



Liberation

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13

LONG LIVE CPI (MARXIST-LENINIST)!



V. I. LENIN



Chairman MAO TSETUNG
and
Vice Chairman LIN BIAO

On The Historic April 16 Statement of Chairman Mao

—Charu Mazumdar

THE world entered a new era, the era of world revolution, on April 16. In his historic statement issued on that day Chairman Mao has given the stirring call not only to destroy U. S. imperialism, the biggest and most ferocious imperialist power in the world, but has also given the call to organize national revolutions and launch revolutionary struggles in various countries the raging flames of which will not only burn U.S. imperialism to ashes but will also destroy the reactionary Soviet revisionism and its foreign and native lackeys, and the cliques of reactionary forces in various countries, and a new world system without exploitation of man by man will be built.

The day has now come when the dream that the oppressed and exploited people have dreamt for ages is going to become a reality.

Chairman Mao is the great helmsman and the only liberator of mankind. It is he who has held high the great red banner of world revolution. It is he who is giving the leadership. So, victory will certainly be ours! Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

We will certainly live to see the radiant sunlight of a free and liberated India. The sun that rises on the eastern

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horizon will light up the western* horizon also. The world will be liberated from all indignities and waste, from the menace of destruction and death. We have reached that great era. Our tasks are heavy but we will certainly be able to carry out these heavy tasks, because Chairman Mao—the source of boundless strength—is still living. It is he, the red sun in our heart, who will fill our minds with warmth and we will be able to smash this old, rotten and corrupt system.

The people of the whole world are looking forward to us, because ours is a country of 500 million people. What tremendous power will be generated and what miracles can be performed once India, this land of 500 million people, rises up! Let us march resolutely forward by relying on the masses. Victory will certainly be ours!

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

Long live the People's Democratic Revolution of India!

This article by Comrade Charu Mazumdar was written on the historic statement of Chairman Mao, issued on April 16, 1968, and was published in the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI, May 2, 1968.

On The "Three Constantly Read Articles" By Chairman Mao Tsetung

—Charu Mazumdar

January 7, 1968

THE "three constantly read articles" by Chairman Mao Tsetung—*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, have succinctly laid down the ideals, style of work and objectives of Communists. These three articles are invaluable and it is imperative for every Communist to study them.

First, all the activities of a Communist are directed towards one goal—serving the people. A Communist must necessarily be a revolutionary because he can serve the people only by making revolution. It is necessary to make revolution in order to serve the people. And revolution requires a Communist to be an internationalist at the same time. This internationalism is selfless internationalism. Further, a Communist knows that his task is by no means easy, so he must persevere in what he does, and try again and again to win success. To be a Communist one must have all these qualities. So, it is imperative for every Communist to acquire these qualities.

In addition to the above, the "three articles" teach us a number of things. I am referring here only to those which I have thought of. For example, in his article *Serve the People* Chairman Mao has discussed the question of life and death. The questions that rise naturally after reading this article are: What do I gain from this struggle? What do I want? Am I ready to die for the

interests of the people at this very moment? These are questions of over-riding importance for any one leading a petty bourgeois life. To die for the people is the noblest task before a man; it does not matter at all if he dies while doing a certain kind of work or other so long as he is doing it for the revolution. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence."** So, it will not do to fear death. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"If we have shortcomings we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them."** If what he proposes will benefit the people and serve the cause of revolution we will act upon it. Has not Chairman Mao taught us to accept criticism of our shortcomings from anyone, even if he is outside the Party? Chairman Mao also teaches us: **"when anyone in our ranks who has done some useful work dies, be he soldier or cook, we should have a funeral ceremony and a memorial meeting in his honour."**

In his article *In Memory of Norman Bethune* Chairman Mao has discussed the question of internationalism. He has pointed out that there is no conflict whatsoever between the proletariat of an oppressed country and the proletariat of a country that oppresses other countries, and that unless the oppressed countries are liberated the oppressor countries can never win their own liberation. Because Dr. Bethune realized this, he crossed the seas and went to the liberated areas of China. What could he expect to gain from this? He was a leading surgeon in the capitalist world and could get everything for the asking. What made him give up all this and come to China? It is his political consciousness that made it possible for him to make such selfless sacrifice. Herein lies the significance of political consciousness.

Secondly, in this article Chairman Mao has pointed out

the kind of work a Communist should choose for himself. Naturally, he chooses the heaviest tasks for himself and carries them out with utter selflessness. We must also remember that Dr. Bethune, a renowned surgeon as he was, gave his life in performing a so-called technical work, work which is despised by the petty bourgeois elements. Therefore, the lesson to be learned from Dr. Norman Bethune is: no work is small or insignificant. All work that serves the people is equally important.

In this article Chairman Mao has set the standards for being a Communist. Here he says that a devoted Communist is he who chooses for himself the heaviest tasks and fulfils them. Those who **"swell with pride and brag about"** the work that they do but choose the easier tasks for themselves are not good Communists.

In his article *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* Chairman ridicules the cleverness and wisdom of the petty bourgeoisie. Such cleverness is of no value. On the other hand, an "ignorant" peasant is able to find the correct way because of the experience gained by him through the ages. A petty bourgeois intellectual hates to do the same thing repeatedly and considers such things extremely boring, whereas a peasant knows from his life's experience that he must resolutely do the same thing repeatedly, and that even if he fails in most cases he is sure to win success by persisting in doing the thing.

These are the points that came to my mind after studying the three articles. It is possible that comrades will be able to find many more new and valuable truths in the articles after studying them. The practice of studying these three articles was absent in our Party. However, we must introduce it now. I hope these few words will help the young comrades to feel a new wave of enthusiasm for studying these three articles.

Communist Party of India (M-L) Leads Indian People Onward Along Victorious Path of Seizing Power By Armed Force

THE Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has over the past year led the broad masses of the revolutionary Indian people to victories in marching forward vigorously along the path of encircling the cities from the countryside and seizing political power by armed force.

“Spreading the Flames of Armed Struggle Throughout India”

Since its founding last April, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been firmly leading the broad masses of the Party members, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals to go deep into the rural areas, where class contradictions are most acute, with the indomitable revolutionary spirit—“to live for the people, to die for the people”—to disseminate among the broad masses of peasants Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to propagate the great truth that **“political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”**. Applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they made typical investigations and class analysis of the economic conditions and political attitudes of the various classes in the rural areas, formulated the class line in rural work of “relying on the poor and landless peasants, uniting with the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and attacking the landlords”, and raised the task of unfolding agrarian

revolution in the rural areas, crushing the feudal power and establishing political power of the peasants and revolutionary base areas.

After the peasants were aroused, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) first of all helped them to set up their own armed organizations—guerrilla units and peasant self-defence forces to launch fierce attacks on the feudal forces in the countryside. They punished the despotic landlords and usurers guilty of many bloody crimes, seized guns, grain and land from the landlords and ambushed the reactionary police and the armed forces of the landlords. The peasant guerrilla units overthrew step by step the power of the feudal landlord class in the countryside and established preliminary political power of the peasants in some areas. In Midnapur District, West Bengal State, where the armed struggle is active, the peasant guerrillas executed more than 20 despotic landlords in four months from September to December last year. In Srikakulam District, the red revolutionary region in Andhra Pradesh, the peasant guerrillas frequently and successfully attacked despotic landlords and reactionary armed forces, and from January to October last year, they executed more than 20 despotic landlords and ambushed the reactionary police on 50 occasions. Last June, the guerrillas in an area in Srikakulam District assaulted and routed a unit of the reactionary police composed of 150 men.

Now, the flames of the peasant armed struggle have been raging in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Himachal, Orissa, Assam, Tripura States and particularly in Andhra Pradesh.

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pointed out that the practice of struggle in 1969 proved: “rely on the poor and landless peasants; educate them in Mao Tsetung Thought; adhere firmly to the path of armed struggle; build guerrilla forces and march forward along the path of liquidating the class

enemies; only thus can the high tide of struggle advance irresistibly. Now, the revolutionary Indian people, in response to the call of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) of "carrying the agrarian revolution in the countryside through to victory, spreading the flames of armed struggle throughout India", are summing up their experience and marching forward victoriously.

The Masses Are A True Bastion of Iron

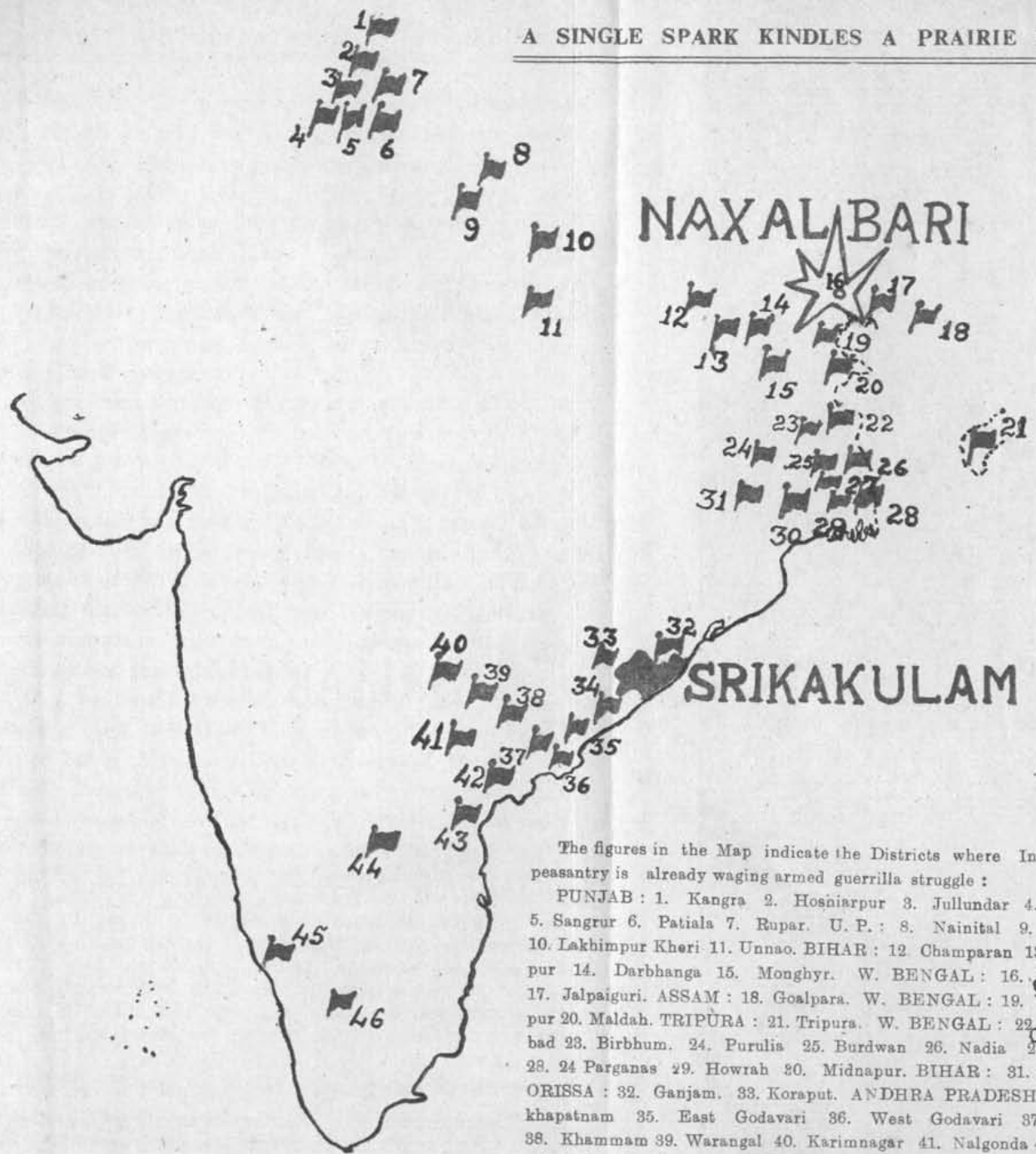
In order to fulfil the glorious task of "spreading the flames of armed struggle throughout India", the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) especially stressed that during their guerrilla activities, the peasant guerrilla units must persistently carry out political propaganda work among the peasants and rely on the local Party organizations and peasant masses. This is because the masses are the "ocean" while the guerrilla units are moving about in this "ocean" like "fish"; and in the plains the masses are the "jungles" and "ravines" for the guerrilla units. So long as the peasant guerrilla units closely rely on the masses and fully mobilize and organize them, they certainly can develop extensive guerrilla warfare and achieve victories in the mountain areas as well as on the plains. Abiding by these teachings of the Party, the peasant guerrilla units, whenever they arrive at a village, always propagate among the local peasants the Party's policies on revolutionary armed struggle, put to death in accordance with the will of the poor peasants those despotic landlords most hated by the people, and call on the peasants to confiscate the property of the feudal exploiting class, completely crushing the arrogance of the feudal landlord class. During the days of hard fighting, the guerrilla units and the peasant masses established and developed such a relation as between fish and water; this gave the peasant armed forces powerful vitality and fighting strength and made them invincible. In India today, the peasant

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A SINGLE SPARK KINDLES A PRAIRIE FIRE



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SRIKAKULAM

The figures in the Map indicate the Districts where India's brave peasantry is already waging armed guerrilla struggle :

