Calcutta. It is needless to mention that no local unit of our Party has anything to do with this pamphlet. Along with profuse references to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin,

it carries quotations from Chairman Mao also. Wherein lies its devilish trickery? All the dirty tactics that the revisionists are capable of employing have been used in it and it provides a measure of the extent to which they can degenerate. Let us consider a few of their tricks.

(1) There are in it any number of quotations from the writings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar but his name has not been mentioned anywhere. This means only one thing—defy the revolutionary authority. (2) On page 12 it says: "after this comes the annihilation of the class enemy through guerrilla action", but immediately after this, on page 13, it hastens to add "the guerrilla unit is equipped with the modern weapons captured from the class enemy." This is nothing but to deliberately create confusion about who are our class enemies, and thus basically, to put obstacles in the way of the battle of annihilation. (3) On page 21 it quotes Lenin to the effect that whoever rejects the slogan of revolution and democratic dictatorship, of a revolutionary army and of a revolutionary government and **revolutionary peasant association** is pitifully incapable of understanding the revolutionary work. On page 28 there is a quotation from Chairman Mao that every communist must be a friend of the masses in a mass movement, and so on. This is nothing but an attempt to attract people towards open mass organizations and mass movements.

This new-type revisionism has become active in the international field also. Its cry is: follow Chairman Mao but reject Lin Piao; it is all right to accept the Chinese revolution, but only upto that and no farther, and refuse to treat the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (which is the third great revolution of world-wide importance) as anything more than a mere internal affair of China.

Why are the new-type revisionists resorting to this tactic? The reason for this is Comrade Lin Piao's famous thesis that Chairman Mao Tsetung's theory of people's war and the establishment of rural revolutionary base

areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside constitutes today, the only tactic of armed struggle for all the countries of the world, that is, for the capitalist countries, for the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries and for the colonial countries alike. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has firmly established this thesis of Comrade Lin Piao's, radically changed all the old concepts about the revolutionary party and world revolution which were current before the Cultural Revolution, and established new Marxist-Leninist concepts which are the contributions of Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the international field also, these new-type revisionists are trying very subtly and cautiously to build up an alternative to the great Communist Party of China and the great leader of the world's people—Chairman Mao Tsetung. As opposed to Chairman Mao's call "**preparations should be made right now!**" against the "**war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism**", the new-type revisionists are advancing their alternative slogan: "China is so powerful that imperialism will not dare attack her. So, there is not going to be any more war." With such diversionary slogans they are trying to weaken the firm unity and vigilance of the international revolutionary camp and provide some breathing space for dying imperialism and social-imperialism.

Establishment of Revolutionary Authority Is the Only Condition for the Struggle Against Revisionism

There can be no revolution without a revolutionary authority. The history of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China shows us how the Chinese revolution began to win success to the extent Chairman Mao's revolutionary authority was established and, how after his authority was fully established at the Tsunyi conference in 1935, the Chinese revolution surged forward irresistibly, overcoming both the Right and the ultra-Left deviations.

In our country the establishment of the revolutionary authority proceeded in a rather unique manner which has probably not been seen anywhere else in the world.

Unlike the Party of Lenin and Stalin which enjoyed the advantage of the direct leadership of the great Lenin, and the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China which enjoyed the advantage of Chairman Mao's direct leadership, we, in India, lacked any Marxist-Leninist leader of such outstanding personality. As a result, though a struggle between the two lines has been

going on in the Party for long forty-six years we were not able to turn the old Party itself into a revolutionary Party by driving out the traitorous spies and agents from it. So, we had to lay the foundation of a new and genuine Communist Party by first basing ourselves on the experience gained from applying Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India, and then advance by establishing step by step the revolutionary authority.

From the initiation of the Naxalbari struggle to the building of the Party, strengthening of the Party by fighting against the hidden enemies in it and the leadership given by the Party over the armed struggle all over India—each of these events bears the indelible imprint of the able, correct and successful leadership given by our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, leadership which has grown still richer and firmer through the summing up of the experience of the Indian revolution.

Our task today is to establish firmly the authority of the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar at all levels of the Party and revolution. We shall be able to strengthen the authority of the Party and turn the Party and the revolutionary forces into an iron bastion in face of all the attacks of revisionism and the reactionaries to the extent we succeed in establishing this authority.

This, by no means, is an easy task. If every one of us

reviews his work in the light of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's article "March Forward By Summing Up the Experience of the Peasant Revolutionary Struggle of India" we shall find how at different times and in different ways we violated, knowingly or unknowingly, the instructions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and invariably got stuck, and the revolutionary struggle suffered as a result of this. Even today, when the Party leadership and the rank and file are unanimous about guerrilla struggle, we still suffer from confusion and vacillation regarding the relation between mass struggle and guerrilla struggle and their respective importance, are still yielding to the tendency towards economism in approaching every class and section of the people in spite of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's repeated instructions to the contrary, are still proving unable to integrate ourselves with the poor and landless peasants in spite of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's repeated instructions, are still proving unable to promote the poor and landless peasants to leading positions in the Party, to give expression to the intense class hatred against the feudal class in our writings, songs and speeches, which shows that the poor and landless peasants, who have taken upon their shoulders the heavy burden of carrying forward the great Indian revolution, are still not able to influence our consciousness.

Today, the situation is such that if we are to advance the revolution in face of the attacks of revisionism and the reactionaries, we must conscientiously and seriously wage a struggle to establish the revolutionary authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Our slogan is: "Internationally, we must follow Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China as well as the world-lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, nationally, we must be loyal to Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and the Communist Party of China and must fully accept the revolutionary authority of the leadership of Comrade Charu

Mazumdar. Only thus can the revolutionary unity be built and the revolution win victory.

Our great Indian revolution has developed to a new stage and is on the verge of bursting forth with a tremendous force which we are not even able to think of now. Our armed struggle has qualitatively changed from the stage of primary guerrilla activities to the stage of guerrilla warfare against the armed forces of the reactionary government. All the indications of this qualitative change are present in Srikakulam today. The situation in Srikakulam today is full of the birth-pangs of the new that is about to be born. Reaching this new stage means the beginning of the stage of founding the Indian People's Liberation Army and its active participation in the civil war—an event which would bring about a qualitative change in the all-India politics and in the relations and balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy.

In the editorial "Usher In The Great 1970's" the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has declared: "The revolution is forging ahead and the people are marching forward. The dawn of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation is ahead. Workers of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! **Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**"

History will not forgive us if we fail to carry out our tasks resolutely in spite of such an excellent situation.

