

LIBERATION

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It is necessary to train a great many people as vanguards of the revolution. People who are politically far-sighted. People imbued with the spirit of struggle and self-sacrifice. People with largeness of mind who are loyal, active and upright. People who never pursue selfish interests, but are whole-heartedly for the liberation of the nation and society. People who fear no difficulties, but remain steadfast and advance courageously in the face of difficulties. People who are neither high and mighty nor seekers after the limelight, but are conscientious and full of practical sense. If China has large numbers of such vanguards, the tasks of the Chinese revolution can be successfully accomplished.

—Mao Tse-tung

In Memory of Norman Bethune

—Mao Tse-tung

A member of the Communist Party of Canada, Comrade Norman Bethune¹ was over fifty when, sent by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States to help China in the Anti-Japanese War, he made light of a distance of thousands of miles and arrived in China. He came to Yen-an last spring, went to work in the Wutai mountains, and unfortunately died a martyr to his duties. What kind of spirit is this that made a foreigner regard, without any selfish motive, the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism and every Chinese Communist must learn from this spirit. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can succeed only if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for liberation of the people of the colonies and semi-colonies and the proletariat of the colonies and semi-colonies supports the struggle for liberation of the proletarians of the capitalist countries.² Comrade Bethune has followed this Leninist

1. Member of the Canadian Communist Party (renamed the Canadian Labour Progressive Party in August 1943) and a distinguished doctor. In 1936 when the German and Italian fascists invaded Spain, he went to the front to work for the anti-fascist Spanish people. At the outbreak of China's Anti-Japanese War in 1937, he arrived in the Chinese liberated areas at the head of a medical corps of Canadian and American doctors. In April 1938 he went to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh border area by way of Yen-an, where he worked for two years and set a good example in self-sacrifice, enthusiasm for work and sense of responsibility. On November 12, 1939, he died in Wan county, Hopeh, of a fatal disease contracted when treating the wounded soldiers.

2. J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", Part VI, "The National Problem."

The United Front and the Revolutionary Party

—Charu Mazumdar

The party that is not engaged in directing an armed struggle has no business in talking about a united front. This is because such a party is quite unable to build a united front on the basis of an independent and clear-cut policy. Consequently, it inevitably finds itself at the tail-end of things. A united front can be successfully built up only by directing successfully an armed struggle. The principal thing about a united front is that it is the united front of the working class and the peasantry. Only such a united front can unite the middle classes and can unite, even though temporarily, with all those with whom unity is possible. Only a revolutionary party can carry out this task. And in the present era the sole criterion to judge whether a party is revolutionary or not is whether the party is directing an armed struggle or not.

At present much hullabaloo is being raised in India over the so-called united front. This united front is, however, nothing more than the ganging up of some reactionary parties to gain power. The sole object of their ganging up is to capture the ministerial *guddis*. The so-called Left parties also are uniting, as they did in West Bengal and Kerala, with the same object in their view. That no Leftism brought them together has been amply proved by the actions of the cabinets which they formed. And what was the result of all this? In Kerala the Congress has been able to secure a single party majority in the municipal elections, while in West Bengal even the Jan Sangh has been able to increase its strength. The

nine-month United Front rule in West Bengal has made it sufficiently clear that all the Left parties have united against the workers and the peasants and taken upon themselves the task of confusing the middle class. As it is no longer possible for the Congress to do this, the so-called Left parties have come forward to shoulder this burden in order to ensure that the reactionary forces can continue to wield power without difficulty. The Left Communist leaders have performed this task most faithfully. This is why Chavan is now having second thoughts about the Left Communists. This is clearly proved by the fact that Dinesh Singh [a member of the Central Cabinet—Ed. *Liberation*] hurried to Calcutta just after the Burdwan Plenum had started, sent for Jyoti Basu and had a secret meeting with him. In other words, the reactionary Congress rulers instructed Jyoti Basu & Co. to raise a storm over the tea-cup, if need be, but to avoid a split. What happened at Burdwan was merely the monkey-dance at the waving of the baton by the Congress masters.

Didn't we see how the United Front regime in West Bengal implemented the food policy formulated by the Congress? But when it came to owning up this dark deed, we found how without batting their eye-lids, the fire-brand revolutionaries who adorned the U. F. cabinet passed the entire burden of the crime on to the shoulders of Sri Prafulla Ghosh. One may ask, if as a member of the cabinet, Sri Prafulla Ghosh had the right to uphold and further the interests of a particular class, what prevented Sri Harekrishna Konar from upholding and furthering the interests of the poor peasants? The reason is obvious—the interests of the poor peasants run counter to the class-interests which Sri Harekrishna Konar and Co. represent. This shows that each and every constituent party of the United Front is an enemy of the oppressed workers and peasants. This explains why no real conflict ever developed in the United Front during its tenure in office. This United

Front has been formed precisely on the basis of this class-antagonism towards the working class and the peasantry. In Bihar, U. P., Rajasthan and Madras, where the United Fronts have been formed on the basis of collaboration between the feudal classes and reactionary parties, it is not very difficult to understand the class-character of such fronts. One or two Communists of the Left or Right variety, who entered the cabinets formed by these United fronts, have only exposed their class character. But it is necessary to have a close look at the United Fronts formed in West Bengal and Kerala in particular. This is because the Left Communists happen to be the largest constituent party in the United Front in both these states. This has clearly shown that the Left Communist Party as such is unworthy of being called Communist. They are merely the running dogs of the foreign and Indian reaction and of the Soviet revisionists. It was on behalf of the Indian and foreign reaction that Dinesh Singh came and warned Jyoti Basu not to expose their reactionary character too much at the Burdwan Plenum. In this way the conspiracy of international revisionism was successful at the Burdwan Plenum. The revisionists of the world are congratulating themselves over the fact that they could, even if temporarily, at least do something to deceive the revolutionary masses of India. After this they are sure to launch an all-out attack against the revolutionary section of the Party and will infiltrate into and plant agents among the revolutionary ranks to sabotage the programme of action of the New Democratic Revolution at an opportune moment and to lower the revolutionary section in the estimation of the people. It is the tactics which international revisionism has mastered through practice over a long period. So every revolutionary must today study Chairman Mao's article *Combat Liberalism* and draw lessons from it. China's great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has taught us that to carry on an internal struggle is a task which we must undertake. To

neglect this task will inevitably mean that the fruits of our work will be grabbed by the enemies of the revolution.

When a revolutionary party wants to build up a united front it must first of all make an analysis of the classes in the country. As we all know, our revolution is a New Democratic Revolution. This is because the democratic revolution in our country has not been completed. The bourgeoisie is unable to carry this revolution through to the end. In one or two small countries and under special circumstances the democratic revolution may win temporary victory under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie, as happened in Cuba under Fidel Castro. But even there it is not possible today to accomplish the main task of the democratic revolution viz., the seizure of all power from the feudal classes and to develop capitalism fully on the basis of nationalising all land. That is why Castro, with all his empty revolutionary phrase-mongering, does not care to interfere with the land relations. This has forced him to keep his country constantly dependent upon and under the tutelage of a big power. This is the main lesson of the Algerian Revolution also. To think of making a successful revolution under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie in a vast country like India is sheer day-dreaming. Here the democratic revolution can be victorious only as the New Democratic Revolution. And what is a New Democratic Revolution? It is the revolution which can achieve victory only under the leadership of the working class in alliance with the broad peasant masses and by carrying on armed struggle against the foreign and Indian reactionaries. Who are the allies of the working class in this revolution? Basically, they are the entire peasantry, that is, the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses of the middle peasants. A section of the rich peasants may also take part in the struggle at a certain given stage. Apart from these, the toiling middle class will also be with the working class. These three main classes are the main force of the

revolution. Among these, the peasants constitute the overwhelming majority. For this reason, the revolution depends mainly on them. The outcome of our revolution will depend on the extent to which we can win this class over to the side of the revolution. Hence, the working class as the leader and the middle class as a revolutionary class must unite with the peasantry. It is precisely this unity which we call the united front. This is the only Marxist understanding of the united front.

The united front can be built up only in the course of an armed struggle led by a revolutionary party. And only such a revolutionary party can unite the uprisings of various nationalities. The victory of the national struggles now being led by various petty bourgeois elements depends on how much such struggles develop into class struggles. Their complete victory will depend on how much class struggles can unite these national struggles. The revolutionary party must resolutely and unequivocally declare that we must firmly unite with these national struggles against the common enemy and that each and every nationality has and will have the full right to freedom and independence. A revolutionary party can unreservedly unite with the national struggles of the Nagas, Mizos, and others on the basis of this principle. The pre-condition for forming such a united front is, however, that the nationalities must be carrying on armed struggle. Many people think that the Communist Party should lead the various national struggles and that the New Democratic Revolution can be accomplished through such struggles of the nationalities. This is an erroneous idea. The Communists should not be the leaders of national struggles. The Communists should, however, forge unity with the national struggles but the duty of the Communists is to develop class struggle and not national struggles. In order to prevent disruption of class struggle, the Communists must declare that every nationality has the right of self-determination

including the right to secede. Such a declaration will assure the nationalities that by uniting they will not fall into the clutches of a new set of exploiters. And only when they feel assured of this, will they participate in the class struggle. We, Communists, can never become leaders of the national struggles, even if we try. By trying to become leaders we can only reduce ourselves into mere appendages of the petty bourgeoisie of various nationalities. But after we declare our attitude to the nationalities, we will find that as we march forward as the leader of class struggles, the character of the various national struggles itself will begin to change. And on the eve of victory every national struggle will ultimately be transformed into class struggle.

May 20, 1968

NOTES

BOYCOTT ELECTIONS

The decision of the All-India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries to boycott elections (see *Liberation*, June 1968) is, no doubt, a historic one. It is a militant call to all Marxist-Leninists and toiling people of India to reject once for all the futile path of parliamentarism and fulfil the task which history has assigned to them—the task of boldly arousing the masses, relying on them and waging a protracted struggle of the Naxalbari type to overthrow the rule of U.S. imperialism and Soviet neo-colonialism, the Indian comprador-bourgeoisie and big landlords.

The struggle within the Indian communist movement between the two roads—the parliamentary road and the road of revolution—is not a new one. Soon after the Second World War, the peasants of Telangana rose arms in hand to break the shackles of feudalism and imperialism and liberated about 3,000 villages. In Bengal also, the peasants, especially, the *Hajong* tribal people took up arms to liberate themselves. Even a casual student of the history of the Indian communist movement knows that the Ranadive-Sundarayya Titoite clique pursued a right opportunist line in respect of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist armed struggles in the countryside and played a despicable role to sabotage them. What the armed forces of the Nizam or the Indian army failed to do in Telangana, was accomplished by the revisionist chieftains of the Party—first, the Ranadive-Sundarayya clique and later, Ajoy Ghosh, Dange and Co. To use the words of Ranadive himself, Ranadive and his partners “stabbed the peasant struggles in the back” while Ajoy Ghosh, Dange and Co. in their anxiety to play the parliamentary game ordered

the Telangana peasants to lay down their arms and even to hand over to the police of the reactionary government all those comrades who would refuse to bow to them. Could treachery go further?

For the last seventeen years the leaders of both the factions of the Communist Party have been playing the parliamentary game quite to the satisfaction of their masters. During this period when the government of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords turned this country into a neo-colony, chiefly, of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet renegades, intensified the exploitation of our people by feudal elements and imperialist, comprador, bureaucrat capital and thus bled the people white, and ranged the country against Socialist China and national liberation struggles, these “communist” leaders were tireless in singing hymns in praise of the “progressive” economic planning (the main device of the reactionary ruling classes for deceiving the people and intensifying their exploitation) and the “progressive” foreign policy of the reactionary government. As faithful lackeys of foreign and domestic reaction they concealed from our people the real character of the reactionary ruling classes and described these as politically independent and as anxious to build an independent economy—independent of the imperialists—with the help of “socialist aid” from the Soviet Union. They blamed the Congress, the main party of the ruling classes, for its deviations from its own policy and shamelessly claimed that they could better execute the policy of the Congress, the policy of the reactionary ruling classes, if they were elected to ‘Parliament’ or state legislatures! For long seventeen years they have successfully dragged the entire Party into the morass of parliamentarism and undermined the revolutionary consciousness of the Party cadres and the toiling people. No other fifth column could achieve better than what they have done as agents of the reactionary ruling classes within the proletariat.

Even today the leaders of both the factions express their resolve to defend 'parliamentary democracy.' What kind of parliamentary democracy exists in India? The Indian 'Parliament' or parliamentary system, as everybody knows, did not appear on the crest of any bourgeois democratic revolution but was the product of a treacherous compromise between imperialism, big Indian landlords and comprador bourgeoisie. The Indian Constitution is essentially the Act of 1935 devised by the imperialists to safeguard their own interests as well as the interests of the feudal elements. This 'parliamentary democracy' serves as a screen for hiding the most rapacious, the most villainous exploitation and oppression of our people by domestic and foreign reactionaries. Instead of tearing off this screen and exposing before the proletariat and other toiling people the real character of our 'Parliament'—its character as an organ of the dictatorship of the imperialist-feudal-comprador combine, the treacherous leaders of both the "Communist" factions are sowing the illusion that parliamentary democracy prevails in India and that it can be made to serve the interests of the toiling people. The other day, neo-revisionist Chief Minister Nambudiripad said in an interview with a correspondent of the *Washington Post*: "The main feature of the political situation in India today is the rapid decline in the influence and the power of the Congress, accompanied by the absence of any single party which can replace it. Only a combination of parties can meet the situation...I may now claim that one of the biggest achievements of our pre-election alliance and the post-election coalition Government is that we have shown that it is possible for the various non-Congress parties to come together and establish a relatively stable alliance on which a stable coalition Government can be built." (*People's Democracy*, January 14, 1968—Italics ours). During the same interview Nambudiripad further pointed out that such stability "is of tremendous significance for

the country as a whole." When the entire imperialist-feudal system in our country is cracking, when at least 450 million out of 500 million people of our country are groaning under the present conditions of life and getting rapidly disillusioned about the mockery of 'parliamentary' elections and about the Congress—the main party of the ruling classes, and taking to the path of revolution, the neo-revisionists have come forward, as in every crisis of the ruling classes before, to save the present socio-economic system and restore political stability to the rule of the imperialist-feudal-comprador combine.