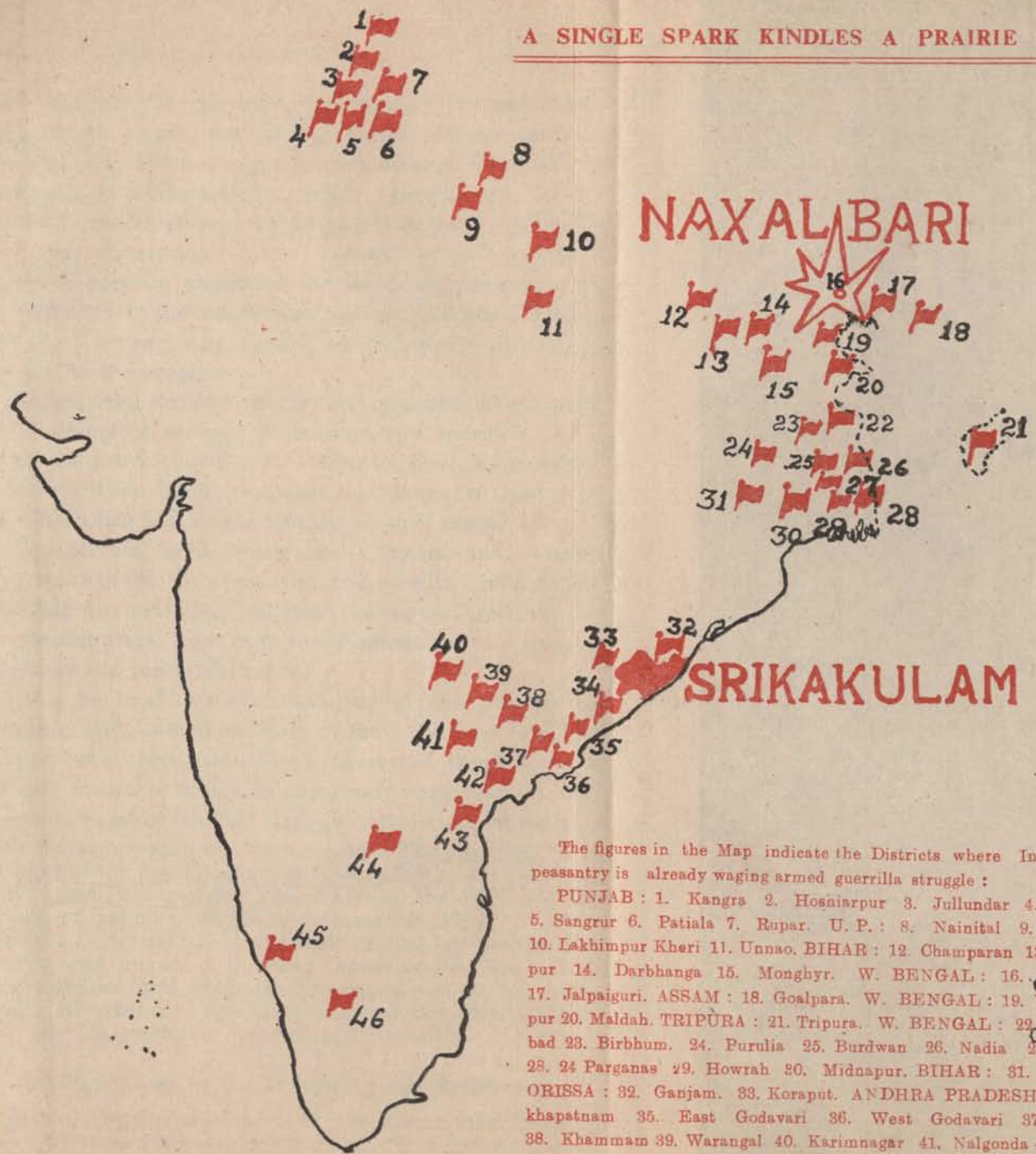
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guerrilla units "are moving about among the masses like fish in water" in all areas where armed struggle prevails. In Srikakulam District where armed struggle is vigorously developing, the reactionary Indian government has repeatedly dispatched large numbers of reactionary police to carry out suppression. Many peasants refused to betray their revolutionary comrades despite brutal police torture. They firmly told the reactionary police: We won't tell you even if we know; why should we tell you? We are all fighting for the people!

During their armed struggle, the peasants often maintained complete secrecy concerning the guerrilla movements and provided cover for them to move away safely. The press of the Indian capitalist class lamented that even after the police had moved into the areas of armed struggle in considerable force, "very few villagers...have shown any willingness to help the police with information regarding the Naxalites," whereas the support received by the peasant armed force from the peasants is "the biggest hindrance the police are facing."

In a political resolution adopted at the time of its founding, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pointed out: "Chairman Mao's theory of people's war is the only means by which an apparently weak revolutionary force can wage successful struggle against an apparently powerful enemy and can win victory. The basic tactic of struggle of the revolutionary peasantry led by the working class is guerrilla warfare." In line with the strategy and tactics of people's war, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been closely relying on the peasant masses and formed a real iron bastion with them. The "encirclement and suppression" operations of the reactionary government have been smashed one after another, and guerrilla warfare is developing irresistibly.

Growing Strong In The Struggle Against Revisionism

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), pointed out: "Our Party's growth

and development depend on how firmly we fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party. And not only that. The growth and development of the peasants' armed struggle also depend on this fight against revisionism." Both the old and new Indian revisionists are all opposed to this fundamental question of seizure of political power by armed force. With the support of the Indian reactionaries and in collusion with some reactionary parties, they rigged-up so-called "united front governments"—sinister examples of "peaceful transition"—in Kerala State and West Bengal State, and vigorously carried out an "agrarian reform" hoax in an attempt to lead astray the peasants' revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and to betray the Indian people's cause of revolution. However, under the fierce pounding of the storm of the peasants' armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), all the conspiracies of the Indian revisionists have come to an ignominious failure. The "united front governments" in Kerala and West Bengal States they had painstakingly managed have collapsed one after the other. This is an important victory of the revolutionary line of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) of seizing political power by armed force and a victory of the struggle against revisionism.

The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out 20 years ago: "Like free China, a free India will one day emerge in the world as a member of the socialist and people's democratic family; that day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind." Although the road of the Indian revolution will be long and arduous and there will be twists and turns in the course of advance, the revolutionary Indian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) will surely be able to destroy the reactionary rule of the Indian big landlord class and big bourgeoisie and win final victory so long as they persist in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution and persist in a protracted people's war.

(*Hsinhua dispatch*, March 28, 1970)

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.

—Chairman Mao

NOTES

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Soon after the founding of the great People's Republic of China—on October 19, 1949—Chairman Mao said: "The Indian people is one of the great Asian peoples with a long history and a vast population; her fate in the past and her path to the future are similar to those of China in many points... Like free China, a free India will one day emerge in the Socialist and People's Democratic family; that day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind."

When the great Chinese people led by the great Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao smashed the fetters forged by imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, here in India imperialism and domestic reaction resorted to every manoeuvre to make the shackles of the Indian people even stronger than before. When free China, became the bastion of world revolution, imperialism and reaction continued to use semi-colonial, semi-feudal India as a base for carrying on intrigues against China, revolution and socialism. It was darkness unrelieved that reigned over this vast land: for years working people, cheated and trodden underfoot by the imperialists, feudal lords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, remained sunk in despair. The words of Chairman Mao went almost unheeded, for the

leadership of the Communist Party of India had been usurped by the revisionists, sworn enemies of the working class and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. While harping on the differences between China and India and while talking of an Indian path different from the Chinese and the Russian path, these lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction actually led the Party along the road of class collaboration and peddled the parliamentary path—the 'fraud of the peaceful path to socialism. The struggles our people waged from time to time to resist the attacks of the imperialists and domestic reactionaries always ended in a blind alley, for Mao Tsetung Thought had not yet become their possession, for the working class party led by the revisionists was unable to lead the struggles through to victory.

The struggle between the two lines within the Party—between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism—burst into the open with the crash of the spring thunder of the Naxalbari struggle. Our beloved leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, correctly analysed the character of the Indian state and the role of the peasantry in India's democratic revolution, upheld the great teaching of Chairman Mao's, "**Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**", and was the first to apply Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of India. The spring thunder that broke over Naxalbari sent its reverberations from one end of India to another. The rays of the all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought began to chase away the gloom that had so long enveloped the land and to illumine the path of the Indian revolution. Naxalbari marked the turning point in the history of the Indian revolution—the beginning of the rout of revisionism in India.

Revolutionaries from all over India rallied round the politics of Naxalbari—the politics of seizure of power by armed force—and the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was set up. It took upon

itself the task of propagating Mao Tsetung Thought and waged war against parliamentarism and economism, two main forms in which revisionism manifests itself. Revolutionary theory was integrated with revolutionary practice. Comrade Charu Mazumdar initiated the peasant guerrilla struggle in Srikakulam district. It was at his instance that comrades realized the great significance of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's correct thesis: "**Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilise and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy.**"

The very needs of the revolutionary armed struggle demanded the formation of a genuine Communist Party. And the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was founded just a year ago—on April 22, 1969, the hundredth birthday of great Lenin—to lead the Indian revolution to victory along Chairman Mao's road, and thus to bring about an end to the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind.

The CPI (M-L) inherits and carries forward all that is best and most militant in the traditions of the long communist movement in India—the heroic traditions of Telangana, Punnapra-Vayalar etc. It is also a Party of a new type. Based on Mao Tsetung Thought, the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, this Party was born in the very midst of a struggle with revisionism—a struggle that has caused utter disarray in the camp of revisionism. This rural-based, underground Party emerged out of the flames of the peasant guerrilla struggle. It is pledged to create innumerable points of struggle in the vast countryside by annihilating the class enemies, overthrowing their political, economic and military rule through guerrilla struggle and replacing it by peasants' revolutionary power, to build the People's Liberation Army and develop such areas from isolated points into a vast expanse in a series of waves and to encircle the cities and ultimately seize power throughout

the country. This Party is pledged to adopt a style of work which Chairman Mao introduced in the Communist Party of China—"a style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism."

The phenomenal growth of the Party and the rapid advance of the peasant guerrilla struggle conclusively prove that the long-suffering people of our country had been waiting for years for the bright rays of Mao Tsetung Thought to dispel the gloom around them and for the birth of the Party that would lead them to victory along Chairman Mao's road. It has to be seen to be believed how the Party's political line is rousing the poor and landless peasants wherever the Party cadre or the news of guerrilla struggle reaches, how it is creating a ferment among the working class long under the spell of revisionism or reactionary ideology, how it is causing an upsurge among the urban petty-bourgeois youth in cities like Calcutta.

The resolution "It is Time to Form the Party" adopted by the All India Co-ordination Committee in February, 1969, said: "Only a revolutionary party can infuse revolutionary discipline, the spirit of self-sacrifice and death-defying abandon." Actuated by the highest sense of revolutionary discipline, Party leaders, other cadres and peasant revolutionaries throughout India have dared to struggle and dared to make supreme self-sacrifice. Heroic comrades like Subbarao Panigrahi and Nirmala Krishnamurthy preferred to face the firing squad rather than to disown the Party and live". As Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out, revolution is taking place in the hearts of men too and a new type of men is emerging out of the armed class struggle now sweeping the country. No power on earth can crush these new men who have conquered all fears including the fear of death.

The armed peasant struggle is accentuating the crisis of the reactionary ruling classes. All their political

manoeuvres including the fraud of parliamentarism have been fully exposed. Political stability, despite all the efforts of their revisionist lackeys, is now a thing of the past. The peasant guerrilla struggle, which no repression can crush, and the surging struggles of the working class and the petty bourgeois youth are already exposing the paper tiger nature of the reactionary ruling classes.

The experience of the last one year has proved the correctness of what Comrade Charu Mazumdar said: "The Party will develop through constant struggle—both against the enemy outside and against alien trends within. Through these struggles the Party will grow in strength, act as the vanguard of the revolution in order to serve the people, transform itself and transform the whole society." It is only through constant struggles against the enemy and against various concrete manifestations of revisionism within the Party that the Party has grown and developed. It can fulfil its historic task only by carrying these struggles forward and by raising the study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought to a higher level.

Enmeshed in an insoluble crisis and besieged by the people of the world ring upon ring, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are trying feverishly to launch a war of aggression against Socialist China. The Indian reactionaries have been making frenzied war-preparations as a part of this war-plot. The Indian revisionists of all hues are lending their full support to this criminal war-plot. But the Party under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar has called upon the people to make both ideological and material preparations to smash the sinister war-plot of the imperialists, social-imperialists and reactionaries. While waging a revolutionary war to eliminate any war of aggression that may be launched by imperialism and social-imperialism, the Party also directs its attacks against bourgeois chauvinism. The Party's slogan—"China's Chairman is our Chairman,

China's path is our path"—resounds throughout the country and strikes terror into the hearts of reactionaries.

It is a great new era in the history of mankind—the era of Mao Tsetung Thought when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. Fortunately for us, Chairman Mao is himself leading the world proletarian forces in the final struggle for complete victory of Socialism all the world over. Under his guidance the Party and the revolutionary people of India will usher in that great day when, like China, a free India emerges in the Socialist and People's Democratic family, thus bringing about an end of the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind.

Long live the Indian Revolution!

Long live the CPI (M-L)!

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

REMEMBERING LENIN

The revolutionary people of India together with the revolutionary people of the whole world warmly commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin—the great revolutionary, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat. After Marx and Engels it was Lenin who carried forward the cause of the proletariat, the cause of the liberation of mankind and of ending the system of exploitation of man by man. The self-styled 'Marxists' who usurped the leadership of the Second International at that time were a bunch of wretched opportunists and revisionists. In the name of maintaining the purity of Marxism they actually robbed it of its revolutionary soul, cut it off from the revolutionary movement

(Continued on page 74)

India's West Bengal State Government —Sinister Example of Parliamentary Road—Collapses

REACTIONARY Indian President V. V. Giri proclaimed on March 19 the take-over of the West Bengal State Government by the Indian Central Government and the suspension of the State legislature, according to reports from New Delhi.

It is the second collapse in the past three years and more of the so-called "united front government" of non-Congress parties, with the Indian revisionists taking a hand in it. This is another proof of the bankruptcy of the line of "peaceful transition" energetically advertised by the Indian revisionists.

The West Bengal State Government was formed after the so-called "mid-term elections" in February, 1969.

It may be recalled that Jyoti Basu and other Indian revisionists, ganging up with the Dange renegade clique and other reactionary political parties, had made strenuous efforts to campaign in the fourth "general election" of India in March, 1967, and formed the so-called "united front government" in West Bengal State. The Indian revisionists used the State Government as a sinister example in carrying out their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and tried to prove that it was "possible" to carry out "peaceful transition" through elections and that the "parliamentary road" was "correct". Re-election in West Bengal was scheduled for 1972. However, the West Bengal State Government collapsed after only nine months in office because it blatantly stood on the side of the landlords and big bourgeoisie and sanguinarily suppressed the peasants' armed struggles and the workers' strikes, and because the struggle of the people in West Bengal State against suppression is daily surging forward while the

(Hsinhua dispatch, March 22, 1970)

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contradictions within the reactionary ruling circles become increasingly fierce.

In February last year, a gang of these renegades, scabs and reactionary politicians rigged up once again a State Government during "mid-term elections" with Ajoy Mukherjee, a reactionary politician and the chieftain of the Bengal Congress party, as its chief minister and Jyoti Basu, an Indian revisionist, as its deputy chief minister and police boss.

In the past year, the State Government continued to sanguinarily suppress the people, thus further exposing itself as a component part of the reactionary ruling machine in India. More and more peasants in West Bengal State have spurned the "parliamentary road" of the Indian revisionists and, under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), have kindled the flames of armed struggle in many rural areas in the State. The vigorous development of the revolutionary situation has accelerated the further acuteness of the bickering and rivalries among the Indian revisionists and other reactionary political parties inside the State Government so that an open split took place.

After the "resignation" of Ajoy Mukherjee on March 16 Jyoti Basu collaborated with other reactionary political parties in an attempt to rig up a majority in the State parliament so as to re-organize the State Government. But this ended in failure because of the disintegration among these parties. Thus, the Indian Central Government proclaimed the take-over of the State Government under the pretext that "the law and order situation was deteriorating."

The Kerala State Government, another sinister example of "peaceful transition" of the Indian revisionists, collapsed in October, last year. The successive collapses of the "united front governments" in Kerala and West Bengal States profoundly reflect the daily bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary sinister tricks of "peaceful transition" and "parliamentary road" of the so-called non-Congress government, tricks which were used by the Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists to deceive the people.

Indian Reactionaries Heading for Collapse At Quicker Tempo

THE 1960s saw the Indian reactionaries saddled with inextricable crises both at home and abroad.

