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Liberation

• Report on Girijan Struggle •

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**QUOTATIONS FROM
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG**

A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour.

* * *

Therefore the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the three fundamental questions for our Party in the Chinese revolution. Having a correct grasp of these three questions and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution

We Salute The Peasant Revolutionaries of Kerala !

THE incidents in Kerala have once more demonstrated what an excellent revolutionary situation prevails in India today. Every Indian has the inalienable right to rise in revolt against the reactionary Indian government—a government that has again turned India into a colony, this time a neo-colony of U. S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionists. This is not a matter of right alone, what is more, every revolt against this government is just.

The heroism and courage displayed by the impoverished masses of Kerala have raised a new wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary people all over India and they are warmly applauding the heroic masses of Kerala.

In India, which is now like a volcano, the revolt of the peasant masses can be victorious only by successfully applying the thought of Chairman Mao, that is, by rousing the peasant masses with the politics of seizure of power and thus enabling them, under the leadership of workers and poor and landless peasants, to participate actively in carrying forward the agrarian revolution; by driving out the class enemies from the countryside by means of guerrilla struggle, expanding such areas and establishing liberated zones; by building up a people's army from among the armed guerrilla groups and by encircling the cities from the countryside and finally capturing them. Only thus can India be liberated. So the rebellious masses in every area must follow this road to achieve victory.

The heroic peasant revolutionaries of Kerala are carrying forward the glorious tradition of the peasant struggles of Punnappra and Vayullur and have once again demonstrated their courage and heroism and have refused to be subdued in the face of severe repression. It is sure that they will be able to overcome all difficulties and lead the tens of millions of revolutionary people of India. The great peasant revolutionaries of Kerala—zindabad !

November 27, 1968.

—Charu Mazumdar

Stand by the Naxalbari Heroes

COMRADE Kanu Sanyal, Comrade Jangal Santhal and other beloved leaders of the brave peasantry of Naxalbari have been on hunger-strike in Darjeeling and Siliguri jails for more than a month. They are fighting against abominable conditions which the peasant revolutionaries are made to suffer in prison and demand the right to be treated as political prisoners. To wreak vengeance upon these pathfinders of the Indian revolution, the reactionary ruling classes are meting out savage treatment to them. Alarming reports are reaching us about the fast deteriorating health of our beloved comrades.

Comrades and friends, start a powerful mass movement wherever possible to force the reactionary ruling classes to concede the demands of our comrades. Only a strong mass movement can save their precious lives and secure their release from prison. There is no time to lose. The reactionary ruling classes must know that the people will not forgive their crimes against the leaders of the revolutionary people.

Editorial Board,
Liberation

December 14, 1968

On Kanu Sanyal's Arrest

A Statement by Comrade Charu Mazumdar

[A news item in the *Statesman*, Nov. 1, 1968, attributed certain remarks to Comrade Charu Mazumdar, which were not his. The following statement of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, made in a letter to the Editorial Board of the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI, and published in its issue of November 28, 1968, is reproduced here. The statement not only removes the confusion generated by that mischievous report but is at the same time a warning to all revolutionaries and people of good-will to be on guard against any and all reports and 'statements' published in the bourgeois papers involving the communist revolutionaries. The reactionary press will surely use this filthy trick also in future in order to sow confusion and disrupt the ranks of revolutionaries and the revolutionary people. We can defeat its sinister attempts only by constantly increasing our vigilance and persisting in the study and practice of the thought of Chairman Mao.]

—Ed. Board, *Liberation*]

I was too shocked at seeing the report in the *Statesman* to think of you. Who can ever think of using such words about his own comrade? I had said two things in two different contexts, and it appears that the report was prepared by compounding these two. The first thing that I said was this: "I feel sorry at his [Kanu Sanyal's] arrest." To this I added: "After all, Kanu is still alive, and did not get killed, which could well happen in the course of the struggle. Now that he is alive and this government is unable to keep him in prison for ever, he is sure to come out and plunge once more into the revolutionary struggle."

The political situation in the country is changing fast and as the crisis develops, they are sure to get released." These are the two remarks I made and you can see how they have reported them in the newspaper. Comrades are criticising me for this [reported version] and they are fully justified in doing so. What communist would ever utter words like those reported in the paper? And if such a thing happens at all, must we not condemn it then? To the reporters of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the *Times of India* I said: "The peasant movement does not depend on any individual. No doubt, an individual can play an important role but that is in no way decisive." Then they put the question: "Will it cause a set-back to the movement?" To this I replied: "There may be some disorder as a result of this arrest; but that itself is a part of the process. The struggle of the peasants may consequently be delayed for a month or two at the most." This they made into the statement that the movement will start in December instead of in November as planned earlier.

"BOYCOTT ELECTIONS!"

International Significance of the Slogan

—Charu Mazumdar

[Translated from the Bengali text as appeared in the weekly
DESHABRATI, November 21, 1968.]

THE year was 1937. German, Italian and Japanese fascism, the three advanced detachments of world imperialism, were conspiring to redivide the world among themselves. German and Italian fascism intruded on the stage of Spain as active supporters of General Franco.¹ The world working class came out in support of the united front government of Spain, and an International Brigade was formed with people who came from different countries. But unfortunately Franco succeeded in smashing the resistance put up by the International Brigade and in imposing his brand of fascism on Spain.

Just at that time, the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao liberated a small area, Yenan, and stood up to oppose Japanese militarism. Not only that. It smashed all the boasts of Japanese militarism and began to create one liberated zone after another by rousing the poor peasants in the Japanese-occupied areas. These liberated zones not only survived the fierce Japanese attacks but also struck back hard at Japanese imperialism. At

1. Franco: a Spanish fascist military adventurer. Supported by German and Italian fascists he launched a counter-revolutionary civil war against the Socialist-Communist coalition Republican government in Spain and eventually succeeded in usurping state power in 1939 by overthrowing the elected government.

that time the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung had not only to fight Japanese imperialism, but also had to resist the reactionary Kuomintang government led by Chiang.

Then the Second World War broke out. The colonies of the older imperialist powers crumbled like a house of cards. The colonial people saw before their eyes how the so-called powerful imperialist powers fled before Japanese aggression like a dog beaten and with its tail between its legs. German fascism brought all the imperialist powers of entire Europe (excepting the British) under its heels through its superior military technique and strength. The old imperialist powers proved unable to meet the onslaught of fascism. With the entire industrial wealth and resources of Europe at their disposal, the power-drunk German fascists launched an aggression against the Soviet Union, the only state at that time where the working class held power. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by the great Stalin soon recovered from the initial shock of this treacherous surprise attack and mobilized the entire Soviet people, imbued them with the sacred determination to defend the country and smashed all the boasts of the German fascist hordes. The defeat inflicted on German fascism in the battlefield of Stalingrad ensured the victory of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin. The example of the great Communist Party of China inspired the world's people wherever they were oppressed by fascism and they rose arms in hand to oppose fascism and established rural base areas in order to fight it. That is how world fascism was destroyed. After the war when the old imperialists tried to re-establish their exploitation and rule, the wrath of the people of the colonial world, who had been roused and had realised their own strength, spread like a wild fire and the flames of armed struggle spread through the colonies and semi-colonies. At the time when the Communist Party of China led by Chairman

Mao was advancing towards a decisive victory there emerged in India Telangana, where, under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries, a peasant guerrilla force was formed, hundreds of thousands of peasants were roused with the spirit of revolutionary resistance, and hundreds of villages were liberated.

The victory of the great Chinese revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 conclusively proved the immeasurable power of People's War. The Communist Party of China based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, established the alliance of workers, peasants and other toiling people on a firm foundation and led the Chinese people to victory along the path of armed struggle. This victory stirred up the people of the colonial world and armed struggle began to develop firmly in every colony in South-east Asia. The victorious Chinese revolution clearly pointed out before the people of the colonies and semi-colonies the path along which they should advance to achieve victory. Then started the era of the total collapse of world imperialism. As world imperialism neared its final collapse, the revisionist leadership of the Communist Parties of the world began to betray the people's struggles. After the death of Stalin the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the world's revisionist renegade cliques began to work jointly with a view to saving world imperialism from its destruction. The renegade traitors in India who masqueraded as communists, were mortally scared at the victory of the Chinese revolution and withdrew unconditionally the Telangana struggle and took to the path of parliamentarism. After the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, spread disruption and confusion among the people of the colonies and semi-colonies wherever they were waging armed

struggle. Chairman Mao has said that world imperialism today is like a house which rests on a solitary pillar—U.S. imperialism. And so, the destruction of U.S. imperialism will completely smash world imperialism. This is why the traitorous Khrushchov clique extended its hand of co-operation to the U.S. imperialism. And this is also the reason why Chairman Mao warned us in 1957 and declared that in the era of raging revolutionary struggles revisionism is the main danger.

The struggle against revisionism in the international arena, which Chairman Mao launched in 1962, brought a new wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists all the world over. The Communist Party in every country in the world began to seethe with incipient revolts against the revisionist party leadership, and revolutionary Marxist-Leninists began to close their ranks. The anti-imperialist struggle entered a new higher phase. Taking their place in the forefront of anti-imperialist struggle, the heroic Vietnamese fighters dealt blows at U.S. imperialism, the lone pillar of world imperialism. It became clear as daylight that the doom of imperialism was near.

Any hesitancy, ever so little, to recognise that the thought of Chairman Mao is Marxism-Leninism of the present era, cannot but weaken the anti-imperialist struggle. This is because it blunts the very weapon with which revisionism has to be fought. Chairman Mao has taught us that we cannot advance even one step to attack imperialism without hitting revisionism.

In the present era when imperialism is heading towards total collapse, revolutionary struggle in every country has taken the form of armed struggle; Soviet revisionism, unable to retain its mask of socialism, has been forced to adopt imperialist tactics; world revolution has entered a new higher phase; and socialism is marching irrepressibly forward to victory—in such an era, to take to the

parliamentary road means stopping this onward march of world revolution. Today, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists cannot opt for the parliamentary road. This is true not only for the colonial and semi-colonial countries, but for the capitalist countries as well. In this new era of world revolution when victory has been achieved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, it has become the main task of the Marxist-Leninists the world over to establish bases in rural areas and to build up, on a firm foundation, the unity of workers, peasants and all other toiling people through armed struggle. So, the slogans 'boycott elections' and 'establish rural bases and create areas of armed struggle,' which the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have advanced, remain valid for the entire era.

By adhering to the parliamentary road the revolutionaries the world over have allowed a formidable blood-debt to accumulate over the ages. The time has now come to settle this blood-debt. Hundreds of thousands of fallen martyrs call upon the revolutionaries: 'Strike hard at the dying imperialism and wipe it out from the face of the earth!' It is time to rebuild the world in a new way! Our victory in this fight is certain!

NOTES

THE WORLD ENTERS A NEW HISTORICAL STAGE

The revolutionary people of India hail the publication of *Communique of Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* and send their warmest fraternal greetings to the great Chinese comrades and people. The success of the session came on the crest of a mighty wave of political revolution initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. With the victory of this revolution the world has entered a great new era. The dictatorship of the proletariat in Socialist China has been consolidated on a firm basis, the attempts of the revisionist traitors and scabs—Liu Shao-chi and his gang—to restore capitalism in China have been frustrated, the dreams of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have been rudely shattered. Revolutionary committees, new organs of power, representing the communist cadre, the revolutionary people and the People's Liberation Army, have sprung up in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions with the exception of the province of Taiwan and have wrested back whatever power the agents of the bourgeoisie had usurped. The socialist revolution has now triumphed in the spheres of education, arts and culture: the working class and the poor and lower middle peasants are assuming leadership in these spheres too. A successful war has been waged against all reactionary ideas and ideals. Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasped by the millions, has become a material force and is remoulding Chinese society. The people are displaying great creative powers so long hidden or suppressed, and as a result, a new great leap in socialist construction has been taking place. The great Communist Party of China, the

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party of the Chinese proletariat, has acquired new strength and vitality by getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. Thus, Socialist China, the base, the fortress of world revolution, has become more impregnable than ever before. The Plenary Session under the chairmanship and guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung registered this triumph of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, over the adverse current of modern revisionism and charted the path to greater victories in the days to come. It took the decision to convene the Ninth National Congress of the Party at an appropriate time. It unanimously decided to expel Liu Shao-chi from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle accounts with him for his crimes against the Chinese people and the world revolution.

The decisions of the Plenary Session vitally affect not only the destiny of the Chinese people but the destiny of all mankind. The defeat of the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi and his agents is a victory not only of the Chinese proletariat but also of the revolutionary peoples all the world over. The Plenary Session has issued a call for the building of a broad united front of all peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys to defeat U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism that are vainly trying to dominate the world. This new front of world revolution under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought is already emerging. Holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are waging armed liberation struggles against imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys. The tide of struggle is rising also in Europe and North America where the long spell of revisionism is ending. Marxist-Leninist Parties in France, Italy, the U.S.A., Britain and other metropolitan countries are in the forefront of this struggle. Even in the

countries ruled by revisionist renegades, underground Marxist-Leninist Parties have emerged to lead the working people in the struggle for the overthrow of the new bourgeois dictatorships. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: **"The just struggles of the peoples of various countries in the world support each other."** As the *Peking Review* article "Situation of World Revolution is Excellent" (reproduced in this issue of *Liberation*) points out, *"Today, a new historical stage of opposing U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has arrived. Becoming more closely united, the people of the whole world are launching a sustained and fierce attack on their two arch enemies."* With the passing of time this new front of world revolution will march from strength to strength and smash all the plots hatched by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys against Socialist China, Socialist Albania, People's War in heroic Vietnam, the Indian revolution and national liberation struggles in different countries. At this new historical stage the revolutionary people of India are determined to unite closely with the other revolutionary peoples of the world under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to deal decisive blows at the common enemies—U. S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys in this country. From one end of the country to another, from the Assam hills in the north-east to the coast of Malabar in the South-west, a revolutionary ferment is going on. The brave peasants of Naxalbari have already struck the first blow. The doom of our common enemies is not far off.

A HEROIC STRUGGLE BETRAYED

It was one more instance of the rank treachery of the Dange and Sundarayya-Ranadive cliques to the working class and the white-collar employees; it was one more example of a heroic struggle disrupted from within and betrayed by these tools of foreign and domestic reaction. On December 1, the treacherous leadership of the All India

Insurance Employees Association announced the withdrawal of the proposed continuous strike of 40,000 LIC (Life Insurance Corporation) employees that was to start from December 5. The heroic LIC employees had decided to go on continuous strike to enforce their charter of demands, to get suspension orders on employees and charge-sheets against them withdrawn and, above all, to have automation scrapped. It was a fight not so much for the improvement of their living conditions as for their very life and livelihood. And that struggle has now been stabbed in the back by reaction's agents masquerading as "Marxists" and "Communists".

The disruptors were at work from the very beginning. What are the facts—facts that are more eloquent than words?