Dawn of the Victory of the Indian Revolution

FOLLOWING is an article entitled "Dawn of the Victory of the Indian Revolution," written by the workers' commentator group of the Lanchow oil refinery.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and holding high the banner "it is right to rebel against reactionaries," the Indian revolutionary people are taking up arms to rebel against the reactionaries of India. From the first shot of armed struggle fired at Naxalbari valley to the revolutionary action of violence in Srikakulam, the spring thunders of revolution are reverberating through the vast land of India. The roaring flames of the revolutionary armed struggle that have now spread to eight States of India are raging ever more swiftly and vigorously. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), vanguard of the Indian working class, the armed peasant masses have seized guns, foodgrains and land from the landlords, punished despotic landlords and corrupt officials guilty of the most heinous crimes and ambushed the reactionary police and landlord armed forces engaged in "encirclement and suppression." With vigour and vitality, they are carrying out agrarian revolution and guerrilla warfare in the countryside and seizing political power by armed force, thus opening up a vigorous and completely new situation for the Indian revolution. The revolutionary situation in India is excellent!

To wage armed struggle and follow the road of seizing political power by armed force under the leadership of the proletariat is the only correct road that will lead the Indian revolution to victory.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This

Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries". The history of revolution has powerfully testified to the fact that all reactionary ruling classes in the world will never lay down their butcher knives willingly and become Buddhas. Only by taking up arms and embarking on the road of seizing political power by armed force can all the oppressed people and nations be emancipated. Both the great victory of the October Revolution and that of the Chinese Revolution were won on the battlefield. Today, so long as the Indian people take up arms and wage an armed struggle, they will overthrow the four big mountains lying like a dead weight on them. They can become the master of their own country only by seizing political power with guns.

The excellent situation of the Indian people's armed revolution has been created after frustrating the capitulationist revisionist line. The "parliamentary road," which was being stubbornly carried on by Indian revisionists completely betraying the interests of the working class, such as Namboodiripad and his ilk, and the Dange renegade clique, with a view to hoodwinking the Indian people and undermining their revolutionary cause, has been repudiated by ever broader masses of the people. The Indian revisionists painstakingly rigged up "united front" governments in Kerala State and West Bengal State as sinister models for "peaceful transition." But soon after their assumption of power, these revisionists came out by themselves to direct the reactionary troops and police to slaughter the revolutionary workers and peasants. By so doing, the Indian revisionists stood revealed in all their nakedness before the broad masses as the ferocious accomplice of Indian reaction and the "peaceful transition" fraud came to naught. Facts have proved that deception and sabotage of the revisionists can by no means impede the advance of the Indian people, but can only speed up the awakening of the people and enable them to realize more profoundly that the "parliamentary road" is impassable, absolutely impassable.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has found the road to victory for the Indian revolution in the arduous revolutionary struggles as well as in the historical experience and lessons. It has advanced the clear-cut line: "The only path of the people's democratic revolution is to build up revolutionary bases in the rural areas through agrarian revolution under proletarian leadership, and subsequently to encircle the urban centres by expanding these revolutionary bases; to organize people's liberation forces from among the peasants' guerrilla forces and to lead the revolution to victory by capturing the cities." Following this correct road of seizing political power by armed force, many cadres of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have gone deep into the countryside to do the arduous work of setting up revolutionary bases. They propagated among the peasants the great truth that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,"** organized the masses, armed them, mobilized them and brought their force into play. They conducted guerrilla warfare with the close coordination of the masses and in accordance with the concrete conditions in India. They attacked the landlords, overthrew their political power, established the preliminary red political power, repulsed the enemy's repeated "encirclement and suppression" campaigns, set up red revolutionary areas one after another and gradually built them into advanced revolutionary bases.

Comrade Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), has pointed out: the Indian working class should send its advanced elements with class consciousness to the countryside to organize and take part in the peasant armed struggle and agrarian revolution so as to exercise effective leadership of the working class over the agrarian revolution. What he has pointed out is very important. The Chinese working class has a deep understanding of this. The working class is the leading class of the revolution. It must stand at the forefront of the struggle, form a solid alliance with the peasants and lead and participate in their armed struggle.

Being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, India is similar to the old China in many respects. In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China, the Kuomintang reactionaries carried out large-scale bloody massacre of the Chinese communists and the Chinese people in 1927, and strangled the vigorous revolution. But the Chinese communists and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. Under the genius leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, we, the working class, making use of the weak links of the reactionary forces in the rural areas, shifted the strength of struggle from cities to the countryside. Holding high the great banner of armed struggle, we set up the first rural base in the Ching-kang Mountains. Accumulating and tempering the revolutionary forces, mobilizing the masses to carry out guerrilla warfare, unfolding agrarian revolution and setting up red political power in the countryside, we persisted in the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities. Finally, the single spark of revolution eventually kindled a prairie fire and we finally seized the cities, overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary rule, and achieved the great victory of the Chinese revolution. We are convinced that under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), and unswervingly taking the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing the political power by armed force, the Indian working class and the broad masses of the Indian people will surely achieve overall victory in revolution through protracted struggle.

The revolutionary new-born forces are invincible. The revolutionary forces of India have never been so vigorous as today. The peasant armed struggle in Srikakulam District of Andhra State is emitting its magnificent splendour. It is dawn of the victory of the Indian people and brings the hope of victory to the proletarian revolution in India. Imperialism, revisionism and all reaction which lie like a dead weight on the Indian people will certainly be burned to ashes by the raging flames of armed struggle. Final victory surely belongs to the Indian people.

Red Revolutionary Area in India Shines Like a Beacon

The revolutionary armed struggle in Srikakulam under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is expanding

LIKE a beacon light, the red revolutionary area which has come into being in Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh, is shining brightly on the woe-stricken land of India. The oppressed people in that country hail and praise it as "the most advanced bulwark of India."

Srikakulam District is a mountainous area covered with thick forests in the northeastern part of Andhra Pradesh. For generations the peasants here have been kept in subjection, and now they are taking up arms under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) against their oppressors. They have smashed the feudal yoke and overthrown the crushing tyranny. The greater part of Srikakulam has been turned into a red revolutionary area with yesterday's oppressed becoming masters of the land. Today, everywhere in this area is a scene of revolutionary vigour and the people sing with revolutionary gusto :

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

The red revolutionary area in Srikakulam District was created by the Indian revolutionaries with the blood they shed in battle.

Take the Road of Armed Struggle

Every family of the poverty-stricken peasants in Srikakulam has a history written with blood and tears. Ruthlessly exploited and oppressed for generations by the landlord class, they eke out a miserable existence like beasts of burden. The life of the Girijans is even worse, for the fertile land arduously reclaimed by them on the plains was seized by the landlords and usurers with the help of police brutality. Dispossessed, they are driven to live in the mountain areas.

Oppression begets resistance. The peasants of Srikakulam began waging an unrelenting struggle against their feudal oppressors. But the revisionists in the state tried their best to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the Srikakulam peasants, using all kinds of despicable means to lure them on to the so-called "parliamentary road." Aided and abetted by the revisionists, the counter-revolutionary armed forces repeatedly carried out sanguinary suppression of the peasant revolution in the district.