In India today, the Congress Party, which represents the big landlord and big capitalist classes, is confronted with the people's strong resentment and rebellion, the like of which has never been seen before. In this new situation, characterized by a vigorous upsurge of the people's revolutionary armed struggle, the Congress Party, already ridden by internal strife, came to an open split at the end of last year. The two splinter groups, the faction headed by Indira Gandhi and the faction known as the "Syndicate," go for each other hammer and tongs in a free-for-all dog-fight. But neither can find a panacea to save Indian reaction from rapid decline.

Ruling India for more than 20 years, the Congress Party, in the name of "socialism," has perpetrated the worst against the people, throwing the broad masses of the labouring people into the abyss of misery. Though they talked about "land reform," they have done nothing whatsoever about the feudal land system in India; instead, they have made it possible for land to be further concentrated in the hands of the big landlord class. The poverty-stricken peasants who make up 75 per cent of the total peasant households in India are still being ruthlessly exploited by the landlords and usurers. Polarization between the poor and the rich has thus worsened in the rural areas.

Reactionary Congress rule has aggravated the agricultural crisis in India. Starvation hung over the land, every year bringing deaths to millions of people and making 200 million out of a population of over 500 million suffer from

hunger. In 1969, nine out of the 16 Indian states were hit by famine, with 55 million people affected. In Barmer District, Rajasthan State, for instance, 10,000 people were starved to death in six months.

The so-called "industrial revolution" and "nationalization" advocated by the Congress government threw India's door wide open for the big monopoly capital groups, imperialism and social-imperialism to prey upon the broad masses of the Indian labouring people, and life for the toiling masses became more miserable still. India's unemployed now total 18 million, 6 times the figure of 1951 or 2.5 times that of 1951. Completely ignoring the plight of the working people, the reactionary Congress government has intensified its fleecing of the people to meet the needs of its frantic arms drive for war. India's military expenditure, increased sharply and steadily in recent years. In fiscal 1969-70, India's military spending amounted to 11,100 million rupees, taking up one third of the total budgeted expenditures, or 2.5 times the military spending of fiscal 1962-63 when the Indian reactionaries provoked armed clashes along the Sino-Indian border.

To cope with its serious political and economic crises, the reactionary Indian ruling clique has redoubled its efforts to exploit, suppress and hoodwink the broad masses at home. Meanwhile, it has further hired itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and sold out national interests in exchange for foreign "aid." Completely discarding the cloak of "opposing imperialism and colonialism," it has become an accomplice of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in suppressing the national-independence movement in Asia and Africa and in opposing socialist China.

India's reality shows that the so-called "society of a socialist type" as claimed by the Congress Party is nothing but a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

More than 20 years of reactionary rule of the Congress Party have wrought havoc to the Indian economy, with the economic arteries tightly held in the hands of foreign monopoly capital.

U.S. imperialism's investment in India increased rapidly through so-called U.S. "aid," and by 1966 has accounted for 60 per cent of the total foreign investments in India. Apart from exercising control over India's agriculture, finance, communication and transportation, power, oil and chemical industries, atomic energy and other important departments, it has turned India into a market for dumping U.S. commodities in Asia. From 1951 to 1967, U.S. imperialism dumped into India in the name of "aid" 51 million tons of "surplus" farm products valued at 4,500 million U.S. dollars. By means of such "aid," U.S. imperialism has India's currency under its thumb, to the extent of 50 per cent of the banknotes issued.

In recent years, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, too, has stepped up its infiltration into India, becoming the second biggest creditor in that country. Through economic and military "aid," it has not only gained control over part of India's iron and steel, oil, and power munitions industries, but has become the biggest supplier of military hardware for the reactionary Indian army, turning India into a base for its expansion into the Indian Ocean.

More and more the reactionary Indian Government is depending on foreign "aid." For years it has been eking out an existence by begging for foreign "aid" and has therefore become heavily indebted. At present, India's internal and external debts have exceeded 200,000 million rupees, with foreign debts amounting to 97,000 million rupees. It has become increasingly difficult for India's economy to free itself from reliance on foreign monopoly capital.

The perverse actions of the reactionary Congress government have thrown the broad masses of India's

labouring people into the abyss of suffering. No longer can the teeming millions of the Indian people tolerate the dark rule of the Congress Party. Through long and bitter experience, they have come to realize most profoundly that the so-called "democracy" trumpeted by the Western bourgeoisie and the "parliamentary road" advocated by the revisionists are nothing but trappings to deceive the people and safeguard the reactionary rule of the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie. They have come to understand more and more clearly that to put an end to exploitation and oppression they must grasp the gun and take the road of seizing political power by armed force and thoroughly smash the Congress Party's reactionary rule. The flames of the peasant armed struggle kindled by the Indian Communist revolutionaries at Naxalbari more than two years ago are raging more and more furiously on the land of India. Today, under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the flames of the people's armed struggle have rapidly spread to vast areas in 8 Indian states. The vigorous development of the Indian people's armed struggle has sounded the death knell for reactionary Congress rule. No matter how desperately the Indian reactionaries may struggle, they cannot save themselves from their inevitable doom.

—Peking Review, No. 9, February 27, 1970

Intensified Suppression By Reactionary Indian Government Can Only Increase People's Resistance

THE reactionary Indian Government has been vigorously expanding its police force to strengthen its sanguinary suppression of the mounting revolutionary armed struggle of Indian peasants and the armed struggle of the Mizo and Naga people for national liberation.

The Indian peasants' revolutionary armed struggle has spread to many areas in nine states of India. The Naga and Mizo people have been persevering in armed struggle for national liberation in some mountainous regions in Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura in east India. It is shaking ever more violently the tottering rule of the reactionary Indian Government. Finding that the police of various states have failed to cope with the daily-growing armed struggle, the reactionary Indian Government in its decline is mobilizing more and more Central Police to carry out the suppression.

The *Hindustan Times* reported on March 6 that the reactionary Indian Government "has asked the states to make full use of the Arms Act and the Penal Code" to quell the peasants' armed struggle and that all State governments "have also been told to draw upon Central Reserve Police and Border Security Force without hesitation to suppress Naxalite activity". In West Bengal the state government controlled by the Indian revisionists have set up 421 armed police camps in areas where the peasants' armed struggle is active. In the Gopiballavpur area of Midnapur district of West Bengal, Jyoti Basu, the police minister of the state and a revisionist, replaced the armed

police forces which failed to carry out their mission by 1,100 Eastern Frontier Rifles troops and rabidly ordered the latter to "shoot to kill" the peasants and revolutionaries. In Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh, the reactionary state government classified the areas where the peasants' armed struggle is developing vigorously as "disturbed areas" and dispatched large numbers of armed police and four battalions of the Central Reserve Police to suppress the armed struggle. The reactionary Indian Government also sent large numbers of the "Border Security Force" to Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura to suppress the armed struggle of the Naga and Mizo people.

To step up the suppression of the Indian people's armed struggle, the reactionary Indian Government has enormously increased the expenditure on the central police and expanded the police forces. According to an Indian paper, in fiscal 1969-1970, the reactionary Indian Government increased the expenditure on the Central Police by 100 million rupees to raise additional battalions of the Central Reserve Police, expand "Border Security Force", set up new police offices, purchase more arms, ammunition and equipment and move police forces on a large scale to suppress the people. In fiscal 1970-1971, the expenditure on the Central Police of the reactionary Indian Government will rise sharply to over 690 million rupees, nearly 20 per cent more than that of the previous fiscal year.

But, the reactionary government's sanguinary suppressive measures have failed to frighten the awakening Indian people. On the contrary they have roused the Indian people to fiercer resistance. It was reported that in areas of armed struggle the Indian people waged heroic struggle against the reactionary armed police dispatched there to suppress them. They reconnoitred for the guerrillas, protected the guerrillas who were moving away and refused to give the slightest information to the enemy. They hid grains and refused to give drinking water to the police,

placing the enemy in an awkward predicament. Indian bourgeois papers admitted that the reactionary Indian Government's suppressive measures "have not proved effective" and "even after the police had moved into these areas in some force.....very few villagers are said to have shown any willingness to help the police with information regarding the Naxalites". So, "the police have failed to catch the right leaders or to break the organization". Despite the intensified suppression by the reactionary government, the Indian peasants' armed struggle is spreading to new areas. In east India, the Naga and Mizo people's armed forces have repeatedly attacked the reactionary armed troop and police, dealing heavy blows to the reactionary government. In making all-out efforts to enforce its suppressive measures, the reactionary government is "lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet", and will only promote the Indian people to carry out the revolution more violently and on a broader scale.

(Hsinhua dispatch, March 15, 1970)

1960s in Retrospect**Vigorous Asian People's
Revolutionary Struggle**

IN 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out with great foresight: "The revolutionary storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow." The history of Asia in the 1960s developed precisely in conformity with Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis. The revolutionary armed struggle of the people in Asia advanced vigorously. The sweeping tide of the revolutionary mass movement surged irresistibly ahead. The Asian people launched sustained and fierce attacks on imperialism, revisionism and reaction, shaking their reactionary rule. The colonialist system of imperialism in Asia was disintegrating.

Marxist-Leninist Parties Steeled and Tempered

In the 1960s, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought won great victories in its great polemics and great struggle against modern revisionism. In this great battle, the "peaceful transition," "parliamentary road" and other counter-revolutionary nonsense peddled by the modern revisionists went bankrupt. A growing number of Asian people saw through the counter-revolutionary features of the modern revisionists in their sham support but actual betrayal of the Asian people's revolutionary struggle. Genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary political Parties in Asia were tempered and became stronger than ever. The Marxist-Leninists in India, Japan and other Asian countries rebelled against the revisionist leading cliques and built new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Parties and organizations one after the other. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought was grasped by increasing numbers

of the Asian people who integrated it with the practice of revolution in their own countries. It became the source of great strength for the Asian people in their vigorous revolutionary struggles in the 1960s. An unprecedentedly excellent revolutionary situation prevailed in the vast expanse of Asia.

**People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle
Develops Rapidly**

The gunfire of the people's revolutionary armed struggle resounded in the vast areas from the western coast of the Pacific to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. The people's armed struggle in VietNam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia have grown ever stronger. The great truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" as pointed out by Chairman Mao struck deeper roots in the minds of the Asian people, greatly encouraging their armed struggle.

In the fighting 1960s, the heroic Vietnamese people persevered in people's war, fighting fiercely against U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious imperialism in the world. Their people's war laid bare the true features of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger and landed it in unprecedented isolation and acute political and economic crises. The courageous Laotian patriotic people and their armed forces persisted in armed struggle in the past decade, dealing heavy blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The people of some Asian countries who had long been waging armed struggle held still higher the banner of seizing political power by armed force and fought bravely in the 1960s. With the rural areas as its bases, the Communist Party of Burma has carried on its armed struggle for over 20 years by relying on its own efforts. Since 1964, under the guidance of the Party's revolutionary line of

"winning the war and seizing political power," the Burmese people have brought about a new situation in their revolutionary armed struggle characterized by its vigorous development. The Burmese people's armed forces have repeatedly smashed large-scale counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the Burmese reactionaries and wiped out large numbers of enemy effectives. In 1969, the Burmese people's armed forces set up people's political power in some rural areas and wiped out enemy troops by whole platoons and companies. In recent years, the Communist Party of Malaya which has a glorious tradition of armed struggle, has united still more closely with the people of various nationalities in the country, developed and expanded the revolutionary armed forces, repeatedly smashed the counter-revolutionary joint "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the reactionaries of Malaya and Thailand, and consolidated and enlarged the guerrilla areas. It is dealing telling blows at the enemy.

In the past few years, the people of some more countries and regions in Asia have embarked on the road of armed struggle, opening up a series of new battlefields for attacking U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The flames of people's war are raging more furiously, creating an entirely new revolutionary situation in the Asian region.

In Thailand, which is covered with U.S. military bases and stationed with tens of thousands of U.S. aggressor troops the heroic people lit the flames of armed struggle in August 1966. In their arduous struggle in the past four years and more, the Thai people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, founded the Thai People's Liberation Army. Now, the people's armed forces are fighting actively in the northeastern, northern, central and southern parts of the country, dealing heavy blows at the U.S. imperialist scheme of using Thailand as a strategic base of aggression against Asia.

Like a peal of spring thunder, the gunshots of armed struggle fired in Naxalbari in March 1957 shook the vast, slumbering land of India. They proclaimed that the Indian people have smashed the fetters of "non-violence" and the "parliamentary road" which had restrained them for a long time and have risen up in their struggle for emancipation. Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the peasant revolutionary armed struggle, in which agrarian revolution is its main content, has rapidly spread from West Bengal to Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Tamilnadu. In Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, the peasant guerrillas have turned 300 villages into red areas for launching armed struggle. A vigorous revolutionary situation has appeared in the whole of India. The successful development of the people's revolutionary armed struggle in this big country with a population of more than 500 million is sure to exert a far-reaching influence.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia the revolutionary Indonesian people have defied the white terror of the Suharto fascist military regime, liquidated the "peaceful transition" and parliamentary road" trumpeted by the modern revisionist group, which had brought serious losses to the revolutionary cause, and effected the revolutionary change from peaceful struggle to armed struggle. Since 1967, the flames of armed struggle have blazed in Indonesia, striking powerful blows at the reactionary Suharto regime.

The heroic North Kalimantan people unfolded their revolutionary armed struggle at the end of 1962 and founded their own army in October 1965. Now they have established guerrilla bases, expanded combat zones and repeatedly smashed the counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" operation launched jointly by the reactionaries of Malaya and Indonesia, lackeys of U.S. and British imperialism. They are growing in strength in the course of arduous struggle.

In the western end of Asia the armed struggle waged by the valiant Palestinian people has been fast spreading like a prairie fire since 1967 when the United States and Israel launched the war of aggression against the Arab countries. The Palestinian guerrillas' incessant attacks deep in the areas under Israeli control have filled the enemy with great terror. The victorious development of the armed struggle of the Palestinian people has greatly inspired the Arab people as a whole in their struggle against imperialism. In the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, the Dhofar people have persisted in armed struggle since 1965 and dealt staggering blows to British imperialism.

Surging Tide of Revolutionary Mass Movements

In the 1960s, revolutionary mass movements broke out one after another in the vast land of Asia and steadily developed in scope, sweeping over the whole of Asia and advancing to the stage of opposing counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. The Asian people's revolutionary mass movements have effectively co-ordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle of the people of various countries to fiercely pound imperialism and its lackeys.

In the first year of the 1960s, furious anti-U.S. struggles erupted like volcanoes in Japan, south Korea and Turkey which are under U.S. military occupation. In 1960, the broad masses of the Japanese people staged repeated gigantic nationwide anti-U.S. demonstrations to oppose U.S. imperialism which had forced the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" on them. These mighty anti-U.S. demonstrations compelled the then U.S. imperialist chieftain Eisenhower who was on his way to Japan, to make a detour and cancel his planned "visit" to Japan. These protest actions also drove Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi out of office. In the spring of 1960, the people of south Korea, out to fight for the right to live and the unification of

their country, launched the April 19 just patriotic struggle against the rule of U.S. imperialism and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique. This struggle resulted in the overthrow of the puppet Rhee clique. Towards the end of April 1960, a huge demonstration by 10,000 students broke out in Istanbul, the biggest city in Turkey, against the traitorous Menderes dictatorial regime. This struggle swiftly spread to the capital Ankara, Izmir, an important military base of the aggressive NATO bloc, and other Turkish cities with the result that the Menderes cabinet was toppled. These great struggles were a prelude to the gigantic and impressive revolutionary mass movements of the Asian people in the 1960s.