One may recall that the courageous LIC employees have been in the forefront of the struggle against automation in this country since 1964. Automation threatens to rob tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands—chiefly, white collar employees—of their jobs as rationalisation drove out of employment hundreds of thousands of workers. In the fifties, rationalisation, supposed to be without tears, was introduced by the ruling classes to shift the burden of the growing economic crisis on to the shoulders of the workers and to ensure maximum profits for the foreign monopolists and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. In this savage attack on the working class, the foreign and native tycoons were actively helped by the central trade union organisations, including the All India Trade Union Congress, led by the sham communists—Dange, Ramamurthy and others. So, in perfect collusion with all the central trade union organisations waving not only the tricolour but also the red flag—which advised the working class to surrender and accept rationalisation in return for the need-based wage—the ruling classes carried rationalisation through and succeeded in this most vicious attack

against the working class. The need-based wage has remained a mirage though hundreds of thousands of workers were thrown out into the streets. But rationalisation could not rescue the present system from the grip of the deepening economic crisis. In this country, where the democratic revolution is yet to take place, where the long-delayed agrarian revolution is yet to smash the feudal fetters and release the productive forces, where imperialism and Soviet revisionism are tightening their strangle-hold over our economy, the crisis grows sharper and sharper with each passing day. For, the internal market shrinks more and more as the peasants, who constitute more than 70 per cent of India's population, have no purchasing capacity worth the name. In the years since so-called independence, the offensive of the landlords, the inflation and taxation and price policies of the Government have reduced the poor and landless peasants, the bulk of the peasantry, into paupers. So it is the agrarian revolution that, by liberating the peasantry from the fetters of reactionary feudal relations, can ensure life, livelihood and the need-based wage for the workers and white-collar employees. Faced with the crisis, the ruling classes planned to attack, chiefly, the white-collar employees by introducing automation. They had tried to solve the crisis at the expense of the working class; they were now trying to do so at the cost of the white-collar employees. It is worth noting that in this period when death and starvation have been the lot of the poor and landless peasants, when retrenchment and unemployment of workers and employees are the order of the day, the leading industrial houses of India have increased their assets considerably. A PTI and UNI report stated that India's Minister of Industrial Development and Company Affairs, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, gave in the Rajya Sabha on December 9 the provisional figures of assets of eight leading industrial houses in the

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Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted on October 31st, 1968)

Following is the text of the Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China :

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China opened in Peking on October 13th, 1968 and was successfully concluded on October 31st.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, presided over this Session which is of great historic significance and made a most important speech on the great proletarian cultural revolution movement since the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in August 1966.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms, attended the Session and made an important speech.

Attending the Session were members and alternate members of the Central Committee.

All members of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee attended the Session.

Principal responsible comrades of the revolutionary committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended the Session.

Principal responsible comrades of the Chinese People's Liberation Army attended the Session.

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee unanimously holds that the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Plenary Session holds that in his great revolutionary document "bombard the headquarters" issued at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao charted the course of victory for the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Plenary Session holds that the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the Communiqué of the 11th Plenary Session are correct.

The Plenary Session holds that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, his great strategic plan for the great proletarian cultural revolution and the series of important instructions he has given at various stages of this revolution, and Vice-Chairman Lin's many speeches are all correct. The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee has played an important role in the struggle to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Practice in the great proletarian cultural revolution proves that, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, **the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.** Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and in the process of extremely complicated and acute

class struggle over the past two years, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized on a scale unprecedented in breadth and depth and, with the support of the Chinese people's liberation army and through repeated trials of class strength, have finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi together with its agents in various places, which vainly attempted to usurp the leadership of the Party, the Government and the Army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. Revolutionary committees have been set up in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. Today this momentous proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victory.

The Plenary Session holds that the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution are further proof that the Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its leader is a great, glorious and correct party. The Plenary Session holds that through the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution, ample ideological, political and organizational conditions have been prepared for convening the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Plenary Session decided that the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be held at an appropriate time.

The Plenary Session ratified the "Report on the Examination of the Crimes of the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi" submitted by the Special Group under the Central Committee of the Party for the examination of his case. The Report confirms with full supporting evidence that Liu Shao-chi, the Number one Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Party and is a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and Kuomintang reactionaries who has committed innumerable crimes. The Plenary Session holds that the exposure of the counter-revolutionary

features of Liu Shao-chi by the Party and the revolutionary masses in the proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Plenary Session expressed its deepest revolutionary indignation at Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary crimes and unanimously adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shao-chi from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle accounts with him and his accomplices for their crimes in betraying the Party and the country. The Plenary Session calls on all comrades in the Party and the people of the whole country to carry on deep-going revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and eradicate the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas of Liu Shao-chi and the handful of other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The Plenary Session points out that a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines runs through the history of the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past two years and more. The struggle centres on the question of political power, the question of the fight for leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and **the question of whether the leadership of the Party and state is to be in the hands of Marxists or of revisionists.** Unreconciled to their doom, the exploiting classes and their agents used all kinds of political and economic means both from the Right and from the extreme "Left"—that is, "Left" in form but Right in essence—in a vain attempt to confuse class alignments, sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. But all their plots have been exposed one after another by the masses of revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Plenary Session holds that it is essential to continue sharpening vigilance against sabotage by the exploiting classes and their agents.

The Plenary Session seriously criticized and repudiated the "adverse February current" of 1967 directed against the decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, against the great proletarian cultural revolution and against the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. The Plenary Session holds that the shattering of the "adverse February current" and of the sinister trend last spring to reverse the correct verdict on the "adverse February current" was an important victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in smashing the bourgeois reactionary line.

The Plenary Session holds that the tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have further demonstrated the profound and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory; it is the thought guiding all the work of the Party, the army and the country. Once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the masses of the people, it generates an immense material force. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been rapidly disseminated among hundreds of millions of people, making its way deep into their hearts; in their struggles, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have eagerly and creatively studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the basic guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing our country from ever changing its political colour. The whole Party, the whole army and the Revolutionary Committees at all levels must continue to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite closely around the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, closely

follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, conscientiously carry out each and every one of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, carry forward the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works, run Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes well, use Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify their thinking and co-ordinate their steps and actions and criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres," so as to go on winning fresh victories in all fields of our work.

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary intellectuals and on the revolutionary people of all nationalities in the country to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's teaching that **the working class must exercise leadership in everything**, to establish **the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture**, to fulfil the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

We must continue to carry out Chairman Mao's great principle on the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's instructions on conducting revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, on simplifying the administrative structure, on cadres' going down to do manual labour and on changing irrational rules and regulations, so that our new-born revolutionary committees can forge close links with the masses, be constantly consolidated, developed and improved and perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat still better.

We must continue fully to arouse the masses, conscientiously to carry out the work of purifying the class ranks in factories, people's communes, Party and government.

institutions, schools, all enterprises and undertakings and neighbourhoods, etc., and to dig out the handful of counter-revolutionaries hiding among the masses.

We must carry out Chairman Mao's directive that **the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat**; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy, carry out Chairman Mao's instruction on **"getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh,"** conscientiously do the work of Party consolidation and Party building, expel from the Party proved renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist roaders, degenerate elements and other alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party, take into the Party fresh blood from the proletariat—above all, advanced elements with communist consciousness from among industrial workers—and select outstanding Party members who are resolute in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for leading posts in the Party.

We must fulfil the great historic mission of the proletarian revolution in education. As regards intellectuals, **they must be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they can integrate themselves with the workers and peasants.** The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—the most reliable ally of the working class. This is a question of key importance in carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. The workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are undertaking this glorious task should constantly raise their political consciousness in the course of struggle.

We must grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and do a still better job in building socialist industry, socialist agriculture and all other socialist undertakings in our country. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous motive force for the development of socialist production in our country. It is promoting the emergence of a new leap in our socialist construction and will continue to do so.

We must continuously strengthen the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, further consolidate national defence, and continue to do a good job in supporting the army and cherishing the people. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold against the rapacious U.S. imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique. Should the enemy dare to impose war on us, we will wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

The Plenary Session holds that, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries is developing vigorously.

Riddled with contradictions and beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, the imperialists headed by the United States and the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are disintegrating, they are at the end of their tether and are becoming more isolated than ever.

While both colluding and struggling with each other, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying in vain to re-divide the world. In their war of aggression against Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists enjoy the tacit consent and support of the Soviet revisionists, while in turn the Soviet revisionist renegade clique enjoys the tacit consent and support of the U.S. imperialists in openly dispatching troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. Their dirty

political deal has been thoroughly exposed before the people of the world. Their nakedly aggressive actions have deepened the internal contradictions within the imperialist and the revisionist blocs and helped promote the political consciousness of the oppressed masses in the U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist homelands and, at the same time, they are stirring up a great new upsurge in the struggle of the proletariat and the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. No matter how tortuous the course of the struggle, no matter what rubbish the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists have collected to organize an anti-China and counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance," they are inevitably "lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet." We are not in the least isolated, for the people who want revolution, comprising over 90 per cent of the world's population, are our friends. The wheel of history can assuredly never be turned back, imperialism, revisionism and all other reactionary forces are bound to be smashed by the revolutionary people, and all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world will definitely achieve complete emancipation through their struggle!

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung uphold proletarian internationalist principles and policies, unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries, firmly support the heroic Albanian people's struggle against imperialism and revisionism, firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, and firmly support all the just struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction. The Communist Party of China holds that all peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys should form a broad united front to smash the plots hatched by U.S. imperialism

and Soviet revisionism in their vain attempt to dominate the world, so as to win victory and liberation more quickly.

The Plenary Session was convened in an excellent domestic and international situation. This was a session of mobilization for the seizure of all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a session of unprecedented unity in the whole Party under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, a session full of proletarian revolutionary vitality. The Plenary Session is convinced that the comrades of the whole Party, the people of the whole country and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will all rejoice over the success of our session and that those who fear this session are but the handful of imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionists renegade clique, and other reactionaries at home and abroad.

Let us closely follow our great leader Chairman Mao and courageously march forward! Victory will be ours.

Long Live All-Round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

"Long Live All-Round Victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!" is the title of a joint editorial by the *People's Daily* and *Liberation Army Daily*. It hails the establishment of revolutionary committees in every province, municipality and autonomous region in China (with the exception of Taiwan Province). The editorial, which appeared in the newspapers of September 7, follows in full:

Songs of triumph ring out north and south of the Tienshan Mountains and the brilliant sun shines over the Tibet plateau. At a time when hundreds of millions of army-men and civilians throughout the country are marching from victory to victory under the inspiration of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, revolutionary committees have been established simultaneously in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the south-western and north-western outposts of China's battle against imperialism and revisionism.

Revolutionary committees have now been set up in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. This extremely magnificent spectacle—the whole country is red—is an important event in the seizing of all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It indicates that the whole movement has arrived at the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nation-wide scale. This is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and an event of great joy in the political life of the 700 million people of our country!

We extend hearty congratulations to the revolutionary people of all nationalities in Tibet and Sinkiang, to all the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet and Sinkiang and to the fighters working on the state farms reclaimed by the production and construction corps under the Sinkiang Military Area Command!

We extend warm, militant salutations to the proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms all over the country who have closely followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and forged ahead courageously during the last two years!

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses of all nationalities in Tibet and Sinkiang have stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and have conscientiously carried out Chairman Mao's latest instructions. With the firm and strong support of the People's Liberation Army, they have successfully come through repeated trials of strength and have carried out a stubborn struggle against class enemies; they have finally dug out the agents of China's Khrushchov in Sinkiang—Wu Kuang, Lu Chien-jen, Chang Chung-han, Iminov and Burhan Shahidi—and his agents in Tibet—Chou Jen-shan and Wang Chi-mei—who are a handful of renegades, U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents, special agents of the Soviet revisionists and of Britain, counter-revolutionary revisionists and national splittists. Thus the day-dream of these class enemies of restoring capitalism and breaking up the unification of the motherland has been completely smashed and a heavy blow has been dealt to the schemes of the imperialists, modern revisionists and counter-revolutionaries to carry out subversion and sabotage in the Tibet and Sinkiang areas.

In the great struggle during the 20 months from the outburst of the "January storm" in Shanghai to the establishment of the two revolutionary committees in Tibet and

Sinkiang, armymen and civilians throughout the country have fulfilled the great call issued by Chairman Mao: **"Proletarian revolutionaries, unite to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road"**, and have won decisive victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution on a nation-wide scale.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is, in essence, still a question of political power. The bourgeoisie wants to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas the proletariat wants to consolidate it. The handful of capitalist roaders in the Party are representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party. The proletariat's seizing back of that portion of power of the Party, Government, finance and culture which the handful of capitalist roaders usurped is a serious struggle in which the bourgeoisie attempts for a restoration and the proletariat opposes its doing so. This is the continuation of the proletarian revolution and a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The establishment of the revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country proclaims the complete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchov and his agents everywhere to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It smashes to smithereens all the counter-revolutionary rumours spread by U. S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism and shatters the wishful thinking of imperialism and modern revisionism of bringing about "peaceful evolution" in China.

Establishment of the revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country demonstrates the unparalleled might of the

invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung when it grasps hundreds of millions of revolutionary people. It has greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat and greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism.

We heartily and warmly hail the great victory won by the revolutionary people under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

We will resolutely bring into full play the proletariat's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan closely and consolidate and develop this victory through consistent and untiring struggle!

Chairman Mao recently issued to the whole country the great call, "**Conscientiously carry out well the talks of struggle-criticism-transformation**". He pointed out: "**The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee of the three-in-one combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing unreasonable rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels.**"

Chairman Mao's latest instructions reflect the objective law of the great proletarian cultural revolution which has reached the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation. It expresses in a concentrated way the pressing demands of the working class and the revolutionary masses and in a clear-cut way indicates the central task confronting the revolutionary committees at all levels.

Doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit and each department is basic to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is question of fundamental importance to preventing restoration of capitalism and consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat for a hundred years. This is a battle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural

revolution. The revolutionary committees at all levels must vigorously take hold of struggle-criticism-transformation and, in fulfilling this great historic task, must bring into fuller play their revolutionary might and consolidate and develop the revolutionary committees.

In order to fight well the battle of struggle-criticism-transformation, it is imperative to persist in leadership by the working class, to "bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work", to ensure that every instruction of the great leader Chairman Mao and every order issued by the proletarian headquarters are carried out swiftly and smoothly, to resolutely oppose the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres", that is, the theory of "no centre", to unify our thinking and co-ordinate our steps and actions at the call of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader. At the same time, it is essential to arm the workers with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, make constant efforts to raise the political consciousness of the working class so that the working class will thus be able to undertake still better its great historical mission of exercising leadership in everything, in the educational revolution, in the struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure and in every task for carrying out Chairman Mao's great strategic plan.