Lessons written in blood have prompted the suffering peasants of Srikakulam to seek more eagerly the truth for liberation. They finally found the correct road of struggle from great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought disseminated there by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). A report of the Srikakulam District Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L) has put it well: "Since the victory of people's war in China, people in the backward countries firmly believe that it is only people's war that is to be adopted in these countries for their liberation." "People's war is inevitable in this country." "We can raise the consciousness of the peasants only by intensifying the armed class struggle in villages and thereby annihilate the class enemies." (Our emphasis—Ed. *Liberation*) The district committee decided thoroughly to rebel against the revisionist leadership in the state and resolutely take the road of armed struggle, which is the correct one. From

November 25, 1968, the district committee began to mobilize the masses of the peasantry to take up arms and fight.

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the C.P.I. (M-L), personally kindled the flames of the armed struggle in Srikakulam. Arriving there in March 1969, he instructed the district committee to "build up guerrilla squads and start struggle immediately". He conveyed to it the correct thesis made by Comrade Lin Piao in his work *Long Live the Victory of People's War!*: "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy." (Our emphasis—Ed. *Liberation*)

Members of the Srikakulam District Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L) went deep into the countryside, established guerrilla units and propagated the truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They aroused the masses, organized them and armed them. As the peasant movement swept through the land like a storm, the revolutionary armed forces developed speedily. The C.P.I. (M-L) has now more than 100 guerrilla squads under its leadership and the areas of armed struggle have rapidly extended from the mountains to the plains and coasts. The revolutionary armed forces have turned 300 villages into a red area and set up preliminary organs of people's political power called "Councils for the People's Uprising" to take charge of administration and production and lay the groundwork for land distribution. "People's Courts" have been set up in all villages to try the enemies and pass judgement on them. The broad masses of the peasants heartily hail the birth of the red area.

"Whether We Live or Die, It Must Be for the People"

The above is the slogan adopted with pride in their hearts by the revolutionaries of Srikakulam District. Courageous in battle against the enemy, they have accomplished many a heroic and moving feat.

Srikakulam's revolutionary peasants scorn the ferocious

enemy. Fighting with home-made guns, hand-grenades, swords, spears, and bows and arrows, they have badly battered the "Central Police Reserve Corps" and the state police forces equipped with modern weapons. In 1969, they fought 65 engagements with the police and smashed the reactionaries' armed "encirclement and suppression" operations one after another. The peasant masses and the guerrilla squads fought side by side, raiding landlords' estates, seizing enemy weapons, suppressing local despots, burning land and loan contracts and distributing the landlords' grain and land. Overwhelmed with joy, the masses shouted: "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!" "Long live the armed revolution!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!" They look upon the guerrillas as their own kinsfolk and enthusiastically provide them with grain, vegetables and shelter.

In May last year, the reactionaries barbarously killed Krishnamurthy, one of the leaders of the Srikakulam guerrilla units, and six guerrilla fighters. Upright and dauntless, hero Krishnamurthy sternly denounced the reactionary police officers: "You cannot stop the advance of the revolution by murdering us. No power on earth can suppress the armed revolution of our people which has just started. The present regime of exploitation and oppression is doomed".

When one hero falls, tens of thousands of others rise to step into the void. Sampurna, a woman fighter of the Srikakulam central guerrilla squad is one such heroine. Sampurna, the mother of three children, was arrested by the enemy in June last year, and the reactionaries viciously threatened and cajoled her. One reactionary police officer tried to soften her up: "You have your children, your parents and your husband's parents. Why then should you get yourself involved in all this trouble? Wouldn't it be better for you to recant your mistake and return to your home and also to persuade your husband to give up all

this and return to the path of sanity?" Neither threats nor blandishments by the enemy could shake Sampurna's revolutionary resolve. She replied with firmness: "I did not seek this trouble, far from it. But I found that the solution of the problem of starvation and that of bringing up my children are inseparably connected with the solution of problem facing the peasantry. And the way to solve this problem has been pointed out by Mao Tsetung Thought. So I have taken this path illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought, in order to make not only my own children but also those of millions of the poor toiling people happy".

Suppression by the Indian reactionaries can never put out the flames of armed struggle of the revolutionary Srikakulam people who are determined to carry the armed struggle through to the end. They will not rest till victory is won.

Initiated in Srikakulam, the flames of armed struggle have now spread to 19 localities in 10 nearby districts, and its impact is spreading to other parts of the country.

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the C.P.I.(M-L), pointed out recently: "Srikakulam is fighting valiantly, tomorrow the whole of Andhra will join the fight." With infinite confidence, the Indian revolutionaries have raised the solemn, militant slogan: "Let us build Srikakulams in other parts of the country".

More and more red revolutionary areas like Srikakulam are indeed coming into existence in the vast land of India. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the revolutionary struggle of the Indian people is bound to score victory after victory.

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Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Spreads To New Areas In West Bengal and Bihar

THE peasant guerrilla struggle continues to rage in various parts of the country and spread to new areas of West Bengal and Bihar. This is a further demonstration of the correctness and vitality of the line of annihilation of class enemies in the countryside under the leadership of the masses of poor and landless peasants led, roused, mobilized and organized into guerrilla units by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the line of seizing political power by armed force, in the rural areas locally by the revolutionary peasants—a line worked out and developed by our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar and upheld by the international communist leadership—the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chirman Lin Piao as its deputy leader..

The following reports show how the revolutionary Indian peasants, in increasing numbers, are grasping this correct revolutionary line to unfold the Indian revolution through their growing initiative and vigorous revolutionary activity.

West Bengal

The peasant guerrilla struggle in this State is spreading to new areas dealing heavy blows at the ruling classes and their lackeys—the revisionists and the reactionaries of the “united front” government led by Jyoti, Konar, Biswanath and company.

24 Parganas district: Following persistent and unrelenting propaganda of Mao Tsetung Thought and overcoming all shortcomings the Party cadres and the revolutionary peasant masses here launched a determined offensive against this stronghold of revisionism. This district has been, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out, “the headquarters of revisionism and neo-revisionism” in West Bengal. By carrying out three guerrilla actions in quick succession in different parts of the district the heroic revolutionary fighters led by the CPI (M-L) took this fortress of revisionism by storm and raised the victorious red banner of revolutionary armed struggle there. This is a significant victory of the revolutionary line laid down by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. It has dealt a severe blow to the revisionists and their fraud of ‘peaceful path.’

First incident: The first shot in this battle was fired by the peasant guerrillas led by the Hingalganj local committee of the CPI (M-L). Hingalganj P.S. is situated in deep south on a delta flanked on two sides by two big rivers and on the south by the deep forest of the Sundarbans which extend across the border into East Prkistan. On the evening of December 20, a determined guerrilla group of three poor and landless peasants armed with choppers way-laid and annihilated Madhab Mondal, a despotic jotedar and usurer of Hemnagar, the southernmost point of Hingalganj P.S. He owned large tracts of land both in India and East Pakistan, and was a pillar of feudal exploitation and oppression of this area. These are some of his crimes: (1) he carried out ruthless oppression against the poor peasants both in India and in East Pakistan and reduced many of them to the state of utter destitution; (2) three peasants went mad as a result of his oppression; (3) he killed a peasant only to violate the chastity of his wife; (4) he violated the chastity of a number of peasant women; (5) he took the initiative in organizing repression against the peasants by the jotedars and the police.