Since then, the revolutionary mass movements have been surging ahead with great momentum. Mass struggles against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, one following the other, particularly the great mass campaigns against the U.S. imperialists' escalation of their war of aggression against VietNam, have spread from Asia to other regions. The struggles of workers, peasants, students and people from other walks of life against tyranny, against persecution and against hunger broke out one after another in many countries. The past ten years saw the steady mounting and sharpening of the Japanese people's just patriotic struggles against the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," for the withdrawal of U.S. aggressor troops, for the dismantling of U.S. military bases and for the recovery of Okinawa. Since the autumn of 1967, the Japanese people have resolutely fought back against the armed suppression of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. In the past few years, the Japanese student movement has seen a further uprising. It has adopted such revolutionary actions as occupying school buildings and premises and at one stage many universities in Japan were paralysed. In 1969, the struggle of the Japanese workers,

peasants and students against the Nixon-Sato joint communique brought to a new high tide the Japanese people's struggle against the U. S. and Japanese reactionaries. In calamity-ridden India, large-scale mass struggles, often several million strong, broke out successively in the past decade in protest against hunger and brutal rule. Workers' strikes, peasants' seizure of farmland, students' boycott of classes and merchants' hartals were widespread in all Indian states. Interacting, the mass struggles of the Indian people and the armed struggle of the Indian peasants have hit reactionary Congress rule where it hurts most.

In the last year of the 1960s, the revolutionary mass movements of the Asian people surged yet higher. In February 1969, when five warships of the U. S. Sixth Fleet barged into the Turkish ports of Istanbul and Izmir on a "goodwill" visit, the Turkish people staged impressive anti-U.S. demonstrations which lasted for a whole week. Thousands upon thousands of patriotic people turned out to smash the headquarters of the U. S. aggressor forces and other U. S. establishments for military and economic aggression in Ankara and other cities. They also chased and beat up U. S. aggressors in the streets. Last July, when U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon turned up in Asia for conspiratorial activities soon after he assumed power, he was frightened out of his wits in Manila, the first stop of his Asian "visit," by the storm of the Philippine people's struggle against U. S. imperialism, and cut a most grotesque figure there. The Philippine workers, peasants, students and other patriots surged on to the U. S. Embassy and the Philippine presidential palace in a protest demonstration, burning Nixon in effigy, destroying the decorated arches put up by the Philippine authorities to greet him, and indignantly tearing down the stars and stripes at the U. S. Embassy and trampling it underfoot.

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The vigorous upsurge of the Asian people's revolutionary armed struggle and revolutionary mass movement in the 1960s testified to the fact that the days when the imperialist hyenas could dictate the fate of the Asian people at will are gone once and for all. Asia belongs to the Asian people. Back in 1913 the great revolutionary teacher Lenin said: "A new source of great world storms opened up in Asia." The revolutionary storm of the Asian people is sure to rage more furiously in the great 1970s. By joining forces with the revolutionary struggles of the people of the African, Latin American and other countries, the Asian people's revolutionary struggle will turn into a surging torrent and deal a crushing blow to imperialism, revisionism and all reaction as well as the whole of the old world.

- Peking Review, No. 9 February 27, 1970

L-April 3

Story of A Red Guard Squad of Youths And Students

—by A Revolutionary Student Organizer

[Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call to the revolutionary youth and students (see *Liberation*, No. 5, March 1970) has created great enthusiasm among them. Enthusiastically they have taken upon themselves the tasks set before them by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Following is the story of a Red Guard squad of the revolutionary youth and students of Calcutta.

—Editor, *Liberation*]

THE armed peasant struggle, the war of liberation, is now raging in various parts of India. Under the correct leadership of our national revolutionary authority and armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the vast impoverished masses of our country are now waging armed struggle for seizing political power through armed force. The petty bourgeois youth has an important role to play in this struggle. As our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out the only organization of the revolutionary youth and students today can be the Red Guard type of organization. Organized in small squads they should go to the poor and landless peasants to bring Mao Tsetung Thought to them, to carry on propaganda against the global war preparations of dying imperialism and social-imperialism against socialist China—the great fortress of world revolution—and against their conspiracy to use the Indian masses as cannon-fodder in that war, to learn from the revolutionary peasant masses how to make sacrifice, accept hardship and do hard-labour, to rid ourselves of our petty bourgeois illusions and to

temper ourselves in the flames of the class hatred of the peasants so as to become fighters in the revolutionary war. It is on the basis of the historic instruction of Comrade Charu Mazumdar that we, the students of the Presidency College, decided to form Red Guard squads and go to the village.

Selection of Cadres : Our squad was formed with four students. All of them are boundlessly loyal to Mao Tsetung Thought, have consistently tried to build organization in the College for at least some time and were eager to propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants and learn from them. Apart from them three more workers who were not attached to the College organization volunteered to be included into the squad.

Principles of Work : (1) A commander was elected for the squad and it was decided to obey him fully during the campaign.

(2) It was decided to follow closely Chairman Mao's "Eight Points for Attention."

(3) It was decided that we would walk at least 15 miles a day, talk with as many poor and landless peasants as possible, and rely completely on them for our food and shelter during the campaign. Every squad member was to take not more than two rupees with him apart from his fare and it was decided to spend that amount only in some unforeseen emergency.

(4) We decided to avoid as far as possible the villages where there are jotedars, the trading centres and highways ; to give up our petty bourgeois habits like taking tea, smoking cigarettes and indulging in gossips ; to avoid all kinds of debates or altercations with any revisionist worker we would come across ; and never to give up our mobility.

(5) As there is hardly any work to be done in the field at this time of the year we would have to visit the houses of the poor and landless peasants in order to talk with

them. Accordingly we decided to disperse on entering a village and go individually to their homes and talk with them. But once we leave a village we were to walk together along the ridges, and never to walk alone.

Methods of Work: We decided to adopt the following methods for our campaign :

- (1) We were to find out villages populated mainly by the poor and landless peasants.
- (2) Whenever we meet any person on the way or in any hut we should talk with him for a while and try to analyse his class character.
- (3) If we find that the man is a poor or landless peasant we should proceed to give him the politics of seizing political power by armed force, and tell him about the revolutionary peasant war now raging in India, carry out propaganda against the anti-China war plots and read out relevant quotations from Chairman Mao's Red Book. We should also try to persuade him to carry on propaganda among other poor and landless peasants and to make arrangements for our food and shelter as far as possible. At night, if we take shelter in a village, we should try to hold small group meetings especially of young persons.

But if we find that the man is an agent or belongs to the landlord class we must avoid him and keep our political views secret from him. In this way we should try to take the revolutionary politics to as many poor and landless peasants as possible while maintaining our mobility.

The Campaign: We took the night train on March 2 and got down at the Damodar station at dawn. The place has some small hillocks and the fields are undulating. The revisionist parties have influence in the mines and factories of this area. We started out from the railway station and walked along the ridges in the field. A few showers of rain at dawn made it difficult for us to walk freely. The village which lay by the side of the railway

line was fairly big and had quite a few houses with tiled roofs. We passed by this village because it seemed to be a prosperous one. After about an hour we entered the village A. A few Adivasi children were tending their goats. We introduced ourselves as students from the towns. From what we gathered from them it seemed that most of the villagers were poor peasants, each owning about 2 or 3 bighas of paddy-field. There was no work to be done in the field, so, many of them had gone to work as casual labourers in the factories nearby.

From there we started towards the Biharinath Hill in the southeast. After walking for some time we came across an aged labourer who was working with a spade. We remembered Comrade Charu Mazumdar's teaching that we must take part in productive labour in order to be able to integrate ourselves with the workers and peasants. So, we approached the man and offered to help him in his work. But he could not be persuaded to let us help him with his spade and basket. This made us realize deeply how isolated from the masses we had become due to our bourgeois education and manners. As he headed for the village where he lived we walked with him and went on talking with him. The rains came as we reached his village Banspichali, so we took shelter in the verandah of his hut. With five members in his family he has no land of his own but works as a sharecropper in the landlord's land and receives only 40% of the produce, which is far from enough to feed his family throughout the year. He has a pair of bullocks and a plough. Excepting two families in the village all the others are Santhals, most of whom are poor and some are wholly dependent on what they get as sharecroppers. As they have no work to do in the fields, they have gone to work as labourers in the factories nearby. Because of his advanced age this man cannot go to work there and has to earn his living by digging earth under the 'test relief' scheme. The next village, where the

jotedars live, has motorable roads and a school, but this village has none of these things. Though leprosy is widely prevalent here there is no arrangement for medical treatment.

Some other villagers took shelter where we stood. All of them were poor like our host. We told them about the politics of seizing political power by armed force and about the establishment of Red political power in Srikakulam. We tried to explain before them why the land which their forefathers had reclaimed from the forest passed into the hands of the blood-sucking landlords and how the reactionaries were reducing them to paupers so as to make them join the army and use them as cannon-fodder in the imperialist war of aggression against China, the country where the workers and peasants have established their own political power. They listened with attention and then discussed about it. However, they seemed to be somewhat influenced by revisionist politics of parliamentarism, but we avoided arguing with them over it.

Later, we entered the village and talked with the peasants individually. We found out that at least one Santhal peasant had three or four *marais* (structures made of bamboo and straw for storing paddy). We propagated Mao Tsetung Thought and carried out propaganda against imperialist aggressive war-plots against China among at least 12 poor peasants and a few small shop-keepers and pedlars. All of them listened to what we told them about the heroic struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam and Midnapore. It was past noon and we had our meal of parched rice that our host brought for us.

We started for our next destination—a small village six miles away, and inhabited by Santhal sharecroppers. They receive 25 to 30 % of the produce by working in the lands of jotedars who live in another village seven or eight miles away. These sharecroppers have also to work as stone-breakers or wood-cutters to eke out a miserable living.

Hardly twenty to twenty-five families live in this village. We had talks with them. An aged person among them listened with great enthusiasm when we were propagating Mao Tsetung Thought. We later learned that he grew up amidst cruel exploitation. His intense class hatred expressed itself in all his words, specially when he referred to a jotedar who lived in another village. But it was here that we made a serious mistake. We directly asked him to annihilate that jotedar and he took it quite seriously. Later, we arranged with him so that four of us would stay in the next village for the night. We planned to hold small group meetings with poor and landless peasants and invite them to come to the meeting. But it appeared that owing to his insufficient clarity about class analysis he talked to some rich peasants and bad elements also regarding this, and the latter came to our comrades in a hostile and suspicious mood and began to harass them by asking questions. So, we had to give up our campaign and left for the nearest railway station.

Lessons of the Campaign: As this was our first Red Guard action we naturally made mistakes and we later discussed these. Our successes were :

- (1) We did manual labour, and underwent hardship. We walked about 30 miles in a day and got drenched in the rain but we did not feel uncomfortable at this.
- (2) We were able to propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants and also carried on propaganda against anti-China war-plots. By doing this we were able to raise questions.
- (3) We were able to make friends with the peasants by giving them revolutionary politics and learned how to depend on them for our food and shelter. This helped us to overcome our petty bourgeois prejudices.
- (4) We learned to work unitedly for propagating revolutionary politics, and to obey the commander during our campaign.

Our mistakes were :

(1) Though we gave revolutionary politics to the peasants we did not read out the Red Book to them. This is one of our failures.

(2) One of us should have accompanied the man to help him talk to the poor and landless peasants and invite them to join the group meetings.

(3) We were wrong in sleeping in the daytime in the village where there were rich peasants. This hampered our mobility.

(4) We were wrong in asking the old peasant to annihilate the jotedar before knowing him more fully. We have decided to learn from our mistakes and plan a new campaign.

Lastly, we think we have benefited much by getting to know directly about how intense feudal exploitation is in the villages and how the landlords exploit and maintain their political domination there.

Peasant War In Assam Gaining Momentum

[Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) the peasant armed struggle has now started in the State of Assam. The first shot in this people's war was fired by the heroic peasant guerrillas in the Goalpara district on November 27 last year when they annihilated a despotic landlord. This was followed by the annihilation of another despotic landlord in the same district on March 5. These two guerrilla actions, particularly the first one is of great significance. The peasant war in Assam is going to be carried forward steadily and will engulf the whole of Assam before long. This is why the class enemies are frantically raving against it.

Following is the text (translated from DESHABRATI, March 26, 1970) of the political leaflet issued by the Goalpara District Organizing Committee of the CPI(M-L) after the first guerrilla action (see *Liberation*, No. 3, January, 1970). This leaflet was addressed to the broad masses of Assam.

—Editor, *Liberation*]

Dear Comrades and Friends !

The annihilation of a despotic jotedar and usurer Tekla of Patasbari under Abhayapuri P. S. by a group of poor peasant guerrillas marks a historic turning point for our State.

The heroic peasant guerrillas, most of whom are poor and landless peasants, deeply realize from the cruel experience of their own life that they must overthrow the rule of the jotedars, usurers and their agents, and establish their own political power in the countryside in order to live ; there is absolutely no other way for them to live.

They know from their own experience how the jotedars and usurers like Tekla gradually gobbled up everything they had and thus reduced thousands upon thousands of poor peasants to paupers until they are left with nothing but their own hands. They have also seen how the revisionists showed sham sympathy for the poverty-ridden peasants but actually served the jotedars and usurers. It was only when the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) guided by Mao Tsetung Thought came here and propagated the revolutionary politics of seizing political power through armed force and establishing the political power of the peasants in the countryside that the poor and landless peasants could see the rays of hope and a new bright dawn. The Party seemed to voice the innermost thoughts which they cherished in their hearts. Roused and organised by the Party they formed guerrilla groups in secret and boldly advanced along the path of class struggle. They realized the power of the ruling classes that oppress and exploit them lies in the state apparatus controlled by them and that the state power grows out of the guns in the hands of the police and the armed force maintained and controlled by them. The guerrillas are fully convinced of the justness of their cause and in this just war their chief weapon is the active sympathy and cooperation of the masses.

They have learned from Chairman Mao that it is the people who are really powerful and that all reactionaries are paper tigers. This is why they relied on the masses to destroy the pillar of feudal rule in the area—Tekla—with traditional ordinary weapons like sticks and choppers. After successfully accomplishing this task they are now safe under the vigilant protection of the masses.

This attack by the guerrillas in Patasbari—this guerrilla action, is not directed merely against a local reactionary individual, it has opened up a new horizon, a new vista for Assam. This guerrilla action in Patasbari is going to

bring about a high tide of enthusiasm all over Assam; the Patasbari guerrilla action will develop into a people's war and engulf the whole of Assam. This is why the revisionists and neo-revisionists are mortally afraid of it.

The Patasbari struggle is not an isolated one. It is already spreading to Kamrup, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Cachar in Assam and is merging into the current of the people's war that is raging on a larger scale in Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Muzaffarpur and Lakhimpur-kheri. Friends and Comrades !