In order to fight well in the battle of struggle-criticism-transformation, it is imperative to strengthen ideological and political work, conscientiously do a good job of investigation and study and be good at seizing on typical examples. The revolutionary committees at all levels must firmly carry out all the proletarian policies put forward in the editorial note of the *Red Flag* journal, carried in the newspapers on September 5. These policies are the voice of the great leader Chairman Mao. Responsible members of the revolutionary committees must themselves select some particular points, gain experience there and use this

experience for guiding their over-all work and report the results to the Party Central Committee. They must closely link themselves with the masses, listen to the opinions of the masses and pay special attention to overcoming all tendencies to isolate themselves from the masses.

Chairman Mao says: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs."

We must conduct deep-going and sustained revolutionary mass criticism, take the initiative and mount fierce attacks against the class enemy, do a good job of purifying our class ranks, hit steadily, accurately and relentlessly at the handful of renegades, enemy agents, die-hard capitalist roaders and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not sufficiently remoulded themselves, and uncover all the counter-revolutionaries hiding in dark corners to make trouble and engage in sabotage. We must strengthen the unity between the army and the people, step up preparedness against war, strengthen our border defences and our naval and airforce defences, and be ready at all times to liberate Taiwan and defend our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Should the enemy dare to touch China's sacred territory and attempt to launch an armed invasion, we will wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

Let us closely follow the great strategic plan of the great leader Chairman Mao and march in giant strides to fulfil with credit the historic tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. Our great socialist motherland, lit by the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, will emerge even more majestic before the people of the whole world!

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

Long live all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

SRIKAKULAM COMRADES REPORT

On The Girijan Struggle

THE Girijan movement in Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, embraces about 700 to 800 sq. miles, comprising the declared Agency parts of Parvatipuram and Palakonda taluks and the Agency parts of Kottur sub-taluk and Patapatnam taluk. The population of this area exceeds one lakh. While in the fertile wet lands at the foothills paddy is sown, *ragi*, *jowar* and pulses are grown in the dry lands and on the mountain slopes. On the whole, it can be said that the area is self-sufficient in respect of food-grains while pulses, some commercial crops and forest produce are exported to the outside areas. The tribal people of that area belong to two main groups, namely, Jatapu and Savara, the latter being culturally backward. Both groups have their own separate languages but telugu is understood by both of them. The Jatapu tribe uses Telugu and, except in some interior places, adopts Telugu for all their usage. Of the non-Girijans, some castes like Pydis and Pondaras are working people, while Vaisyas and Sondis belong to the commercial community. Now, of course, they have become landlords and money-lenders. On the whole, the Girijans constitute more than ninety percent of the inhabitants. The plains people or the non-Girijans have emerged as the biggest exploiters, for all the landlords, money-lenders and merchants or *sahukars* belong to that non-Girijan minority group. Except one or two small landlords and a few rich peasants among the Girijans, the bulk are of poor peasant category owning below five acres, mostly, of dry land. One or two middle peasants are found among the Girijans in some villages. There are two types of villages. The villages on the plains are

inhabited by both Girijans and non-Girijans. These are the commercial centres also. The villages of the other type are situated on the mountain-slopes where the Girijans dwell. The latter type of villages is called 'Gudas' having ten to fifty houses each.

The Situation Before 1959

The big non-Girijan landowners were once petty merchants who came into this hilly region in search of their livelihood. They managed to secure the lands of the Girijan masses through such measures as giving daily needs of life—tobacco, kerosene, salt, chilli, clothes etc.—on credit, lending small amounts for seeds, payment of taxes and 'mammuls' (payments made to forest, police, revenue and other officials as bribe). By 1959 most all the fertile lands were under the possession of the non-Girijan exploiters. Even the government had to admit this fact. The big landowners would personally cultivate some of their lands by employing farm-servants (paleru) and daily wage-earners, giving out other plots of their land to the Girijans on lease. In both the cases, the landlords exploit the Girijans by paying the lowest wages possible—five *puttis* per year (one *putti* is equal to 60 seers *i.e.*, about 55 kg) to farm-servants and less than half a rupee per day to daily wage-earners—and by taking two-thirds of the produce of the land given out on lease.

Forest Issues

Cheated out of their fertile lands, the Girijans have to depend upon *podu* cultivation (shifting cultivation on the slopes of the hills) but this is not allowed by the forest officials. Moreover, the Girijans are prohibited from making use of the forest produce including the wood, and cultivation of waste lands is not allowed in the name of afforestation. The menace presented by the forest department is thus another problem for them. In Patapatnam

and Palakonda taluk areas the Girijans are harassed by the revenue officials also. The police have not lagged behind in exploiting the innocent Girijan masses. The Girijans are ruthlessly exploited while marketing their produce and getting their daily needs. Their produce is to be sold at very cheap rates while the daily needs of life are to be purchased at very high prices. To act as a kind of palliative, the government sponsored the 'Tribal Development Corporation,' which, of course, like the other schemes of the government, is in no way helpful to the tribal people. Usury that prevails in the Agency area is entirely different from that in the plains. The money-lender or *sahukar* rarely lends cash but gives consumer goods on credit or food-grains in lean months. In most of the cases, the food-grains given are taken back from the Girijan during the harvesting season as repayment of earlier loans. The fact is, once the Girijan is indebted he can never repay the amount fully. It is no wonder that the son and the grandson inherit not the property but the debt of his father and grandfather. After handing over the movable and immovable property the Girijan has to serve under the money-lender like a slave.

The Beginnings of the Movement

At the beginning the forest issues and the issues of wage rates were taken up. Struggles were also put up against the revenue officials in Palakonda taluk. Agitation for transfer of lands to the original rightful owners after the expiry of the terms of the mortgage by landlords and money-lenders was initiated. By 1961 the movement reached the stage of taking into possession the harvest in more than 150 acres of land of the above kind sown by the landlords and money-lenders. This incident undoubtedly pushed the movement to a higher stage. The news spread like fire to the nooks and corners of the Agency area and enthused the labouring Girijans. While extending the

movement to newer and wider areas all the issues which affect the lives of the Girijan masses were taken up by 1964. They included, for example, the right of the Girijans to cultivate *podu* and the waste lands, the right to use the forest produce including wood, increase in wages for daily workers and farm-servants and workers, reduction of rent (share-cropping), reduction of interest on loans, transfer of lands occupied by landlords and *sahukars* to the rightful owners, elimination of exploitation while marketing the produce, distribution of consumer goods at fair prices and putting an end to the harassment by forest, revenue and police officials and stopping of the transport of food-grains for distribution in the Agency at three kilograms of paddy per rupee.

The Achievements

The movement achieved by 1967 many of the above demands. The wages for transplanting seedlings or harvesting crops increased several times, the yearly wages of farm-servants rose from 5 *puttis* to 20-25 *puttis*. The landlord's share of the harvest from lands leased out to share-croppers decreased from two-thirds to one-third; 1500-2000 acres of land was wrested back from the landlords and *sahukars*; more than 5000 acres of waste land came under the possession of the Girijans. In 1967 alone, loans worth Rs. 3 lakhs were annulled; exploitation by the merchants was reduced; food-grains produced in the area were not allowed to be transported till the needs of the people there were met; the petty forest, revenue and police officials did not dare approach the Girijans for *mammuls*.

Apart from some economic gains, political consciousness, organisation, political-cultural activities of the masses increased to new heights. Every adult member of the family got himself enrolled in the *Girijan Sangham*. The *Sangham* [association] has grown up to perform certain

administrative functions which were previously carried out by government officials; it holds meetings to explain the political developments, settles disputes among the village masses, raises funds for party and *Sangham* activities, conducts schools for education, educates the masses to get rid of the age-old beliefs etc. Besides the *Girijan Sangham*, women are organised in the *Mahila Sangham* [women's association] to fight against the injustices of the patriarchal system in addition to participating in the activities of the *Girijan Sangham*. The masses take part in public meetings held in towns in their thousands holding red flags in their hands and carrying food and utensils on their back. They have to walk 30 to 80 miles to reach Parvatipuram, Palakonda and Srikakulam towns. The Girijan youth so long uneducated, half-naked and unshaven are now seen making political speeches that obviously convince their audience in the towns, composing songs, and singing them. In short, within a very brief period a qualitative change has undoubtedly come in many aspects of their life.

Forms of Agitation and Struggle

While group meetings, squad campaigns and public meetings are among the main forms of agitation, strikes and other mass actions have been the most effective forms of struggle. Strikes were resorted to to get the rates of wages increased for daily workers and farm-servants. This powerful weapon was also used to express solidarity with the struggles of other sections of the masses. For example, the farm-servants went on strike in 1961 in support of the share-croppers who took possession of the harvest. (The Reserve Police camp had to be withdrawn subsequently). And whenever the landlords were reluctant to concede the demands of wage-earners, the strike by the landlords' farm-servants and menial servants also took place. Direct mass actions advanced the movement to new

heights. The forest, revenue and police officials could not enter the villages after the masses in large numbers, revolted against them. The landlords were forced to sell the food-grains at fair prices and the money-lenders or *sahukars* dared not approach the Girijan peasants for repayment loans. These actions swept the entire Agency areas in the later part of 1967 and in early 1968 and forced the blood-sucking non-Girijan exploiters to go back to the towns.

Repressive Measures

At the beginning, landlords and *sahukars* in collusion with the local police and revenue officials, launched several cases against the leading cadres of the Party and the *Girijan Sangham*. Some hundreds of militants were involved and some were convicted. To pursue the cases the landlords used to collect some thousands of rupees every year. A change, however, has taken place since 1964, when the State Government employed large-scale repressive measures such as setting up police camps, issuing warrants of arrest against leading cadres under the Defence of India Rules and involving the cadres in legal suits with very serious charges against them. Special police raids in the name of searching the wanted men were regularly conducted. Moreover, a new shift took place in July 1967 after the great Naxalbari liberation struggle and culminated in the opening of several camps of the notorious Special Armed Police in early 1968. The apostles of non-violence began their military type operations in March this year. In the course of these operations they raided hundreds of villages, arrested 1500 peasants, killed two, looted the property of the poor worth hundreds of thousands of rupees, tortured many and molested the women. Even after this large-scale military type operations the landlord-*sahukar* Government does not consider it safe to withdraw the armed policemen.

The Lessons

It is a fact that the Girijan movement in Srikakulam attracted the attention of the communist revolutionaries all over the country. It was referred to by the international revolutionary authority, the great CPC, through its propaganda media. Its significance is due to its emergence after the historic struggle of the Naxalbari peasants. As such, the lessons of the Girijan movement are likely to be helpful to the revolutionaries in India. It has taught us the following lessons :

1. Though the basic issues, the land issues and other forms of feudal exploitation, were taken up from the beginning, the of armed struggle were not propagated among the masses. The economic struggles were not linked systematically with the seizure of political power through armed struggle. On the whole, the movement did not proceed beyond its democratic content. In the face of the attacks of landlords and the police, the neo-revisionists had always suggested that our policy should be one of exposing the ruling classes and extending the areas of struggle. Before and after the large-scale military type operations, that attitude was not basically changed. The result was that the leadership and the cadre were caught unawares. Confusion and vacillation prevailed, though for a temporary period.
2. The masses were never made to realise the necessity of repulsing the goonda attacks organized by the landlords. During the course of seven or eight years, the class enemies made several such attempts, some of which were successful. Even after the landlords had deliberately killed two activists of the *Girijan Sangham* in October 1967, when the r of the masses against the class enemy was at its height, the masses were not allowed to proceed against their enemies. This attitude definitely encouraged the enemies to commit the worst crimes against the masses during the months of March, April and May 1968.

3. The above understanding made the masses passive spectators in the face of the large-scale repression let loose by the government. Out of fear that active resistance of the masses would intensify the government offensive, the cadres were directed not to resist the police attacks.

4. The leadership failed organizationally to co-ordinate the mass actions, especially after November 1967. Since then, many spontaneous actions by the masses have taken place. The mass activity was increasing very rapidly. But, as they were not co-ordinated, the leadership had no understanding, no estimation, of the actions. Consequently, they were not directed to their logical end. It means we have failed to get the advantage of learning from the masses and taking the lessons back to the masses.

5. Though we had the opportunity of learning from the experiences of the historic Naxalbari peasant uprising, we ourselves did not attempt to get their experiences. It is now felt that the movement in Srikakulam would have been different had the lessons of the Naxalbari struggle been learnt by the cadres and the peasantry.

The Present Situation

1. Chairman Mao has taught us to learn from the past mistakes in order to avoid them in future. The revolutionaries of Srikakulam district have discussed in detail the shortcomings of the movement and have realized the need to study the teachings of Chairman Mao carefully in order to integrate them with the concrete practice of our revolution. Very recently they have joined the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and thus they have now access to the rich experiences of the revolutionaries throughout India.

2. The Girijan masses have not only experienced the naked rule of the landlord-sahukar state, but also seen the tall promises of the government betrayed. In order to isolate the communists and the *Girijan Sangham* the

government propagated during the offensive that they had accepted the main demands of the masses—distribution of land among the Girijans etc. The Girijan masses have realized now more than ever before the inevitability of smashing the present order and building a new one in its place in order to get their demands satisfied. The police brutalities have only roused their anger.

3. The Girijan masses have also realized that in order to meet the armed offensive of the exploiting classes the armed struggle is the only weapon left to them. They are now proceeding to meet the challenge with confidence and conviction.

A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

—Mao Tse-tung

Situation of World Revolution Is Excellent

OUR great leader Chairman Mao pointed out ten years ago: **The general characteristic of the international situation is: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily."** The development of the international situation in the past decade and the current world reality have proved the correctness and profundity of this famous scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's.

The World Has Entered the Era with Mao Tse-tung's Thought As the Great Banner; Socialist China Has Become the Impregnable Fortress of World Revolution

Ours is an era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner. Today, the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is spreading ever more widely to the whole world. Integrated with the hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses, Marxism-Leninism, Mao tse-tung's thought, is pushing ahead with an incomparably tremendous force the development of the world revolution in depth. This is the most important hall-mark of the present excellent world situation.

As a result of the earth-shaking great struggle, China's great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has completely destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov hidden inside the Party and has scored a decisive victory on a nationwide scale. This is an event of great joy for the Chinese people as well as for the world's revolutionary

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people. As a result of this great revolution, the fond hopes of imperialism and revisionism to restore capitalism in China have been completely shattered. The dictatorship of the proletariat in China has become more consolidated and socialist China as the powerful fortress of the world revolution has become stronger and stronger. This is bound to have far-reaching impact on the whole international communist movement.

The Albanian People Stand Heroically at the Anti- Imperialist and Anti-Revisionist Front; the World Marxist-Leninist Forces Are Growing and Becoming Stronger Daily

The heroic Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, have achieved great successes in the revolutionization movement and socialist construction. This year Comrade Enver Hoxha has called for educational revolution and working-class supervision, thus further advancing the development of the revolutionization movement. Standing heroically at the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, the Albanian people have made new contributions to the international communist movement. The recent revolutionary action by the People's Republic of Albania to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty deals the Soviet revisionist renegade clique a telling blow.