To quote the words of Chairman Mao, "*We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this.*" In this period of revolutionary upsurge when armed struggle is already on the agenda, the parliamentary path is the path of betrayal of revolutionary struggles, the path of treachery to the toiling people.

The recent events in France have once again revealed that parliamentary elections are a counter-revolutionary manoeuvre of the ruling classes to hoodwink the working class and other toiling people. The revisionists and neo-revisionists join the ruling class in this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre, sabotage revolutionary struggles and stab the toiling people in the back. Today, by propagating bourgeois ideology and trying to save the reactionary exploiting classes from the wrath of the people, they serve as the spearhead of reaction.

One of the most significant political events of recent years is the adoption of the Resolution on Elections by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries at its meeting held in May last. It unmistakably shows that the long spell of revisionism in the Indian communist movement is breaking.

Chinese comrades said: "Whether the proletariat is to seize power through armed struggle or by taking the 'parliamentary road,' this is the fundamental difference between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism." Today, Marxist-Leninists in this country, as in other countries of the world, have realized the great truth of Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," rejected the "parliamentary road" and taken to the path of revolution. It is now the imperative duty of all Communist revolutionaries to rouse the masses, to impart to them revolutionary consciousness, to convert their feeling of disillusionment and frustration into a strong determination to overthrow the rule of the exploiting classes and to build up revolutionary struggles of the Naxalbari type. Only thus can the hated rule of US imperialism, Soviet neo-colonialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital be ended and the Indian people take their rightful place in the world-wide struggle for national liberation and socialism.

MASSIVE DEFEAT FOR U. S. IMPERIALISTS AND SOVIET RENEGADES

About the middle of June, General Westmoreland, the former commander of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam, No. 1 butcher of the Vietnamese people, flew back to Washington—defeated and disgraced. The man who had fed the U. S. people and the world for about four years with the idea that the defeat of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation was in sight, admitted at his last press conference in Saigon that the war of aggression in Vietnam could not be won by the U.S. imperialists. The fact is, their war against Vietnam has already suffered a massive defeat at the hands of the brave Vietnamese—a defeat that has filled the U. S. ruling circles with dismay and

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Let the Peasants' Revolutionary Storm in India Strike Harder !

This comment on Indian peasants' revolutionary struggle, written by the Commentator of *Renmin Ribao*, appeared on February 26. The Commentator writes:

The flames of revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian peasants have been rapidly spreading ever since the peasants of Naxalbari launched their revolutionary armed struggle. Recently, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, guided by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, have been leading the peasants in the northern part of Bihar State in a courageous struggle to seize land by force of arms. By now the Naxalbari type of peasant movement has engulfed 50 areas in 8 of the 16 Indian states and regions under direct central control. Growing in scale, the peasants' struggle to seize land by force has assumed such proportions that, like thunderclaps and flashes of lightning breaking the dead silence of the overcast skies over India, it is shaking the reactionary rule of the Congress government. An excellent situation, never seen before, has opened up in the Indian revolution. We warmly acclaim and cheer this revolutionary storm let loose by the Indian peasants!

India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with the peasants constituting more than 70 per cent of the country's population of 500 million. The problem of the peasantry is the basic problem of the Indian national democratic revolution and the peasants are the main force of this revolution.

The Indian peasants under the crushing oppression of the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism exist in the most wretched con-

ditions. In today's India, 75 per cent of the land is concentrated in the hands of a small number of landlords, rich peasants and maharajahs, while the poverty-stricken peasants who make up 80 per cent of the rural population own only the remaining 25 per cent. The landless peasants and those who have little land have to turn over from 50 to over 90 per cent of their annual harvests in land-rents to the landholders. Extortionate usury and exploitation have caused much of the land in India to go rack and ruin with the rural areas plunged into bankruptcy and famine stalking the land. Each year famine claims the lives of millions of the hard-working peasants and over 200 million must struggle at the starvation level. In Bihar, which is mainly inhabited by peasants, at least 40 million of the 50 million people in the state are short of food. For the broad masses of the Indian peasantry who can no longer lead such an existence, there is no other way out except to rise up and make revolution.

u/ And now more and more of the long-suffering Indian peasants are in rebellion. From Bihar in the north to Kerala in the south large numbers of peasants have risen in the wide countryside. They are unfolding struggles to seize land and dealing violent blows at the foundation of feudal rple. So-called "law" and "order" designed to protect the interests of the landlord class are trampled underfoot by the revolutionary peasants. Imperialism, the local tyrants and evil gentry and the patriarchal landlords are being beaten into the dust and kept there by the revolutionary peasants. Many revolutionary peasants have organized peasant associations to levy taxes on the landlords, confiscate their grain and seize their land. In some places, people's courts have been set up to try and punish the recalcitrant landlords and evil gentry. In others, the peasants have organized themselves into people's armed forces equipped with bows and arrows, spears and captured arms. This strikes terror into the hearts of the

landlord class and is used for fighting the "suppression" campaigns of the reactionary troops and police. In short, the impoverished peasants, slaves of yesterday, have arisen wherever the peasants' revolutionary storm has begun to rage.

Face to face with this stirring and growing revolutionary peasant movement, the Indian reactionaries are scared stiff and they howl in alarm that this is a "national catastrophe". They venomously scream: "It's terrible!" "It's terrible!" On the other hand, revolutionaries in India and throughout the world acclaim with joy: "It's fine!" "It's fine!"

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out 41 years ago: **"The national revolution requires a great change in the countryside.....This change is now taking place, and it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution."**

This is also the case with the current Indian situation. In the India of today the roots of the feudal system lie very deep in the countryside. Maharajahs, patriarchal landlords and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie are the main social foundation of imperialist rule in India. The landlord class ruthlessly exploits and oppresses the peasants by the feudal system, and impedes the progress of Indian society politically, economically and culturally. This foundation of reactionary rule must be thoroughly overthrown and a great change must be brought about in the countryside if the Indian peasants are to achieve liberation and if Indian society is to progress and develop.

v/ Only through such an earth-shaking revolution to strike down the landlord class, the local tyrant and evil gentry, to smash the feudal system to bits, and to make the poor Indian peasants achieve liberation, can the vast Indian countryside become the reliable base areas for the revolutionary forces to grow in size and strength and finally seize all-round victory. Only when such a great change takes place can the millions upon millions of peasants become the

✓ | inexhaustible source of the people's armed forces and the firm participants and supporters of the people's revolutionary war. The road to victory in the Indian revolution can only be the road of Mao Tse-tung, the road of the Chinese revolution. This means, under the leadership of the proletariat, to rouse the peasants boldly, establish revolutionary base areas in the countryside, engage in protracted armed struggle, encircle the cities from the countryside and finally seize the cities so as to win ultimate victory throughout the country. The development of the Indian peasants' revolutionary struggle at present is precisely the great prelude to the Indian people taking this road to victory.

The vigorous development of India's peasant revolutionary struggle is a significant victory for the proletarian revolutionary line over the revisionist line in the Indian Communist Party. This sharp struggle between the two lines has existed in the Indian Communist Party for a long time. It is centred around the issue whether the Indian revolution should take the road of the Chinese revolution or the revisionist parliamentary road. The Dange renegade clique and the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party who oppose and hate the Indian peasants' revolutionary struggle have done all they could to sell the phoney idea of defeating the Congress Party in the elections and the so-called "non-Congress government" road. When the armed struggle of the Naxalbari peasants broke out, they showed their vicious nature and acted as the faithful hounds of the Indian reactionaries in suppressing the peasant revolution. Thus, the so-called non-Congress government road has gone completely bankrupt in India.

✓ | The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party are determined to take the road of the Chinese revolution. They have declared that "the strategy employed by the great leader Mao Tse-tung is one which the Indian

Marxists should adopt." They have gone into the countryside to spread and propagate Chairman Mao's brilliant thought that **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** Once the Indian revolutionary peasants master the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the flames of their revolutionary armed struggle will surely blaze up. Facts have shown that the Indian peasants in their hundreds of millions, constitute an inexhaustible source of power for the revolution, and that, once awakened, they will not be held back but will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation.

"A single spark can start a prairie fire." Let the peasants' revolutionary storm in India strike harder !

The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system ; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.

—Mao Tse-tung

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

—Mao Tse-tung.

"STALIN GROUP" IN SOVIET UNION

ACCLAIMS CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION : CONDEMNS SOVIET REVISIONISTS FOR RESTORING CAPITALISM AND FANATICALLY OPPOSING CHINA

The "Stalin Group", a revolutionary organization in the Soviet Union, which is opposed to the Krushchovite revisionist clique has recently distributed an article ardently extolling China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao. It severely condemns the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and for vilifying China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The article, entitled "The Truth About the Cultural Revolution", has given expression to the heroism of the Soviet proletariat and its determination to carry out proletarian revolution.

The article says that the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat is one in which a tenacious and acute class struggle goes on, the struggle between two roads: the road of the proletariat and the road of capitalism. Restoration and the struggle against restoration is the main content of the class struggle throughout the historical period of the

dictatorship of the proletariat and in the period of transition from capitalism to communism.

The article points out that in a socialist country there are three ways in which capitalist restoration may emerge:

1. Prior to the victory of socialism, it may still be possible for the exploiting classes, which have been overthrown but have not yet been liquidated, to recapture political power.

2. A restoration may emerge as the result of imperialist aggression.

3. By way of peaceful evolution.

It is much easier to fight against the first two ways of capitalist restoration for in these two cases we are confronted by a definite enemy who can be seen clearly and we know exactly where to strike. But peaceful evolution is another matter. It is the most dangerous and sinister way.

The article says that peaceful evolution is the gradual change in the nature and essence of the socialist state and the Communist Party as a result of the degeneration of the Party and state leadership. The final outcome of peaceful evolution is the restoration of capitalism.

Referring to the reason why the danger of peaceful evolution exists in socialist countries, the article points out that, while the proletariat is capable of prevailing over the bourgeoisie politically and economically in a comparatively short historical period, the struggle in the ideological sphere goes through a very, very long period, for this concerns the living souls of men. Moreover, there is the corrupting influence from capitalist encirclement. In short, there are many in our society and in other socialist countries who have been contaminated by bourgeois ideology—political degenerates, careerists, 'communist' red-tape officials, bureaucrats, people who concern themselves only with their own welfare, money grabbers and out-and-out anti-socialist, hostile elements. Inevitably these persons have wormed their way into the Party (including its leading bodies),

principally because ours is a ruling party. In actuality, they are the agents of the internal bourgeois elements, remnants of the exploiting classes, and international imperialism. If they are not rendered harmless, the possibility of their usurping power in the Party and the state will eventually arise.

The agents of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism who have sneaked into the Party can seize political power only by means of liquidating the Marxist-Leninist leadership.

The article explains this by citing the example of the Khrushchov clique's usurpation of power in the Soviet Party and state. It points out that the usurpation of power by Khrushchov and his gang began with the death of J. V. Stalin. Stalin's death was followed by rabid struggles of the political degenerates to seize power in the Party and the country. When they saw their chance to seize power, they tried their utmost to elbow the Marxist-Leninist core out of the leadership by vilifying it. It was for this purpose that they brought forth the myth of "personality cult" with a view to undermining and then elbowing out the Bolshevik core of our Party and paving the way for the replacement of the Lenin-Stalin proletarian line with a new line, a degenerate revisionist line.

The article goes on to explain that the conspiratorial activities of the revisionists to usurp political power and their peaceful evolution begin in the fields of ideology and culture and in an attempt to swing and prepare public opinion.

The article says: After making a detailed study of the possibilities of capitalist restoration we have come to the conclusion that peaceful evolution is the principal danger in the socialist countries after the establishment and consolidation of the new system; that peaceful evolution will be attempted by those degenerate elements who have usurped the leadership of the Party and the state and by

the enemies of the working people; and that the seizure of power by the revisionists and peaceful evolution start from the fields of ideology and culture and from the creation and preparation of public opinion.

After the usurpation of power by the revisionists in the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, and in a number of other states, questions of struggle against the revisionist renegade cliques have become especially acute for the international proletariat and the communist movement.

The article stresses that the theory about the great proletarian cultural revolution put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided answers to these questions.

In dealing with the basic points of Chairman Mao's theory about the great proletarian cultural revolution, the article points out:

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a resolute offensive against the bourgeoisie and its agents on the ideological front and it calls for the completion of the political and economic liquidation of the bourgeoisie by means of liquidating it ideologically.

The strategic objective of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to eliminate the threat of capitalist restoration, the possibility of peaceful evolution in the socialist countries, and to defend and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution, or in other words, the specific ways and means of attaining the strategic objective can be summed up as follows:

Expose, repudiate and isolate the degenerate elements and careerists who have wormed their way into the Party; and weed out those who have come into the Party by chance as well as the inactive members;

Build up the organs of the state and the Party into organs which are free from bureaucratism and maintain the closest possible contact with the people;

Liquidate the bourgeois trends in the ideological and

cultural spheres; declare war upon bourgeois ideology, customs and habits and stop their inflow from abroad; promote the further flourishing and development of our proletarian ideas and culture, and propagate and disseminate Marxism-Leninism constantly and everywhere;

Develop to the utmost the political activity of the broad masses of the people and draw them into taking a continuous and decisive part in all state affairs; and,

Bring up in the course of this struggle a new generation of iron-like and unswerving Communists, and educate the youth to carry on the revolution.