The long history of the struggle waged by the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung Thought have taught us that the only way to overthrow the rule of the rich and establish the rule of the poor is to wage people's war in the countryside, and that this war is one to seize political power through armed force.

In order to establish peasants' political power in the countryside we must take this struggle to a higher stage, must eliminate all the despotic and diehard class enemies and must spare none of them.

We have seen how after Tekla was annihilated by the guerrillas the reactionary state power unleashed brutal repression against the poor peasants through its reactionary police force. But as Chairman Mao has taught us : **"Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance"**.

Far from breaking the morale of the impoverished peasant masses the police repression only increased their power of resistance and their class hatred against the agents of the class enemy who collaborated with the police in oppressing them grew more intense, and the poor and landless peasants have started organizing new guerrilla groups. The days of these agents of the class enemy are numbered and they will meet their doom in the hands of the guerrillas before long. The despotic jotedars and usurers and their agents have done all kinds of evil things and worked against the interests of the people, so they are isolated from the people and cannot last long.

We must learn warfare through warfare, that is, wage armed struggle and learn from its experience. The lessons we are learning by annihilating the class enemies today will enable us to wage armed struggle against the reactionary police and armed forces later.

Our immediate task is to create liberated areas in the countryside through annihilation of the class enemies and by overthrowing their rule. In order to create liberated areas and carry on a protracted struggle against the enemy we must build bases in the countryside for waging guerrilla warfare. When we take our meal we eat it up mouthful by mouthful and never try to swallow the entire meal at one go; similarly, to plough ten bighas of land we begin by ploughing one bigha at a time and never try to plough up the whole of the ten bighas all at once. This is how the armed class struggle can be developed to the higher stage of armed struggle.

The people's war can be waged only by mobilizing and arming the masses. The revolutionary peasant guerrillas who are now waging armed struggle call upon the masses: cast away all your illusions and prepare to wage a protracted guerrilla warfare by overcoming all impotent thinking; build secret Party organizations in the villages and join the guerrilla forces, because Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Without a people's army the people have nothing."** Exert yourself to the utmost to build and strengthen such an armed force.

The enemy will never perish of himself. **"Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall."** Hence, we should organize ourselves in secret and destroy the enemy by dealing relentless blows to him.

The current armed class struggle is the beginning of a great historic change. In a very short time several hundred million peasants will rise with a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. **"They will smash all the trammels that bind**

them and rush forward along the road to liberation." They will sweep all the despotic jotedars and usurers, agents of the class enemy, corrupt officials, local tyrants and all other scoundrels into their graves.

"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." Victory certainly belongs to us.

Dare to struggle, dare to make sacrifice and dare to win victory!

Long live the Indian Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of India

(Marxist-Leninist)!

Long live Comrade Charu Mazumdar!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to

Chairman Mao!

Armed Peasant Struggle Forges Ahead In Punjab

AFTER the historic event of the Naxalbari peasant revolt the poor and landless peasants in Punjab are getting organised and following the path illumined by Chairman Mao's Thought. The Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur kheri struggles have further explicitly shown the truth and method of application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of our country. The revisionists of various hues are being exposed and isolated from the masses even though they try to misguide and mislead the masses by waving the red flag against the red flag. As such our fight is two-fold, we must wage war against modern revisionism while battling against the reactionary ruling classes if we want to bring a high tide in revolution. There are people around us who hold the opinion that we should carry on propagating Chairman Mao's Thought till there is a mass upsurge and the peasants are fully aroused. They also hate "actions." This is a concrete manifestation of revisionism. Such ideas arise from impotent thinking. Moreover, these people want to see the peasant struggle advance along the revolutionary path without incurring loss or sacrifice. It must be made clear once for all that the armed peasant struggle will spread and develop only if we combine theory and action and the peasant masses will be activated only if the Party cadres exhibit revolutionary heroism and firm faith in people's war that has already started since the dawn of Naxalbari.

After armed struggles of the poor and landless peasants of two villages, Bhikhe and Samaon, in Bhatinda District

the revolutionary peasant struggle under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) has been developing gradually. In April, 1969, the agricultural labourers and poor peasants of Birla Agricultural Farm started a militant struggle. The reactionary police harassed and tortured many peasants and inhuman treatment was meted out to comrades arrested during the struggle. To retaliate against this fascist repression the peasant guerrillas attacked S.H.O. in charge of Police Station Chamkaur Sahib. Two enemies were injured. On 5th June a big landlord of Basantpur (Kangra) was attacked though police post had already been established in his house, but the enemy escaped on that day. But the same peasant guerrilla unit made a successful attack by annihilating three landlords on 23rd June 1969. At the same time the armed peasant struggle started in ~~Sangar~~ Sangrur District on the 'correct path'. On 18th June 1969, the poor and landless peasants of a village Qilla Hakima with swords and spears in their hands took forcible possession of the land of a big landlord, General Balwant Singh, and on 21st June all the fodder and machinery in his farm were destroyed. The landlord purchased a sarpanch of a nearby village Dhandiwal to manage the tilling of his land but on 20th July the class enemy (General Balwant Singh) was annihilated by a guerrilla squad. Subsequently, the sarpanch vacated the land and surrendered to the Party. After consultations with the peasants of that village he was forgiven for his misdeeds. On 4th September a hamhardar and police tout of village Bhaini was shot dead as he obstructed the comrades from posting red posters in the villages. On 15th September a police tout was annihilated and his double-barreled gun snatched in Jullunder district. On 10th October Mr. Sehgal, manager of a factory at Phagwara who had murdered five workers was attacked but the enemy escaped. To suppress this surging movement special police cells have been created and large numbers of men have been

recruited for the purpose. Hundreds of peasants have been harassed and tortured so far. Ninety peasant revolutionaries have been arrested. Warrants have been issued against 70 comrades who are working among the masses for mobilising them for People's War by disseminating revolutionary politics of agrarian revolution. Due to fascist repression a few comrades have degenerated but the over-all effect of the repression is that the armed peasant struggle is spreading to newer areas, especially on the initiative of the peasants. In Ferozepur district near Guruharsarai twenty peasants on their own initiative attacked two landlords and annihilated them. The landlords were armed with guns while the peasants were armed with swords and *gandas*. On 24th December, 1969 the peasant guerrillas shot dead a police tout in Ludhiana district and snatched away his rifle. This revolutionary action has much inspired the peasants of that area.

It is true that the movement has been impeded by some subjective and objective factors but in a few months the armed peasant struggle is sure to spread to all the eleven districts of Punjab.

IN WEST BENGAL

Peasant Guerrilla Struggle Rages Still More Fiercely

- Guerrilla Struggle Spreads to Burdwan, Nadia, Howrah and Maldah districts
- Daring daylight raids by peasant guerrillas
- Peasant woman kills EFR bandit

Midnapur District

Sometime before the revisionist-led 'united front' government ignominiously toppled down for the second time last month, Promode Dasgupta, the revisionist party boss of CPM cynically declared that the brutal repressive measures taken by Jyoti Basu in full cooperation with the reactionary Indian Government had succeeded in putting down the peasants' armed struggle in Midnapur. Not content with deploying more than 1,100 EFR troops in addition to large contingents of armed police to crush the heroic peasant struggle, Jyoti-Promode and gang geared their party machinery to serve the reactionary police and troops in oppressing and persecuting the revolutionary peasants. Acting as agents and informers of the police they helped them in arresting a leading comrade of the district Comrade Gunadhar Murmu. While these despicable pimps were congratulating themselves over this "success" of theirs the heroic peasant guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L) struck back with a force that sent Jyoti-Promode revisionist clique and the reactionary UF government reeling. Successfully smashing the "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the reactionary armed forces the peasant

guerrillas led by the CPI (M-L) dealt a series of blows to the class enemies and even launched attacks against the EFR troops in March. This has completely smashed the myth propagated by the revisionist scoundrels Promode-Jyoti and company in order to assure their masters—the reactionary ruling classes. The surging peasant armed struggle in Midnapur and in other districts of West Bengal despite the brutal repressive measures and political deception of the reactionary UF government, badly mauled the revisionists and the reactionaries and brought about the collapse of that government. So, instead of “putting down” the growing peasant armed struggle Jyoti-Promode and company are now licking their wounds and know not how to recover from the crushing defeat inflicted on them by the revolutionary peasants led by the CPI (M-L) and armed with the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. This recent event once more underlines the fact that in India today it is the revolutionary peasant masses led by the CPI (M-L) who are waging armed struggle for seizing political power by armed force have become the decisive force in our national political scene and the ruling classes and their lackeys—the revisionists—have no way to cope with it.

Gopiballavpur Area

The brutal repression unleashed by Jyoti Basu against the peasant masses of this area has completely failed to cow them or make them give up armed struggle. On the contrary, the peasant guerrillas there have become steeled and their daring and determination to persist in the guerrilla struggle, that is, annihilating the class enemies by guerrilla method, have increased. Deeply moved by the call given by the central leadership of the Party to avenge the murder of the Srikakulam martyrs and by Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call to spread the struggle in waves and to launch counter-attacks to

retaliate every attack of the enemy, the peasant guerrillas were eager to act. The conditions had changed and the jotedars no longer dared to come out of their holes without sufficient precaution nor was it possible to raid their houses any more. So, the guerrillas had to do some hard thinking to find out new ways to annihilate the class enemies. It was at this time that the daring daylight guerrilla action at the Bankathi market place took place in the midst of hundreds of people. This daring action sparked off the class hatred of the guerrillas, all of whom were landless peasants, and they decided to annihilate the class enemy in broad daylight.

From their investigation the guerrillas knew that their target, Ashu Mahapatra, a notorious jotedar of Block no. 2 under Gopiballavpur P.S., was to walk across a field at about 3 in the afternoon. So, a group of five guerrillas armed with pole-axes and daggers lay in ambush from 2 o'clock in the afternoon on March 5, the day the action took place, on either side of the road. Two of them were to intercept the class enemy first and hit him while the other three were to join them in carrying out the action successfully. The class enemy appeared on the scene at about the time anticipated by the guerrillas. He was hurrying across the field where peasants were working. The guerrilla commander gave the signal and the two interceptors approached the class enemy as soon as he reached the point where the action was to take place. The class enemy was a little surprised to see them standing on the road and asked them: “What are you two doing here?” Ignoring the question one of the guerrillas asked him: “Would you mind telling us the time, sir?” While one of them carried on this conversation the other guerrilla went into action and brought down the class enemy with a single blow of a big dagger. The other three guerrillas joined them in no time and all of them hit the class enemy mercilessly until he was dead. Then, as instructed

by their commander, the guerrillas left the place un- hurriedly. Not one among those who were working in fields all around cared to come forward to save the class enemy.

This class enemy owned 100 bighas of first grade land for growing paddy and also practised usury. Like many other jotedars he also enrolled himself as a teacher in a primary school, and used it as a place to take their mid- day rest. Only a few years ago this man robbed more than ten families of landless peasants of everything they had and then drove them out of the village. The poor and landless peasants as well as the middle peasants of 10 villages suffered terribly from his ruthless exploitation and oppression. After the peasant revolutionary struggle started in Gopiballavpur this class enemy took a leading part in the counter-revolutionary organization of the jotedars and closely cooperated with the reactionary police sent by Jyoti Basu to suppress the peasant struggle. Lately, this man was engaged in supplying smuggled pistols to the jotedars. Along with others he forced the common people in his village and in other villages to act as guards during the night and threatened to get them arrested by the police if they did not do so. Lascivious in his personal life he maintained three concubines; the womenfolk of the poor and landless peasant families were incessantly harassed by this vulture of a man.

The annihilation of this hated class enemy has brought in its wake waves of enthusiasm among the peasant masses of this area. The middle peasants are also happy over it. The guerrillas have already received a number of invitations from the people to join in feasts to celebrate this heroic exploit of theirs. The jotedars along the entire border area are, however, scared to death. Many of them have already fled to towns, those who stayed on are now fleeing in panic. Some of them are even offering thousands of rupees to the guerrilla squads to purchase their own

security. But the guerrilla squads have realized the truth of what Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said: "To allow the murderers to live on means death to us." So, they have scornfully spurned the offer of the class enemies. "The only thing that we will do with your money is to trample upon it. Neither your sweet words nor your ill- gotten money will be able to detract us from annihilating you. We are determined to eliminate you and fully avenge the murder of our heroic martyrs of Srikakulam."

The parties of the so-called "united front" [since disin- tegrated], particularly, the CPM [the revisionist party of Jyoti-Promode-Harekrishna and company] are behaving like mad dogs because all their reactionary and revisionist tricks to fool the masses are going bankrupt. So, they are wildly threatening the masses like this: If you dare to kill any more jotedar whole villages will be burned to ashes. To this the indomitable revolutionary peasants imbued as they are with the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought retort: Victory will certainly be ours, because China's Chairman is our Chairman, China's path is our path! Let the revisionists bark madly, we now know the road to achieve our liberation, and no power on earth can stop us from advancing along that road. We are determined to destroy the anti-China war plots of imperialism and social- imperialism in the soil of India.

With this guerrilla action the peasant guerrilla war has spread to the other side of the river Subarnarekha beyond the "encirclement" of the reactionary police and troops.

Second action: Within two days of the above guerrilla action a group of 10 guerrillas struck another blow on March 7, in Kumirmundi village under Gopiballavpur P.S. within the "encirclement" of the reactionary police and troops. On that day the guerrillas along with a consider- able number of the revolutionary peasants carried out a daring raid on the house of a notorious jotedar Kedar Ghose in the above village. However, the class enemy who had

left the house a few minutes earlier could not be annihilated. But his corrupt son who tried to resist the guerrillas was annihilated. The guerrillas are determined to finish off Kedar who has now taken shelter in a police station. Apart from owning 150 bighas of land this class enemy practises usury on a massive scale and has invested more than a crore of rupees in money-lending business.

Third action : On March 21 a small group of 4 guerrillas annihilated in a daring action a despotic jotedar Narayan Pati of Beliabera block under Gopiballavpur P.S. at 8 o'clock in the morning. This class enemy had killed quite a few peasants and was the most hated person in the area. He was the principal adviser of the jotedars in building up a counter-revolutionary force of hired goondas. A few days before this action the jotedars mustered eight guns and encouraged and advised by the local SSP [a reactionary party of the so-called 'united front'] leader Dhananjay Kar, Rajaram Singh, Narayan Pati and others fired on the peasants in Asanbani village killing one and injuring four others. After this the peasants of the locality contacted the local guerrilla squad and urged them to punish the murderers. Acting according to their wishes the guerrillas pounced upon this class enemy at a place outside the village and annihilated him. The peasants who were working in the fields nearby not only did not come forward to save this hated class enemy but on the contrary encouraged the guerrillas by saying : "You have done the right thing. You should carry on with it."

Heroic peasant woman kills EFR bandit

Chairman Mao has said : "The masses are the real heroes." The truth of this profound teaching was once more demonstrated by the heroic peasant masses including the womenfolk of Gopiballavpur area. The revolutionary peasant armed struggle led by the CPI (M-L) has roused

them as never before. "With the rise of the peasant movement...the opportunity has come for them [the women] to lift up their heads." The peasant women of Gopiballavpur are truly beginning to "lift up their heads" and setting glorious examples of revolutionary heroism in fighting the reactionary police and troops.