The raging flames of anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggles have tempered the genuine Marxist-Leninist Leftist forces throughout the world. Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in all countries are growing and becoming stronger. Even in countries under the tyrannical rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its followers, new Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary

organizations have appeared holding the torch of opposing modern revisionism. In the course of the sharp international class struggle, a handful of traitors to Marxism-Leninism will inevitably break away from the revolutionary ranks. However, the whole international communist movement and the revolutionary struggle of the world's people are advancing triumphantly with an irresistible force.

Flames of Armed Struggle by Asian, African and Latin American Peoples Burning Fiercely ; Revolutionary Mass Movement in Europe and North America Vigorously Rising

The national liberation movement, especially the people's armed struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America which are the main areas of the world revolutionary storm in the present era, has witnessed a tremendous development. The heroic Vietnamese people have won great victories in their war against U.S. aggression and national salvation, thus contributing to the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism. Revolutionary armed struggle is flourishing everywhere in the vast areas of Southeast Asia. The Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries, the people of the Congo (K) and the people of many other African countries are alhering to armed struggle. The flames of people's armed struggle have also been lighted in some Latin American countries. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." "A single spark can start a prairie fire." These magnificent revolutionary truths of Chairman Mao's are deeply entering the hearts of the people with each passing day and have become a powerful ideological weapon for the oppressed nations and peoples to win emancipation.

The storm of the people's revolutionary struggle not only is engulfing Asia, Africa and Latin America but is

also spreading to Europe and North America, which are the heartland of imperialism. This is an important development in the present international situation. The Afro-American struggle against violent repression broke out in more than one hundred American cities this spring. This was followed by large-scale revolutionary mass movements unfolded by broad masses of workers and students in France and other West European countries. Fighting heroically and supporting each other in these struggles, the revolutionary masses directed their spearhead at the rule of the monopoly capitalist class and the rotten capitalist system itself. This fully demonstrates that the people of Europe and North America have awakened as never before.

In April, our great leader Chairman Mao issued another statement in support of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression. Chairman Mao points out: "**The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class...The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.**" This great statement of historic significance by Chairman Mao has indicated the road to liberation for the Black people in the United States and the other oppressed peoples in the world and has tremendously encouraged the world's people to engage in revolutionary struggle.

U.S. Imperialism Ridden With Deepening Political and Economic Crises ; Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Beset by Internal and External Difficulties

Like the rising sun in the east, the strength of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and of the people's revolution is

showing unparalleled enormous vitality, while imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries, like the sun setting beyond the western hills, are beset with difficulties and find the going extremely tough.

The political and economic crises in the imperialist countries headed by the United States have daily become more and more serious. Violently pounded by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, the rule of the international monopoly capitalist system is becoming increasingly unstable. The class contradictions in the imperialist countries have sharpened unprecedentedly. Suffering resounding defeat in its policies of aggression and war, the United States—the No. 1 imperialism—in particular, is in dire straits at home and abroad and has no way out. Early this year, the most serious and most deep-going financial crisis in 40 years, which arose from the dollar crisis, swept the whole capitalist world. The economic condition of each major capitalist country is as bad as the other. To stave off their own doom, the imperialist countries have tried to shift the crisis on to each other and are locked in intense tariff and trade wars. The contradictions among the imperialist countries have become increasingly sharp. Every sign further testifies to the wise thesis of our great leader Chairman Mao: **“The epoch we are living in is an epoch in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse, the imperialists have fallen inextricably into crisis.”**

The position of modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionists is not any better than that of imperialism. The all-round restoration of capitalism, by which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has put the country into a mess, has met with people's seething resentment. Abroad, the clique has intensified its counter-revolutionary collaboration on a global scale with U.S. imperialism and pursued a policy of social imperialism. This not only evokes strong denunciation and opposition from the people

of all countries, but also accelerates the disintegration of the modern revisionist bloc. The sinister February Budapest meeting was a big exposure. The recent move by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique of sending hundreds of thousands of troops to flagrantly invade and occupy Czechoslovakia, to ride roughshod over it, to shoot down the masses and to create puppets by using bayonets is another naked revelation of its ferocious features and fragile nature. It is also a proclamation of the general bankruptcy of modern revisionism.

These two big reactionary forces—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism—are in their decline. The reactionaries of all countries, who depend on them, have been thrown into utter panic and do not know what to do to maintain their rule.

In a word, whether it is imperialism, modern revisionism or reaction, all are sitting on a volcano. Their days are numbered.

New Historical Stage of Opposing U. S. Imperialism And Soviet Revisionism Ushered In ; Stepped-up Struggle of World's People Will Send Two Arch Tyrants to Their Graves

However, imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction will never take their defeats lying down; they will put up furious counter-attacks. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are working hand in glove in a vain effort to redivide the world. They have feverishly rigged up an anti-China military ring and whipped up one anti-China adverse wave after another in the international arena. They have continued to gang up in suppressing the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Especially worth noting is the fact that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in close co-ordination with U.S. imperialism's "peace talks" fraud, is doing its

best to sell out the Vietnamese revolution and plotting to stamp out the wrathful flames of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. All this does not in the least show that they are strong, but shows that they are putting up a desperate death-bed struggle.

The feverish counter-attack by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism only serves to arouse the world's people. Today, a new historical stage of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has arrived. Becoming more closely united, the people of the whole world are launching a sustained and fierce attack on their two arch enemies.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The just struggles of the peoples of various countries in the world support each other."** The struggle waged by the people the world over against imperialism and revisionism is an enormous encouragement and support to the Chinese people. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and tempered in the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the 700 million Chinese people resolutely support the struggle for liberation and independence of the oppressed nations and states, resolutely support the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, resolutely stand on the side of the revolutionary people of the world to strive to the end for the overthrow of imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in all countries, and for the building of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation.

An Economic View

U. S. Imperialism And Vietnam

(Reprinted from "Progressive Labour", October 1968, in a slightly abridged form)

"I am an investment banker by trade, and I speak as an investment banker when I say that today's less developed nations are tomorrow's richest economic and political asset." (Former Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon, Department of State Bulletin, May 6, 1958, p. 881)

"Our influence is used wherever it can be and persistently, through our Embassies on a day-to-day basis, in our aid discussion and in direct aid negotiations, to underline the importance of (U.S.) private investment." (Secretary of State Dean Rusk, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Expropriation of American-Owned Property, p. 24)

"Let me use your pages [Wall Street Journal] to make this proposal: A massive invasion of South Vietnam by American industry...In this modest development effort that presently exists, a number of American-sponsored enterprises have been eminently successful." (Guy Francis Stark, chief industrial development adviser for U.S. Foreign Service in Taiwan and Saigon. Wall Street Journal, Nov. 11, 1967)

"Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined." (Henry Cabot Lodge, Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1965)

The U.S. economy is effectively dominated by an immensely powerful section of the population—about 0.5% of the U.S. total.¹ But the domestic economy is not their

1. G. W. Demhoff, *Who Rules America?* Prentice-Hall, 1967, ch. 4s. On concentration of ownership: Robert Heilbroner, *The Future of History*, pp. 124-126, and C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, 1956, p. 122

only realm of operations. They command, as well as they can, a capitalist empire of a size unprecedented in history. For example, the British Empire at its peak represented about 13 billion [1300 crore] dollars in foreign investment.² But as of 1968, the U.S. has close to 120 [12,000 crore] dollars in assets and investments abroad, half of which is in direct investment alone. U.S. corporations depend on the existence and expansion of this huge overseas stake. The biggest of them get perhaps half their profits from it.⁴ The total value of international production today (the total of all countries' sales and production abroad) is around 250 billion [25,000 crore] dollars. Some 180 billion [18,000 crore] dollars of this comes from U.S. plants: 30 billion [3,000 crore] dollars in the form of exports from the U.S. and 150 billion [15,000 crore] dollars produced by U.S. plants operating abroad.⁵ The overseas capacity of American firms increased about 150% between 1957 and 1965 while manufacturing capacity within the U.S. only rose 39% during the same period.⁶

Obviously the ability to exploit foreign workers is a decisive one for U.S. businessmen.

“Late in the 1940's—and with increasing speed all through the 1950's and up to the present—...in industry after industry, U.S. companies found that their return on investment abroad was frequently much higher than in the U.S. As earnings began to rise, profit margins from domestic operations started to shrink; costs in the U.S.

2. Jan Pen, *A Primer on International Trade*, Vintage, 1967, p. 83.

3. *Statistical Abstract*, 1967.

4. See *Business International* magazine, issues of August 4, 18; Sept. 1, 29; Oct. 13, 1967.

5. *Business Abroad*, Sept. 4, 1967, “Production Abroad vs. the Balance of Payments.”

6. McGraw Hill, *Markets: Overseas Operations of U. S. Industrial Companies 1965-67*, p. 6.

climbed faster than prices, competition stiffened as markets neared their saturation points.” (*Business Week*, April 20, 1963, p. 70)

Since the Second World War, U.S. businessmen have put about 30 billion [3,000 crore] dollars into Europe in Marshal Plan and other “aid”. A huge sacrifice of tax money: but not for nothing. 30 billion dollars of private investment followed. Net result will be over 60 billion [6,000 crore] dollars in profits!⁷ The same pattern occurred in Japan and Canada (but with less “aid”). Not only was a killing made in these industrial countries off other capitalists' workers, but the U.S. is now one of the biggest employers in these countries and will be for some time to come. The U.S. now owns 60% of Canadian industry;⁸ 50% of all British modern industry (there are more than 1,100 U.S. subsidiaries in England); controls 80% of Europe's computer business, 90% of its microcircuit industry, 40% of its auto industry.⁹

This growth overseas is reflected in employment figures. While the domestic work force (production workers) grew 4% between 1957 and 1966, workers employed by U.S. firms abroad increased 88% in that time, from 3.2 million [32 lakh] to over 6 million [60 lakh].¹⁰

The “developed” countries were the main arena for U.S. industrial investment in the first decade and a half after the war. American investment there grew faster than anywhere else, certainly much faster than in the stagnating and propped-up home economy. At the same time, however, these economies were developing on their

7. Estimates compiled from *Statistical Abstract*, 1967 and Office of Business Economics, “Foreign Grants and Credits by the U.S. Government.”

8. Elliott Haynes, in *International Development Review*, June 1965, p. 14.

9. *Time* magazine, Dec. 29, 1967, p. 56.

10. *Statistical Abstract*, 1967; J. L. Angel, *Directory of American Firms Operating in Foreign Countries*.

own to compete with the U.S. in Europe and in the rest of the world. The international competition was one of the causes of the increased need of U.S. businessmen for increased expansion into the poor countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

"With so much excess capacity already existing in the U.S., and demand growing so slowly, there is little or no reason to believe that if the 1 billion [100 crore] dollars (yearly industrial outlay) were prevented from leaving the U.S., it would be invested in more domestic capacity." (Business Week, December 8, 1960)"

In the last decade we have seen a U.S. investment push in the poor countries quite comparable with the earlier post-war push in the "developed" countries. What happened?

First, the U.S. share in international trade began to slip. The U.S. share of exports of key manufactured goods from major industrial suppliers declined 10% between 1954-56 and 1961.¹¹ The U.S. share of markets in the poor countries fell between 9% and 24%.

Second, 1962 was the year that the rate of profit on U.S. investments in Europe showed a pronounced downturn.¹²

Third, along with these developments, competition intensified in the countries where the U.S. was trying to invest its capital and sell goods.¹³ As John G. McLean

11. "U. S. Share of World Markets for Manufactured Products," U.S. Dept. of Commerce, March 1964, pp. 2-10; see also Machinery and Allied Products Institute Statement, April 29, 1960, "Measures to Expand U.S. Exports."

12. First National City Bank, Monthly Economic Letter, March 1967, p. 34.

13. See for instance Business Abroad, Feb. 5, 1968 on increasing Japanese interest in Taiwan and South Korea. Also Business Abroad, Dec. 25, 1967 for Dominican Republic, p. 15 and on South Korea, Wall Street Journal, Jan. 24, 1968, p. 1.

(Director, Continental Oil and Anderson, Clayton and Co.) put it: "Manufacturers...have been forced to establish plants abroad to retain their business...(U.S.) industries are finding their traditional export markets pre-empted by the growth of efficient, indigenous producers. The development of local industries abroad has...made it impossible from a competitive and economical standpoint to continue shipments from this country..."¹⁴

In the last three or four years this leveling off of investment in the "developed" countries has meant that the rate of increase in overall plant and equipment expenditures abroad by U.S. firms has slowed down. But accompanying this slowdown in the "developed" areas, there has been a tremendous shift to the poor countries. This is not to say that the U.S. and other capitalist countries didn't drain the so-called Third World of its labour and resources before 1957-58.

In order to stay in the race with other capitalist countries, the U.S. had to exploit to a greater extent the competitive advantage of producing abroad, using, more and more, the cheap labour of the poor countries. It also stepped up on milking foreign resources. A government research team in 1952 found that the U.S. imported for its domestic consumption alone 94% of its manganese, 100% of its chromite, 98% of its cobalt, 86% of its nickel, 43% of its tungsten, 78% of its tin, and 85% of its aluminium bauxite. The U.S. has 8% of the non-socialist population but it planned at that time to reserve for its own consumption between 50% and 100% of the world's mineral resources.¹⁵ Rubber, foodstuffs of numerous types, etc., might be added to this list.

14. Ryans and Baker, World Marketing: A Multinational Approach, New York, 1967; quote from McLean's "Financing Overseas Expansion," pp. 146-167.

15. Heather Dean, Scarce Resources, published by Research, Information and Publications Project, Student Union for Peace Action, Canada, May 1966.

Today, the imperialist economy, which built itself by reserving and grabbing the resources of others, now has at its disposal the immense capital accumulated over the past half century. It wishes to take over the economies of the poor countries with that capital.

In the years 1950 to 1965, the U.S. invested 9 billion (900 crore) dollars in the poor countries and brought back about 25.6 billion (2560 crore) dollars to the U.S. in profits.

A lot of this came from raw materials extraction from petroleum—although this was less true toward the latter part of the period. To put this in perspective, let's compare it with "developed"-country sites of U.S. investment. U.S. businesses exported 14.9 billion (1490 crore) dollars to Europe and Canada in this period but brought back only 11.4 billion (1140 crore) dollars in profits! Direct investments in the poor countries, although 6 billion (600 crore) dollars less, yielded 14.2 billion (1420 crore) dollars more in the profits they brought back to the U.S. The rate of profit is obviously very much higher in the poor countries.¹⁶

After the industrialized countries, Latin America was the next target for sustained plunder by industrial capital from the U.S. In 1946, according to the boastful speech of Spruille Braden (former Assistant Secretary of State) to an executive's club, the U.S. held 3 billion (300 crore) dollars in direct private investments in Latin America. 76% of it was in manufacturing, public utilities, minerals and oil. Latin America now began to be even more the apple of the finance-capitalists' eye than Europe. Business Week summarizes (Oct. 14, 1967): "U.S. companies are slowing down the pace of their investment build-up in Europe, and shifting more attention to Latin America. Surprisingly, the up-turn in investment in Latin America is stronger in manufacturing than in mining and at least on a par with oil."