The news of Mandal's annihilation by the guerrillas in face of the terror created by the parties of the UF and the police spread throughout the area within an hour and created great jubilation among the poor and landless peasants. This successful action also enhanced the confidence of the guerrilla comrades who have sent their revolutionary greetings to their beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar.

Second incident: On January 3, that is, within five days of the above incident, a guerrilla squad of only three peasants waylaid and annihilated Nandalal Ghose, a notorious jotedar and usurer of Pabdara village in Srikrishnapur area under Habra P.S. in north 24 Parganas in broad daylight. This class enemy owned legally and illegally huge amount of land and also had a thriving business of money-lending. He extorted a very high rate of interest from the poor and landless peasants forcing many of them to mortgage their lands and even their utensils. He also took liberties with women. He did not venture out of his house after dusk. The guerrillas annihilated him at 9 o'clock in the morning with crowbars and knives.

The local peasant masses are greatly enthused by this annihilation, while the class enemies and their agents feel alarmed. The peasant masses in the nearby Nadia district are increasingly accepting Mao Tsetung Thought. Jyoti Basu sent police-dogs to trace the guerrillas but the dogs also proved to be mere paper tigers like their master Jyoti Basu, and no guerrilla could be captured by the police.

Third incident: Chuni Babu, a despotic jotedar and usurer of Badugustia area under Barasat P.S., was severely injured by a guerrilla team of only two members on the evening of January 1. Almost all of the 100 bighas of good paddy field owned by this class enemy was obtained by him through usurious exploitation which extended to no less than fifteen villages. He reduced three-fourths of the peasants of Gustia and Bagberia into poor and

landless peasants. He resorted to ingenious methods to exploit the poor peasants, for example, realizing 1600 rupees for only two maunds of rice worth approximately Rs 80, compelling his victims to pay several times the amount borrowed by them etc.

This is the second action in this area. The previous action took place on October 9 last year.

Midnapur district: (1) Debra :—The daring and resourceful peasant guerrillas of Debra inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought and adhering to the path pointed out by Comrade Charu Mazumdar dealt another blow at the class enemy amidst severe police repression. Only two guerrillas posing as 'patients' went to the house of a class enemy Dr. Amulya Patra, a despotic jotedar and police agent, accompanied him to his clinic and inflicted mortal wounds on him. He later succumbed to his injuries in hospital. Patra's house was guarded by a contingent of armed police. This class enemy had led a deputation of jotedars to the District Magistrate of Midnapur to press for arresting Comrade Bhabadeb Mandal, the local leader of CPI(M-L) under the P. D. Act. He even promised to give two bighas of land to anybody who helped in arresting Comrades Mandal and Gunadhar Murmu.

(2) Kharagpur Area: Responding to Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call: "The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) calls upon every revolutionary peasant fighter today—avenge every attack of the enemy and spread the struggle like waves! This is the only path, the only tested path for self-defence, and there is no other path," the heroic guerrillas led by the CPI(M-L) spread the guerrilla struggle to areas under Kharagpur Local P. S. contiguous to the Debra P.S. On January 4, a guerrilla squad of six members waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar Purna Chakraborty of Chakmakrampur with the help of pole-axes. This class enemy owned huge amount of land and also had a thriving money-lending business. He

was the leading figure and adviser of the local jotedars and had close connections with government officers. He exploited peasants ruthlessly and oppressed them in various ways.

At the time of the action this class enemy was accompanied by his household servant. The guerrillas did not harm this poor servant and let him off. This is the first guerrilla action in this area. The news of this annihilation quickly spread and created great enthusiasm among the peasant masses of the area.

Bihar

The flames of the revolutionary peasant armed struggle led by the CPI (M-L) have now spread to the Monghyr district, where the feudal exploitation and oppression are most severe. The peasants of this region fought many battles in the British period and later, in the period of the Congress rule. But the Gandhite and revisionist leaders like Karyanand Sharma and Swami Sahajanand led all these struggles into the blind alley of class collaboration and economism, and formed the so-called "Kisan Sabha" under rich peasant leadership. After the Naxalbari struggle and the formation of the All India Co-ordination Committee, some revolutionary cadres of the CPI and CPM broke away from their traitorous revisionist leadership and joined the Committee. They began to study Mao Tsetung Thought and propagate the politics of seizure of political power by armed force among the peasants, and guerrilla units began to be formed.

When the landlords learned this they employed the police and their own armed goondas to kill the revolutionaries. Last November a class enemy tried to kill a guerrilla in Kiranpur, a village under the Suryagram P.S. in South Monghyr. But finally it was the class enemy himself who was killed by the guerrillas with swords. The police rushed in from a camp nearby, ravaged

Kiranpur, looted the belongings of the peasants, took away 46 heads of cattle and issued arrest warrants against more than 40 peasants and revolutionaries. The district magistrate and the district police chief warned the peasants of dire consequences if they refused to co-operate with the police or helped the guerrillas in any way.

But the police repression could not cow the masses and the peasant guerrillas, enjoying the protection and support of the masses became even bolder and annihilated another despotic landlord in Lasghani, a village contiguous to Kiranpur.

These two guerrilla actions have prepared the ground for spreading the peasant armed struggle into Santhal Parganas and Bhagalpur districts.

Though the police have stepped up greatly their repression and carried out "combing operations", they have failed to capture the leaders who are safe under the protection of the people.

On January 16, the peasant guerrillas led by the CPI(M-L) and with the active support and co-operation of the broad peasant masses raided the house of a despotic landlord in Chaumukh village under Katra P.S. in Muzaffarpur district, and confiscated all his property. The landlord however, managed to flee before the action took place.

This action which lasted for 4 hours, signifies further expansion of the Mushahari struggle to new areas. The action took place amidst intense police patrolling. All the guerrillas are safe under the protection of the masses despite severe police repression.

As we go to press, the news has come of another guerrilla action in Kharagpur area. At 8 o'clock in the morning of January 31, a squad of four guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer Kedar De of the village Radhakishore in zone no. 3 of Kharagpur local P.S.

Reactionary Essence of Indira Gandhi's 'Radicalism'

—Manab Mitra

THE vast and ancient land of India—our great motherland—is changing. The monstrous edifice of exploitation and oppression which has been in existence for thousands of years is crumbling at the mighty blows dealt by the armed revolutionary peasant masses. Nothing that happened in India's history hitherto is comparable with this all-important event. The masses are everywhere welcoming this splendid event, everywhere they are talking about it and approving of it warmly. "The Naxalbari way is, indeed, the only way"—this is how they put it. A new hope, a new confidence and a new urge to change the existing conditions by violent and revolutionary means are rapidly seeping into the consciousness of the masses. Revolutionary activity of the masses is spreading with amazing rapidity. The air is charged with the expectancy of an imminent countrywide great revolutionary upheaval which will bury for ever imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys. The Indian people are firmly advancing along the road of armed revolution, the road illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought—the only road to their liberation.