On March 16 a group of 25 EFR bandit troops armed with rifles entered a village named Sindhui under Nayagram P.S. to carry out their depredations and oppress the peasants. The heroic peasant women of the village, however, armed themselves with traditional weapons like pole-axes and valiantly resisted the bandit troops. During this resistance a heroic peasant woman killed one EFR bandit with a pole-axe and snatched away his rifle. The agent who was acting as the guide of the bandits was also seriously injured. All the other bandits were so panic-stricken at this that they fled immediately. This incident has greatly enthused the peasant masses there and helped them to see more clearly the paper-tiger nature of the reactionary police and troops.

Debra Area : Daring daylight guerrilla actions

After getting Comrade Gunadhar Murmu arrested by the police the traitorous revisionists Jyoti-Promode and gang and the bourgeois press howled that they had "suppressed" the heroic peasant guerrilla struggle in Debra area. But their glee soon turned into gloom as the indomitable peasant guerrillas of the area led by the CPI (M-L) soundly slapped these jackals of reaction in the face by daringly annihilating in broad daylight another despotic jotedar Kanai Kuiti of Saldahari village in Block no. 3 under Debra P.S. on March 19. This was followed by another daring guerrilla action in broad daylight on March 22 in Keshpur P.S. area, in which a despotic jotedar of Uchahar village in zone no. 11 was annihilated.

Following are the reports of these two guerrilla actions written by comrades who took part in them.

First action : Roused by the call to avenge the murders of Srikakulam martyrs and "fearing neither hardship nor death," two new guerrilla recruits waylaid and annihilated Kanai Kuiti on March 19. They showed exemplary courage and resourcefulness in this action.

Kanai Kuiti was the most hated and despotic class enemy in the whole area. At the beginning of the peasant guerrilla struggle in Debra area the guerrillas raided his house but he had managed to escape at that time. He owned 200 bighas of land and gave loans against pawned articles. He extorted 25% interest on amounts lent by him and one and a half maunds of paddy for every maund loaned. He instituted law-suits against our comrades all over the district. A local influential leader of the Congress party this class enemy was on close terms with the police officers of the Debra and Keshpur police stations. An embodiment of ruthless feudal domination in the countryside he cynically boasted : "So long as I live I shall remain an enemy of the poor people and shall for ever trample them under my feet." The very mention of his name roused deep hatred in the hearts of the poor and landless peasants. He personally helped the reactionary police in oppressing the peasants and plotted with the corrupt government officials to arrest our leading comrades. In fact, he was responsible for the arrest of many ordinary peasants. With the development of the guerrilla warfare in the area he grew extremely cautious about his movements and used to spend most of his time in police camps.

It was known from investigation that Kuiti went to the weekly market at Marotala every Thursday and returned with 5 or 6 other people on bicycle. So, a group of six peasant guerrillas went to the Marotala market place on March 19 but were unable to annihilate the class enemy there. The two guerrillas who later annihilated him were

waiting on a bridge taking stock of the surroundings when they found the class enemy approaching on a bicycle along with 5 other people all of whom were also riding bicycles. It was afternoon and the road was full of people going to or coming from the weekly market. Groups of people were also chatting in front of many houses along the road. One of the two guerrillas hid his pole-axe under his arm and mingled with a group of people. As soon as the class enemy came within his striking distance, the guerrilla took out his pole-axe and hit the class enemy who fell from his bicycle. The other guerrilla came running and joined in the attack. Together they hit him eight times but as the pole-axes were rather blunt and light in weight they were unable to behead him. Many people watched this action and some of them even shouted but the guerrillas completed their job with uncommon courage in front of them and coolly requested the assembled crowd to disperse. After this they walked along with other people and later joined the other guerrilla comrades at the appointed place.

Mao Tsetung Thought has struck deep root among the heroic peasants of Midnapur. They are determined to carry their struggle forward to victory by overcoming all the tricks of the revisionists and reactionaries.

Second action : Within three days of the above action a small group of 3 peasant guerrillas annihilated in another daring daylight action a despotic jotedar Hafizuddin Mallik on March 22 in the Keshpur P.S. area. This was the second action in this area.

Apart from owning 450 bighas of land this class enemy had another 150 bighas of land mortgaged to him by the peasants. He invested 20 thousand rupees in money-lending business and extorted yearly interest of 120 per cent and 30 kgs. of paddy as interest for one maund (about 37 kg.) loaned. He grabbed the land of a number of poor and landless peasants through intimidation. He was a cruel oppressor of the peasants and forced agricultural labourers

to work for him for only 1 kg. of *atta* (coarse flour) per day. He mercilessly extorted labour rent forcing two labourers to work for him for only one rupee a day. He also owned a paddy godown, one coal depot and one bus. To protect his property and for continuing his ruthless exploitation and oppression this hated jotedar and usurer became a member of the CPM.

This class enemy moved about cautiously since the peasant guerrilla war started in Debra area. The peasant guerrillas failed in their previous attempts to annihilate him. On the day of the action three guerrillas—all of them poor and landless peasants—went to the weekly market at a place named Amdubi. But it was not possible for them to annihilate him there. So, they followed him when he was returning from the market in the afternoon and one of them brought him down with a blow of a pole-axe on the Midnapur-Narajole highway a little distance away from the market. Another guerrilla joined in the attack and beheaded him. Quite a number of poor people who were passing along the road at the time of the action stood around and watched with interest the guerrillas in action. None of them cared to move even a finger to come to the rescue of the class enemy because of their deep hatred against the jotedars. On the contrary an agricultural labourer who stood among the crowd warned others who stood around not to disturb the guerrillas in any way. Within a few minutes of this action a passenger bus and a lorry arrived at the spot. The heroic guerrillas then walked away unhurriedly across the fields like ordinary peasants and reached their appointed place of meeting after the dusk.

Naxalbari : (Darjeeling District)

Inspired by the stirring call of the central leadership of the CPI (M-L) to avenge the murder of the Srikakulam

martyrs and roused by the great call given by our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar: "Chairman's China is threatened with aggression, let us hasten the work of revolution!" the heroic peasant guerrilla comrades of Naxalbari led by the CPI (M-L) launched a new offensive against the class enemies and annihilated one class enemy and one agent on February 4 and 25 (briefly reported in *Liberation*, March, 1970).

First action: A guerrilla group annihilated one Bhusan Singh, a village dafadar (head of the village guards) of the police at 4:30 in the afternoon of February 4, in compliance with the verdict of the people's court passed against this man back in 1967.

Son of a village policeman, Bhusan Singh was tried in 1967 in a people's court attended by 500 peasants, who accused him of various crimes like forcibly evicting peasants from their land, beating up the peasants, imposing social fines on the peasants on behalf of the jotedars and handing over the peasants to the police. As Bhusan confessed his crimes to them and begged of them to spare his life, the people's court released him with the warning that if he committed any such crime in future he would be put to death. However, after his release Bhusan committed a number of crimes against the people during the large scale police repression launched by the 'united front' government in July 1967. His crimes included beating up of the peasants, getting them arrested by the police and looting the peasants' houses. He persecuted and harassed the peasants so that they repeatedly pressed the local guerrilla group to execute the verdict of the people's court. Acting according to the wishes of the masses the guerrilla group finally punished him with death, and moved away to safety. No guerrilla could be arrested by the police.

Second action: A group of 4 guerrillas annihilated Sunil Mukherji, a despotic jotedar and usurer and local bully at 11 on the morning of February 25. Owner of 100

bighas of land this class enemy also practised usury and was well-known in the countryside of the Siliguri subdivision as a notorious anti-communist and oppressor of the peasants and workers. During the last harvesting season he deprived one of his sharecroppers of his due share and took away all that he had harvested. Almost every peasant and worker of the area was a victim of his ruthless usury. In the name of extorting interests he beat up tea-garden workers and peasants, and on many occasions forcibly took away paddy from the peasants' homes and even robbed them of their last coin whenever he met them at the market place or in the street. He got most of his land free of cost from the peasants by forcing them to sign documents to transfer their land to him. This beast of a man was also a procurer of women and was beaten up in the tea gardens for this on more than one occasion. There are instances when this class enemy intruded into people's homes on one pretext or another to harass and oppress the womenfolk when there was no male member present.

This class enemy was the captain of the Home Guards in the Hatighisa-Naxalbari area with 70 men under him. He was a trusted agent of the police and was responsible for the arrest of many peasants during the three years from 1967 when the peasant uprising took place, to 1970. Moreover, he was a member of the police party of Home Guards that killed Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar in 1968. Along with the reactionary police force he beat up the peasants and looted their homes in 1967. He took great initiative in keeping watch over the communist workers and passing on information about them to the police. He was condemned to death by the people's court in 1967, and this decision was implemented by the heroic guerrillas on February 25, 1970. Jyoti Basu's police ran amuck at this and carried out wild repression against the village people; the jotedars are frightened to death, while

peasant masses are greatly enthused as a result of these two annihilations of their hated class enemies.

Sparks of Naxalbari Spread to Howrah, Nadia and Maldah Districts

Howrah district: A guerrilla squad of peasants and workers led by the CPI(M-L) lit the first sparks of peasant armed struggle in Howrah district on March 12. At 9-30 on that night they waylaid and annihilated Atul Sadhukhan, a despotic jotedar and usurer of Sahachak village under Amta P. S. At the time of the annihilation there was an armed bodyguard with the class enemy. The guerrillas caught hold of the bodyguard and stopped him from shouting and after the action let him off. The guerrillas succeeded in annihilating this class enemy in their fourth attempt, the previous three attempts having failed for various reasons. Apart from owning 200 bighas of land this class enemy had a thriving money-lending business in which he invested about 200 thousand rupees. He was also a big merchant of Calcutta and invested a few hundreds of thousand of rupees there. He made the life of the peasant masses in the village miserable by his exploitation and thereby earned their deep hatred. This first annihilation of a hated class enemy by the heroic guerrillas has created panic among the feudal exploiters and brought a wave of enthusiasm among the local poor people. All the attempts of the police to get information about the guerrillas are failing as the people are refusing to oblige them.

Nadia District

A group of eight peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the Aranghata Local Committee of the CPI(M-L) spread still further the flames of Naxalbari in Nadia district when

they waylaid and annihilated Nagendra Nath Biswas, a despotic jotedar, usurer and big jute merchant of Arkhisma village under Ranaghat P. S. The guerrillas were armed with traditional weapons like pole-axes, big choppers and iron rods. This is the third guerrilla action and the second annihilation in the district. The first annihilation by the guerrillas was done some days before in this area.

Apart from owning 100 bighas of land, the largest cloth shop in Aranghata and a jute godown, this class enemy also had a thriving money-lending business in which he invested about one hundred thousand rupees. He extorted 2,100 rupees from the poor peasants against only 700 rupees lent by him. A refugee from East Pakistan he came here as a pauper. It was the poor peasants of the village who fed him and saved him at that time. Later, he sucked the blood of the same peasants to build up his fortune.

The peasant guerrillas decided to punish this class enemy by death for these crimes: (1) he ruined many peasant families by his ruthless exploitation and reduced them to beggars; (2) he extorted 2,100 rupees against a loan of 700 rupees; (3) he built up his fortune through ruthless exploitation of the poor peasants and the local people thus pushing the entire poor people of the area into the jaws of death.

This class enemy always kept a group of *lathials* (men trained in using sticks as weapon) with him thus making it difficult for the guerrillas to attack him. But they studied the "three constantly read articles" of Chairman Mao and Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instruction to "spread the struggle in waves." This filled them with determination and confidence and they proceeded to annihilate the class enemy by overcoming all difficulties. At the time of annihilation the class enemy's brother who was accompanying him, began to shout for help. But not a single person came forward to help them. On the

contrary, the poor peasants and the common people of the area are jubilant over the annihilation of this class enemy. This has further strengthened the determination of the heroic guerrillas to closely follow Chairman Mao's teachings on relying firmly on the masses.

Maldah District

The revolutionary peasants led by the CPI (M-L) have kindled the flames of peasant armed struggle in this district. The heroic peasants of this district have a glorious tradition of armed struggles like the Santhal Uprising led by Jitu Santhal, the Kaibarta Uprising and the Tebhaga movement. The revisionists tried to confine the initiative of the peasant masses within the limits of peaceful and economic struggles like seizure of land and provoked the peasant masses to engage themselves in fighting bloody fratricidal battles against one another. But the revolutionary peasants of this district have now grasped the great truth taught by Chairman Mao: "**Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,**" and learned about Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's correct thesis: "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy" which has been defended and correctly applied in the concrete conditions of India by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. So, they have cast away the revisionist poisonous illusions and risen up in arms under the leadership of the CPI (M-L), and are waging armed struggle for seizing political power by armed force. They are determined to spread this struggle to every corner of the district and thus deal another telling blow to the reactionary ruling classes and their jackals—the revisionists.

The first shot of this struggle was fired by a group of four heroic guerrillas on the evening of March 15 when they waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer Jnan Roy of Kopadah village under Bamangola P.S. about 40 miles from Maldah town. The guerrillas used two big

choppers, one iron rod and one bamboo pole for annihilating this class enemy.

Owning 150 bighas of land this class enemy had a thriving money-lending business through which he extorted 15 rupees a month as interest on every 100 rupees lent by him, and two maunds of paddy against every maund loaned. He even refused to pay wages or provide food to the agricultural labourers who worked for him. He swallowed up the land, house and other belongings of a number of labouring peasants through ruthless exploitation.

The guerrillas are safe under the protection of the masses and the police have failed to trace any of them. The annihilation of this class enemy has created great stir in the area.

24 Parganas District

The heroic peasant guerrillas of this district annihilated in broad daylight a notorious class enemy Nilkanta Chatterji alias Chuni in the countryside of the Barasat area on March 8. This class enemy who was injured in a previous guerrilla action, began to coerce and intimidate the poor peasants in order to induce them to betray the revolutionary peasant guerrillas. He offered to give seven bighas of land to anyone who gave information about the guerrillas. Refusing to be intimidated or tempted into betraying the guerrillas whom they are protecting zealously, the peasants kept the guerrillas daily informed about the class enemy's activities and urged them to finish this vicious enemy of theirs without delay. Acting according to the wishes of the peasant masses, a group of peasant guerrillas annihilated this class enemy with a spear at 9 o'clock in the morning. This annihilation has created great jubilation among the masses of poor and landless peasants over a wide area under the police stations of Barasat, Deganga and Rajarhat. Jyoti Basu's police are roaming the area in large numbers oppressing and intimidating the local people with guns in

order to get information about the guerrillas. But all their attempts have failed and the guerrillas are moving about among the masses like fish in water.