16. Harry Magdoff, "Economic Aspects of U.S. Imperialism," Monthly Review, Nov. 1966, p. 39.

"This investment involves taking over all major banking facilities, and, for instance, the establishment of huge petrochemical and auto plants. It moves into Latin America at a pace of over half a billion (50 crore) dollars a year. In addition to this investment, Latin America provides a 3.5 billion [350 crore] dollars a year market for U.S. exports.

"That empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any one of the major powers on the globe...I believe that the condition of the Vietnamese people, and the direction in which their future may be going, are at this stage secondary, not primary." (Senator McGee, D-Wyo., in the U.S. Senate, Feb. 17, 1965)

The Far East now stands where Latin America stood in 1946. There is approximately the same volume of direct investment in manufacturing and oil but it's increasing at a greater rate. And Asia has some important advantages. As a market for U.S. goods, the Far East (without Japan) is worth about 3 billion [300 crore] dollars—in the same league with the Latin American market. This is the selling end. On the buying end: one Asian commodity, labour power, is beginning to compete for first place with oil, tin, rubber, etc. A U.S. capitalist can buy a pair of hands which will work a ten hour day in, for example, his 1,000 man Motorola factory in South Korea,¹⁷ for pennies a day, for half the already low Latin American wage rates!

Despite increased competition from Japanese capitalists in the Far East, the U.S. of late is becoming economically dominant in inter-imperialist competition in that area. In India, for instance, the U.S. is now the main capital-importer.

17. See Business Abroad, Feb. 5, 1968.The National Foreign Trade Convention in late 1967....viewed the Far East and Indonesia in particular as "the world's largest new frontier for international business."

What happens when U.S. bankers and industrialists move in on an entire Far Eastern economy with the purpose of bringing profits back to the U.S. ? The effects are simple economically. They destroy what was there. If there was petty production of clothing and household items, and food production, it is gradually disintegrated by the inflation caused by their presence, driven out of business by the competition their products represent. In general, the effect—e.g., in the case of India—is to destroy the subsistence economy, make the country more and more dependent on the U.S. for food, and gobble up all development capital. Very few Indian workers are taken up in the “new industry” imperialism has brought; many are driven from the land. Huge numbers have been made landless and jobless. Their numbers are swelling.¹⁸ India's growth of per capita output for 1953-60 was only 1.4% per year.¹⁹ This is the average for all the poor countries in the last decade.²⁰

For Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines and Singapore unemployment specifically of former or aspiring wage-workers more than doubled in the first five years of the sixties. There are probably close to a million “officially” unemployed people in South Korea,²¹ outpost of U.S. “goodness” in the East. In Rangoon and Mandalay (Burma) the number increased ten times in the same period (1960-65).

This increasing unemployment is a constant depressant on wage rates in these countries. It is the product of

18. See A. G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America 1967* on these points. Much of this book applies to the Far East poor countries as well.

19. J. E. Meade, *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 77, No. 306, p. 249.

20. David A. Baldwin, *Economic Development and American Foreign Policy 1943-62*, Chicago, 1966. Also Mountjoy, *Industrialization and Underdeveloped Countries*, London, 1966, pp. 155-156.

21. *Business International*, Nov. 24, 1967, p. 376.

imperialism crushing the old economy and reducing the people to even greater misery. The purpose of agriculture becomes to produce exports, and the purpose of the people's existence to consume imports and to be wage-workers to increase foreign capitalists' capital and profits. The purpose of the entire country, victim of U.S. imperialism, is not to feed and clothe itself and develop, but to line the pockets of the imperialists who have too much capital at home. The relative overproduction of capital in the United States is the cause of the “overpopulation” of the poor country. The capitalist “embarrassment of riches” is linked irreversibly with the “superfluity” of people in the Third World.

“The largest mass colonization movement in the history of South America will get its official blessing next month when the Bolivian Government will pass its “New Regulations for Colonization”, a decree opening more than 10 million [1 crore] acres of virgin land....The new law was molded to encourage and facilitate colonization by foreign experts in the following fields: cattle, cotton, rice, tea, logging, vanilla, pepper, ginger, citrus fruits and poultry. The new settlers will be allowed to bring in any and all kinds of agricultural machinery, furniture and mechanized equipment duty free.” (Dun and Bradstreet, *Exporters' Encyclopedia* supplementary service, Jan. 16, 1967).

In the old days an imperialist could only get colonies by fighting the people and establishing a colonial administration to govern the country—that administration eventually coming under attack. Nowadays imperialism rules through native political pimps, mini-despot front men who are ever so willing to sell their country and their people to the highest bidder, provided they and their cohorts get

some of the crumbs. The example given in the quotation above is particularly gross evidence of what gets official blessing. "Here, take 10 million acres. We're friends." It would be hard to imagine LBJ being as generous with 10 square feet of his ranch.

Rule through hired native puppets is the way state power is held; it's also the way industrial enterprises are managed. The result: increasing "underdevelopment" of the poor countries. The hired rulers have no interest in economic and political development for their own people. Quite the contrary—they are there precisely to keep the people from smashing imperialism and really developing their countries under the rule of working and farming people. Millions of people remain idle and starve because their economies have been politically paralyzed so that imperialism in its own time can slowly devour their labour and resources.

The countries of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, are the latest frontier for U.S. investment. In Vietnam itself between 1960 and 1965, 100 million [10 crore] dollars of private investment was put in, even before military control of the country looked anywhere near completed. Vimytex, owned by M. P. Jen of 30 Church St., New York City, has a textile mill employing 2,000 workers. Johnson and Johnson runs another textile mill. Parsons and Whittemore runs a paper mill. Sugar mill pioneer Herbert Fuller promoted a 10 million [1 crore] dollar operation at the coastal city of Tuy Hao. "I am in it for the money," Fuller says. "We could get back our investment in two years." Like all entrepreneurs, Fuller once again is pushing ahead with his plans because he assumes that the U.S. is now committed to saving South Vietnam. (Fortune Magazine, March 1966). In any case, he's probably AID-insured against revolution....

Foremost Dairies, Allis-Chalmers, International Harvester, and others have also moved in to get at that maximum wage set by the Saigon labour code at 1.40 dollars a day. A construction consortium is building the only occupied base area and military rear that the U.S. can get in Vietnam—one made of concrete, not people. This operation employs almost 50,000 Vietnamese workers, on the job 60 hours per week—at a maximum weekly wage of 8.40 dollars.

Under the Investment Law of 1963, profits of up to 20% of the invested capital may be transferred annually to the U.S. (Capital may be repatriated after five years at an annual rate of up to 20% if the capital was brought in after 1963 and after 20 years if held previously in Vietnam.) Dividends may be transferred in full after taxes are paid.

This "law" passed by the U.S.-controlled Saigon "government" is typical of red-carpet treatment the U.S. government guarantees its investors in most of the poor countries. There is little doubt in the government that investment will come much faster once Southeast Asia is "pacified."

The long-range perspective of U.S. big owners is typified by M. L. Long, a top manager of Philco-Ford's stake-out in Vietnam. Right now the company is working on government contracts worth 32 million [3.2 crore] dollars a year and employing some 3,000 Vietnamese and Korean workers. But they set their sights firmly on private, civilian business in Vietnam. "Given a fairly early end to the Vietnam war and a long-term U.S. economic commitment to Southeast Asia, Long looks forward to getting some 1.7 billion [170 crore] dollars in business throughout the area through 1971." (Business Week, Sept. 9, 1967).

✓ "He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east.

Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the South. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined." (Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1965)

The U.S. clearly has the same imperialist economic designs on Vietnam as on other poor countries. However, it is not our contention that the war in Vietnam is being fought only for the sake of actual or potential market and investment opportunities in Vietnam itself. Holding Vietnam is part of the job of holding the whole empire of U.S. capitalist imperialism. The imperialists did not choose Vietnam as the most favourable (from the U.S. point of view) place to fight. Rather, Vietnam, despite the subjective desires of the imperialists, is the place where international class struggle is sharpest. The Vietnamese people are waging a heroic People's War to liberate their country. The imperialists regard this phenomenon with the same fear that one regards a small opening in an important dike. They, and we, will regard the victory of the Vietnamese People's War as the turning of the tide in the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is precisely what is at stake in Vietnam. The imperialists need to win in Vietnam for four reasons:

1. To obtain the labour and wealth of Vietnam itself.
2. To show all the peoples dominated by U.S. imperialism that revolution cannot win, that those who fight for liberation will be crushed.

3. To use Vietnam as a political, economic and military base for the expansion and consolidation of U.S. imperialism in Asia. A key part of the U.S. strategy in Vietnam is to use conquered Vietnam as a stepping stone to defeating China, either by actual military conquest or as a source of pressure, to try to de-revolutionize that

gigantic centre of anti-imperialism. A revolutionary China is a deadly threat to imperialism's ability to defeat revolution. A China under imperialism's thumb would be a source of endless exploitation, a prize for imperialism.

4. To try to save the capitalist system, even in the U.S. itself from the twin enemies of international capitalist competition and the nearing saturation point for profitable investment in the U.S.A. and the areas of world production and consumption it already controls, by reaping the highest profits in the world from Asia.

We have shown that the tiny half of one percent of the U.S. which owns 80% of the U.S. also owns a majority of the world's resources (materials and capital) as well. This class controls the government in the U.S. and an increasing number of governments in foreign countries. The scale of this class's domination has internationalized struggle against it and, with Marxist-Leninist leadership, against the capitalist mode of life and production it is attempting to make the world's way of life. The development of People's War is the inevitable result of imperialism's content: development for profits at the expense of people. This path of revolution is being taken more and more by the farming and working people of all the poor countries. At the same time, the people of the U.S. are beginning to organize their own struggle for the defeat of capitalism and imperialism. The U.S. working class and its allies will form a key part of the international revolutionary struggle in defeating imperialism and building a socialist way of life.

Phrases And Facts : About Kerala

—Partha Choudhuri

The Moth-Eaten Phrases

If the battle for the ballot box, waged by the West Bengal "Marxists" and their partners in the United Front, ends in victory for them in February next year, if there is no slip between the cup and the lip, West Bengal will be tomorrow what Kerala is today. What is the picture of Kerala today ?

The "Marxists" may claim to have completed one phase of their "revolution"—in Kerala. Their *Programme*, adopted in 1964, states :

"Even while keeping before the people the task of dislodging the present ruling classes and establishing a new democratic state and government based on the firm alliance of the working class and peasantry, the Party will utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people. The formation of such governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and thus help the process of building the democratic front."

(Para 112)

This is the very claim Sundarayya, Ranadive, Nambudiripad, Jyoti Basu and Co. make on behalf of the "United Front" governments they lead in Kerala or have led in West Bengal. For instance, the resolution their Central Committee adopted on "Mid-Term Election in West Bengal" at its meeting in August this year makes this tall claim :

"In spite of the limitations under which the [West

Bengal] U. F. Ministry had to function and in spite of certain weaknesses of the Government, the formation of the U.F. Ministry created new opportunities for extending the democratic rights of the people, for giving some relief to them and particularly for advancing the organised democratic struggles of the masses. The people used the U. F. Ministry as an instrument of struggle and utilised the new opportunities to greatly strengthen the democratic forces."

In earlier issues of *Liberation* (December '67 and March '68), we have shown how hollow, moth-eaten and false these oft-repeated phrases are. Let us now examine the performance of the 21 month-old U.F. ministry of Kerala led by the "Marxist" chieftain E.M.S. Namboodiripad and see how it has given "immediate relief to the people," "created new opportunities for extending the democratic rights of the people" and served "as an instrument of struggle" in the hands of the people.

"A Programme of Immediate Relief to the People"

One may recall that in the fourth general elections the "United Front" won 117 out of 133 seats in the Kerala Legislative Assembly. Of these, the "Marxist" Party captured 52; 2 more seats were won by Independents sponsored by the "Marxists". The Congress Party was reduced to a hopeless minority with only 9 seats. So the "United Front" of seven parties inflicted a smashing electoral defeat on the Congress and had hardly any opposition to contend with in the legislature. The "Marxist" Party emerged as the unquestioned leader of the U.F. The dream of the "Marxists" was fulfilled.

But was the dream of the people of Kerala, who voted the "Marxists" and their allies to ministerial positions, fulfilled? What "immediate relief" did they come to enjoy under the "Marxist"-led government? Let us listen to

what the "Marxist" Chief Minister had to say on the subject after ten months of rule :

"This is not to say that there has been any perceptible improvement in the living conditions of the people of the State. People today have, on the contrary, even less food (and that at higher cost) than ten months ago. The problem of unemployment and lack of all round economic development has also become worse during the last ten months." ("E.M.S. Answers the 'Washington Post', *People's Democracy*, January 14, 1968)

A little earlier—on October 31, 1967—CPI (M)'s Polit Bureau member A. K. Gopalan was reported to have said at Kottayam :

"Nothing tangible had been done as far as the masses were concerned...Agrarian legislation to plug loopholes in the legislation enacted in the past had not yet been undertaken. Even now there were encroachments by landlords and no effective action was taken by the Government." (*The Statesman*, Nov. 1, 1967). According to the same PTI report, "Mr Gopalan said in the three important industries in Kerala—coir, handloom and cashew—there was growing unemployment, and if nothing is done immediately, these industries will go out of the picture soon. The reorganization of these industries was a major task of the Government today, because even if they had more industries, not even one-tenth of those engaged in these industries could be absorbed in them. He also wanted the Government to find ways of cooperating with the Central Government and enacting suitable legislation for revitalizing these industries. 'It is equally or more important to save these industries than ask for help for industries from outside,' Mr. Gopalan said."

Perhaps the situation has improved and the people of Kerala have obtained the promised "relief" in the months that have passed since the neo-revisionist chieftains made the above confessions ? No, the hard facts tell a different

story. The policies adopted by the "Marxists" and their allies, like those of the Congress Party, have made the rich richer and the poor poorer !

During the U.F. regime the rice ration dwindled from 6 oz. to 3 oz. per adult per day and remained so for most of the period. But the price of rationed rice shot up by 35 per cent from 76 paise to Re 1.03 a kg. The people of Kerala have a right to ask Sundarayya about the pledge he gave to them. At a press conference on March 19, 1968, Sundarayya said that the polit bureau had directed the party in Kerala to prepare for a "confrontation" with the "Centre on the food subsidy." Mr Sundarayya said, 'We are not going to increase the rice price. If the Centre did not pay the subsidy, the State Government would pay it from its coffers.' (*Indian Express*, 20.3.68)

As usual, this rhetorical outburst about "confrontation" with the Centre or about not increasing the price proved to be mere sound and fury meant to deceive the famished people of Kerala.

"Even this reduced ration," wrote the *Economic Times* on April 27, 1968, "could not be uniformly maintained and consequently the open-market price of rice reached unprecedented heights."