The ruling classes are in deep trouble because the masses—the ruled—have taken the road of Naxalbari, the road of seizing political power by armed force. What is more, they have already begun to overthrow the rule of the feudal exploiters locally. And this is being done in more and more areas of the country.

Inflicted with severe crises and pounded by the powerful blows of the growing armed guerrilla struggle of the revolutionary peasant masses the ruling classes have for

ever lost the stability of their rule. They are now caught in the jaws of chronic instability from which they cannot extricate themselves. Their instability is chronic, that is, it will be their mode of existence till they are overthrown by the revolutionary Indian people. As our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "All the governments, at the State level or at the Centre, are in the grip of instability."

The Indian ruling clique is trying frantically to stamp out this struggle by brute force and deception. For deceiving the masses the ruling clique headed by Indira Gandhi has resorted to new manoeuvres and fraudulent 'radicalism'. The Dangeites and the revisionist renegades Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu, Sundarayya and company—the jackals of reaction—are faithfully supporting Indira Gandhi's 'radicalism' and working hard to make the people believe that her 'radicalism' is genuine. Let us now see for ourselves the real face of Sm. Gandhi's progressive and radical postures, the motive force behind them and how they serve the biggest enemies of the Indian people.

The ruling Congress party led by Indira Gandhi met in Bombay at the end of December last. Despite energetic drum-beating by the reactionary and revisionist press and leaders, this clumsy farce of the Congress reactionaries was ignored by the people with due spite and scorn. But there were some who could not ignore. They were the real promoters of Indira Gandhi and her party—the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionist social-imperialists and the Indian reactionaries. They made great efforts to build up the image of Sm. Gandhi as a fearless and able fighter for "radical" measures. Evidently, they put great hopes in her ability to give a "new look" to the rotten Congress party. The *New York Times* laid down the guiding line in an editorial: "The test for Mrs. Gandhi and her supporters now is to weld a new party organization, at

both State and national levels, that can attract the disillusioned young and harness their energies" (*Patriot*, Nov. 15, 1969) Months of such imperialist advice and guidance did the groundwork for the Bombay session.

The interest shown by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism during the preparatory stage of the session was fully matched by their interest in the session itself. The U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist diplomats along with those from U.K., West Germany, etc. were present at the Bombay session as "observers." The Soviet delegation was headed by no less a person than Pegov, the Soviet Ambassador to India.

There were all sorts of tall talks of radicalism and socialism at the session. Jagjivan Ram, the president of the ruling Congress party said: "it [the party] must pursue radical policies or disintegrate." (*Patriot*, January 4, '69) The Political Resolution spoke of "building up of new social order." The general secretary of the party, S.D. Sharma, "hoped" that his party "would now pursue the path of progressive socialism" (*Patriot*, Dec. 30, '69). How to reconcile all this 'radicalism' with the support given by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to Sm. Gandhi and her party? Once we look deeper we will easily find that there is nothing irreconcilable in all this. On the contrary, what Sm. Gandhi and her lieutenants do and say faithfully conform to the wishes and requirements of their foreign and native masters, who are frantically trying to survive in face of the violent changes that have begun in India.

India is no more the "island of tranquillity," which the Congress reactionaries aided by the revisionists made her and tried to keep her so for the imperialists and their lackeys. It has become instead, a vast boiling pot seething with the revolutionary activity of the oppressed peasant masses. The old India, where the imperialists and the feudal lords could carry on their ruthless exploitation "tranquilly,"

and the rebellious masses, deluded by the treacherous revisionists had to accept bitter defeat at the hands of the reactionary ruling classes every time they rose in anger to overthrow their exploiters—that old India is gone for ever. The oppressed masses of India have now got the all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought which illuminates the path to their liberation. Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought they have organized their own guerrilla forces to deal with every attack of the reactionary state apparatus. They have spurned the poisonous 'peaceful' path frantically peddled by the traitorous revisionists, Dange, Sundarayya and company, and have firmly taken the path of armed revolution. The flames of guerrilla war of the poor and landless peasants led by the CPI (M-L) are now raging in wide areas of the country and burning to ashes the rotten system of feudalism, the main social basis of imperialism. For the first time, the peasants who have been oppressed and exploited for centuries by feudalism are overthrowing the rule of the feudal lords in the countryside by waging guerrilla warfare and have established their own rule, the rule of the revolutionary peasant masses—the Red political power—in Srikakulam, and in Gopiballavpur-Debra. The spark that was kindled by the revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari has started a raging fire of revolutionary armed struggle in India. The ruling classes are no longer able to suppress the growing revolutionary struggle of the India people. Even the most brutal repression is failing to stop this struggle from spreading and developing. The vast masses of downtrodden peasants are poised for unleashing a veritable hurricane of armed struggle throughout the country, in order to establish the people's political power, the Red political power, in the countryside by overthrowing the feudal rule. In short, the situation in India's countryside has already begun to change in a fundamental way, which in turn is revolutionising the entire national

situation. The situation is indeed, grave for the enemies of the Indian people. The old India is changing irrevocably. And imperialism and social-imperialism are at their wit's end.

This is why U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are so anxious to raise the stock of Sm. Gandhi and her party in the eyes of the people and 'stabilize' her position. Frantic attempts were made to make out her dirty factional fight with the Syndicate as a 'struggle over basic policy'. The wretched revisionists were also pressed into service who blabbered that Sm. Gandhi's victory over the Syndicate was "a political victory for the popular and democratic forces of the country." (*People's Democracy*, November 16, 1969). If she and her party were to be of service to imperialism and its lackeys, they had to acquire at least some amount of prestige before the masses. Gaining the confidence of the masses with a view to using it to harm them—this is the 'new' trick of Sm. Gandhi & Co. Sm. Gandhi "seemed to be anxious that the credibility of the Congress should be re-established." (*Patriot*, December 26, '69).

Long before the Bombay session Sm. Gandhi's foreign imperialist promoters were "thinking furiously," (to borrow Jagjivan Ram's phrase) about 'stabilizing' her position. The well-informed bourgeois columnist Durga Das wrote in the *Indian Nation*, (Nov. 14, 1969): "What matters is the view held in Washington and Moscow. Both are concerned about the situation in India because their common interest lies in a stable centre." (emphasis added) It is clear that Indira Gandhi's performance at Bombay was by no means her own business but much more of her worried masters.

U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital are frantically trying to prolong their existence here by adopting 'new' tactics. With Soviet revisionist renegades clique—the

centre of modern revisionism—as their No. 1 accomplice and the traitorous revisionists Jyoti, Namboodiripad and company acting as their running dogs, the U.S. imperialists have come to realize the value of allowing their lackeys in using radical and even 'socialist' phrases in furthering their class interests, and disrupting people's revolutionary struggles. Quite some time before the Bombay session they instructed, with full endorsement of the Soviet revisionists, their Indian lackeys to take a 'radical' posture to confuse the Indian masses and disrupt their revolutionary struggle.