Burdwan District

The flames of revolutionary peasant armed struggle led by the CPI (M-L) are steadily spreading to new areas in the countryside of Burdwan district. Within 9 days of the first guerrilla action in this district the heroic peasant guerrillas have struck their second blow in another part of the district on March 16. On that day a group of three poor peasant guerrillas waylaid and annihilated a despotic jotedar and usurer Purna Ghosh of Baura village under Katwa P.S. This vulture of a man owned many bighas of land and ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the peasants of a number of villages. Lewd and litigious, this class enemy was a local leader of the Congress party and was intensely hated by the people of Baura and other neighbouring villages. So, as soon as they heard the heartening news of the annihilation of the despotic jotedar and usurer Bhutnath Roy in Ausgram P.S. (on March 7) by the peasant guerrillas, the impoverished and oppressed peasant masses of this area began to think of annihilating Purna Ghosh, and the local Party organization of the CPI (M-L) and the peasant guerrillas led by the Party acting according to the wishes of the masses annihilated the class enemy. So intense was the class hatred of the peasant guerrillas against him that they severed his head and then kicked at and repeatedly stabbed his trunk.

This annihilation has created unprecedented enthusiasm among the peasant masses of the area. The guerrillas are safe under the protection of the masses and the police have failed to trace any of them. These two annihilations in quick succession by the peasant guerrillas have shaken the ruling classes and particularly their trusted lackeys, the traitorous revisionists Jyoti, Promode, Harekrishna and company, who considered this district as their safest stronghold.

L—April. 5

The Red Flag Flies Victoriously Over Srikakulam

SOMETIME ago Vengal Rao, Home Minister of Andhra's reactionary government, boasted that they had put out the flames of armed peasant struggle in Srikakulam. The revisionist accomplices of these butchers—both the Dange-Rajeswar Rao clique and the Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu gang—took the cue from the reactionary ruling classes and spread the lying propaganda that police atrocities had quelled the revolutionary armed struggle of the brave Srikakulam peasantry led by the CPI (M-L). It is not surprising that those who pay these revisionist pipers called the tune. It is the job of these lackeys to peddle the path of "peaceful transition", the "parliamentary path", in order to divert the people from the road of revolution and to sow doubt, confusion and despair among the people by exaggerating the strength of the enemy. While they shed hypocritical tears at the murder of our brave comrades and revolutionary peasants, their real purpose is the same as that of their reactionary masters—to strike terror into the hearts of the people.

The Enemy's Offensive Is Smashed

Vicious, indeed, was the offensive that the reactionary governments at the centre and in the state planned and launched against the revolutionary peasants. It was a two-pronged offensive. While they waged a campaign of ruthless armed suppression, they tried to practise political deception too.

To perpetuate white terror the reactionary government arrested peasants on a mass scale, threw them into

prisons or concentration camps and tortured them. They murdered some of our beloved comrades when they happened to capture them. Besides the brave comrades from the Sompeta area who were shot, the butchers also murdered heroic peasant guerrillas of the Red area—Comrades Bhimanna, Poorna, Bapanna, Singu, Jammanna, Malayya, Chalaka, Sombara, Abbai—and members of village self-defence squads—Boosanna and Sudajang of the Red area and seven other members of the Tulasi hills.

The Red area, itself was encircled by 12,000 strong CRP bandits for four months from October, 1969 to January, 1970. The enemy formed three rings round the area to blockade it and sever its links with the outside world.

While carrying on a savage campaign of suppression, the enemy resorted to various methods of political deception. The reactionary government distributed pamphlets in the name of the CPI (M-L) spreading false stories and maligning revolutionary heroes. Only recently they tried to spread the vilest falsehood that Comrade Tejeswar Rao, the beloved leader of the people and a steadfast revolutionary, had surrendered to the police. After his capture the enemy failed to murder him as they had murdered other comrades in a cowardly manner because thousands of people had gathered at the time of his arrest. So the enemy sought to malign him and to sow confusion and distrust within the ranks of the people through such false and pernicious propaganda. But the people themselves can see through this foul game of the enemy. To prevent him from escaping, the prison walls have been raised, armed guards around the prison have been reinforced, he is kept in lock-up for twenty-four hours and sentries have been assigned the exclusive job of keeping strict watch on him alone. He is escorted to the court chained and with wrists tied with handcuffs. Comrade Tejeswar Rao has shown his contempt for the bourgeois court, a part of the reactionary state apparatus, and refused to recognize its

authority to try him. He called the presiding officer of the court an agent of the reactionary ruling classes—the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords. This courageous defiance was a rude shock to the court officials and members of the bar. Thousands of people throng the law court when Comrade Tejeswar Rao is brought there.

A “pacification programme” has also been launched to win the peasants away from the path of armed struggle and from the influence of the CPI (M-L). A big amount of money was distributed among them and each Girijan peasant received Rs. 50 in cash, one blanket and about 2 kilos of rice. This was all a part of the counter-revolutionary dual tactics adopted by the reactionary ruling classes when they failed to suppress the revolutionary armed struggle by force alone.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **“Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people’s cause, and they will never go against this logic. This a Marxist law.”**

All the vile tactics of the enemy to destroy the Red area have failed. Armed with the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and applying it creatively under the guidance of the CPI(M-L) and our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the brave fighters led by our beloved Comrade Vempatapu Satyanarayan resolutely fought back and broke through the encirclement by the end of January 1970.

During the four months of “encirclement and suppression” campaign, 36 CRP bandits were exterminated and many more injured in a number of guerrilla actions. Thus the number of reactionary policemen killed in the area by the brave guerrillas rose to 120. Following are a few of the guerrilla actions that took place during this period:

1. In upper Aviri, a guerrilla unit under the central command killed one CRP bandit and injured three.

2. One CRP bandit was killed and two injured in a guerrilla action near Sanjuvai.

3. One CRP bandit was killed and another injured near Vegulavada.

4. One CRP bandit was killed and another injured near Ithamanuguda.

5. On the Bothili hills 30 CRP bandits were ambushed twice one day and, as a result, two CRP bandits were killed and 4 were injured.

6. Again on the Bothili hills one guerrilla squad met with a CRP force three times at different places and in these three encounters it annihilated 8 CRP bandits and injured many.

7. The Sobba camp was attacked by one guerrilla squad and at least 2 CRP bandits were killed. It is almost sure that the number of CRP bandits killed was much bigger.

8. A *tahsildar* (collector of revenue) accompanied by the armed police came to Bothili for distributing money among the peasants. A guerrilla squad attacked them, killed one police constable and injured the *tahsildar*.

9. One guerrilla squad arrested five surveyors who dared to enter the village Nidagallu in the Red area. They were tried in the people’s court where our politics of seizure of political power by armed force was explained to them. They seemed convinced of the justness of our revolutionary struggle and donated what they had with them to the Party fund.

“All reactionaries are paper tigers”

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **“All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.”**

During the last four months the paper-tiger nature of the Indian reactionaries has again and again been exposed.

Once the central squad was encircled by thousands of armed CRP bandits. They controlled all the roads leading to the area. But they dared not climb up the hills. In the meantime the central squad became ready for the battle though it wanted to avoid the encounter, if possible. Our heroes tried to manoeuvre so as to break through the encirclement. The armed bandits made a great show, stayed throughout the night and, in the morning, went back. They dared not go up the hills—least the central squad should still be there.

Our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar told us after taking into account the concrete conditions of the Red area that the enemy must be so demoralized that he would try to run away even on hearing the least sound. This is exactly what happened on many occasions :

1. Once a Girijan peasant was working on the slopes of a hill with his pestle. He struck it against a piece of stone. On hearing that sound a group of CRP bandits who were passing by the place at that moment took to their heels in panic.

2. On another occasion a Girijan peasant who was hurrying to his shelter up on the hills saw armed CRP bandits approaching him. As he moved, a stone rolled down and the sound reverberated among the hill sides. At this, the bandits fled for their lives.

3. Once a village self-defence squad kept a few bombs in a basket. As rats meddled with them, one of the bombs exploded causing the others, too, to explode. Just then CRP hordes were entering the village. On hearing the sound of the explosion, the bandits ran for their lives in utter panic.

4. Three Girijan peasants had once climbed a Mahua tree to pluck flowers. From a distance CRP bandits mistook them for guerrillas and immediately disappeared.

People are enjoying a good laugh at the pitiable plight of the reactionary police, at the fear and demoralization that have gripped them.

“The masses are the real heroes”

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us : **“The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.”** The heroic peasants of the Red area are performing great deeds of courage, heroism and self-sacrifice.

1. In April, 1969, an old Girijan woman feigned blindness after arrest. A constable who was sympathetic to our Party and cherished great regard for our beloved Comrade Vempatapu Satyanarayan released her and asked her to convey his greetings to Comrade V. S. N. and the central squad.

2. In May, 1969, 80 Girijan peasants escaped from the concentration camp in the Aviri area despite heavy enemy guard.

3. In July, 1969, 60 Girijan peasants put out the light in the Donibai police camp and escaped despite heavy enemy guard.

4. In November, 1969, a guerrilla squad attacked a band of armed CRP bandits when they were taking from one place to another 6 Girijan peasants whom they had arrested. The bandits took to their heels leaving the peasants free.

5. In the third week of November, 1969, seven brave Girijan peasants escaped from the concentration camp at Neelakantapuram. They devised an ingenious plan. For seven consecutive days they wetted with urine a spot in a wall made of unburnt brick and covered it with a piece of cloth. When the spot was well soaked, they made a hole there and made good their escape.

6. In the last week of November, 1969, a Girijan peasant escaped from the police camp at Donibai. He was pursued and surrounded by armed bandits. The brave hero picked up a stone and flung it at one armed CRP bandit with such an accurate aim that the latter died on the spot. He fought undaunted but was riddled with enemy bullets. This peasant revolutionary dared to struggle to the end and sacrificed his very life for the cause of the people, for the cause of revolution.

7. A Girijan peasant was brought under arrest with his feet tied together to the large police camp at Elvinpeta. His hands were tied from behind to a iron-bar fixed in the ground. The peasant revolutionary waited patiently for the moment when the armed guards, who were only mercenaries, would relax their vigilance. When the moment came, the bold peasant revolutionary pulled up the iron-bar with all his strength and limped swiftly into the nearby bushes in the midst of darkness. He fell, rolled on and braved the shower of bullets from the pursuing armed gangs. He reached home triumphantly though bleeding.

8. Another peasant revolutionary, a guerrilla comrade, whose brother had been killed by the enemy bandits a week before, was arrested and taken to the notorious Sobba police camp. His hands were tied from behind with one end of a rope and the other end was tied to the top of a pole. Though surrounded by cruel enemies, this comrade did not lose his head even for a moment, nor was he afraid of them. He was drawing up an ingenious plan to free himself and to go back to his comrades to carry on the revolutionary struggle. As the night approached, he pretended to feel cold and demanded a blanket. The bandits covered him with one. Our brave comrade struggled on throughout the night and, at day-break, he succeeded in untying his hands. He held the unfastened end of the rope tightly so that the enemy might not suspect his moves. He then spat near the sentry who felt annoyed at it. This was what he actually desired. Then he asked the sentry to take him to a little distance where he

might spit. The sentry did so holding the other end of the rope in one hand and his rifle in the other. Our comrade's plan worked. The sentry was unable to use the rifle so long as he held the other end of the rope. At an opportune moment our comrade dropped the end of the rope he was holding and made good his escape. The hired bandits chased our hero and showered a hail of bullets. He was injured in one leg but he reached the centre overcoming all difficulties.

Srikakulam Marches Forward

The heroic central squad, the nucleus of the People's Liberation Army that is being built, has fought back and defeated the enemy hordes, superior in number and weapons, and has smashed all their "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. It has inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

The CRP hirelings are asking people not to intimate their movements to the guerrillas. They also tell people that they do not want to have any information about the guerrillas. There is demoralization in the armed forces camp. Five CRP men died recently of small pox for want of proper care.

People, on the other hand, are firmly behind the revolutionary authority—more firmly than ever before. The guerrillas virtually lived on the rice supplied by the reactionary government to the peasants, who brought the same to the guerrillas. Thus the economic blockade by the enemy was defeated.

Our beloved leader, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, has pointed out that a new man is emerging out of the flames of armed class struggle in Srikakulam. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought he is fighting not for himself but for the people. No power on earth can conquer him because he fears neither hardship nor death. That is why the Red political power in Srikakulam is invincible. It will shine ever brighter in the course of the revolutionary struggle that is sure to bring about the doom of the imperialists, domestic reactionaries and revisionists.

NOTES

(*Continued from page 16*)

of the time and reduced it into a set of lifeless and meaningless phrases which they twisted and distorted at will to serve their opportunist ends. Lenin waged a fierce, protracted and principled struggle against these falsifiers of Marxism to restore its revolutionary soul, and linked this invincible ideological weapon of the proletariat with the living revolutionary movement of his time in Russia. By applying with genius the universal truth of Marxism to the concrete conditions of Russia and by constantly summing up the experience gained from the concrete practice of Russian revolution and by making a penetrating analysis of the new era in which he worked Lenin added a whole new set of weapons in the arsenal of Marxism. Thus, he not only restored the revolutionary soul of Marxism and defended it but developed it to a new stage—Leninism. This was a necessary precondition for the birth of the Bolshevik Party and the earth-shaking events that were to follow.

The Bolshevik Party which was created and led personally by Lenin, was the vanguard of the Russian proletariat. Led by Lenin it mercilessly fought and defeated both the "Left" and Right opportunism and boldly blazed a new path for the liberation of the exploited and oppressed masses. Lenin sharply repudiated and exposed the Mensheviks and the pseudo-Marxists who insisted that the Russian proletariat and the revolutionary masses should not go beyond the phrases written down in Marxist literature. What they demanded was nothing short of a downright betrayal of the revolutionary cause, the cause of the proletariat and of everything that Marx and Engels stood for. Led by Lenin the Bolshevik Party resolutely rebuffed those counter-revolutionaries who donned the mask of Marxism, and stood firmly on Leninism. This was

basically why the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin was able to lead the Russian proletariat in carrying through to victory the great October Socialist Revolution thus changing the entire course of human history. Indeed, the entire course of Lenin's great revolutionary activity and the earth-shaking events that resulted from it demonstrate clearly how the correct application of the universal truth of Marxism to the concrete practice of revolution not only developed Marxism itself, revitalised it and filled it with vigour but also liberated the exploited and oppressed masses, changed the society and changed the world. This is why Lenin is remembered with such warmth by the revolutionary people the world over.

Forty six years have passed since the death of the great Lenin. The world has changed greatly during these years. Today, the world has entered a new era different from that in which Lenin lived and worked. Imperialism, against which Lenin dealt the first telling blow by leading the great October Revolution to victory, has declined further and is heading towards its total collapse while socialism, the glorious red banner of which was raised victoriously for the first time by Lenin, is advancing to worldwide victory. This is irrefutable proof of the inexhaustible vitality of Lenin's cause—the cause of socialism and the liberation of mankind. The world proletariat which won its first historic victory under Lenin's leadership is advancing with giant strides in its irresistible march to conquer the world. The mighty waves of people's revolutionary struggles are surging forward as never before.