The *Hindu* of May 9, 1968, also wrote of the flourishing black-market in rice. Unlike West Bengal, where Dr P. C. Ghosh was made the scapegoat for the pro-jotedar food policy of the U.F. government, Kerala enjoys the unique privilege of having its food doled out by a "Marxist" minister under a "Marxist" Chief Minister !

For the smaller quantity as well as the higher price of rice, the staple food of the Kerala people, Namboodiripad, Sundarayya, Gopalan & Co. are quite loud in blaming the Congress Government at the centre. The Central Government is accused of not meeting Kerala's deficit in rice and of raising the issue price of rice. These are no doubt crimes of the reactionary Congress Government

against the people of Kerala. But Namboodiripad and his men conveniently forget to mention their own responsibility in the matter. Giving his "View from Delhi," a Political Correspondent wrote in *Frontier* of May 4, 1968: "The Centre cannot be blamed all the time for the rice muddle caused partly by its own failure to procure grain from the big landlords whom the Ministry cannot afford to antagonise." "It is ironical," wrote Charan Gupta in his "Calcutta Diary" in *Frontier* of May 25, 1968, "that Mr Namboodiripad is today demanding a budgetary grant from the Centre for covering the subsidy for the rice being provided through the ration shops in Kerala. In the absence of such a subsidy, the issue price of rice would be beyond the reach of the ordinary consumer, for the simple reason that *the procurement price at the all-India level was fixed inordinately high last September with the concurrence of Mr Namboodiripad himself*. At that time, the Kerala Chief Minister, along with the rest of his left colleagues, lent support to the view advanced by the kulaks from Punjab, Haryana and Andhra that the only way to have successful procurement is to offer sufficiently high 'incentive' prices to the rich growers. If you allow a high procurement price for Kerala, you have to allow similar prices for all States. *Despite the high procurement price, Mr Namboodiripad has been able to procure not more than 40,000 tonnes of rice this year, much less than the State's record during the previous three years*. Kerala's requirement of rice from the other States, on the other hand, continues to be as much as 60,000 to 70,000 tonnes every month, for each tonne of which the price is now jacked up by at least Rs. 250. *A Communist Chief Minister, may be unwittingly [?], thus became responsible for adding to the cost of living for the large mass of the working class and landless labourers,—and for the further fattening of the lush kulaks*. It is somewhat incongruous that Mr Namboodiripad should now demand

that the Centre dole him out extra cash so that he could cover the consequences of his past follies." (Our emphasis—P.C.)

Besides the big landlords, the corrupt traders who mint gold out of the blood of the people, the allies and patrons of the "Marxists", had to be obliged in return for the services rendered. As M. R. wrote in *Frontier* of October 26, 1968. "...The League's leadership comprises the trading class who have tonnes of money to make through the State Government's inept food policy."

"More than 600,000 people in Kerala have absolutely no employment. Another four to five million people [out of a total population of about 19 millions] are under-employed, most of them having no income worth mentioning, reports PTI. About a million people are employed in regular industries, while another one million have jobs in the services. The number of unemployed would increase every year with the rise in population. These figures were given to reporters yesterday by the State Labour Minister, Mr Mathai Manjooran." (*Statesman*, June 27, 1967). Since then the situation has worsened instead of improving. On May Day this year an order was issued by the Namboodiripad Government stopping fresh recruitments to State Government jobs for six months. The order mainly applied to general cadres like clerks and Grade IV employees.

Writing on the "Kerala Scene", a Special Correspondent of *Economic Times* wrote in its issue of April 27, 1968: "To the average consumer 1967 was a very difficult year. Prices of all food articles and basic consumer goods shot up resulting in a rise of 56 points in the cost of living Index."

Less food, more unemployment and higher prices of all consumer goods—this is the kind of "immediate relief" the "Marxist"-led Government of Kerala has offered the people!

But what about the much-advertised "relief" they have provided to the poor peasantry by abolishing land tax on holdings of less than 2 acres in extent? On November 4, 1968, the reactionary *Hindu* of Madras wrote: "Another given under political pressure is the abolition of the basic land tax on holdings of less than two acres in extent, involving an annual loss of Rs. 70 lakhs." Of Kerala's total population of 190 lakhs, at least 70 per cent, i.e., 133 lakhs are peasants. About 75 per cent of them are poor and landless peasants. If we exclude the landless, who do not receive the benefit of the exemption, the poor peasants owning less than 2 acres of land, who constitute approximately 40 per cent of Kerala's peasantry, are the main beneficiaries. That is, about 53 lakh peasants enjoy the benefit of the exemption to the tune of Rs. 70 lakhs! So the magnificent, much-trumpeted "relief" per poor peasant per year amounts to about Rs. 1.33! Is it not quite wonderful? But how much in a year is a poor peasant robbed when he has to pay the enhanced price of rice and other consumer goods? Will the political swindlers calling themselves 'Marxists', 'Communists' or 'Socialists' let us know?

Another much-boasted 'relief' is the distribution of Government waste lands among a few thousand people. But this hardly affects the lot of millions of others. Who are the fortunate few? Serious complaints have been repeatedly made against the manner of distribution on the floor of the Legislative Assembly and outside. Not only the Congress but also all the allies of the "Marxists" have levelled charges of favouritism and corruption against the "Marxist" Party and the "Marxist" Revenue Minister Gowri Thomas. *Indian Express* of June 6, 1968 writes: "Mr K C Vamadevan, RSP legislator, later told reporters that their protest was against the distribution of nearly 600 pattas by the Revenue Minister on May 1. The Minister had given lands only to those recommended by

the Marxist Party. The Marxist Party, according to him, had collected amounts varying from Rs 100 to Rs 150 for a patta. In one instance a poor woman had pledged her earrings to get the money and give it to the Marxist Party he alleged."

According to another report in the *Indian Express* of March 27, 1968, "The assignment of a plot of Government land to a near relation of Marxist Revenue Minister Gowri Thomas has been stalled after it was brought to light by a CPI member, Mr T. A. Majid. The confirmation came from the Revenue Minister herself in the course of her reply to the debate on the Appropriation Bill when more than one member indicted the Government for alleged favouritism and nepotism in land assignment."

This is the entire "programme of giving immediate relief" that the "Marxist"-led Government of Kerala has carried out in the course of the last 21 months. But the Government is proposing to offer more "relief" in the form of two bills they have drafted. What are these bills and what is the nature of the "relief" proposed?

One is the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill and the other is the Universities Bill.

It does not appear that reactionary feudal elements are much agitated over the provisions of the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill. These provisions have not been given much publicity. On the contrary, the bill, as Gowri Thomas proudly said, had been approved by the Cabinet, that represents big feudal interests among others. (See *Hindu*, August 18, 1968). Besides, "The Planning Commission has concurred with the provisions of the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill now before a Select Committee of the State Legislature. Revenue Minister K. R. Gowri told newsmen here today. ...The Commission, she added, applauded the Kerala Government for scrupulously observing the broad perspectives of the Commission's directives". (*Hindu*, September 29, 1968). What good can an agrarian

bill do to the peasantry, a bill that is applauded after scrutiny by the representatives of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? Is it anything better than a wretched trick to deceive the people like the ones the Congress Party has played so long?

The other bill—the Universities Bill—proposes to curb the powers of the reactionary church and other vested interests like the Nair Service Society over the private colleges and to hand over these powers to the bureaucracy. In the process, the teachers of private colleges are likely to enjoy some marginal benefits. The neo-revisionist press is lauding the bill to the skies but its revolutionary character can easily be guessed from the support it is receiving even from the reactionaries, including the youth and student organizations which wave the flag of the Congress Party. While seeking to preserve the present educational system, a legacy of the British rulers, with all its reactionary features, it aims at relaxing the grip of the Christian clergy and other vested interests over private colleges. It hardly touches the fringe of the educational problem and in no way affects the life of the basic masses.

Two conclusions follow from the above :

First : during the period when world capitalism is in its death-throes, all talk of a "programme of giving immediate relief" to the people in a country like India, which is jointly plundered by imperialism, the native big bourgeoisie and the feudal class, is sheer deception. Kerala's experience is one more conclusive proof of the truth that without smashing the present economic-political set-up through People's Democratic Revolution no relief, however meagre, can be offered to the basic masses. The "Marxists", "Communists" and "Socialists", who claim that a "modest programme of giving immediate relief" to the basic masses can be carried out even within the present set-up, are political scoundrels of the worst type. By trying to create this illusion they

are blunting the revolutionary consciousness of the people, seeking to preserve the present system and are thus serving faithfully imperialism and domestic reaction.

Second, in this period when existing industries are closing down and workers and employees are faced with lock-outs, retrenchment and unemployment in hundreds of thousands, when pauperisation and death from starvation are the lot of the poor and landless peasants, any attempt at tinkering with the present economic political set-up helps counter-revolution. By making just that attempt, by striving to direct the wrath of the exploited and oppressed people along the peaceful parliamentary channel, Namboodiripad, Ranadive, Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu and Co., the Dange clique and various other "socialists" and "communists" are acting as tools of the Anglo-U S imperialists, Soviet neo-colonialists, the Indian comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and feudal elements—the beneficiaries of the present system.

"An Instrument of Class Struggle"

"Marxist" rhetoric tries to depict the U. F. Government in Kerala as an instrument of class struggle, as a means of strengthening democratic movements and fighting the offensive of the reactionary ruling classes. It has no doubt acted as an instrument of class struggle. But the question is : which class or classes have used it as their weapon against which other class or classes?

It is common knowledge that when the poor peasantry tried to use it as their weapon for taking over Government waste lands the "Marxist"-led Government refused to oblige the peasantry. Then the farce of distribution of Government waste lands was staged. The lands of the big landlords and rich kulaks were not only left untouched but the enhanced procurement price of rice, in the

fixation of which Namboodiripad had a hand, the refusal to impose higher levy on them and the flourishing black-market have fattened them still more during the last 21 months. So it is not the peasantry but the rich landlords, kulaks and usurers who have used the "Marxist"-led Government as an obliging instrument for fleecing the people even more frightfully.

Did the Namboodiripad Government act as an instrument in the hands of Kerala's working class in their struggle against foreign and native capitalists? The Kerala "Marxists" themselves repudiate any such suggestion. According to a PTI report, dated Cannanore, October 9, 1967, "The Cannanore district committee of the Marxist Communist Party has come out with an open attack against the police policy of the Government. The Home portfolio is held by the Chief Minister Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad. A statement issued by the secretariat of the district committee said that the accepted policy of the United Front was not to use police in labour disputes [?]. But it said this policy had been violated in Cannanore district. It said that by arresting and removing the striking workers of the Western India Plywood Factory at Balliapattam on October 4, the Government had not only flouted its own policies, but had given the opportunity to the management to close down the factory. 'Any effort to defeat workers' agitations through the police is reprehensible', it said". (*Statesman*, October 10, 1967)

Let us refer to a more recent appreciation of Namboodiripad Government's labour policy. PTI reports: "The executive committee of the Kerala State Marxist Communist Party in its report to the State conference of the party, now in session here, is understood to have said that the United Front Government in the State has 'totally failed' in getting the legitimate rights of labourers conceded by the employers." (*Statesman*, November 22, 1968)

The highest committee of the Kerala State "Marxist" unit confesses that the U.F. Government led by them has 'totally failed' during the last 21 months to protect even the *legitimate* rights of labourers! Is it not quite illuminating?

Though no further elaboration is necessary, yet we propose to refer to certain concrete facts which are no less illuminating.

On August 6, 1967, Mr M. Manjooran, Kerala's Labour Minister, said in an interview that, "while his Government would protect the legitimate rights of workers to agitate, it would at the same time ensure that the legitimate rights of the management were also equally protected. He explained that in one or two instances of gheraos in Kerala, involving confinement of the managerial staff by workers, the police had intervened to disperse them." (*Statesman*, August 7, 1967)

On October 9, 1967, at Trivandrum, Chief Minister Namboodiripad said, "the present policy of the Government in regard to labour agitations was 'clear and correct'. All legitimate and peaceful activities of workers would be allowed by the Government and no repressive measures would be taken against them. 'But if these activities and agitations transgressed the limits of law, then of course police will intervene.' He felt that as far as possible disputes should be settled peacefully and facilities should be provided for the same." (*Statesman*, October 10, 1967)

"Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad re-affirmed in the Assembly today (January 18, 1968) that the State Government will interfere with gheraos if they transgressed the limits of law and caused obstruction to persons." (*Indian Express*, January 19, 1968)

From the above it does not appear that the "Marxist"-led U. F. Government intends to serve as an instrument in the hands of the working class for struggle against the exploiters (whatever the Programme and resolutions of the

"Marxist" Party may state). Rather, Namboodiripad and his men pretend that their Government proposes to do justice evenly to the exploiters and the exploited, to the oppressors and the oppressed. This pretension, as every Marxist should know, is just a knavish trick to hoodwink the backward masses, for in a class-society ruled by capital and feudal interests, the government serves as an instrument of exploitation and oppression of all working people. That is exactly the role the "Marxist"-led Government is playing today in Kerala. What are the facts? A few, we expect, will suffice.

First, when workers struck work in Birla's Gwalior Rayons' at Mavur towards the end of March and in the beginning of April this year, the police were immediately rushed there to protect Birla's interests. Birla's man publicly expressed his appreciation of the services rendered by Namboodiripad and his Government. According to a UNI report dated Trivandrum, March 30, "Birla's representative D. P. Mandelia feels that *the Kerala Government has made an earnest attempt to resolve the labour dispute at the Gwalior Rayons at Mavur in Calicut district...* Mr Mandelia told newsmen before his departure from Trivandrum today that the situation at Mavur at present was quite peaceful, *Police pickets had been posted inside the company and every thing was quiet now, he added.*" (Emphasis ours—P.C.)

Second, there was the still more shameless, brutal attack on workers at Iddiki where a Rs. 68 crore hydro-electric project is being built with the "aid" of the Canadian Government. To quote Ramji writing in *Frontier* of May 4, 1968, "The Hindusthan Construction Company (a unit of the Walchand group) has undertaken the contract for work on this project. The site is over 35 miles from the nearest township, in the heart of heavily forested mountainous country. Nearly four thousand people had been working there, clearing forests, blasting rocks, building tunnels on some of the toughest jobs, under sub-human conditions of

life. The project attracted labour from all corners of Kerala. The terrific rush for jobs, any jobs, came in handy for the contractors to enforce the most notorious conditions for labour imaginable. Even primary, rock-bottom amenities were denied to the workers, camping and working in the inhospitable wilderness. Many cases occurred in which the bodies of workers involved in fatal accidents were disposed of without trace. The contractors wielded tyrannical power through their sword arm represented by a tough band of men brought from Bombay, which included a hard core of professional goondas too. These security men have been responsible for cold blooded murder of local workers. Physical assaults with the help of the goonda force were the reply of the firm to any agitation by the workers."