The *New York Times* correspondent in Kashmir quoted Kenneth B. Keating, U. S. ambassador to India, as saying that Sm. Gandhi's "radical policies" were the "only way to preserve free government in India and prevent a Communist take-over" (see *Current*, November 15, 1969). According to the same report, Keating said: "If the (Indian) government is not ready to go to the left of centre and show regard for the great masses of people, this could be the very seed that could cause a revolution."

One needs only to compare the words and deeds of Sm. Gandhi and her associates before, during and after the Bombay session with the above to see how faithfully they follow their imperialist master's instructions. Echoing Keating almost word for word, Indira Gandhi, explaining the economic policy resolution, said: "Radical policies were inevitable in Indian conditions if the danger of a violent upsurge by dispossessed masses had to be eliminated." (*Patriot*, Dec. 28, '69). As to the "posture" that her party had to adopt in order to "eliminate" the people's revolutionary struggle she said what her imperialist masters wanted her to say. "She said the left-of-the-centre [note Keating's words above] posture was not a sudden choice of the party. It contained the wisdom of both Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru". (*Patriot*, Dec. 30, '69).

This shows clearly that the 'radicalism' of Sm. Gandhi and her party is merely a ruse contrived by imperialism and social-imperialism to confuse the masses and lure them away from the path of revolution.

There can be no doubt that Sm. Gandhi depends four square on the "wisdom" of M. K. Gandhi and J. Nehru, which, as a rule, invariably coincided with the "wisdom" of the imperialists and their domestic lackeys. In fact, her 'radicalism' is basically, a continuation of the reactionary policies pursued by Nehru. "Our organization by its practical actions, reflects the real trend, ideology and spirit of the Indian National Congress as it developed under the guidance of Jawaharlal Nehru." (Indira Gandhi's interview with *Pravda*, published on Dec. 25, just before the Bombay session; see *Patriot*, Dec. 26, '69). The Soviet revisionist overlords made clear what that 'radicalism' consisted of. In November last, *Pravda's* political commentator wrote: "Mrs. Gandhi stood for the Nehru line." (*Patriot*, November 15, '69) The *Tass* commentator confirmed this: "the Government led by Mrs. Gandhi is practically carrying out Nehru's policies." (Ibid)

This stress on "Nehru policies" is in no way accidental. It was precisely under Nehru's leadership that the reactionary Congress rulers opened up India for U.S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist exploitation and domination in addition to the British imperialist exploitation, sold out the national interests of India in a big way and turned India into a neo-colony of these powers. It was precisely with Nehru's encouragement and active co-operation that the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists established their control over India—economically, politically, militarily and culturally, that India was turned into a vast base of aggression of these powers against China, and that the criminal aggressive military adventure was committed against China on the Sino-Indian border in 1962. Sm. Gandhi, serving as she is

the same masters as her father, necessarily has to follow, basically, the same anti-national anti-China policies as her father. The only difference is that she is pursuing them with even more unashamed zeal. No wonder Indira Gandhi, her policies and her party are so vigorously supported by the most rapacious exploiters and bitter enemies of the Indian people—the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

The policies and measures adopted at the Bombay session demonstrate the reactionary essence of Sm. Gandhi's government and party, and expose the ugly features of her 'radicalism' and 'socialism'. Right to private property: While admitting that no Constitution of any country recognised a fundamental right to private property [the Indian Constitution incorporates this as a fundamental right] Chavan pleaded inability of the government to do anything since the Supreme Court had ruled that Parliament had no right to amend the fundamental right. (*Patriot*, Dec. 29, '69) Sm. Gandhi was more forthright in defending this right. She said: "The right to property must be conferred on all" (*Patriot*, Dec. 20, '69). Regarding the problem of unemployment even "*Patriot*" Sm. Gandhi's unofficial mouthpiece lamented: "The programme spelt out in the [economic] resolution would not solve the problem of unemployment" (Ibid). Her deep commitment to protect the interests of the feudal lords was evident from her attitude to the question of abolishing privy purse and privileges of the feudal princes. She was more interested in painting these diehard agents of imperialism in bright colour than considering abolition of their purses and privileges. According to her, these universally hated blood-suckers and traitors "were flesh and blood of India," "an important part of the Indian people" who "had played a useful role once and contributed in their own way to India's life." (Ibid) Taking up the cudgel on behalf of these wretched despots, who are no doubt *her* "flesh and blood", she

said: "society had to be convinced of the necessity for continuance of the princely privileges and privy purses." (Ibid)

When the peasants of India are shedding their blood and laying down their lives to smash the shackles of feudal exploitation, such unashamed praise and defence of the biggest feudal exploiters expose once more the ugly reactionary features of Sm. Gandhi's party and the government she leads.

It was the masses, the most oppressed and exploited masses, the overwhelming majority of the nation, the half naked, famished, bullied, multi-million strong masses, who roam the countryside for jobs and food; the most neglected and yet indispensable for producing profits for the feudal sharks (Sm. Gandhi's "flesh and blood"); the aroused, determined masses who are waging their own kind of war—the guerrilla war—in the hills and plains of Srikakulam, in the sal woods of Gopiballavpur, in the green forests of Terai and in the riverine deltas of Bengal, the masses who are shattering the ages old rule of darkness to build a new, glorious India—it was they who haunted the Bombay session overshadowing everything that Sm. Gandhi and her associates—the creatures of darkness—did or said. There was panic: Jagjivan Ram in his presidential address pointed his finger to the "explosive situation" in the countryside and wailed that "all the tension and violence in the countryside should make us think furiously." A panicked Chavan, who happens to be the Home Minister, warned his associates that the "present tense relations" in rural areas would lead to a "violent eruption" and once that happens the 'green revolution' "may not remain green." (*Patriot*, December 28, '69). The political resolution adopted at the Bombay session was forthright in declaring the Indian ruling clique's determination to suppress the people's revolutionary struggle. The operative part of the resolution consisted

of one thing: a formal declaration of war against the revolutionary masses. "The situation in the country demands," it said, that the Congress reactionaries "prevent violent and chaotic action by left extremists" and that "organized effort has to be made to counteract the forces which are bent on fomenting violence and spreading lawlessness." This is the outcome, the essence of the Bombay session.