This tremendous progress also gave rise to a number of urgent and important problems which were not and could not be present in Lenin's days. But the solution of these problems was necessary for the further progress of the world revolutionary forces. It is Chairman Mao who led the Chinese people in carrying forward the second great

revolution of world importance—the Chinese Revolution—to victory. Later, leading the worldwide fight against modern revisionism and in solving the all important question of preventing the restoration of capitalism in a country where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led to victory the third great revolution of world importance—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In leading these two great revolutions to victory Chairman Mao not only defended Marxism-Leninism but developed it in an all-round way into a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought. It is Mao Tsetung Thought, the highest stage of development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, that is the guarantee and basis of success of any revolution in any country today. Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideology of the proletariat and without it, it is impossible for socialism to win worldwide victory or even to maintain its position in any country where it has been established. Truly, the present era is the era of Mao Tsetung Thought—the era of Mao Tsetung.

However, like the old time revisionists Bernstein, Kautsky and company in Lenin's days, the modern revisionists are today bitterly opposing the proletarian ideology—Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought—and the present day revolutionary movement everywhere in the world. These renegades have completely discarded the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and are frantically peddling their notorious wares like 'peaceful path', 'parliamentarism' etc. They have completely betrayed the cause of the proletariat and turned into counter-revolutionaries and willing accomplices of imperialism and reaction. It is Chairman Mao who led the worldwide Great Debate against modern revisionism and inflicted smashing defeats on it. It was this historic and victorious fight against modern revisionism led by Chairman Mao that brought about a tremendous new high tide in the

worldwide revolutionary struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Of late, the modern revisionists are resorting to subtler means to oppose Chairman Mao, Mao Tsetung Thought and revolution. They pretend to follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China led by him but oppose Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and refuse to recognize the world-historic significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. The revisionist renegades Asit Sen, Nagi Reddy and company are such people. Their frantic opposition to Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the correct line of the CPI (M-L) worked out by him stems directly from their opposition to Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the Communist Party of China. In denying the tremendous international significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution they deny life itself. They do not understand that the Indian revolution which started with the Naxalbari struggle broke out under the direct impact of the Cultural Revolution. It is the raging flames of Cultural Revolution personally kindled by Chairman Mao in China that created the spark of Naxalbari struggle in India. The Indian revolution is part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and can develop and win victory only by fighting revisionism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has brought about an unprecedented new high tide in the people's revolutionary struggle of the world. Because, it is the Cultural Revolution that has shown the Communists and revolutionaries everywhere the correct way to fight and defeat modern revisionism—the most poisonous enemy of the proletariat and of revolution in the world today. We in India know from our own experience how profoundly the Cultural Revolution has influenced the Indian revolution and promoted its rapid development. As our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed

out: "The revolutionary people of India were all but submerged in the morass of revisionism when Chairman Mao gave his clarion call and pointed out that revisionism is the main danger today...As Chairman Mao took up his pen in 1962 to fight modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre, we found our way. Later, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution rang out Chairman Mao's great call: "**It is right to rebel against the reactionaries,**" which filled our hearts with courage and gave us tremendous strength to rise up and stand on our own feet. We defied the revisionist leadership of the Party and independently took the road of developing the armed struggle of the peasant masses...This is how we organized the Naxalbari struggle."

Today, Lenin's cause, that is, the cause of the proletariat, can be carried forward victoriously only by following Chairman Mao and the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. This is because, today, revisionism is the enemy of the revolution of every country and no revolution of any country in the present era can win victory without fighting revisionism. And it is impossible to fight revisionism successfully unless we unreservedly and faithfully follow Chairman Mao and accept Mao Tsetung Thought to guide us in all our work. To refuse to do this means refusing to make revolution and becoming a willing victim of revisionism. As Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "the compass of revolution in this era is the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Biao. Whether one follows the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Biao is the only yardstick to judge a revolutionary" and "today, China is the centre of world revolution and the base area of the revolutionary struggle of every country. So, uniting with Communist Party of China means uniting with the revolutionary people of the whole world."

We reiterate our pledge to put this programme into practice.

Let us once more shout that soul-stirring battle cry given by Comrade Charu Mazumdar: "China's Chairman is our Chairman! China's path is our path!" Let the imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists tremble before the tremendous power of this great battle cry. The defiant, revolutionary Indian peasants in their tens of thousands are rallying under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought with this battle cry on their lips. Led by the CPI (M-L) and advancing along the correct line laid down by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, they, with arms in hands, are vigorously battering away at the rotten system of feudal exploitation and oppression in India's countryside, and the rule of imperialism and reaction have already started to crumble there. The long-delayed Indian revolution has begun and is marching forward in giant strides. This is how India's revolutionary masses are carrying forward the cause of Lenin. Making revolution is the most precious tribute that can be paid to the great revolutionary—Lenin. This is exactly how we remember Lenin in India to-day, on the occasion of his hundredth birth anniversary.

THE U.S. AGGRESSORS IN CAMBODIA SHALL BE DEFEATED

After years of threat, blackmail, provocation, sabotage and open aggressive acts, the U.S. imperialists who, together with the Soviet social-imperialists, enjoy the distinction of being the most ferocious enemies of mankind, staged a coup d'etat in Cambodia on March 18 last. Cambodia's Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk was deposed during his absence from the country and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Cheng Heng clique, faithful lackeys of U.S. imperialism, seized power in the country.

For a long time the U.S. imperialists have sought to turn Cambodia and Laos, just as they have tried to turn Vietnam, into their neo-colonies and military bases for war

of aggression against China. When the U.S. imperialists were faced with certain defeat on the battle-fields of South Vietnam, they managed to stave it off for the time being by practising, with the help of the Soviet social-imperialists, the fraud of peace talks. In the name of Vietnamising the war, Nixon, like Dulles, is trying to "use Asians to fight Asians" in the interest of the U.S. imperialists.

What does Nixon's policy of "peace" amount to? It amounts to continued war against South Vietnam, expansion of the war of aggression against Laos and C.I.A. manipulated coup d'etat in Cambodia, besides intensifying war preparations elsewhere. Of late, U.S. imperialism sent large numbers of B-52 bombers based in Thailand to make savage bombing raids on the liberated areas in Laos. It furnished the Laotian Rightist troops and bandit armed bands with more money and munitions and instigated them to carry out "nibbling attacks" and harassing raids on the liberated areas. It even flung Thai accomplice troops into the war of aggression against Laos. Under the direct command of the U.S. imperialists, Laotian Rightist troops and their accomplice troops launched a large-scale offensive against the liberated areas during August-September last year, and at one time overran the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang region. But the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people led by the Laotian Patriotic Front smashed the military adventures of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, won a great victory and recaptured the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang region.

Before the coup in Cambodia, the extreme Right-wing factions had organized raids on the embassies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of South Vietnam in the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh on March 11 last. Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's Head of State, then in France, pointed out that the incident was organized with the aim of "changing the political and ideological orientation of Cambodia" and driving the

country into the "American camp." He decided to return home to restore "the policy of neutrality and non-alignment and guarantee the existence of Cambodia." The C.I.A. pulled the strings and the coup was staged just one week after. A U.S. ship carrying weapons and other military supplies sailed into the Cambodian waters on the plea of helping to repair this ship. According to an A.F.P. report from Washington, the Cambodian army recently used up-to-date U.S. M-16 rifles. On March 19, the day after the coup, the U.S. State Department promptly announced its recognition of the puppet regime it had installed in Phnom Penh.

The puppet regime is facing increasing resistance from the Cambodian people, who have a tradition of fighting the U.S. imperialists. Demonstrations have taken place in various parts of the country and people have also risen arms in hand to overthrow the traitors. Norodom Sihanouk has called upon his people to "struggle against the U.S. imperialists who have invaded our Indo-China and are oppressing its peoples and breeding injustice, war and all kinds of calamities, hostility and disunity, troubles, crises and misery among our three peoples—the Khmers, Vietnamese and Laotians." While the puppet regime is already colluding with the U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese lackeys and carrying out joint attacks on the South Vietnam people's liberation armed forces near the Cambodia-South Vietnam border, the national liberation struggles of the three peoples—the Khmers, the Vietnamese and the Laotians—are merging into one great struggle against the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys—a struggle that will end with the complete rout of U. S. imperialism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao said: "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in

their struggle." The Cambodian people, together with the heroic people of Vietnam and Laos, will also persevere in their struggle against U.S. imperialism surmounting all difficulties, defeat all its plans of aggression and win final victory in their struggle for freedom and national independence.

The Cambodian experience has many lessons for the world's people. It has shown that there can be no genuine neutrality between the camp of imperialism and the camp of the revolutionary people. It also disproves the idea that U.S. imperialism had burnt its fingers in Vietnam and would not undertake reckless adventures elsewhere. It is too risky to forget the fact that imperialism means war. It has also exposed the revisionist attempts at lulling the vigilance of the world's people by creating illusions about the "sensibleness" of the U.S. imperialists and the "peaceful" nature of Nixon's policy.

What explains the silence of the different cliques of Indian revisionists over the U.S.-engineered coup in Cambodia? They are afraid that the anti-imperialist struggles of the people of other countries may rouse and inspire the people of this country. Lackeys of Soviet social-imperialism, they must serve U.S. imperialism too, whose principal accomplice is Soviet social-imperialism. So, neither the Dange clique nor the Sundarayya-Nambodiripad-Jyoti Basu clique can denounce their U.S. masters and hail the brave resistance of the Cambodian people against the U.S. imperialists. Instead, they are lending support by all covert means to their U.S. masters. Today, these counter-revolutionaries, afraid of their own people, can hardly conceal their role as enemies of the national liberation struggles of other countries. Their long silence about the revolutionary struggles the heroic people of Burma and Indonesia are waging is quite eloquent.

NOTES

"LIBERATION" MOURNS DEATH OF ANNA LOUISE STRONG

The Editorial Board, *Liberation*, deply mourns the death of Comrade Anna Louise Strong, the valued friend of the world's people, who served the cause of world revolution to the end of her life.

AN ARMY CIRCULAR

We reprint below extracts from a circular issued by the Indian Army Headquarters in August, 1969:

WHO ARE THE NAXALITES

1. Naxalites are members of an extremist political party which does not believe in a democratic, constitutional form of government. They believe in violence, bloodshed and dictatorship. China is their model.

WHAT DO THE NAXALITES STAND FOR

3. Naxalites stand for the overthrow of the parliamentary form of government. Their aim is to change the entire structure of our society. They have no faith in our culture, traditions, family life and religion.

[5. Many dacoits and cut-throats have joined the Naxalites thinking that under cover of political activity, they would be able to carry on their unlawful work. How can Naxalites give shelter and protection to these goondas? They are not able to protect themselves. They are chased, hunted and caught by both the public as well as the police. Those who join hands with them will meet the same fate.]

HOW DO THEY OPERATE

6. Naxalites claim: This political power can be established by arousing and arming the peasants, by

organizing guerrilla groups, by creating liberated areas, by building a regular armed force and by protecting and expanding this force.

... ..

11. They know that the army and the police are the guardians of internal security and law and order. Therefore, one of their aims is : Win over the lower ranks of the police and military.

... ..

ANY SUCCESS

13. Naxalites have small groups in many states but their activities are confined to small areas. For example, they tried to create trouble in SRIKAKULAM district of ANDHRA, in parts of BIHAR, U. P., KERALA and ORISSA. They started the GIRIJAN or hill tribes' movement. They are believed to have shot dead a retired senior military officer at his farm near PATIALA for no fault of his. Such senseless acts have made them unpopular among the country folk.

14. Naxalites have, thus, come in conflict not only with all right-thinking people but with the state governments also. All state governments from WEST BENGAL to KERALA have put checks on their activities.

... ..

NAXALITES IN TRUE COLOURS

20. Naxalites cannot benefit anyone. Poverty cannot be removed by killing innocent people or depriving others of their lawful possessions. The problems of farmers can be solved only by peaceful and lawful methods such as co-operative farming, use of better seeds and fertilisers. Opportunities are being created to provide employment to landless labourers. At a recent meeting of the custodians of the nationalised banks it was decided to give loans to farmers on easier terms. Violence, bloodshed and loot as

practised by Naxalites are not going to solve the problems of the poor.

SAVDHAN

22. We have taken an oath to uphold the Constitution and to protect our country from internal and external danger. We act as a fence so that the field may prosper.

... ..

25. Let us be alert all the time. We should not even for a moment be misled by people who are the open, declared enemies of our country, our society and our religion.

* * * *

Why did the army authorities deem it necessary to issue the above warning to the armymen ? There is obvious anxiety because the armed guerrilla struggle waged by the poor and landless peasants under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) in different parts of the country is causing a stir among the lower ranks of the army as it is rousing workers, peasants, students and youths. Discontent is simmering among the armymen because of the oppression they have to endure. It is the sons of peasants who constitute the lower ranks of the army. It is significant that reference has been made in the appeal to the ways of improving the lot of the "farmers". During the days of both direct and indirect colonial rule the Indian army, the main instrument of oppression by the rulers, has been carefully isolated from the people and from the political life of the people. Systematic attempts are made to imbue the minds of the armymen with all sorts of reactionary ideas. This appeal and this warning indicate that, despite all these efforts of the ruling classes, there is a ferment among the armymen, a ferment that is causing no little anxiety to their masters.

It is interesting to note that the reactionary army authorities specifically mentioned and commended the revisionist-led 'United Front' governments of West Bengal and Kerala for working hand in hand with other reactionaries to "put checks on the activities" of the CPI (M-L). The close similarity between the propaganda carried on by the Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu revisionist clique against the CPI (M-L) and the arguments put forward by the army authorities to combat the influence of the CPI (M-L) is also interesting. There is the same attempt to depict the cadres of the CPI (M-L) as 'half-political and half anti-social', the same eagerness to oppose the campaign to annihilate the class enemy and to describe it as mere futile killing of a few individuals, the same manoeuvre to deceive the people with the bait of economic incentives, the same insistence on peaceful and 'lawful' methods, the same abhorrence for violence, the same respect for the Constitution and the same dislike for China. There is little to distinguish between the language of this appeal and the recent utterances of revisionist lackeys like Jyoti Basu, Ranadive and Konar. The difference between the various sets of lackeys of the ruling classes is getting more and more blurred as the peasant guerrilla struggle sweeps forward.

COMRADE CHARU MAZUMDAR'S ARTICLE AND "PEOPLE'S PATH"

Comrade Charu Mazumdar's article "Party's Call to the Youth and Students" was published in *Liberation*, September, 1969 (vol. II, No. 11.) *People's Path* of Jullundur chose to reprint it in its issue of October, 1969. We are amazed that it also chose to smuggle into the article the following sentence of theirs: "They [the students and the youth] should learn and follow the path of Gadhar Party, Anasol Samiti, Yugantar, Chapakar Mahrattas, Naujwan Bharat Sabha." This is political

dishonesty of the worst sort though this is not unexpected of a magazine like *People's Path* in its present degenerate state. We would warn our comrades and sympathisers never to take as authentic what is reproduced in a magazine like *People's Path*.

A REPLY TO QUERIES

We have received several letters from friends enquiring whether the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was represented at the celebrations on November 28 and 29 last of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic event of Albania's liberation. The Party of Labour of Albania sent kind invitations to the Party but, owing to various difficulties created by the reactionary Government of India, no representatives of the CPI (M-L) could attend the celebrations on November 28 and 29. Instead, the Central Organizing Committee of the Party sent a message of greetings to the Party and the people of Socialist Albania on this festive occasion.

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