Under the leadership of the Electricity Board Workers Union the casual labourers struck work on May 21 this year and waged a heroic struggle against one of the leading and rapacious tycoons of India—the Walchands. But their struggle failed to win the support of the "Marxist" Party! The Dange clique, the P. S. P., the Congress etc. joined the hired scribes of the bourgeois press, screamed against the workers and "the Naxalbari elements" and demanded the sternest action against the workers. And to make Iddiki safe for the robbers, the Canadian monopolists and their Indian henchmen, the neo-revisionist chieftain E. M. S. Namboodiripad acted quite promptly. By the middle of June, at least 94 workers including Comrade Jose Abraham, Secretary of the Electricity Board Workers Union, were arrested. Ramji wrote in *Frontier* of June 29, 1968: "The Chief Minister had to draft more police and effect stringent measures"—not against the thugs but against the oppressed workers! Yet the "Marxist" philistines would have us believe that their U. F. Government is the workers' instrument of struggle against their exploiters, that it is strengthening the democratic movements of the people!

Third, "seventy-two Marxist-led workers, including 18 women, were taken into custody today [March 31, 1968] when they tried to picket the Kawdiar Palace, residence of H H the Maharaja of Travancore. A few minutes before His Highness was due to go to the Padmanabhaswami temple on his daily round the workers, demanding higher wages for the palace employees, tried to obstruct the passage by squatting in front of the main gate." (*Indian Express*, April 1, 1968). This admirably illustrates how the "Marxist"-led U. F. Government is trampling upon the democratic rights of the people in order to protect the interests of a big feudal lord fleecing his domestic slaves.

Fourth, 700 members of the staff of the Kerala Secretariat, besides telephone and lift operators and binders, took "mass casual leave" on July 26 this year after the "Marxist"-led Government had refused to accede to their just demands. "Marxist" Namboodiripad followed in the footsteps of his Congress bosses. "The Secretariat premises and the gates were heavily guarded by armed police personnel, while plainclothesmen were found inside the Secretariat buildings." (*Hindu*, July 27, 1968) "Marxist" Namboodiripad even excelled his Congress masters. He and his comrades imposed on the employees a salary cut of one day and, what was most astounding of all, ordered a break of their service, thus depriving them of their service benefits. Nothing like the above had ever been attempted before even by notorious Congress bosses like Bidhan Roy and Prafulla Sen or bureaucrats like Dharma Vira. But these shameless stooges of the ruling classes had to beat a hasty retreat when the employees of the Kerala Government took up the challenge and broader sections joined the struggle.

The sickening hypocrisy of this clique of renegades is evident from the following extract from a resolution their Central Committee adopted at its meeting held from August 7 to August 11, 1968 :

"The employees of several State Governments, such as those of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and U.P., have conducted their strike struggles in the recent past for parity of DA with the Central Government employees and against retrenchment. The C.C. condemns the severe repression on the striking employees that these State Governments have resorted to suppress the struggles."

These accomplished hypocrites do not mention the just struggle of the employees of the Kerala Government, refuse to condemn the repression let loose on them and the penal measures (previously unheard of) first adopted and then withdrawn (in the face of stiff resistance by the employees) by the "Marxist"-led Government. Instead, the above resolution hypocritically adds : "The Central Committee wants to bring to the notice of the State Government employees that State Governments like the U.F. Government in Kerala, the State Government of Tamilnad, and the former U F. Government of West Bengal have strained their utmost to meet the just demands of the employees and if their demands are not fully met, it is because of the policies of the Central Government, which has starved the States financially, and imposed heavy burdens on them, the burden of meeting the increased cost of living etc., while leaving no resources to extend their revenues." So the "Marxist" Central Committee advised the employees of these State Governments to direct their struggle against the Central Government ! How consistent !

According to a report in *The Statesman* of 15.11.68, Mr P. K. Kunju, Finance Minister, told the Kerala State Assembly that it would cost the Government Rs. 2.5 crore if the State Government employees were given Central Dearness Allowance rates.

It may be worth noting that while the "Marxist"-led Government refused to pay Central Government D A. rates to its employees, it is quite generous towards the first and second grade officers. The followidg appeared in *The Hindu*

of 411 68 : "...the road mileage rates in the case of first and second grade officers were raised recently by 100 and 167 per cent respectively. This concession would have cost the exchequer Rs. 1 crore more a year but for its being modified under pressure from the Finance Commission, which was against travelling allowance becoming a source of profit. Even the modified rates are higher than what the officers of corresponding status in the Central and most other State Governments are allowed."

It is also worth noting that the estimated cost of creating two new districts, Malappuram and Malnad, as planned by Namboodiripad, will amount to Rs. 12 crore. This is the price Namboodiripad proposed to pay to the Muslim League for the services rendered by the League to Namboodiripad and his clique !

Namboodiripad's two-faced policy towards the token strike of the Central Government employees on September 19 has now been fully exposed. While declaring publicly their reservations about the Ordinances issued by the Central Government—vicious fascist measures which threatened arrest and termination of service of all those who would go on strike—the "Marxist"-led U.F. Government loyally implemented them. According to Namboodiripad's own admission in the Kerala Assembly, 207 cases were registered by the police in connection with the Central Government employees' strike for offences like "illegal strike", abetment, obstruction, intimidation and wrongful restraint and 233 persons were arrested. "Marxist" Namboodiripad's police used force on the striking workers and employees at Trivandrum and Trichur. Namboodiripad's grievance against the Central Government was not that the Central Reserve Police had been sent by Chavan to Kerala but that he had not been consulted before they were sent. Chavan was quite satisfied with Namboodiripad's performance. On November 19, Chavan told the Lok Sabha that Kerala, which had started with reservations

about the Ordinances issued by the Union Government and expressed its inability to take action, subsequently stated that "all action found necessary and suitable" was being taken.

Three more instances of how the Namboodiripad Government is strengthening the democratic movement may be cited here. According to a FTI report, Comrade Kosalam Das strongly denounced in the Kerala Assembly on October 22, 1968, what he called the "breaking up by the Marxist-controlled police" of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Kerala Electricity Board Workers' Union at Pallom near Kottayam on Saturday. Comrade Das said that the police had entered the meeting place without any provocation and "brutally beat up the workers and myself." He pointed out that Mr Varkala Radhakrishnan, private secretary to the Chief Minister, had camped in the Kottayam Rest House on that day and had "conspired" with the police to break up their meeting. He added that the incident at Pallom was not an isolated one as there were other cases of police interference with workers' meetings. (*Statesman*, 24.10.68)

In another case Marxist Revenue Minister Gowri Thomas herself played the main role. On November 11, 1968, she was accused in the Kerala Assembly by her own allies, the MLA's of the Dangeite clique, of complicity in the reported lathi-charge by excise officials on striking toddy-tappers at Poonjar. Mr T. Majid, Dangeite leader, said Mrs Thomas was known to be camping in the vicinity of Poonjar at the time of the incidents. She went over the head of Namboodiripad and pressed into service her excise personnel to make the lathi-charge, he added. (See *Statesman*, 12.11.68)

One more instance of police oppression and we have finished with this sordid tale. "They [members of the RSP and the breakaway faction of the SSP—both constituents of the ruling United Front] were protesting against

the 'callous' attitude of the Chief Minister Mr Nambudiripad, towards complaints of police excesses including 'molestation of women', 'man-handling' of a corporation councillor and some innocent people..." (*Statesman*, 29.11.68) After making a sharp attack on the chief Minister in Kerala Assembly these allies of the "Marxists" staged a walk-out.

This is one side of the picture—these petty men and women claiming to be Marxists desperately trying to break up workers' meetings, to beat up and arrest workers, to crush all their militant activities in the interests of foreign and domestic reaction.

The other side of the picture reveals with what shameless zeal these sham Marxists are not only defending but trying actively to further the interests of the foreign monopolists, Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian comprador-bourgeoisie and to forge new fetters for the working people. This part of the story of their devotion to their masters will be told in the next issue of our journal.

TOWARDS GREATER UNITY !

"In order to put down our biggest enemy (The Congress) it is necessary for us to cooperate with our smaller enemies like the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh"—P. Sundarayya (at a Press Conference at Bangalore, *Statesman*, Nov. 20, 1968).

Sparks Are Flying

The wave is rising. Struggles of the people against the intolerable conditions of their life imposed by this landlord-comprador-bureaucrat capitalist regime are breaking out everyday in various parts of the country. Such waves of struggle are not new in this country. But what is new is the revolutionary consciousness that communist revolutionaries are imparting in different areas, especially, among the peasantry. The reactionary ruling classes and their agents, including the self-styled "Marxists", are mobilising all their resources and strength to crush the rising struggles that threaten to sweep them away.

We are reproducing below a few reports of such struggles that appeared in bourgeois newspapers :

Thanjavur, Nov. 15—Police fired tear-gas shells twice and made a lathi-charge in Karuveli village near Nagapattinam (in Tamil Nadu) on Wednesday evening to disperse a 300-strong mob of farm labourers armed with sticks and other lethal weapons, reports PTI.

Bhagalpur, Nov. 29—Over 100 Adivasis, armed with bows and arrows, forcibly harvested standing crops in about 40 bighas of land at Gauripur village in Pirpainty block of Bhagalpur district (in Bihar) on Tuesday, according to official reports received here yesterday, says PTI.

Hyderabad, Nov. 29—In yet another incident in Srikakulam district (Andhra Pradesh) Communist Revolutionaries armed with deadly weapons attacked a house on the night of November 25 and decamped with jewellery and other articles worth about Rs. 20,000, according to a delayed message received by the police headquarters here. The raid took place in Peddagutta village in Parvatipuram taluka...Meanwhile, six more persons have been arrested

in connexion with the armed attack on the house of a business man on November 24. (*Statesman*, Nov. 30, 1968)

✓ *Berhampur (Ganjam)*, Dec. 7—In a mopping up operation against suspected Naxalites Andhra police have taken into custody 60 persons in Sompeta taluk of Srikakulam district. It is reported that these persons were forcibly cutting and looting standing paddy crops. According to the Collector of Srikakulam, some stray incidents occurred between the 25th and the 27th of last month in Gottupadu and some other villages in Sompeta taluk.....The police are searching one Subbarao Panigrahi, alleged to be operating on both sides of the Orissa-Andhra border. He is reportedly insisting landless labourers to cut and carry away standing paddy crop in Sompeta and Parvatipuram taluks of Andhra Pradesh. (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Dec. 8, 1968)

Motihari (Bihar), Dec. 10—About 50 people, armed with spears, bows and arrows, shouting "Naxalbari Zindabad", "Lal Jhanda Zindabad" looted harvested paddy crops from a field in Laknathpur village under Turkaulia police station of Champaran district on Sunday last, according to an official report received at Motihari, adds PTI.

✓ *Nalgonda (Andhra Pradesh)*—The following is from a report by the Hyderabad Correspondent of the *Hindu* in its issue of November 25, 1968 :

"There is evidence of increased activity by the Left communists in parts of Nalgonda district—once a communist stronghold—the method and manner of the atrocities bearing an impress of the chapter of violence during the Telangana armed struggle in 1948-49...

"It is said that Communist activity has received a filip since October last with the open declaration by the extremist Communists that they would bring about a revolution with the help of the gun. Such declarations were accompanied by the writing of Mao's slogans on the walls, taking

out processions, holding of meetings and shouting slogans. The taiuks affected were Huzurnagar, Suryapet and Nalgonda. It is alleged that the Communists set fire to haystacks, killed bullocks, damaged pumpsets and destroyed agricultural implements.....

"The Nalgonda District Congress Committee has submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister urging that Suryapet and Huzurnagar taluks, Nariketla Panchayati Samithi in Nalgonda taluk and Topucherla firka in Miryalguda taluk (all in Nalgonda district) should be declared a disturbed area and suitable steps be taken to put down lawlessness. Their point is that application of the usual law and order machinery will not be adequate. Special regulations have to be introduced and special courts constituted to try cases arising out of the violent activity of the communists. The extremist communists' (ultras) organisation should be banned as also *Jana Shakti*, which they say, indulged in violent propaganda."

✓ *West Bengal*—On Dec. 11, '68, a spokesman of the West Bengal Home Department said: Altogether 25 harvesting disputes occurred and 105 arrests were made in 24 Parganas, Burdwan, Hooghly and Malda till Tuesday (Dec. 10). A man was killed in police firing on December 7 in Kalyanpur, Burdwan. Altogether over 15 persons, including eight constables, were injured. At a place near Baruipur, 24 Parganas, on December 8, a mob snatched two muskets from a police party which went to guard a plot attached by the local camp court. In some clashes, spears, lathis and crackers were used. (See *Statesman* Dec. 12)

✓ Today, the West Bengal countryside is dotted with armed police camps and camp courts. About a fortnight ago, there were at least 125 armed police camps in the district of 24 Parganas alone. Their number is increasing.

✓ *Srikakulam*—The following is part of a report dated Dec. 14, 1968 by *Statesman's* Special Representative in South India :

"Today, the State Government's writ does not run in scores of isolated mountain hamlets where tribesmen are being trained in guerrilla tactics and use of arms.....Last month the tribesmen were again on the warpath and there were at least four raids on landlords in different parts of the tribal reserve, during which property worth about Rs. 50,000 was stated to have been looted.

✓ "From all available reports further trouble can be expected notwithstanding the strengthening of the already substantial police force in the reserve. In fact, special armed police had moved into the area last February but their daily operations have not only failed to check the revolt but seem to have helped the Marxists further alienate the tribesmen from the Government. This reporter, who visited this tribal belt earlier this year, found the situation pretty tense with the Girijans in a sullen and uncooperative mood. Today, according to reliable reports, the position is far worse and the Naxalites seem to have fully established themselves to start a revolt. The failure of the police to round up the ringleaders despite eight months of intensive hunt in the mountains is clear enough proof of tribal support for them."

* * * * *

During the last one month students have been in revolt from one end of the country to another—in Calcutta, Banaras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Botad (Gujrat), Cuttack, Muzaffarpur, Patiala, Raipur, Hyderabad and other places. Their grievances were not the same everywhere, the issues on which they fought differed from place to place. It might be that counter-revolutionary elements rallied them with reactionary slogans in a few places. In others, they held high the banner of anti-imperialism as in Calcutta during the war-criminal McNamara's visit or fought to resist

some new offensive of the authorities, henchmen of the reactionary ruling classes. The fact remains that the campuses of our educational institutions are seething with anger and hatred towards the present reactionary regime. The students, who mostly belong to the petty bourgeois class, ridden with crisis, feel like tearing down this hated regime of oppression and exploitation and even brave police bullets.

We greet this mood of revolt of the students, we salute their fearlessness and courage. But this revolt may achieve some tangible result, a great victory, if the students ally themselves with the peasantry and the working class and actively help and support the agrarian revolution that is now breaking out in the country. Without the agrarian revolution, their problems will grow still more acute, no educational reform is possible, and the educational chaos and the tyranny of the ruling classes can never be ended. It is the historic task of the students to come forward and fight shoulder to shoulder with the peasantry against the common enemies—the imperialists, the Soviet neo-colonialists, the Indian landlords and comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie.