How can these tasks be achieved? What is the method to fulfil these tasks? This method, the method of the great proletarian cultural revolution, is the mass line. The masses led by the Bolsheviks alone can uproot and liquidate the bourgeois line; only by relying on the masses and only through the actions of the masses, is it possible to fulfil the magnificent tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution and attain its objective—the prevention of capitalist restoration.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the continuation and development of the universal road of the October Revolution and is the law of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. All the states under the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably have to go through this phase of socialist revolution.

In short, the great proletarian cultural revolution, identical in class content but which varies in national form, is a universal law of Marxism-Leninism.

The article then exposes and condemns the crimes of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique who have resorted to all sorts of tricks to distort the real situation in China and to slander China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

It says: The Soviet people are eager to know what is really happening in China. But the official Soviet propaganda has left no stone unturned to distort what is actually happening there.

The article points out that all struggles are for political power. No one can deny the fact that the whole Chinese Communist Party and the entire Chinese people are taking part in this struggle—a struggle of the labouring masses. This is to say, China's cultural revolution is no quarrel among individuals; it is a principled struggle waged in the interests of the whole Party and the entire people.

The cultural revolution is a principled struggle waged by the Chinese Bolsheviks headed by Mao Tse-tung against the opportunist faction within the Party.

This struggle is the logical continuation and outcome of the long-term struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the Khrushchov-type revisionists.

Exposing the falsehood of the Soviet revisionists that the "Chinese working class does not support the cultural revolution", the article says that the Chinese workers have taken into their own hands the administration of the enterprises; they are the backbone of the new leading organs of the Party and state, and they are the advanced contingent of the cultural revolution. These facts alone give the lie to their vicious fabrications.

Repudiating the Soviet revisionists' slanders against the Chinese youth, the article says that the participation of the Chinese youth in the great cultural revolution is very important for the youth themselves. Their tempering in battle in the furnace of the cultural revolution provides them with valuable experience in actual struggle and enhances their communist spirit; it is the best way of bringing up a new generation of fighters who will be successors to the older generation of the Chinese Bolsheviks. It provides the Party with reliable and inexhaustible reserves in the youth.

Exposing the Soviet revisionists' slanders against the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the article points out that the Chinese People's Liberation Army is actually playing a great role in the great proletarian cultural

revolution. What is the Chinese People's Liberation Army? It is an army composed of the workers and peasants; it is simply the people who are armed. The People's Liberation Army is not just a section of the workers and peasants who are armed, but the most disciplined, most enlightened and most highly principled section of the workers and peasants.

The article castigates the Soviet revisionists' calumnies that China's great proletarian cultural revolution "is directed against the Chinese Communist Party."

The fact that the masses are actively fighting for the cause of the Party under the leadership of the party of Mao Tse-tung, testifies to the maturity of the Chinese Communist Party, the correctness of its policies and the great unity between the Chinese Party and the people. The Chinese Communist Party is powerful precisely because of the support of the masses. The cultural revolution provides a convincing proof of this.

It is precisely those now talking nonsense about the "destruction" of the Chinese Communist Party who are supporting the counter-revolutionary revisionist elements in this Party and instigating them to oppose the Chinese Communist Party and its line.

Refuting the slanders spread by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique that China's great proletarian cultural revolution "is directed against the Soviet Union and the Soviet people", the article asks: Is not the struggle against opportunism in China in the interest of the Soviet people? Indisputably it is in their interest. It is not in the interest of the Soviet "leadership", as can be judged by what is carried in the Soviet press, because the Soviet leadership fears that the determination of the Chinese Communists and working class to combat opportunism and degeneration will "infect" the working class and all working people in the Soviet Union. It is not in the interest of the Soviet leadership because, since the time of Khrushchov the

Soviet leadership itself has all along been a degenerate one following an opportunist line and consequently constitutes a base for all the opportunist elements such as the Yugoslav revisionists or the opposition in China; it is an obstacle in the way of the world revolutionary movement and a parasitic ulcer on the body of the Soviet working class and labouring peasants.

This is why the official propaganda organs of the Soviet Union have poured out a torrent of lies and slanders against the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders.

The leaders of the cultural revolution and those who are taking part in it, are only opposed to the degenerate elements in the Soviet Union—such as the Soviet leaders on top—but they do not oppose the Soviet people.

No doubt, the struggle against the degenerate elements called for by the cultural revolution is in the interest of the Soviet people. Therefore, it is the authors of these false "accusations" who have been exposed by us—it is they who are against the Soviet people, against the Party founded by Lenin and Stalin, and against the revolution.

In conclusion, the article points out that the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is an unavoidable movement against opportunism and degeneration.

This revolution is being carried out by the masses themselves under the leadership of the Chinese Bolsheviks in a way that is truly Leninist. This method is fundamentally opposed to the method of top-level politics behind the scenes without the participation of the masses (in order to deceive the masses), a method being used by all renegades, including the politicians in the Soviet Union.

China's cultural revolution has set a brilliant example of struggle against degeneration and against capitalist restoration brought about by liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and establishing the rule of the revisionist elements.

All the accusations hurled by the Soviet revisionist politicians at the cultural revolution are false and aimed at hoodwinking the working class in the Soviet Union and other parts of the world.

The vicious anti-China campaign, dictated by the fear of the Soviet degenerate elements that they may lose their privileges and power and by the fear of their own people, has united them with the most reactionary circles of world capitalism and has demonstrated the community of the interests of them all.

The Soviet revisionists' anti-China campaign, which has exposed its own architects, points to the pressing necessity to overthrow the regime of the degenerates—the new bourgeois elements—in the Soviet Union and the necessity subsequently to carry out in the Soviet Union a proletarian cultural revolution.

Victory Will Surely Belong To The Indonesian People

by Yusuf Adjitorop

Member of the Political Bureau of the
Central Committee of the Indonesian
Communist Party (PKI)

I

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the fundamental question for the proletarian revolution is to seize political power by armed struggle and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of universal significance is Chairman Mao's teaching on the Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution i.e. "the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique betraying proletarian internationalism has been energetically peddling the revisionist line of "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." It has been vainly seeking to impede the vigorous development of the revolutionary struggle by the world's revolutionary people, first of all, the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, in their fight against colonialism and imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

However, the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have seen more and more clearly the bankruptcy of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's fallacy about the "peaceful road."

Through their own practice in revolutionary struggle, the Asian, African and Latin American revolutionary people

have realized that the road pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung for seizing political power by armed force is the sole correct road for the revolutionary people to achieve liberation, i.e., the road of mobilizing the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla warfare, of carrying out agrarian revolution, establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally capturing the cities, all under the leadership of the proletarian party.

The revolutionary people of Indonesia led by the P.K.I., having learnt from the experience of their serious setbacks and temporary retreat, are now pressing ahead along the revolutionary road indicated by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Committee of the P.K.I. uncritically passed a report endorsing the line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and adopted the line of "reaching socialism through the parliamentary road, by peaceful means" as the P.K.I. line. From that time on, modern revisionism began to infiltrate into the Party. It was precisely this revisionist line that caused the Indonesian people and Indonesian Communists to be caught unprepared in the face of the white terror of the 1965 armed counter-revolution, with the result that hundreds of thousands of the finest sons and daughters of the Indonesian people were massacred. This revisionist line and "peaceful road" is diametrically contrary to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, especially to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist theses that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and "without a people's army the people have nothing." The united front policy followed by the P.K.I. leadership far more than a decade before 1965, especially the policy of forming a united front with Sukarno, was in essence a policy of class collaboration. This ran counter to Chairman Mao's teaching on the united front, i.e., "The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle

And the Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions."

Led by the P. K. I., the Indonesian people have begun to rally their forces and have embarked on the road of armed struggle. The revolutionary united front now being established in Indonesia is primarily a worker-peasant alliance for armed struggle under the leadership of the P. K. I.

However, just when the Indonesian revolutionaries are wiping the blood off their bodies, rallying their forces and raising high the great flag of armed struggle and the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is doing its utmost to sabotage and create confusion in the ranks of the Indonesian Communists. Clearly, the Soviet revisionist renegades are going all out to prevent the revolutionary Indonesian people, led by the P.K.I., from taking the invincible revolutionary path pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung—waging a people's war, establishing rural base areas and encircling the cities from the countryside.

The activities conducted by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to split the P.K.I. constitute a betrayal of proletarian internationalism upheld by the great Lenin and Stalin.

The Soviet revisionist clique has lavished praise on the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique ever since the latter's seizure of power in Indonesia. It describes that fascist military regime as one which pursues "an independent policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism." It calls Nasution, the fascist chieftain, whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Indonesian Communists and people, "the anti-imperialist national leader" and the "revolutionary leader" of Indonesia. It provides that fascist military regime with a steady flow of "economic and technical aid" and has continuously been sending them arms.

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For the P.K.I. and the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, it is absolutely necessary to combat modern revisionism. In its Self-Criticism in September, 1966, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. pointed out that "the lesson learnt by the P.K.I. is that modern revisionism, is the greatest danger confronting the international communist movement as well as the greatest danger confronting the P.K.I." and that "this danger, therefore, must not be overlooked and must be combated mercilessly."

II

Today, the centre of world revolution has moved to China. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, China, as the bastion of world revolution, is developing steadily and is being increasingly consolidated. This is a factor most favourable to the world communist movement and especially to the communists who are now engaged in armed struggle.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the most trustworthy successor to the great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao have successfully solved a series of theoretical questions concerning proletarian revolution in their respective periods. In the period of the development of capitalism, Marx and Engels laid down the theoretical foundation of scientific socialism. During the period when capitalism entered upon the stage of imperialism, Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism and ushered it into the stage of Leninism, solving a series of problems concerning proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and the question of the victory of socialism in a single country. Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Now, in the era of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing towards worldwide victory, Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the experience and

lessons of the international communist movement. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He has solved a series of problems concerning proletarian revolution in the present era and has solved, both in theory and in practice, the question of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with a view to preventing the restoration of capitalism and further consolidating this dictatorship. He has personally initiated and guided the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution in China. This is an important landmark of the highest and completely new stage to which he has developed Marxism-Leninism.

The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution is a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the course of this revolution, hundreds of millions of Chinese people have learnt to grasp the all-conquering ideological weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is something unparalleled in the history of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle and also in the history of the international workers' movement. Once grasped by the masses, Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes the most powerful force to liquidate imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist and the great teacher of supreme genius of the international proletariat today.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has now become the ideological foundation of the international communist movement. Like the great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of the Chinese people as well as of the Indonesian people and the other peoples of the world. To study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in earnest, scrupulously and creatively, to defend it courageously and propagate it with enthusiasm is the honourable task not only of the Chinese people but also of

the revolutionary people throughout the world, and the P.K.I. and the Indonesian people in particular.

Today, the attitude towards Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Mao Tse-tung's thought is the touchstone and the dividing line between the revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, the true revolutionaries and the pseudo-revolutionaries, and the true Marxist-Leninists and the counter-revolutionary revisionists.

The revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world love the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Therefore, the Indonesian communists and people and the revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists of all other countries must expose, politically, ideologically and theoretically, China's Khrushchov and his like, who oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must strike them down and they must never be allowed to rise again.

III

At the time when the P. K. I. and the Indonesian people were suffering heavy blows, the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people and the revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists throughout the world have extended enormous support and assistance to the P. K. I. and the Indonesian people. The assistance given by the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, particularly by the great Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people, to the struggle of the Indonesian people and their firm stand to oppose the common enemy of the world's revolutionary people—imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the C. P. S. U. leading clique as its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries—have immensely inspired the Indonesian Communists and people to wage a more resolute struggle for the complete overthrow of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorship.

The primary reason for the setbacks suffered by the Indonesian revolution is the failure of the P. K. I. to master Mao Tse-tung's thought. However, as pointed out in the statement entitled "Hold High the Banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Continue to Advance on the Road of Revolution!", which was issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P. K. I. on May 23, 1967, "The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists accept without the slightest hesitation Mao Tse-tung's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism of the present day. We have made up our minds to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought as a powerful weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia. The struggle for Indonesia's liberation will inevitably follow the road of people's war charted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

The Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique has slaughtered and jailed hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people. But the revolutionary Indonesian people can never be exterminated. The flames of revolution in Indonesia can never be extinguished, nor can the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people be subdued. They have picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and gone into battle again. The flames of the people's revolutionary struggle are burning with increasing intensity in many parts of Indonesia. Darkness will soon pass and victory will surely belong to the Indonesian people!

The Flames of Thai People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Spread Rapidly

[This is a report on the rapid growth of the flames of the Thai people's revolutionary armed struggle published in the Chinese journal "Renmin Ribao" on March 23 under the title "Red Flags Flutter In The Pu Pan Foothills." The sub-titles have been added by us.
—Editorial Board, *Liberation*.]

Storm and thunder rage over the shores of the Gulf of Siam, and red flags flutter in the Pu Pan foothills. The armed struggle waged by the people of Thailand under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand presents an excellent picture of vigour and growth.

More than two years ago, the people of Thailand fired the first shot which ushered in their revolutionary struggle by force of arms. Since then the flames of revolution have forcefully and rapidly spread in all directions. Of Thailand's 71 provinces, 29 today are aflame with revolutionary armed struggle. With increasing frequency, the people's armed forces have seized the initiative in attacking the enemy, and in a little over two years, have engaged the enemy in nearly 800 actions, wiping out nearly 2,000 enemy troops.

The vigorous growth and development of the revolutionary situation in Thailand is due to the fact that the Communist Party of Thailand holds aloft the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly sticks to the road of encircling the cities from the countryside and seizing power by force of arms, and applies the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare evolved

by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to specific conditions in Thailand.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has taught us: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people."