Sm. Gandhi at the Bombay session arranged the forces at her command for stepping up still further reaction's sanguinary onslaught against the revolutionary masses. Her 'radicalism' and phoney talks of 'socialism' are only subterfuges to give her sinister mission a look of respectability. Her performance pleased the U.S. imperialists as is evident from the editorial of *New York Times* written on January 27 to mark the 'Republic' day of the Indian ruling classes. The editorial spoke of Sm. Gandhi's "exemplary political attainments." The imperialist overlords are of course, fully aware of the "mounting crisis" and serious difficulties that the Indian ruling clique is facing owing to the growing peasant armed struggle and the consequent instability and endless internecine strife within the reactionary ruling classes. The former director of US Aid Mission in New Delhi, Dean Lewis strongly pleaded for restoring and expanding US "aid" to India "to enable the country to meet its mounting crisis evident from rural unrest, communal strife and political instability" (*Times of India*, Jan. 28, '70; our emphasis)

For suppressing and deceiving the revolutionary masses of India she relies on the all-round support and guidance of her masters—imperialism and social-imperialism and Indian comprador and feudal classes. But not only on them. She is also depending heavily on the Dange clique and the traitorous revisionists Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, Namboodiripad and company—the jackals of the reactionary ruling classes. The *New Age* central organ of the Dangeites

gleefully noted that "there is an amorphous, yet functioning alliance of the democratic and socialist forces." (January 4, 1970) Sm. Gandhi confirmed this when she openly stated that "on a number of economic issues, like bank nationalization, the Communist approach was the same as contained in the Congress resolutions." (*Patriot*, Dec. 30 '69) And not only on "economic" issues, on political issues as well the Dange-Sundarayya cliques have unreservedly and unashamedly united with Sm. Gandhi. They have openly declared that they would throw their forces on her side whenever her government needed support. The Namboodiripad, Jyoti, Sundarayya revisionist renegade clique, which only a few months back roared like lions against the Central government to befool the people and get the ministerial *guddis*, is now squeaking like mice and doing everything in their power to placate Indira Gandhi and her gang in order to serve even better the imperialists and reactionaries. Towards the end of January this year Jyoti Basu and Sundarayya rushed to New Delhi and had a long talk with Sm. Gandhi to strengthen their mutual support and co-operation still further. On January 27 Sundarayya handed a letter on behalf of his party to Sm. Gandhi to strengthen their mutual support and co-operation still further. In this letter they lauded her 'progressive' policies to the skies and unashamedly pointed out "our Party openly announced its support to your Government." (*People's Democracy*, Feb. 1, '70) Lauding her factional fight with the Syndicate group as "victories" they claimed for themselves a share in those "victories." "This assistance given and the support lent to your Government by...our Party," the letter said, "on a number of occasions and over a series of issues, has played no small role". (Ibid).

The Bombay session and events before and after it help the people to see more clearly the crafty reactionary features of Sm. Gandhi and her party. In the life and death struggle

that is now going on in India between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, Sm. Gandhi and her party together with the wretched Dange-Sundarayya revisionist cliques and all other reactionaries have joined forces to oppose and disrupt the developing revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peasant masses. These counter-revolutionaries are guided and sustained by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. But they are working against the general trend of development of history. Their doom is daily coming nearer. The day is not far off when the revolutionary masses of India, guided by the all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought will sweep away these monsters who oppose them and liberate India from the shackles of exploitation and oppression.

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(Continued from page 16)

sovereignty, they were working in secret as imperialism's agents, offering India as a base for intrigue and subversion against New China and the people of the Tibet region of China and rendering faithful service to U. S. imperialism and the Tibetan serf-owners.

And it may be recalled that while in public India's reactionary rulers declared their loud opposition to military alliances and agreements, they signed in secret a military pact with the U. S. imperialists in 1951.

To carry out the behests of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegades and to divert the attention of the Indian people from the crisis then facing the Indian ruling classes, Nehru's men crossed over to Tibet, welcomed the Tibetan serf-owners to India, and cooked up a border dispute with China. After engineering some border incidents they pursued a deliberate and systematic policy of encroachment on the Tibetan territory for more than two years. Then, in October 1962, under direct inspiration from the U. S. imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionist traitors they started a war of aggression against the Tibet region of China and received a well-deserved rebuff.

Speaking at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party at New Delhi on February 17, 1963, Nehru stated: "These matters connected with the fight with China] are long-range affairs and there are deep-seated issues behind them." There was more to it than merely a dispute over territory, he added. (Statesman, Feb. 18, 1963) Some time ago, while on a visit to the U. S. A., Indira Gandhi repeated that the dispute was not territorial but ideological and political.

Contrary to ideas systematically spread by the reactionaries, this war had been carefully planned and prepared for

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by the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegades. It was in 1960 that the Soviet revisionist renegades began to supply India with military aid. Even from earlier years the Indian reactionaries had been receiving from Soviet revisionists helicopters, equipments for making border roads on the Himalayas etc.. as a part of their preparations for the war against China. From 1955 to April 1963, the Khrushchov clique gave or promised economic "aid" to the Indian reactionaries totalling five billion rupees, the larger part offered since the latter began their campaign against China. After the Indian reactionaries unleashed a largescale attack on China in October 1962, the Soviet revisionists stepped up their economic and military "aid" to India. *had/*

Since 1962 hectic preparations have been going on to turn India into a major base for imperialism's and social-imperialism's aggression against Socialist China, the centre of world revolution, the hope of the world's people.

Speaking of the days that followed October 20, 1962, J. K. Galbraith, then U. S. Ambassador to India, wrote in his recently published book *Ambassador's Journal*: "Our military relations with the Indians, always rather distant, have become extremely intimate these last days. Orders of battle and other military information are being provided. Arrangements are being made for (General) Curtis to go to Tezpur if he wishes. And I have just brought up from Wellington, for such advice as he can give, an American specialist in guerrilla operations who happens to be attending the staff school there."

So, semi-colonial, semi-feudal India was dovetailed into the global war strategy of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegades. But all their vicious attempts and the wild campaign of the Indian reactionaries and revisionists of all brands failed to set the Indian people against Socialist China and the world revolutionary current.

India's "defence" expenditure, which amounted to Rs 930 million twenty-two years ago, rose to Rs 3120 million in 1961-62 and shot up to Rs. 8160 million in 1963-64. Today, it amounts to Rs 12,417.7 million.

Since 1966 the Soviet revisionist renegades have been the chief suppliers of weapons to the Indian reactionaries. At first, their arms deals were rather *secret* for the Khrushchov clique was afraid that open arms "aid" to the Indian reactionaries might tarnish its image among the revolutionary people of the world. On the suggestion of the Soviet revisionist renegades an ordinance was issued in 1964 by the Indian reactionaries, banning the publication of news about arms flowing in from foreign countries. The Soviet revisionist renegades, it is understood, chided New Delhi "for not observing the ground rules of the arms aid, which must be given and taken, but not seen and talked about."