How they spread and Develop Guerrilla Warfare

From the day it began to lead the armed struggle, the Communist Party of Thailand has regarded the arousing of the peasant masses and the development of the armed struggle in the rural areas as its central task. It organized "armed working teams" and "armed propaganda groups" and sent them to the villages to do propaganda among the masses, organize the masses and arm the masses. They opened the eyes of the peasant masses to the barbarous aggression by U. S. imperialism and the crimes of high treason committed by the Thanom Kittikachorn-Praphas Charusathien clique. These teams and groups gave leadership and support to the peasants' struggle to root out spies, secret agents and local landlord-tyrants and punish those who had committed heinous crimes. Base areas are being built up in those parts of the countryside where conditions are ripe. Today, in many places in the northeastern, northern and southern parts of Thailand the peasants have been widely aroused to action. The people's armed forces, concealed and assisted by the masses, are well-informed and, like fish in the water, enjoy freedom of movement. Thus they are able now and again to wrest the initiative from the enemy. Although the U. S. and Thai reactionaries have launched one campaign of "encirclement and suppression" after another against the areas of armed struggle and followed the barbarous policy of burning all, killing all and looting all, the people's armed forces, far from being stamped out, have grown and gained in strength, winning victory after victory.

Creative Application of Mao Tse-tung's Tactics of Guerrilla Warfare

In their struggle, the Thai people's armed forces creatively study and apply the tactics of guerrilla warfare formulated by Chairman Mao. "*Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy*" are the tactics they frequently employ. Sometimes they form small groups to go into the vast rural areas to arouse and organize the people, other times they concentrate their forces to ambush enemy troops, attack enemy outposts or destroy his vehicles. All this is done with great mobility and dexterity and takes the enemy by surprise. In this way, although they are inferior as a whole, the people's armed forces can concentrate a superior force in every battle and, part by part, wipe out the enemy, which as a whole is temporarily powerful. They can continuously strengthen themselves and pile up small victories to win a big one. The people's armed forces apply the basic military principles of guerrilla warfare—the 16-character formula—enunciated by Chairman Mao, "*The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.*" They give full play to the power of guerrilla warfare and strike terror into the hearts of the enemy.

U. S. Imperialists In a Tight Corner

The heroic Vietnamese people have now already pinned down more than 500,000 U.S. troops and wiped out more than 300,000 U.S. aggressor and satellite troops. The South Vietnamese people and their armed forces have thrashed the U. S. aggressor troops in their recent powerful offensive. The Laotian patriotic armed forces are striking hard at the U.S. aggressors and their flunkies. The flames of the people's revolutionary armed struggle in Thailand are burning fiercer. The people of many other Asian countries have also embarked on armed struggle against U. S.

imperialism and its running dogs. Extended to the limit by the people of Southeast Asia, U. S. imperialism, whose forces are spread thin, is finding it more and more difficult to cope with the situation. So long as the people of all lands who are subjected to U. S. aggression and enslavement unite, fight U. S. imperialism in people's wars on their respective battlefields and closely co-ordinate with and support each other, some striking at its head, others at its feet, the U. S. imperialist colossus can be split up and destroyed piece by piece.

Final Victory Belongs to the Thai People

The armed struggle of the Thai people is being vigorously carried forward under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand. No matter what grave difficulties or setbacks may crop up on the road of revolution, the Thai people will surely defeat U. S. imperialism and its running dogs, the Thanom-Prapas traitorous clique, so long as they hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and wage a protracted people's war. Final victory will definitely go to the heroic Thai people who fight to the last!

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

—Mao Tse-tung

Once Ideas Become a Material Force

By a recent visitor to China

'It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.'

—Mao Tse-tung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?", 1963

It is a commonplace that in times of social upheaval in any country agricultural and industrial production suffers. In China today, say western commentators, the constant introduction of politics into economic affairs has interfered with production and halted economic growth, so that the country is in a bad way. The reality is precisely opposite. The fact that politics are in command of economic affairs in China has stimulated both production and economic growth, and never more than today in the Cultural Revolution, thus demonstrating that once ideas are grasped by the masses of the people they become a material force.

The workers and peasants of China have inherited traditions and attitudes of mind from the thousands of years of feudal society that preceded the establishment of People's China. Herein lies the historical base for the core of egoism and selfishness now being combated by the Cultural Revolution, which is thus acting as a major factor in preventing the return of capitalism in China.

The cardinal principle of the Cultural Revolution is that the people should educate and liberate themselves. If the methods, principles and politics embodied in the works of

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Mao Tse-tung were merely abstract dogma, the workers and peasants would not be interested in them (did not Mao himself once say that 'Dogma is not as useful as horse-dung'?). Their method is to apply Mao's ideas to their own specific problems. This is the essential character of the present phase of the Cultural Revolution, conducted in every unit under the slogan of 'Dou, Pi, Gai' (struggle against self-interest; criticise and repudiate anti-revolutionary ideas; and transform ideas, organisation and style of work to meet the requirements of socialism).

Throughout China workers and peasants are now engaged in a deeper study of Chairman Mao's work in order to eradicate from their outlook feudal and capitalist ideas. Each unit decides on a method of study suited to its own conditions. This may, for example, take the form of a ten-day course during which the problems of both factory and individual workers are analysed on the basis of the principles set forth in Mao's writings. Works commonly used for this purpose at present are: *Serve the People*; *In Memory of Norman Bethune*; *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*; *Combat Liberalism*; *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*; and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*.

Recent visitors to China have heard from workers themselves how, by studying these articles with their workmates, they are ridding themselves of ideas that hold back understanding and impede production. The articles evoke the initiative and daring of the masses.

Study of Mao's writings has been a key factor in helping the workers to end divisions among themselves, including those between rival mass organisations within a single factory. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there are no good political reasons for workers to split into antagonistic groups, as Mao has pointed out. It has thus been possible in many units to form 'triple alliances' welding together the experience of the veteran cadres, the dynamic of

the revolutionary masses, and the high political consciousness and discipline of the People's Liberation Army (see 'The P.L.A. and the Cultural Revolution, II' *Broadsheet*, July 1967).

Thus each factory—in China a political and not merely an economic unit—is examining its policy in terms of serving the people; production for use, not profit. A plastics factory in Shanghai has turned from producing luxury goods to making things needed by the ordinary people. A farm machinery plant is paying special attention to the repairing of machinery, a vital task neglected by the former director because it did not show in production returns.

The workers, with the technicians, are devising technical innovations and labour-saving equipment. At the Peking Clock Factory output has been greatly increased by substituting mechanical feeding devices worked out on the spot for hand feeding of machines.

Getting down to problems

This factory is also making highly sophisticated technical equipment for the Taching oilfield, formerly imported from the U.S.S.R. which in 1960 stopped further deliveries. The problem was given to those then in charge of the factory, who said it was insoluble, but after they had been removed as capitalist-roaders during the Cultural Revolution, workers and technicians got down to it together and, after some months of trial and error, succeeded in making the equipment.

In every factory, unproductive labour, bureaucracy and unnecessary administrative personnel and procedure are being reduced. In the Shanghai Printing Ink Works factory, organisation has been simplified by the Revolutionary Committee, all cadres now participate in full-time labour, and the staff has been reduced from 104 to 46. And, of course, no one is worried by the spectre of redundancy. As with labour, so with materials. Frugality and economy in

the use of materials is another way of conserving the people's resources. None of this would be possible without a high degree of political understanding and social consciousness, the result of study and discussion, and the workers' knowledge that their destinies are in their own hands.

Nowhere was the anti-socialist line more pernicious than in the countryside. In June 1962, as China was emerging from three very hard years, Liu Shao-chi made a speech advocating retreat both in industry and agriculture, even to the extent of fixing farm output quotas on the basis of individual households (see 'Along the Socialist or Capitalist Road?', *Peking Review*, 18 August, 1967, p. 15). Through their control of parts of the State and Party apparatus, the followers of Liu Shao-chi were able, in some areas, to bring back non-collective forms of rural economy.

The Cultural Revolution exposed such attempts to undermine agricultural co-operation and the commune system. Under the slogan 'Till the Land for the Revolution' the peasants of China have in 1967 achieved a further increase in agricultural output for the sixth successive year. The Tachai Production Brigade in Shansi Province has given a model for other communes. In a mountainous barren area this brigade, by raising the political understanding of its members, was able to practise self-reliance in conditions that a less politically oriented group would have found altogether too daunting. Not only did they create new fields and terraces by bringing in soil and dragging rocks from the mountains (and repair them after they had been washed away by floods). At every stage of organisational development from mutual aid team to commune—in 1951, 1953, 1955 and 1960—and again during the socialist education campaign of 1964, the brigade was conducting a running battle with the capitalist-roaders whose revisionist policies were exposed in galling fashion by the brigade's success in raising production (see *Broadsheet*, 'Continuing Revolution in the Countryside', December 1967).

Towards more advanced forms

This brigade is now deepening its political study and applying it to the question of further transformation—to improve farming methods, streamline accounting and book-keeping, and simplify the calculation of work points. With Tachai as the model, and with the widespread and deeper study of Mao's writings throughout the country, we are likely to see many new developments towards more advanced forms of collective rural economy in the coming period.

When the Cultural Revolution began early in 1966, the largescale investment in new industries and factories made at the time of the Great Leap Forward, and the irrigation, water conservancy and fertilising schemes made possible by the commune system, were already showing results in higher agricultural and industrial output. The raising of social consciousness and wave of labour enthusiasm engendered by the Cultural Revolution are now raising production to new heights.

This is not to say that, as foreseen in the 16 Points (don't be afraid of disturbances) production was not affected in certain units and at certain times. In July, August and September 1967, in some places there was disorder and some violence, and even occasional sabotage, affecting production, most of which was instigated by the capitalist-roaders, landlords, rightist and downright bad elements. On occasion, such people were able to exploit divisions among the mass organisations and turn them to their own ends. The Western press has exaggerated these episodes and tried to present them as a main element in the Cultural Revolution. Seen against the broad continuous sweep of the movement, however, they were minor and temporary, and served the positive purpose of exposing the capitalist-roaders and their methods while tempering the workers and peasants in struggle.

Preparedness

Lin Piao has said that the achievements of the Cultural Revolution are enormous, the setbacks only minimal. By 1 October 1967, he was able to announce that the capitalist-roaders had 'collapsed on all fronts' and that 'the great proletarian cultural revolution has further liberated the productive forces. Glad tidings about the successes of our industrial production keep on coming in. In agriculture, we are reaping a good harvest for the sixth successive year. Our markets are thriving and the prices are stable. The successful explosion of China's hydrogen bomb indicates a new level in the development of science and technology.'

Before 1967 was out the revolution in people's ideology brought about during the Cultural Revolution was acting as a stimulus to production. Putting into effect Mao Tse-tung's strategic line 'preparedness for war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people', the peasants increased grain output to a new record. Consumption of poultry, milk powder and sugar increased during 1966 variously by 14 to 25 per cent over 1965, and of vegetable oil by over 5 per cent. Consumption of the most popular fruits—apples, pears and citrus—rose by 50 per cent. Per capita consumption of pork rose by 18 per cent in the countryside and 9 per cent in the towns. Links between town and country were further strengthened by the increased production of power-driven pumps for irrigation and drainage, tractors, transporters, and machines for processing farm produce.

In 1967 economic successes topped those of 1966. New peaks have been reached in output of grain, cotton, tobacco, jute, sugar cane and beet, and fruit, as well as in numbers of pigs, state purchases of all of which have exceeded previous levels. As foodstuffs and industrial raw materials flow into the towns, big increases in output of consumer goods have made possible much larger supplies to the countryside. Sales of sewing machines, radio sets, vacuum

flasks, enamel and aluminium ware have risen by about 15 per cent and there has also been a substantial rise in retail sales of cotton, knitwear, plastic shoes, paraffin, salt, pork, sugar, fruit and vegetables. Purchases, by both production teams and brigades, of fertiliser, farm implements, insecticides and plastic sheeting have substantially increased. Many provinces described in the British press as being in a state of economic dislocation, such as Kwangtung, have shown spectacular advances in agricultural output.

In anticipation of increased 1968 spring buying, much bigger quantities of consumer goods are being despatched to the countryside; farm machinery and implements, rubber-tired carts and fertiliser have already reached the rural areas in good time for the spring sowing. Thanks to adjustments in the 'price scissor' between town and countryside, prices of farm machinery will be down by an average of 4 per cent, chemicals and fertilisers by 10 to 15 per cent, and small electric motors and transformers by 20 per cent.

On the industrial front, reports are coming in from all the main centres of targets attained two or three months ahead of schedule, and of many new industrial products being made. Basically speaking, say the Chinese, they have now built an independent industrial system, independent of outside sources.

Thus Chairman Mao's January 1956 prediction of a 'tremendous liberation of productive forces' and 'tremendous expansion of industrial and agricultural production' is being borne out. The capitalist-roaders are being cast aside, the world outlook of the mass of China's workers peasants and working intellectuals is being remoulded and transformation is beginning in every production unit, in order to ensure that the superstructure truly conforms to the socialist economic base.

* * * *

Work-Points and Politics

In the north China province of Shansi, the Tachai Production Brigade of Tachai Commune set an example by introducing a new method of calculating payments for work.

The previous system had assigned to each job its separate maximum work-point valuation, with possible deduction if the work team decided the job had not been done properly. A weakness of this system was that some individuals might be tempted to skimp jobs to pile up work-points. By laying the emphasis on material benefits and personal gain, it encouraged the growth of 'self-interest and capitalist ideas.

Tachai broke away from this old system and pioneered a new one putting politics in command, subordinating the interests of 'self' to those of the collective. As before, the teams composing the production brigade meet at regular intervals to assess individual performance for work-point allocations. Each team member first assesses him or herself, amount of work done, time spent, and especially the way the work has been done. The team then discusses and decides.

In 'Life on East Wind Road' (*Eastern Horizon*, August 1967) Ione Kramer describes the life of a north China village which applies the Tachai system. At the opening of a team meeting, the chairman reads out criteria which include:

1. Study of Chairman Mao's teachings and applying them;
2. Taking the lead in work and not being afraid of getting dirty or tired;
3. Observing discipline and abiding by policy;
4. Devotion to the collective, protecting public property and making suggestions for improvement;
5. Criticism and self-criticism, showing solidarity and a firm class stand and boldly struggling against bad individuals and bad deeds;

6. Showing initiative and making innovations ;
7. Study of production technique and making experiments.

The Chairman then calls for nominations for 'standard-bearers' of the month. They will get the maximum points, and be the model against which all team members are compared.

Under the new system each day's work carries the same work-point valuation. The political attitude and behaviour of each person when carrying out the work is the determining factor.

The intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so.

—Mao Tse-tung

On the Struggle of the Adivasi People against Oppression and Exploitation

STATEMENT OF THE BIHAR STATE
CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE OF
COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

The Bihar State Co-ordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries greets the rising tide of Revolutionary movement of the Adivasi people of Chotanagpur for their emancipation from the ago-old exploitation, for the creation of their own state for developement of their lives. The reactionary state has already sought to drown this just struggle in blood by shooting 14 Adivasi peasants at Chiri village in Ranchi district. Section 144 has been clamped down in the district, leading organisers of the movement have been detained under the notorious P, D. Act, and three centres for practising target shootings have been opened by the Army authorities in densely populated areas in order to terrorise the Adivasi people. The reactionary Government have virtually launched a war against the whole people of Chotanagpur.

However, true to their heroic tradition the Adivasis have refused to submit to this reign of terror and the villages and towns, the jungles and plateaus, are already ringing with the sounds of the marching foot-steps of the Adivasis armed with bows and arrows. The reactionaries and the communal forces who till recently had organised riots against the minority community are now in panic and are regrouping themselves for disrupting this movement.

The Jan Sangh, the party of the landlords and the sahumkars are trying to disrupt this struggle by raising

the slogan of "Christian and Non-Christian" Adivasi and to rescue their masters from the just wrath of the people.

The opportunists and career-seekers like Jaipal and Bage, who have sold themselves to the enemies of the Adivasi people, are making frantic efforts to stage a come-back and usurp the leadership of this struggle with the sole motive of sabotaging and destroying it in the interest of their pay-masters.

All these show that the Adivasi people will have to wage a sustained, bitter and protracted struggle to achieve their aim on the pattern of the Naxalbari struggle. Life has taught that elections are nothing but a deception practised by the reactionary ruling classes to divert the people from the genuine path of emancipation. The Adivasi people will have to rely on their own organised strength and have to prepare themselves for protracted revolutionary struggle to smash the armed violence of the reactionary state bit by bit from the rural areas for liberating themselves.

The edge of the movement must be directed against the landlords, money-lenders and other exploiters along with their agents. These traditional enemies have to be driven out mercilessly from the rural areas. In order to achieve this objective, the movement must develop revolutionary militancy and firmly unite around its banner all the toilers in the villages. The movement must not be allowed to be diverted into the dark alleys of chauvinism.

The Adivasi people must always remember that they have a most reliable ally in the militant working class of Chotanagpur, who are likewise subjected to the worst exploitations in mines and quarries, in factories and towns, and who are likewise fighting against the common enemy, the reactionary ruling classes. The working class too must not allow itself to fall a prey to the machinations of the reactionaries and come forward with militant

support for this just struggle of the Adivasi people. Let it not be forgotten that the death of the fourteen Adivasi peasants as well as of many workers in the industries in the cause of people's struggle have to be avenged. The working class must not forget that it can liberate itself only after liberating other suffering classes. It is therefore necessary that workers should organise strikes and demonstrations against the barbaric repression being perpetrated today on the Adivasis and throw their entire weight on the side of the Adivasi peasantry.

The Bihar State Co-ordination Committee of the Communist revolutionaries calls upon the Adivasi peasantry :

1. To unleash revolutionary struggle against the landlords, sahumars and their agents ;
2. To form village committees and establish "People's Raj", and free the rural areas from the tentacles of the reactionaries in the light of Chairman Mao's teachings ;
3. To unite with other revolutionary classes, above all, with the militant working class, who support this just struggle of the Adivasi people ;
4. To expose and eliminate disruptors, opportunists and career-seekers from the ranks of this struggle,

Let every Adivasi rise and fight the way the Great Birsa, the Great Siddu and Kanu fought against the foreign and native oppressors.

Let every Adivasi remember that their struggle is a part of the great people's struggle raging in India and the whole world against imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, and no power on earth can prevent the people from attaining their ultimate victory.

No amount of repression can subdue an awakened people and this just struggle of the Adivasi people for emancipation is bound to end in victory.

—June 12, 1968

"Leader of the Workers' Movement"

OR,

No. 1 Scab ?

"Renmin Ribao" published this article with the following editor's note: "In betraying the fundamental interests of the proletariat and selling out the workers' movement, the old and new revisionists, from Bernstein to Khrushchov and his like, have always adopted the counter-revolutionary tactics of peddling counter-revolutionary economism and syndicalism and advocating the theory of "trade unions of the entire people" and the theory of "spontaneity" in the workers' movement.

In this respect China's Khrushchov is no less active than his predecessors. In a vain attempt to restore capitalism in China, he uses precisely these counter-revolutionary revisionist "theories" to oppose the leading role of proletarian political parties and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in the workers' movement and to undermine the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thorough criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov's counter-revolutionary revisionist line is of great and far-reaching significance to the victorious advance of the workers' movement of China and of the world along the proletarian revolutionary line pointed out by Chairman Mao. This is a glorious task of the Chinese working class."

China's Khrushchov reversed history and depicted himself as 'a leader of the workers' movement. However, numerous facts prove that he was never "a leader of the workers' movement" but from head to foot the No. 1 scab betraying the interests of the working class. What he

pushed in the workers' movement is a counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

The heart of this revisionist line is economism and syndicalism. Before the liberation of China, it served to maintain the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and opposed the seizure of political power by armed struggle. After liberation it persistently followed the capitalist road and opposed the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I

Before the working class takes political power, should it engage only in legal economic struggles begging for small immediate "benefits" from the ruling class, or should it completely overthrow reactionary rule and take political power into its own hands? This is a focal point in the struggle between Marxists on the one side and revisionists and reformists on the other.

Marxists have always held that the fundamental question of revolution is that of political power. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power". "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution." "Armed struggle by the Chinese Communist Party takes the form of peasant war under proletarian leadership". Other forms such as mass organization and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war.....(they) are directly or indirectly co-ordinated with the war."

In these great teachings Chairman Mao points out that the general orientation and general task of the workers' movement are to organize and arouse the working class, directly or indirectly work in co-ordination with the peasants' revolutionary war led by the Party and struggle

to encircle the cities from the countryside and finally seize political power by armed struggle.

China's Khrushchov is the biggest counter-revolutionary economist in the workers' movement of China and of the world. At the crucial junctures of the revolution he came out again and again to advocate economism and economic struggle. He opposed political struggle; he opposed co-ordination of the workers' movement with armed struggle and the seizure of political power by encircling the cities from the countryside. As early as 1923, he echoed the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu in viciously slandering such nonsense as saying that an "immature" proletariat could of course not "realize the seizure of power" immediately. He tried to lead the workers' movement on to the evil path of economism.

In the years of the Northern Expedition and the Agrarian Revolutionary War, he veered away from revolutionary war and the fundamental question of seizing political power and did his utmost to peddle economism and economic struggle. He prated that "to undertake all kinds of economic struggle should be the principle of the workers' movement. At no time can the workers be divorced from their economic interests. They are bound to strive for them." He thus put forward the formula that "development of economic struggle means development of the Chinese workers' movement" and opposed "putting forward political slogans and political demands in addition to economic demands." Chairman Mao gave a high appraisal to the world-shaking mass demonstration and strike staged by the Shanghai workers and students against Imperialism on May 30, 1925. But what China's Khrushchov saw in this great strike was that it "won 75,000 yuan" and he was quite satisfied with this.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he insisted that "the masses struggle for their economic

demands." He said that "as an economic organization, the trade unions should always struggle to defend the workers' economic interests" and that they should not "simply conduct struggles around political tasks." In so doing he wanted the people to turn away from the acute national and class struggles of the time and concern themselves solely with "economic interests."

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he went further to openly preach "legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle".

In a nutshell, his whole line was "economic struggle is everything and everything for economic struggle." By advocating "economic struggle," he actually meant to confine the struggle solely to fighting for "legislation", giving the workers better conditions to sell their labour power, thus restricting the struggle to the scope permitted by the Kuomintang reactionaries without touching the Chiang Kai-shek regime one jot.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, never denies the necessity of economic struggle, but maintains that economic struggle must be integrated with political struggle, advanced to the level of political struggle and made to serve revolutionary war and be waged in co-ordination with the seizure of power by armed force. If the workers' movement is divorced from political struggle and the armed seizure of power and limited to economic struggle and legal struggle, it becomes impossible to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which weighs down on the working class like three big mountains and put an end to the situation in which the working class is ruled over and enslaved, and it becomes absolutely impossible to solve "economic demands." The revisionist line—"economic struggle is everything and everything for economic struggle"—advocated by China's Khrushchov is out-and-out counter-revolutionary economism, the theory of begging for handouts. It caters fully to

the needs of imperialism and its lackeys and serves to maintain their reactionary rule. What he peddled is simply what he inherited from Bernstein and Kautsky, the old revisionists, big scabs and big renegades, and the Russian tsarist agents—the “Economists” and their like.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the entry of the Chinese revolution into the stage of socialist revolution. At this new historical stage, should we persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the socialist revolution through to the end, develop the socialist economy and strive to bring about communism or should we give up socialist revolution, concern ourselves solely with material production, give up the fundamental interests of consolidating the proletarian state power and lead the workers in seeking immediate economic advantages and thus open the way for a restoration of capitalism? This is one of the focal points of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and revisionism in the workers' movement after the seizure of power by the working class.

The report by our great leader Chairman Mao at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the eve of the nationwide victory, the Party's General line and general tasks for the transitional period put forward by the Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao after the founding of New China, and “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” “Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work” and other epoch-making works of Chairman Mao published after the socialist transformation of the means of production had in the main been completed, provide the general orientation and general line and the supreme principle for the whole Party and the whole country, as well as for the workers' movement in China.

With the aggressive design of usurping Party and state leadership, China's Khrushchov tried to grab hold of the

workers' movement. Once again he produced the formula “development of economic struggle means development of the Chinese workers' movement”, the formula which he had preached during the democratic revolution. But this time, to prevent trade union workers from engaging in revolutionary and political work, he polished it up by putting forward such slogans as “the drive for production is precisely the workers' movement” and “strive for the livelihood of the workers”; in an attempt to lead the workers' movement astray, he advocated that the trade unions concern themselves solely with production and welfare. This was indeed a new manifestation under the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the counter-revolutionary economism consistently pursued by China's Khrushchov. It was part of his criminal scheme to oppose the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to counter Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Shortly after liberation, he shamelessly wanted the workers to “make the capitalists feel at ease.” He even ordered “the trade union cadres to try by every means to urge and persuade the workers” to co-operate with the capitalists.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, the scab again clamoured endlessly that the task of the trade unions was “to struggle to raise labour productivity without cease through socialist emulation and the movement of advanced workers.” This was just what Khrushchov preached when he said “economic and production problems are the centre of the activity of Party organizations and take first place in all the work of the Party organization.”

Their purpose was to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, to oppose carrying the socialist revolution through to the end on the political and ideological fronts.

Marxists do not oppose the development of production but stand for the active development of production. They

always hold that development of the socialist economy is one of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, development of socialist production demands that proletarian politics be put in command and that the socialist revolution be taken as the motive force. In other words: **"take firm hold of the revolution and promote production."**

However, China's Khrushchov declared that the purpose of developing production was to "increase individual income, improve personal livelihood." He encouraged material incentives advocated the fallacious slogan "grasp livelihood and stimulate production" and took "distribution" as the motive force. This means selling out the basic interests of the working class and destroying the revolutionary workers' movement.

II

Different political lines are invariably served by corresponding organizational lines. In order to meet his needs in pushing economism and syndicalism and in opposing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, China's Khrushchov negated by every possible means the class nature of the trade unions, did his utmost to turn the trade unions into economic organizations" having only "common economic demands" and into all-embracing "trade unions of the entire people."

Long before the Chinese revolution achieved nationwide victory, he had insisted that the trade unions were "economic organizations established on the basis of certain common economic demands" and that "all those who have common economic demands unite and get organized," "irrespective of their political beliefs."

He proposed that "no restrictive political conditions should be placed on those who join the trade unions." He thus entirely obliterated the class nature of the trade unions and denied the fact that the trade unions are an instrument for class struggle.

As early as the time of the Central Soviet Area Chairman Mao pointed out that it was necessary to build the trade unions into trade unions with a firm class stand.

Lenin also pointed out: **"Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class."**

China's Khrushchov was bent on turning the trade unions into "economic organizations." This was precisely to serve his counter-revolutionary revisionist line of working only for economic reform and opposing political struggle and the seizure of political power by armed force.

Following the nationwide victory, Chairman Mao pointed out that, **"the trade union is the mass organization of the working class" and "it is necessary to beware of political swindlers and guard against the infiltration of reactionary special agents into the trade unions."**

But in order to facilitate the restoration of capitalism, China's Khrushchov, while obstinately trying to turn the trade unions into "economic organizations," even tried to turn them into "trade unions of the entire people."

In the early period after China's liberation, while proclaiming that "exploitation has its merits," he put forward the idea that members of the democratic parties representing the interests of the bourgeoisie should be permitted to join trade unions and "have the right to be elected to leading bodies of the trade unions."

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private industry and commerce, his theory of "trade unions of the entire people" was vigorously developed. He went so far as to say: "Doesn't the capitalists' class status change after the fixed rate of interest is abolished? If such people join the trade unions, the superiority of red over black is still ten to one". "Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have sufficiently remoulded themselves may

also join the trade unions." He said that "all our 600 million people will become workers" and "all will belong to the trade unions."