But the Soviet social-imperialists are today more unashamed, more desperate, than before. During the last Navy Day in December, there were uninhibited talks about Soviet submarines that had already arrived and that were arriving. During the last Republic Day, Soviet tanks, missiles and aircraft were paraded in the Indian capital. Out of 152 aircraft flown, more than half were of Soviet make. The Subrahmaniam Committee on aeronautics prescribed that the Indo-Soviet collaboration in the aeronautical field must continue. The Indian reactionaries expect Soviet assistance in the modifications of Mig-21, supplies of Mig-23 and improved versions of SU-7B. Like the Indian air force relying chiefly on Soviet fighters, bombers and transport planes, the Indian army too depends to a great extent on Soviet tanks, guns and surface-to-air missiles. The armoured corps is equipped with tanks a large proportion of which are Soviet tanks—T-54, T-55 and PT-76. Similarly, the Indian artillery has armed itself with Soviet guns like 130 mm guns to an appreciable

extent. Today the Indian navy is being modernized with Soviet submarines.

Do the U.S. imperialists object to the Indian reactionaries' increasing reliance on the Soviet social-imperialists for sophisticated weapons? A Reuter report dated December 4, 1962, from Washington stated: "The State Department spokesman was asked at his Press conference whether the expected delivery of Soviet Mig fighters to India would have any effect on U.S. military aid to India. He replied: 'No, our talks with the Indians on their needs are continuing'" (*Statesman*, December 5, 1962). So, too, did Averell Harriman, then U.S. President's roving ambassador, say "No, none at all" when asked if the United States had any objection to India's receiving military "aid" from the Soviet Union. Referring to the split between the Soviet Union and Communist China, Harriman said that "we ought to be careful not to do things which would tend to force them together. *It is very much to our interests as well as India's interests for them (the Indians) to maintain as friendly relations as they can with Moscow.*" (*Statesman*, December 9, 1962). The Soviet social-imperialists' plan to strengthen and use India as a base for aggression against Socialist China is integrated with the U.S. imperialists' plan: here collusion overshadows contention.

The Indian people are made to pay with their blood for every weapon the Soviet social-imperialists supply. The main beneficiaries of the mounting "defence" budget of the Indian reactionaries are the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. It is interesting that while output in some state-owned ordnance factories is being reduced, almost all engineering factories throughout India are today busy manufacturing components of various weapons. On October 22, 1969, the *Statesman*

reported that L. N. Misra, Minister of Defence Production, asked private sectors to make components in defence production. He assured them that the Government would arrange for import licence for raw materials, technical guidance etc. and components and assembly of "Nissan" and "Shaktiman" vehicles and "Vijayanta" tanks are being projected in the trade sector. Thus, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie are assured of a fabulous market—and an ever-growing one—for weapons of death and destruction. And to assure them of this market the Indian people are being bled white.

80/ Some idea of the hectic war preparation and arms expansion can be had from the manner in which air bases and other military installations are springing up in different parts of India. In recent years the landing strip at Chabua near Dibrugarh in Assam was converted under the U.S. auspices into a large air base of the most modern type. More recently, a vast modern air base has been built at Barapani near Shillong in Assam. On October 5, 1969, the *Indian Express* reported that the Navy Chief, Admiral Chatterjee, is in favour of a small naval base at Laccadive islands for strategic reasons. According to the same report, it was decided to reequip Cochin naval base to accommodate larger ships. The *Statesman* reported on October 10, 1969, that Mrs Indira Gandhi laid the foundation stone at Panaji of a naval training establishment to be built at a cost of Rs 22 million and to be completed by 1972. These are only a few instances to show the feverish haste with which the Soviet social-imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries are preparing for war with China and the revolutionary people of the world.

Do the Dange and Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu revisionist cliques ever oppose this frantic war-drive of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists and

Indian reactionaries, this policy of theirs to use India as a major base to attack Socialist China? Far from opposing this policy, they have always supported it and tried to mobilise support of our people behind it. It is they who have peddled best the sham, non-alignment policy of Nehru, imperialism's lackey of lackeys. When the Indian reactionaries, egged on by the Soviet social-imperialists and the U. S. imperialists, attacked the Tibet region of China, they were most loud in denouncing China and supporting Nehru's policy of aggression in the name of defending Indian territory. As Chairman of the CPI, Dange wrote to Nehru :

"In the post-independence period you have laid the policies of planned development, democracy, socialism, peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

"Today, in this hour of grave crisis created by the Chinese aggression the nation has mustered around you as a man to safeguard its honour, integrity and sovereignty.

"The Communist Party of India pledges its unqualified support to your policies of national defence and national unity."

Even as early as November 1959, Namboodiripad declared :

"In case of aggression we are one with the government. It is for the government of the day to decide whether aggression has been committed or not."

Jyoti Basu, the arch revisionist renegade and a faithful lackey of imperialism and Indian reactionaries vigorously and openly peddled the anti-China line of Nehru government in 1962. He babbled : "the Chinese should withdraw to the point where the [Indian] Union Government wants them to." (*Statesman*, October 31, 1962). Answering a question of a press reporter he said : "Our stand is clear. I think India's border defences should be strengthened and my party will not hesitate to put in all its efforts for the defence of India's freedom, irrespective of the political

character of the *attacking country*. When I say our defences should be strengthened, I think I am clear. *You do not build your defences against friends*. And you defend when you are attacked." [Ibid; our emphasis]

Both these cliques of revisionists supported the war of aggression against Socialist China, welcomed arms supplies and military missions even from the U. S. imperialists and acted as running-dogs of U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the Indian reactionaries.

These revisionist cliques continue to play the same role. Their task—the task assigned to them by the imperialists, social-imperialists and reactionaries—is to peddle the spurious policy of “peace and non-alignment” as genuine, service to imperialism as anti-colonialism etc., and thus to overcome from within the people’s resistance against using India as a base of aggression against China. It is therefore not surprising that these sham anti-imperialists are lending by their silence their full support to the frantic war preparations and arms expansion by their masters. These revisionist scoundrels never denounce the endless series of meetings and discussions between the Indian reactionaries and imperialism’s other lackeys—especially those of Southeast Asia and East Asia, like Ne Win, Adam Malik, Chiang bandits and Sato.

Chairman Mao said: “**Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.**” Already the inner weakness of the Indian reactionaries and revisionists and of their imperialist and social-imperialist masters can be seen quite clearly. Under the impact of the crisis inevitable to a decadent, rotten system and under the blows of the heroic peasant guerrillas, the ruling parties including

the revisionist ones are disintegrating. Chronic political instability is the order of the day. Even the Central Government led by Indira Gandhi is tottering. It is all a scene of confusion and disintegration for the imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists. These enemies of mankind pin their hopes on arms but, as Chairman Mao said, **the true bastion of iron is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash.** The awakened people of India, too, who dare to struggle and dare to win, will no doubt frustrate all imperialist and revisionist plots and quicken the pace of revolutionary civil war to eliminate any war of aggression.

A REVISIONIST LIE REFUTED

The following statement has been issued by the Punjab State Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist):

The revisionist paper *Nawan Zamana* published on November 7, 1969, a report that Comrade Daya Singh had issued a statement branding six of our comrades as belonging to the Nagi Reddy group. This is a fabrication. Either the revisionists themselves or some enemy agent has invented this news to create misunderstanding among the revolutionaries.



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