Obviously, all these statements are linked with his theory of the dying out of class struggle. They blur the distinctions between classes and completely nullify the class nature of the trade unions.

The trade unions are a product of class struggle and an instrument for class struggle. So long as classes and class struggle exist it is impossible for the trade unions to be "of the entire people."

China's Khrushchov tried in a hundred and one ways to turn the trade unions into trade unions of the entire people." His aim was to palm off those people who ought to be subjected to the dictatorship of the proletariat as members of the working class, turn the trade unions into protective umbrellas for landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois elements and convert the trade unions into an instrument for his intrigues to usurp Party and state leadership and restore capitalism.

III

A fundamental difference between Marxism and revisionism in the workers' movement lies in the answer to the question of whether or not the trade unions should accept the leadership of the political party of the working class. An advocate of economism is invariably a syndicalist and denies that the Party is the highest organizational form of the working class and opposes Party leadership over the trade unions. This also describes China's Khrushchov.

Chairman Mao teaches us that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class and its highest form of organization. It should lead all other organizations including the army, the government and the mass organizations. China's Khrushchov, however, went against the

teachings of Chairman Mao by actively advocating syndicalism in the workers' movement.

As early as the period of the democratic revolution, he vainly tried to nullify Party leadership over the trade unions.

By fabricating the theory that "the trade union is the centre", he denied that the Party was the highest organizational form of the working class and that the Party was the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. He said that the All-China Federation of Trade Unions "has day by day become the core of leadership of workers throughout the country" and "there is no reason to say that the workers' movement of China as a whole should not be put under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions".

He stressed that the trade unions were "independent" and that "the party and all free mass organizations should be placed on an equal footing".

Taking over the mantle of the social-democrats, he claimed that the trade unions "do not organizationally affiliate to any party or any side," otherwise "they would only be a tool or government-run".

He also attempted to direct the Party through the trade unions. He babbled that "be it the Party, the government, the army or any popular organization, when it carries out mass work, it should accept the leadership of the mass organizations."

During the 17 years after liberation, in order to make the trade unions a tool in his plot to usurp Party and state leadership, he clandestinely carried out syndicalism in an attempt to place the trade unions above the Party and government and to turn them into an "independent kingdom" so as to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He tampered with the history of the revolutionary trade unions in China which were set up under the

leadership of the Party and alleged that "the trade unions were established before the Party."

In a vain attempt to lower the prestige of the Party, he stressed the building up of "trust" in the trade unions, saying, "the trade unions should build up trust in themselves, and the higher the better."

He dreamt of establishing a workers' Soviet that would place the trade unions above the Party and the government.

The poisonous influence of syndicalism spread by China's Khrushchov in the workers' movement goes very deep. In the 17 years after liberation sharp struggles between the two roads and the two lines arose on two occasions in the trade unions. China's Khrushchov is the general boss behind the scenes of the erroneous line. In opposing the Party's leadership over the trade unions, he and his followers actually wanted to place the trade unions under the leadership of the bourgeois headquarters and use them as a tool in their attempt to restore capitalism.

IV

Acceptance by the trade unions of Party leadership means acceptance of the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, it is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful ideological weapon for fighting imperialism, and the most powerful ideological weapon for fighting revisionism and dogmatism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the fundamental guarantee for the victorious advance of the workers' movement as well as the fundamental guarantee for the working class' seizure and consolidation of state power.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "...unless they are imbued with a progressive political spirit, and unless such a spirit is fostered through progressive political work, it will be impossible...to arouse their enthusiasm for the War

of Resistance to the full." Lenin also pointed out: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," socialist ideology "could only be brought to them from without" and "the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness."

Advocates of economism and syndicalism, past and present, in China and abroad, are all worshippers of the theory of "spontaneity." Without exception, they oppose imbuing the workers with socialist ideology, with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. China's Khrushchov has all along been an adherent of this theory; but more than that, he is also a sample of the worshipper of "spontaneity" on a world scale.

During the period of the democratic revolution, when the working class had as yet not won state power, China's Khrushchov introduced into China wholesale the advocacy of "spontaneity" as propounded by the British syndicalists, the Russian "Economists" and such old-line revisionists as Bernstein. He opposed using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought to arm the workers, mobilize and organize them in the struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

In the past 17 years, China's Khrushchov has looked on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as his greatest obstacle in trying to usurp leadership of the Party and the state and restore capitalism in China. He has always opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and opposed the worker masses creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. Using all kinds of vicious talk, he has done his utmost to defame, slander and attack the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and to sabotage, oppose and prohibit the instilling of Mao Tse-tung's thought into the minds of workers.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the universal truth for the making of revolution by all the oppressed peoples and the

fundamental guarantee for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class which has already seized political power. The fundamental task of the workers' movement is to imbue the workers with Mao Tse-tung's thought, arm the masses of the workers with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and build their ranks into a mighty industrial army that is highly proletarian, revolutionary and militant. We must give first place to this great task and make the trade unions a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

(Written by a proletarian revolutionary mass organization in the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.)

Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organisations of the fighting proletariat, when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors,

—Lenin

The Collapse of the Second International

A New Assessment of The History of the C. P. I.

—Bande Ali Khan

Chapter II : 1929-39

(Continued)

V. Roy's Communist Party of India :

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Roy also issued a Manifesto of his Party addressed to the "Revolutionary vanguards of the toiling masses of India", in which he declared that "in India the way to Communism lies through the national revolution" and for this purpose the CPI "must work through the national

fundamental guarantee for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class which has already seized political power. The fundamental task of the workers' movement is to imbue the workers with Mao Tse-tung's thought, arm the masses of the workers with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and build their ranks into a mighty industrial army that is highly proletarian, revolutionary and militant. We must give first place to this great task and make the trade unions a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

*(Written by a proletarian revolutionary
mass organization in the All-China
Federation of Trade Unions.)*

Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organisations of the fighting proletariat, when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors,

—Lenin

The Collapse of the Second International

A New Assessment of The History of the C. P. I.

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Chapter II : 1929-39

(Continued)

V. Roy's Communist Party of India :

To make the confusion within the Party worse confounded, Roy started his own Communist Party in the middle of 1930 after his expulsion from the CI. It was all a self-contradictory affair. Roy claimed that although his party was a rival CPI (which was affiliated to the CI), it was not hostile to the Communist International. Roy cherished the hope that his party would be recognised by the CI. Formerly, Roy was ultra-Leftist and would have no truck with the national bourgeoisie; now, after the betrayal of the Chinese bourgeoisie, he became a Rightist and advocated co-operation with the Indian National Congress. Formerly, he wanted to capture the nationalist movement by working outside the Congress; now he thought of building the Communist movement by working within the Congress. Roy also was closely co-operating with Brandler in Germany and Jay Lovestone in America, both of whom were expelled from the Comintern for their revisionist deviations. (Lovestone subsequently played a notorious anti-Communist role in the American labour movement.)

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Congress, Youth League, Student Organisation, volunteer corps." We have seen in the previous chapter how at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern, Roy had fought against Lenin's formulation regarding the "bourgeois democratic liberation movement" in the colonies and had it substituted by "revolutionary movements of liberation." At that time Lenin thought there was 'substantially no difference between the two formulations. Lenin did not know Roy's capacity for distortion. At that time Roy denied the bourgeois democratic stage of the Indian revolution and stood for a socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Now he goes for a "national revolution" under the leadership of the bourgeoisie!

Roy came back to India clandestinely on a false passport in December 1930. For 7 months Roy managed to work in trade unions and among some Congress intellectuals. Among those who were attracted by Roy, there were many anti-Communist and disruptors. At Nehru's invitation Roy attended the Karachi session of the Congress in March 1931 at which the most notable event was the resolution on Fundamental Rights. Some claim that Roy was the real initiator of that resolution. True or not, it was so harmless and vague that even Gandhi supported it!

Roy was arrested in July 1931. He was tried and sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment, but on appeal the sentence was reduced to 6 years. Roy was released on November 20, 1936. The question is—how could such a well-known and dangerous (for the British) personality like Roy remained undetected for such a long period of 7 months and go about meeting trade union leaders and assorted intellectuals, attending the open session of the Congress for several days etc. etc. It may be due to the inefficiency of the British Intelligence Service, or it is more likely that the police intentionally allowed Roy sufficient time to bring about disruption and confusion in the Communist

and trade union movements. A British Intelligence report significantly says:

"There is no gainsaying the fact that, in the seven months during which he was at large in India, Roy did very considerable mischief, despite the fact that the police were continually hot on his heels. His doctrine gained many adherents in Bombay and the United Provinces, and at a later date also in Calcutta."¹

VI. Factionalism Among the Indian Party leaders:

The objective situation in India in 1930-34 was very good for building up the Communist Party. This was a period of great political movement and unprecedented mass action—Civil Disobedience movement, boycott of British goods, open defiance of repressive laws, refusal by the peasants to pay land tax, observance of the first Independence Day on a nation-wide scale, Gandhi's Salt March, Chittagong Armoury Raid, thousands of people arrested, widespread discontent in the country, discontent against Gandhi's leadership, refusal of the Hindu Garhwali Riflemen to shoot at Moslem demonstrators, Peshawar city completely in the hands of the people for 10 days, Sholapur, a textile town of 140,000 people, occupied by the people and governed by them for a week etc. etc. Regarding Sholapur, the *London Times* wrote (May 14, 1930): "Even the Congress leaders had lost control over the mob which was seeking to establish a regime of its own. They took charge of the administration and tried to establish their own laws and regulations." On the working class front, too, the militancy, unity and mass participation in *hartals*, strikes and political movement, the spread of communism in the country caused much anxiety to the Government. The authorities reported that in spite of the Meerut Trial and the Communist leaders being in jail, "the Communist

1. Quoted by Overstreet, p. 148

menace, however, remains and has intensified." (*India*, 1932-33)

Did the Communists take advantage of this splendid situation? No, they did not. They took an anti-Marxist-Leninist line. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern had made it absolutely clear that, "The principal task in such countries (China, India, etc.) is, on the one hand, to fight against feudalism and the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and systematically to develop the agrarian revolution; on the other hand, to fight against foreign imperialism for national independence."

The Communists took part neither in the anti-feudal peasant struggle nor in the Independence movement, although it was their first duty to do so. The prevailing conditions were a big opportunity for them to build up their party and consolidate their position among the workers and peasants. They held themselves aloof from the national struggle (as they were to repeat that blunder once again in 1942). It was a sort of non-co-operation against non-co-operation. While people were boycotting British cloth, some fashionable Communists went about flaunting suits and shirts made of British cloth to prove their solidarity with Lancashire workers! This was certainly not the way to establish the leadership of the Party in the Independence movement. Thus Communists got completely isolated from the people.

Due to such policy of the Party, its anti-Marxist position went from bad to worse during the period of 1931-34. Although the CPI was affiliated to the Comintern in 1930, it did not function as a unified party. Its Central Committee did not function at all, its provincial units became practically independent. Worse still was the fact that each provincial unit became the hotbed of factional struggle. The leading members indulged in petty personal issues—there was hardly any ideological fight. In Bombay, both Ranadive and Deshpande showed extraordinary skill

in groupism and cliquism. The Calcutta Communists did the same. Their quarrels with each other became an open scandal. Ranadive excelled them all, and his groupism went to such an extreme that he seceded from the Party and, thinking himself to be the Lenin of India, established a party of his own and called it the Bolshevik Party.¹ Thus, from the very beginning of his Party career, Ranadive, like Dange, became well-known for his revolutionary phrase-mongering and for his disruptive tactics.

About the conditions in Bengal at this time an old Communist writes from his personal experience: "At this time, due to the internal quarrels in the Bombay Party, there was no regularly constituted Party in India. In the cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore etc., different groups used to call themselves Communists. In Calcutta also there were several groups. A certain P. Banerjee had a group. There was another group known as Royists. Their weekly organ was *Avijan* (Campaign) and its editor was Somnath Lahiri. Another group was conducted by Kiron Basak, Chaya Banerji and Naren Ganguli... In 1931 the Calcutta Committee of the Communist Party was formed under the leadership of Comrade Halim... The names of those who were in the Committee are: Abdul Halim (Secretary), Ranen Sen, Abani Chaudhury, Akhil Banerji, Nani Basu, the former editor of *Avijan* Somnath Lahiri and Halim Ali Khan."²

From inside the prison Muzaffar Ahmad, Dange, Adhikari and others were pulling strings and were encouraging different factions outside, just as they themselves were indulging in groupism amongst themselves. One instance of how Muzaffar Ahmad indulged in factionalism has been described as follows:

"Since Soumyendranath Tagore had gone away to

1. S. V. Ghate: *KALANTAR*, (Bengali), special number on the 40th anniversary of the CPI. This is a journal of the rightist CPI.

2. Dr. Atul Chandra Chanda: *NANDAN*, Bengali monthly, October 1966. Journal of the CPI (M)

Moscow, it was necessary to elect a new secretary for the Workers' and Peasants' Party. Without consulting any one Muzaffar Ahmad, Hemanta Sarkar and Abdul Halim came to the meeting and on the proposal of Hemanta Sarkar. Muzaffar Ahmad became secretary. Of course, afterwards other members changed the decision. At the end Abdul Razak Khan was elected secretary."¹

In Muzaffar Ahmad's own words: "In order to give again an all-India character to the Party, the Calcutta Committee wrote repeatedly to the leaders of the Bombay Party, but without any result. So on various occasions it went on sending reports to the Communist International. In 1930 we too—Philip Sprat, Ben Bradley and myself—got an opportunity to send a report from the Meerut prison. These reports produced some results. Firstly, in May 1932 came an Open Letter to the Indian Communists under the signature of three Central Committees of the Communist Parties of China, Germany and Great Britain. There they severely criticised the Indian Communists and requested them to organise an all-India Party on the basis of the Draft Platform of Action. Again, about a year later (July 16, 1933), another letter came for the Indian Communists from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This time they criticised the Indian Communists in the severest language. By giving the examples of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China, they tried to convince us about the urgent necessity of forming an all-India Party."

Another version of factionalism we get from the Rightist leader Somnath Lahiri. He writes in an article entitled "from Darkness to Light": "The group which was formed in Bengal was called the 'Calcutta Committee' of the Communist Party.....It was at this time that we were first acquainted with Muzaffar Ahmad.....From him we learnt that the wave of factionalism had also reached the prisoners

1 Prafulla Roy Choudhury : KALANTAR (cit)

in Meerut jail.....However, he [Ahmad] rendered us one service. He had persuaded Philip Sprat, one of the English prisoners in Meerut, to write a manifesto for us. *Whatever its political content* (my emphasis), there was an appeal to the Indian Communists from the organizational point of view: all of you, unite.....But hostility dies hard. He [Ahmad] was strongly opposed to the Bombay leaders who claimed themselves to be the Central Committee. At his suggestion we added two slogans in the unity manifesto: Down with the self-elected Central Committee of the CPI and Down with the communist cliques abroad. That is to say, instead of becoming the initiators of unity, we became partners in the factional struggle."¹

Muzaffar Ahmad states: "In the month of December 1933 we had a "secret session of the Party in Calcutta. There a new political resolution and a new constitution were adopted. In this conference was also elected a new Central Committee of the Party. Dr Gangadhar Adhikari was chosen as Party's general secretary. Comrade Ben Bradley went to Europe with these reports and in due course placed them before the Communist International. The Communist Party of India again became a section of the CI."

Further on, Ahmad remarks that in this attempt to organise the Party, "some of the Bombay comrades joined, while others did not join." The fact is that though a Party was formed, factionalism continued. The so-called unity was brought about, not through a Marxist ideological struggle, not based on democratic centralism but on a patch-up understanding between different groups and personalities. That is why this formal unity did not solve the problem of factionalism. From 1933 onwards Muzaffar Ahmad, Dange, Adhikari, Ranadive, Lahiri,

1. Kalantar (cit)

Joshi—all continued with their factional quarrels until the split in 1964.

VII. "Open Letter to the Indian Communists":

Unable to solve their own problems, the Indian Communist leaders, as we have noticed before, asked Comintern's help. They asked it to analyse the mistakes of the CPI in an Open Letter and for arbitrating the differences between the various groups. Accordingly that "Open Letter to the Indian Communists" was issued by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of China, Germany and Great Britain and appeared in the *Communist International* of June 1, 1932.

The Open Letter did not enunciate any new strategy or tactics, it only reiterated the Draft Platform of Action. It again emphasized the need for building up a centralised Communist Party and recommended *uncompromising* struggle not only against the reactionary leadership of the Congress but also against the Left Reformists.

The Draft Platform had said that "The most harmful and dangerous obstacle to the victory of the Indian revolution is the agitation carried on by the Left elements in the Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Bose, Ginwala and others." The treachery of the Left Kuomintang had taught this lesson to the Comintern.

This estimate of the Comintern about the Left Nationalist leaders of India, too, soon proved to be correct. When at the height of the Civil Disobedience movement, Gandhi signed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 4, 1931, and thus betrayed the independence movement once again, Nehru, Bose and other Left leaders vehemently criticised Gandhi's action. A Congress session was hastily called at Karachi. This city being situated at a distant corner, many could not attend the session. The resolution endorsing the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was moved by no other person than Jawaharlal Nehru himself, Subhas Bose did

not open his mouth. The Left Nationalists completely collapsed at Karachi and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was unanimously approved.

Not only the Comintern but also Gandhi understood the spurious nature of Nehru's Leftism. In 1929, Gandhi was elected President of the Congress. But he knew which way the wind was blowing. Gandhi understood it well that Nehru with his left phraseology was the best man to keep the revolutionary elements in check. So he stepped down and shrewdly nominated Nehru, the leader of the Leftists and of the Independence League, the 'revolutionary' who conducted a whirlwind campaign for 'socialism' in India, as President of the Congress. Lest the Rightists should get alarmed, Gandhi explained:

"No one can surpass him in his love for his country; he is brave and passionate, and at this moment these qualities are very essential. But although passionate and resolute in struggle, still he possesses the reason of a statesman. An adherent of discipline, he has proved in deeds his capability to submit to decisions with which he is not in agreement. He is modest and practical enough not to run to extremes. In his hands the nation is perfectly secure." (quoted by R. P. Dutt, p. 297)

The Open Letter further said that the biggest mistake the CPI made was that "it stood aside from the mass movement of the people against British imperialism. It was this 'self-isolation' that created confusion in Communist ranks, and Communists must remedy it by taking "a most energetic part in the struggle for independence?" The Open Letter further pointed out that the CPI still consisted of a few "weak groups, often isolated from the masses, disconnected with each other, not politically united, and in some places, not clearly differentiated from national reformism." The most urgent task was to form an ideologically and organisationally, united and centralized party, an all-India Communist Party. The

"kernel of the Party organisations must be in an *illegal* position." At the same time, legal fronts must be organized under the Party which must publish newspapers etc, though such open work "under no circumstances injure the existence of the illegal cells."

Regarding trade union work the Letter sharply criticised the Party: "It is a great mistake to continue the practice of self-isolation from workers' meetings, and mass trade unions which are under the influence of the reformists." There is no contradiction here—it is only a question of tactics. To enter a reformist union does not mean becoming a reformist. One can enter a reformist union to fight reformism from within.

Another Open Letter to the Indian Communists came from the Central Committee of the CP of China.¹ It must be noted here that though the Communist movement of both India and China started about the same time in the early twenties under very similar conditions, within 10 years the CPC went far ahead, built up a strong Communist Party with firm roots among the people, had led anti-feudal armed struggle and established soviets in large areas, organised an invincible ^{power} Red Army based on the Maoist principle that "politics comes out of the barrel of a gun." The CPC had already established itself as the leader of the national liberation struggle, while the Indian Communists were unable even to take the initial steps to form a centralised Communist Party.

The Chinese Letter was similar to the first Open Letter, but it put more emphasis on the Party building: "The chief decisive question is the formation of a militant mass Indian Communist Party." This Party should be like the CPSU, "a model of Bolshevik organisation and iron discipline, ...not a peaceful Party, but a militant, bold, revolutionary Party. ...We are becoming

1. INPRECOR, November 24, 1933,

more and more uneasy at the slowness of the process in the formation of the CPI."

As a result of the Chinese Open Letter, the Red TUC began to co-operate more and more with the non-Communist unions. Articles in the *Inprecor* also called upon the Indian Communists to establish good relations with the Congress rank and file.

The Eleventh Plenum of the ECCI at a meeting in August 1932 presented a report on India in which the tasks of the CPI were laid down: to strengthen the CP politically and organisationally; to train Bolshevik cadres, to struggle against reformism in non-Communist unions, to develop a wide anti-imperialist front, to liberate the masses from the influence of the Congress, to give the *greatest support* to the peasant movement for the non-payment of taxes, rents and debts, to popularize the basic slogans and tasks of the agrarian revolution.

The Comintern also once again urged the Indian Communists to rely on themselves, on the peasants and workers, on a strong Communist Party based on mass support. The Comintern once again warned the Indian Communists about the Congress and Left Reformist leaders who were again and again heading the national movements, and again and again betraying those movements, and about the British government which again and again sent them to jail making them martyrs. The Comintern advised them that they should rid themselves of all illusions about the bourgeois leaders, both of the Right and of the Left. In one article it said:

"The arrest of Gandhi was the very thing that an astute politician needs to rehabilitate him with the Indian masses who were naturally very suspicious of his consorting with the imperialist enemy at the Round Table Conference" [in 1931].¹

1 "The Old and the New in India's Struggle for Freedom," INPRECOR, 1932, No 2, pp 25-26)

VIII. *Intellectuals, Terrorists and Communists :*

Thinking about Communism and the Soviet Union, which had started from the early twenties,¹ reached theoretical plane amongst a vital section of Indian intellectuals by 1930. The process was not limited to India alone, it was universal. All over the world the first decade of Communism in Russia had caused more bewilderment than understanding, but in the thirties many intellectuals in Europe and America as well as in Asia were being drawn to Communism on theoretical grounds. By early thirties there was some Communist literature available in India which the progressive intellectuals read passionately. Moreover, the conversion of prominent intellectuals like Romain Rolland, Anatole France, Theodore Dreiser etc. to Marxism and the sympathetic approach to it by Albert Einstein and Bernard Shaw had a tremendous impact on the intellectuals all over the world. It was also in 1930 that Rabindranath Tagore visited the Soviet Union and was greatly impressed by the revolutionary changes that had been brought about by the workers and peasants of that country in their thinking as well as in their action. Tagore's letters from Russia which began to appear in India made a great impression on Indian intellectuals.²

Communist influence was not limited to the intellectuals alone, it spread among the general public as well. The repeated failure of the Congress-led non-violent non-cooperation movements leading to an accentuation of arrogance and despotism of the bureaucratic rulers and the accentuation of poverty and misery of the Indian people on the one hand, and the great achievements of the Soviet Union, on the other, led to an upsurge of socialist ideas, specially among the Indian youth.

1. Subhas Chandra Bose says that "during the last world war, when the revolution broke out in Russia and, as a result of it, a new Government came into existence, the work of that Government was studied with great interest in our country." (INDIAN STRUGGLE, Calcutta, 1952, p. 110).

2. Rabindranath Tagore : Letters from Russia,

About this time London became a good recruiting ground for the Communists. Many Indian students, even from top aristocratic families, were drawn towards Communism. They also profited much by coming in contact with brilliant British Communist intellectuals like Emile Burns, Ralph Fox, John Strachey (who left the Party later on), James Klugman, David Guest, Maurice Cornforth, Christopher Caudwell (as well as R. P. Dutt)—many of whom later sacrificed their lives in the Spanish Civil War. About this time Communism also attracted many of the old terrorist revolutionaries. Many of these terrorists belonging to the Jugantar and Anushilan parties studied Marxism in jail and, after being released, they joined the CPI.¹

About this process, the Congress historian says :

"Abroad, the rapid progress effected by Russia began to capture public imagination all the world over. Every story of progress from this semi-oriental country breaking down the shackles of slavery and breaking through the bonds of capitalism, brought a sigh of relief to people in India whose long continued subjection had merely driven away all hope of freedom....Russia and Ukraine stimulated a like passion for like movements, for the erection of

1. Undoubtedly, these elements initially strengthened the Party. There were many good and sincere elements among these intellectuals and terrorists. But after they came to the Party they were not taken through proper training and work. They were at once absorbed into the leadership. There are instances of many of these immature Marxists who were at once made members of the CC of the Party or taken into the secretariat as soon as they landed in Bombay. Since the Party consisted mostly of petty bourgeois elements with little Marxist training, instead of the Party helping them to develop proletarian outlook it is they who contaminated the Party ranks with their bourgeois outlook, weaknesses and vices. It is no wonder that all these elements, in the absence of an appreciable number of Marxist worker and peasant cadres in the Party, subsequently helped to strengthen the aristocratic bureaucracy of the CPI. Still later, many of these elements became the strong supporters of Revisionism of both the Right and the Left CPI.

like edifices and the establishment of like freedom for the masses here in India as well; that the industrial population of India did not exceed two million people, that the unnumbered millions of peasants constituted the real backbone of the country...that India was being governed and ground down by a foreign power, not by any means better than the personal and autocratic rule of a national despot, made no difference in the thoughts of the people whose imagination was brightened, whose hopes and ambitions were stimulated, whose emotions were kindled by the stories—altogether captivating though perhaps one-sided—that began to flow from our near neighbour in the north-east....It was a cry of socialism all round among the youth of the country.”¹

Communist ideas spread not only among the workers, intellectuals and revolutionaries, but also among the peasantry. According to the same writer: “There were the hordes of Kisans organising themselves into huge parties marching hundreds of miles along the villages and trying to build up a party, a power and a force more or less arrayed against the Congress. They found a cause, a flag and a leader. The cause of the Kisan was not a new one but had all along been upheld by the Congress. The flag they chose to favour was the Soviet flag of red colour with the hammer and sickle. This flag came more and more into vogue as the flag of the Kisans and the Communists,...Really it was less of socialism and perhaps more of Communism that was gradually permeating the atmosphere.”²

In July 1934 the CPI was officially declared illegal by the Government and it remained illegal until 1942. The membership of the Party in July 1934 had risen to 120 !³

1. Sitaramaya : History of the Congress, II, pp. 4 & 7

2. Ibid, 73

3. Overstreet, p. 155

(Continued from page 16)

led to a crisis that is shaking the U. S. imperialist system to its very foundations.

Dien Bien Phu has already been repeated. The heroic liberation fighters of South Vietnam have forced the U. S. aggressors to flee Khe Sanh. Saigon is daily rocked by the thunder of mortar and rocket-fire and the enemy can hardly feel secure even in his lair in Saigon. The whole of South Vietnam is seething with the determination to destroy the savage hordes that have been laying waste the country. The U. S. aggressors and their puppet troops, badly mauled by the heroic liberation fighters' offensive throughout 1967, above all, by the spectacular spring offensives, have been rendered completely passive. Pinned up in their bases, harassed and battered by the liberation forces, the most ferocious enemy of the Vietnamese people and of all mankind awaits the doom that they cannot escape.

On March 25, 1968, the *U. S. News and World Report*, the mouthpiece of the U. S. ruling classes, moaned:

“Success seems farther away than ever in Vietnam—after three years of brutal fighting and rising casualties. Reds, holding the advantage, are determined to keep it. The picture now is grim.

“More of the countryside is in communist hands. The Mekong Delta is more strongly under communist control. More cities, including Saigon itself, are in danger.

“War initiative, despite an allied offensive in mid-March in the Saigon region, is largely with the communists.....

“Then this: With South Vietnamese officials fearful of attacks on the cities, and their forces still holding close to the towns, there just is no Government presence in most hamlets and villages.

“Officials cannot estimate how many hamlets and villages Saigon still controls. Says one: ‘We cannot get out there to find out without making a military operation out of it’.

“Military initiative still lies with the communists..... With all that taken into consideration—does anyone now have a workable idea for getting this war ended? It is a humourless joke among American officials that the only ones with a real plan are the communists.”

The following excerpt from the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 11 and 12, 1968, will give some idea of the consternation among the U. S. imperialist ruling classes. Speaking to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Senator Mansfield said: "We are facing extremely dangerous and difficult times and you know it more than I do, but I certainly hope there is some way we can get out of this difficulty, because there is a feeling of unrest, frustration and uneasiness—and I am using the mildest possible terms...."

Whatever fond hopes the U. S. imperialists may cherish, there is no way they can "get out of this difficulty".

Long ago Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U. S. imperialism every day. U. S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano." The war of aggression in Vietnam makes this volcano many times more menacing than before. The U. S. imperialists have poured into this war one half of its ground forces, nearly one-fifth of its air force and more than a quarter of its navy, employed all kinds of modern weapons except the atom bomb with the purpose of killing all, burning all and destroying all, and spent more than \$30,000 million (Rs. 22,500 crore) in 1967. The U. S. aggressor forces in Vietnam have already suffered more than 250,000 casualties, and as days pass, these casualty figures are rising sharply. U. S. imperialism cannot make up the loss it is suffering on the battlefield because of the dwindling manpower reserve and the growing opposition of the U. S. people to its draft. At the same time, the puppet army is fast disintegrating. In the first few days of this February alone, the number of puppet troops who discarded their uniforms was more than 200,000. The aggressive war in Vietnam has also speeded up the disintegration of the ailing U. S. economy and intensified the international balance of payments crisis. It has been rightly said that "the fast swelling military spending has become a millstone weighing even more heavily round the neck of U. S. imperialism." The rising inflation, fall in the actual value of the dollar, tax-increase, growing unemployment, the draft etc. are sharpening the contradictions between the U. S. monopolists and the U. S. people, especially, the Afro-American people, whose armed resistance is surging ahead. The murder of Robert Kennedy is one more proof of the fact that the internal strife within the

U. S. ruling clique is getting fiercer and fiercer. The volcano shows increasing signs of erupting.

"To get out of the difficulty" U. S. imperialism is pursuing a dual policy. While trying to step up the offensive against Vietnam and the neighbouring countries, it indulges in "peace talks" fraud. The other day Johnson declared: "We will negotiate in good faith, but we will never—we will never—abandon our commitments nor will we even compromise the future of Asia at the negotiating table..... However hard or however long the labor, we will not tire in keeping our public trust." (*Newsweek*, May 20, 1968). The American aggressors are trying hard to win at the negotiating table what they have lost in the battle-field. In this attempt to "get out of the difficulty" and salvage what they have already lost, they are relying mostly on the Soviet renegades and revisionists elsewhere. As everybody knows, the so-called "bombing halt" and "peace talks" are an out-and-out war blackmail and political swindle. Even the much publicised "partial stopping of the bombing" of the northern part of Vietnam has actually amounted to more intensified bombing of the area north of the demilitarized zone. The Soviet renegades have once again played the most despicable role as No. 1 accomplice in the new plot hatched by Johnson.

As the leopard cannot change its spots, so U. S. imperialism cannot change its nature. It cannot renounce its aggression against Vietnam of its own accord. Whatever may be its manoeuvres, it will never depart from its fundamental purpose, namely, to partition Vietnam permanently and maintain South Vietnam as its neo-colony and military base for aggression against North Vietnam, China and other neighbouring countries. The Vietnam issue can only be decided on the battle-field by defeating the U. S. aggressors completely and driving them out of South Vietnam.

All the military adventures and political deceptions of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are doomed to fail if the Vietnamese people persevere in protracted war and fight on to the end. Already the victory of the Vietnamese people, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "once again demonstrates that a nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war." The complete defeat of the U. S. aggressors on the battle-field in Vietnam will be a crushing blow at the

U.S. imperialists, the Soviet renegades and the reactionaries all over the world.

We in India can help the cause of Vietnam, which is also the cause of the oppressed peoples everywhere, by emulating the example of the heroic people of Vietnam, by arousing our people boldly, relying on them and waging a protracted struggle against the domestic reactionaries who are led by the common enemies of mankind—U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

JOTSOMA AND AFTER

So, the four year long truce with the rebellious Naga people has been extended by another month, i.e., upto July 31, by the Congress overlords of New Delhi. The very short period of extension itself indicates both the dilemma and the vicious striving of the Congress rulers for an eventual bloodbath. The period of truce, aimed at destroying the spirit of resistance of the Naga people 'peacefully', indeed brought some dividend to New Delhi's experienced political gamblers. The Congress rulers can hardly hide their glee at such profitable return; and are tempted to continue the truce to reap increasing dividends at the cost of the Naga people's interests. On the other hand, the Naga people themselves have been reorganising and consolidating their own positions during the truce, to increase their fighting ability. Apparently, the reorganised government under President Mhasieu has consolidated and strengthened the fighting will and ability of the Naga people. Two events clearly testify to this. First, the outcome of the conference between the representatives of the Union Government and of the Nagas, and the effective and just rebuff meted out to the attempts made by the official spokesman to falsely interpret the Naga viewpoint. In fact, according to the report published in *The Indian Express* (May 2, '68), the Prime Minister herself admitted that "The Naga's going out of India was not a breach of the cease-fire agreement though it was an offence to smuggle arms." When the reactionary officials tried to rob the Nagas of this right by falsely raising the cry of 'breach of agreement,' the Naga spokesmen rightly and sharply exposed this hypocritical charge. It was a great political victory for the Nagas and a slap in the face of the Congress reactionaries. Further, the decision of the conference of the Naga leaders at Chedema turning down the so-called "peaceful" solution of the Naga problem through "negotiations" with the reactionary Indian Government

and reiterating their right to go to any country including China was still another blow to the Congress rulers.

The second event is the very recent clash with the Indian "security" forces. Even the so-called Peace Observer's Team headed by Dr. Aram had to admit publicly that the Indian forces launched their unprovoked attack on the Naga armed forces by openly violating the terms of the cease fire agreement which forbids patrolling by the Indian forces beyond 1000 yards from their own positions. The Indian Government versions made it clear that the Naga camp at Jotsoma lay beyond much more than a mile from the Indian position. Well, it seems that all the cunning and deliberate provocation of the Indian reactionaries could not save their mercenaries from receiving a stunning blow at the hand of the Naga armed forces. Despite all the inspired reports of "successes" of the army operation at Jotsoma and the malicious glee that it engendered among the reactionaries, the truth began to trickle through all this. A correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* quoting available sources put the casualties among the attacking Indian forces at "at least five times" that of the Nagas. In fact, according to the same report, the Indian mercenaries, who tried to overwhelm the Nagas with a surprise attack, were themselves ambushed by the vigilant Naga forces, who thoroughly punished the Indian reactionary troops. While the Defence Department spokesmen merely talked of "heavy casualties" on the Indian side, the *Economic Times* (June 12) puts the number of casualties at "more than 150." To hide this serious defeat from the people the Congress rulers immediately fabricated a story of "Chinese arms" and as an earnest for its authenticity produced a sketch of a rifle allegedly supplied by China to the Nagas. The Congress bosses indeed take too much for granted. This dubious sketch of a gun can hardly restore Indian people's confidence in the genuineness of the assertion and sacredness of the cause of the Congress rulers when the broken pieces of all their costly devices for deceiving the people like the 'plans' and 'dams' and 'development' activities of the last twenty years lie strewn all over the country rejected by the people.

The real significance of this resounding defeat of the provocative armed adventure engineered by the Congress rulers at the cost of the blood of the jawans and the Nagas does not, however, lie merely in the number of casualties. It lies in the fact that the entire Indian army which was

conducted. They are referring to it as a "kill all, burn all, destroy all" operation. Reactionary pen-pushers are already shrieking to end the truce and launch the attack at once. Anyway, all the reactionaries are united about one thing—that an armed offensive against the Naga people is 'inevitable'. The henchman of Indian reactionaries, Angami, has openly threatened the Naga people with a "blood bath." But then there are things which even the political gamblers in the Congress ruling party can afford to ignore only at their peril. An armed attack against the whole Naga people to "kill all, burn all, destroy all" can only rouse the entire Naga people with just anger and hatred against the Indian reactionaries. In short, such armed attack can only engulf the Indian mercenary troops in the fiery whirlwind of Naga people's fierce guerrilla struggle from which they can never extricate themselves. Apart from this there is Naxalbari which grows with every passing day and the rebellions workers, peasants and other toiling people of India who are daily striking hard blows at the Congress reactionary regime. Surrounded on all sides by hostile millions, lacking political and moral support and fighting a criminal war in the jungle-covered hills, filled with invisible and extremely effective guerrillas fighting for their survival and liberation, the Indian mercenaries with all their Soviet weapons and American training will merely prove themselves banana-leaf tigers. There is Vietnam, to drive the lesson home to the Congress bosses. The war against the Nagas will be the ruin of the Congress regime.

Hence the dilemma. The rulers are frightened and furious at once; they don't know whether to use the "peaceful" or the "bloody" weapon, whether to go on hoping for an eventual disintegration of the Naga people's armed struggle or to blindly jump into the bottomless pit of fighting a regular guerrilla war fraught with incalculable consequences. And they will never know, and must eventually take a death jump as all reactionaries everywhere do. They are sure to take wrong steps at a wrong time and land themselves in even worse contradictions—and will go on doing so till their doom. It is certain that our Congress rulers shall not fail to travel along the same road to their destruction.

For the Indian workers, peasants and other toiling people, however, the situation is quite different. The Marxist-Leninists and the Indian people whole-heartedly

and firmly support the just national struggles of the Naga people, the Mizo people, the Kukis and others. In dealing blows against the Congress reactionaries, they are hitting the worst enemies of the Indian people. The Indian people fully realise that the heroic Naga, Mizo and Kuki brothers are fighting for a noble and just cause. There is not and can never be any contradiction between the basic interests of the workers and peasants of India and those of the nationalities. On the other hand, they are engaged in fighting the common enemy—imperialism and Congress reactionaries. The just national struggles of the Naga people and other nationalities are a great inspiration for the Indian people to intensify their fight against their common enemy. No power on earth can break the unity of the revolutionary movement of the Indian people with the just struggle of the nationalities. The Naga people's glorious struggle is just and invincible. So are the struggles of the Mizo, Kuki and other nationalities. The Congress reactionaries and their masters—the Soviet revisionists and the US imperialists—will only break their heads in trying to suppress the just and glorious struggle of the Naga people.

Unity in Action !

A high-ranking American official, Under-Secretary of State Eugene Rostow, has claimed that there is a "tacit agreement" between the United States and Soviet Union about India and Pakistan.

Mr. Rostow is quoted in the June issue of the magazine "American Forces Management" as saying: "*We and the Soviets are pursuing parallel courses, both helping India and Pakistan, and both advising the settlement of conflicts between them. We are both trying to build a stability to restrain Chinese ambitions.*"

"*It is another case of tacit agreement. It has been said and I agree that the best agreements we have with the Soviets are tacit ones.*"

—Indian Express, June 28, 1968

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Liberalisation

July '68

1. *In Memory of Norman Bethune*
2. *"Stalin Group" in Soviet Union Speak Out*
3. *The United Front and the Revolutionary Party*
4. *Peasants' Revolutionary Storm in India*
5. *Adivasi Peoples' Struggle*
6. *China's Khrushchov—Workers Leader or a Scab ?*
7. *Thai People's Armed Struggle*
8. *History of CPI*
9. *Once Ideas Become a Material Force*

line in his practice. We, Chinese Communists, must also carry out this line. We must unite with the proletarians of all the capitalist countries, with the proletarians of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries; only then can we overthrow imperialism, liberate our nation and people and liberate the nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both national chauvinism and narrow patriotism.

Comrade Bethune's spirit of doing everything for others' benefit and nothing for his own was shown in his extreme sense of responsibility in his work and his extreme warmheartedness towards his comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him. Quite a number of people are irresponsible in their work, "picking up the light and shirking the heavy," *i.e.* shoving the heavy loads on to others and choosing the light ones for themselves. When anything comes up, they think of themselves first and of others only afterwards. When they have exerted themselves a little, they swell with pride and brag about it in case others should not know. Towards their comrades and the people they are not full of enthusiasm but cold and reserved, indifferent and apathetic. Such people are not really Communists, or at least cannot be counted as pure Communists. None who returned from the front failed to express their admiration for Bethune whenever his name was mentioned, and none remained unmoved by his spirit. None of the soldiers and civilians in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh border area, who had been treated by Dr. Bethune or had seen with their own eyes how he did his work, were unmoved. Every Communist must learn from Comrade Bethune this spirit of a true Communist.

Comrade Bethune was a doctor: he practised medicine as his profession and he was always improving his skill; and among the Eighth Route Army's whole medical personnel he stood very high for his skill. This is an

excellent lesson for that crowd of people who wish to change their work the moment they see something different, and for those who despise technical work as of no consequence, as a blind-alley occupation.

I saw Comrade Bethune only once. Afterwards he wrote me many letters. But as I was busy, I wrote back only one letter and do not know if he ever received it. I feel deeply grieved over his death. Now all of us commemorate him; thus we can see how profoundly people are moved by his spirit. We must all learn from him the spirit that is so completely free from selfishness. Starting from this point one can become a person of great use to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if only he has this spirit, he is already a noble-minded man, a pure man, a moral man, a man who has left vulgar taste behind, a man who is useful to the people.

December 21, 1939