* * * * *

We also greet the secondary teachers of Uttar Pradesh who, defying Government orders and threats, are courageously fighting for the realisation of their just demands. By December 5, all educational institutions in 24 districts were closed because of the successful strike and in the remaining 30 districts, 947 schools were closed, according to the Education Department of the U.P. Government. According to a report of the UNI and PTI, 643 teachers and 21 students had been arrested by December 4.

✓ On December 5, the Education Minister of the Central Government, Triguna Sen, a faithful servant of the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries, had to admit in the Lok Sabha that "some of the teachers in the aided

schools had not received salary for as long as a year. Their salaries also rarely exceeded Rs. 100."

The teachers' struggle is directed against these unendurable conditions. The peasants and workers are also fighting to put an end to even worse conditions created by rapacious landlords, usurers and the big bourgeoisie. All these struggles must help one another for the overthrow of this monstrous regime of oppression and exploitation and for the establishment of people's power under the leadership of the working class. December 15, 1968

Jackals of The Same Lair

How the growing struggles of the peasant revolutionaries fill with alarm the ruling classes and their agents, including the sham communists and Marxists, will be evident from the following ravings of theirs. These will prove, if any proof is necessary, that there is close *unity in action* between the reactionary ruling classes and the revisionist renegades of different hues and that they all belong to the same camp, the camp of counter-revolutionaries—sworn enemies of the agrarian revolution, whatever may be their protestations.

✓ *Central Home Minister Chavan :*

Speaking at the meeting of the informal consultative committee attached to the Home Ministry on December 5, 1968, Chavan confirmed that the Naxalites—some members called them Maoists—had spread their activities, from West Bengal and Assam to eastern U. P., Bihar, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh (with its "Telengana background")... He stressed the need for fighting them at the political level by removing grievances of the people which the extremists

use to further their own ends. Police action *alone* will not be enough, he said. (see *Statesman*, Dec. 6)

✓ *"Marxist" Chief Minister Namboodiripad :*

(1) Speaking at the Kerala Assembly on Nov. 26, '68, Namboodiripad said that police interrogation of some of the suspects in the attacks on two police stations had brought out the fact that a "group" was working in the State, which was determined to create "certain situations" in the State by attacking not only police stations and Government offices, but also private houses. He declared that the working of that "group" was a "danger" to the State and it should be nipped in the bud. He said that *both by administrative actions and political propaganda* an atmosphere would be created which would not be helpful to the growth of the political philosophy of this "group". (see *Statesman*, Nov. 27)

(2) Addressing a Press Conference on Dec. 3, '68, Namboodiripad made it clear that neither he nor his party would approve of the political line being pursued by the adventurists. The broad approach of the State Government was to put it down without mercy. (see *Statesman*, Dec. 4)

Minister of State for External Affairs B. R. Bhagat :

Mr B. R. Bhagat told the Lok Sabha on Dec. 9, 1968, that the Government would take all necessary steps to isolate and eliminate the Communist extremists, popularly known as Naxalites, in Kerala and other parts of the country. (see *Statesman*, Dec. 10, '68)

✓ *"Marxist" Party's General Secretary P. Sundarayya :*

According to a party source, P. Sundarayya said that the CPI(M) was fully prepared to meet the extremists' challenge and, if necessary, it would field its 35,000 strong volunteer corps, including 10,000 women, to counter the extremists [in Kerala]. (see *Statesman*, Dec. 4, '68)

Andhra Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy :

On Nov. 29, '68, Mr Brahmanand Reddy (Congress)

warned in the State Assembly Communist extremists that their "political adventurism and goondaism will be put down with an iron hand." Communist atrocities in certain pockets of the State, he said, were not misguided but deliberate. (see *Statesman*, Nov. 30)

✓ "C P I" leader *Makdoom Mohiuddin* :

On Dec. 2, '68, in the Andhra Legislative Council, the leader of the CPI group in the Council, Mr Makdoom Mohiuddin, strongly condemned the acts of violence indulged in by the "ultra Marxists" in Nalgonda district, reports PTI (see *Statesman*, Dec. 4)

✓ "Marxist" Party's General Secretary *P. Sundarayya* :

Mr Sundarayya is said to have noted, however, that some extremists in Andhra were out to "create disturbances and anarchy in the name of revolution." (see *Statesman*, Dec. 4, '68)

It is the same Sundarayya who, in 1948-50, sided with traitor Ranadive and opposed the Telangana struggle. It is the same Sundarayya who, in a letter written a few months ago to Brahmananda Reddy, drew up a list of murders of communists and peasants and of other atrocities committed by the landlords and the police, and appealed to the Congress Chief Minister to instruct the police officials and the special police "to do justice evenly" to the landlords and the poor peasantry. Sundarayya, who then squeaked like a mouse, is now roaring like a lion!

No lions (like) but jackals, variously dyed, are raising a howl when the peasant revolutionaries are opposing the counter-revolutionary violence of the landlords and their state with revolutionary violence.

A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF DESHABRATI PRAKASHANI

In November 1967 *Deshabrati Prakashani* (*Deshabrati Publications*) undertook the task of propagating Chairman Mao's thought with their modest resources. They decided to translate the entire *Selected Works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung* into Bengali and make them available to our comrades and people in a series of booklets at very moderate prices, for the more our people grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the nearer will be the victory of the Indian revolution. In the course of the last one year *Deshabrati Prakashani* has published in Bengali the following writings of Chairman Mao :

1. Rectify the Party's Style of Work
2. The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party
3. Chairman Mao Tse-tung on People's War (Quotations)
4. Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains
5. Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society
and
Oppose Book-Worship
6. Combat Liberalism, Methods of Work of Party Committees, On Strengthening the Party Committee System
7. Problems of War and Strategy
On New Democracy and On the People's Democratic Dictatorship are now in the press.

The first edition of most of the booklets published has been sold out. The booklet *Chairman Mao Tse-tung on People's War* had to be printed again.

NOTES

(Continued from page 16)

country according to which the assets of the Birla group of companies showed an increase of 49 per cent between 1963-64 and 1966-67. The Minister said the assets of this group, which stood at Rs. 292.7 crores in 1963-64 had gone up to Rs. 437.5 crores in 1966-67 (*Statesman*, Dec. 10, 1968). These are of course, the known assets. This fabulous increase shows the fierce intensity with which the workers, the employees and the people are exploited by these rapacious tycoons.

What should have been the response of the communists and socialists and the trade unions they lead to this declaration of war by foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie against the workers and employees? They should, no doubt, have organised them as a class to fight the vicious offensive of the ruling classes. It was no mere economic struggle but a political struggle and should have been fought as a political battle. But what is the record?

The revisionist and neo-revisionist cliques and certain opportunists closely allied with them, who dominate the central trade unions, had supported rationalisation on behalf of the working class *both in words and in deeds*; now they supported automation *in deeds though not in words*. They refused to co-ordinate and unite the struggles in different industries and government under-takings against automation and refused to organise the would-be victims of automation as a class to resist it. The treacherous leadership even refused to carry out the decision of the All India Committee Against Automation to declare one hour's token strike in all industries affected by automation. They not only refused to carry out the immediate programme of observing one day's token strike in all industries jointly—the programme which was adopted about one year ago at a convention of the Anti-Automation

Committee at Calcutta—but did not even circulate it among ordinary members. Thus rendered weak and helpless by their leaders—the sham communists and Marxists—workers and employees had to surrender to the foreign monopolists and their henchmen in industry after industry and had to agree to partial retrenchment. So, automation was introduced in Burmah Shell, Caltex, Esso, Durgapur Steel, the Eastern Railways etc. with the connivance of the revisionist and neo-revisionist mercenaries in the trade union leadership. These two-faced gentlemen, with one face turned towards the workers and employees and the other towards their masters—the foreign and native tycoons—have deceived the workers and employees too long and disrupted their struggle. While they mouth militant slogans for the benefit of the workers and employees, they look for crumbs from the table of their masters. One may recall here that in its note to the National Commission on Labour, the Kerala U. F. Government, led by the neo-revisionist chieftain Namboodiripad and representing “communists” and “socialists” of all hues, lent its support to automation and recommended that the trade union activities of the leader or leaders participating in any illegal strike should be seriously dealt with and that such leaders should be debarred from continuing trade union activities for three years. And the Industrial Policy Statement of the Kerala U.F. Government contained the clause: “The state will favour recognition to trade unions having constitutions containing adequate provisions for industrial peace.”

So, in conformity with the class policy pursued by the treacherous leadership, the heroic struggle of the 40,000 LIC employees against automation was isolated and confined within the bounds of narrow economism. This leadership refused to start a “Ban automation” movement together with the workers and employees in other industries as had been decided at the Calcutta Convention. In public

the revisionist and neo-revisionist leaders declared that automation could not be accepted at any price; in private they were eager to arrange a deal with the management. So when the issue of continuous strike came up, they raised the question of strike ballot against which they had roared so long. They took the ballot not to organise and strengthen the strike movement but to strengthen their bargaining position during conciliation proceedings on which they were keen. Though the percentage of ballot in favour of strike was 97·03 per cent, the management noted the weakness of the movement and suspended from service the General Secretaries of two big divisions. Then the farce of the Standing Labour Committee on automation exposed the real nature of the anti-automation struggle led by the opportunist scum. The management grew bolder and raised the question of the exclusive recognition of the All India Insurance Employees Association. The treacherous leadership went back on all their previous declarations and agreed to the management's proposal to discuss the consequences of installing computers in Bombay and Calcutta. While negotiating on the Charter of Demands, they climbed down from the demand for the need-based wage to the demand for the wages offered by Oriental Fire and General—a subsidiary concern of LIC. In the name of preparing for the strike in Calcutta, they reduced the movement into one of keeping watch on the office building (Ilaco House) to prevent installation of computers and even held a Hindu religious festival—the *Durga Puja*—here. To utilise the just discontent of the employees against the Congress and the ruling classes they carried on a shameless propaganda in favour of the 'United Front'. Only one month before the strike was due to start, the leadership, bogged in negotiations, declared postponement of all agitational programme for three weeks! The negotiations failed but the preparations for the life and death struggle had been deliberately sabotaged. One week before December 5,

the Labour Department announced its decision to set up a tribunal; the proposed strike was declared illegal. And the treacherous leadership immediately decided to defer it.

Was this surrender accidental? No, it was not. Months ago, on January 22, 1968, these revisionist and neo-revisionist leaders and their allies had arrived at a written understanding. One of the clauses of their secret agreement was: "*We will not launch an illegal strike*". Did these double-dealers want to fight the vicious offensive of the ruling classes by means of a strike permitted by the ruling classes? Only a fool could believe that such a strike would be approved by the ruling classes! No, these revisionist and neo-revisionist trade union leaders, birds of the same feather, are no fools. They are only cunning agents of the ruling classes and are carrying out the behests of the ruling classes from within the trade union movement.

The LIC employees, nay, all workers and employees, should be able to distinguish between friends and enemies if they are to win in their struggles in future. They must ruthlessly expose and isolate the agents of reaction and march forward courageously together with other oppressed classes to battle against the common enemies. The ultimate victory will be theirs.

POLICY OF CLASS COLLABORATION AND TREACHERY SHALL FAIL

One should not grudge the neo-revisionist clique the pleasure of staging a big show, grandiloquently called the Eighth Congress of the CPI (M), at Ernakulam in Kerala during the pleasant Christmas holiday. But the pleasure has already turned into pain; for, which "party" has ever been so much harried and battered during such a short span of time? The simmering revolt broke into an open revolt after Naxalbari. What was a trickle at first became a deluge afterwards. The Marxist-Leninists all over the country purged their ranks of the opportunists, the agents

of the reactionary classes donning the mask of "Marxism." Even then the clique did not feel quite secure. So to ensure their hold over the dwindling ranks, to carry out their *Programme* of class collaboration and treachery and to maintain their anti-Marxist, anti-China ideological stand, they issued an order to the Party ranks banning all discussion of the *Programme* and the ideological document. Before they adopted the *Programme* in 1964, they had cleverly utilized the Dange letters, exploited the just indignation of the ranks against the Dange revisionists, refused to publish any *Forum*, refused to circulate any alternative *Programme* or document, and took every step to muffle every criticism of their Draft *Programme*. Sensing the mood of the ranks they kept them in the dark about their differences with the great Communist Party of China and put off discussions on the ideological issues. In the same "democratic" manner they imposed almost four years after on their ranks their ideological line which, despite its pretensions, serves the needs of imperialism, Soviet revisionism and domestic reaction. Only a few months before this "Party Congress", they rushed their ideological document through a so-called central committee plenum, quite a hand-picked body. They are so afraid of their own followers that they refuse to permit them to discuss at conferences at different levels this document or their *Programme* adopted earlier. A large section of the rank and file, who had genuinely believed in the efficacy of an "inner party struggle" and had waited for the Party Congress to air their differences and improve upon the *Programme* and the ideological document, now saw through the game of the despicable clique. Experience made them sadder and wiser, too. More revolts on a wide scale have taken place and the neo-revisionist clique is in complete disarray. In every place where they managed to survive, even in West Bengal and Kerala, the neo-revisionists present a pathetic picture of rapid disintegration.

The revolt is so intense and wide-spread that the Political resolution ('Central Committee's Draft for Eighth Party Congress'), the only document they had placed before their ranks, had to be withdrawn as it was bitterly attacked at different local and district conferences. This shows the depth of the political bankruptcy of this clique. They can scarcely hide their counter-revolutionary features from their own ranks.

This clique intended to use the so-called Party Congress to stop the rot and consolidate their power and influence over their followers. But, to their utter disappointment, it is going to have just the opposite effect. The truth is, in this period of revolutionary upsurge no counter-revolutionary clique can hoodwink the people with Marxist phrases for a long time. The revolutionary struggles of the people force it to choose sides and expose its ugly features.

Yes, as days pass, they are getting more and more exposed. At the open session of their state conference on Dec. 8, 1968, Jyoti Basu declared: "We propose to set up the People's Democratic State in India by peaceful methods. Our aim is to establish people's economy by shattering the existing economy. We are no believers in the path of violence; we are realists." He also said: "The problem will not be solved only by defeating the Congress in West Bengal, the Centre too must be captured." (See *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Dec. 9, 1968) So these opportunists have already raised the slogan of capturing New Delhi by marching along the peaceful, parliamentary road. That is why, "it is necessary for us to co-operate with our smaller enemies like the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh." (P. Sundarayya addressing a press conference at Bangalore on Nov. 18, 1968) By forging a grand alliance with the Swatantra Party, the party of the *Maharajas*, big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and with the Jana Sangh, the party of the reactionary Hindu communalists, butchers of the

members of the minority communities, the neo-revisionists aspire to form a part of the reactionary state machinery and thus to establish the People's Democratic State ! Without a violent revolution that alone can smash the present state and overthrow the ruling classes, they hope to capture state power and establish 'people's economy' ! That they have abjured the path of violence *not only in practice but in theory also* will be clear if one refers to Basavapunniah's *Reply to Nanda (People's Democracy, January 30, 1966)*.

In that article Basavapunniah explicitly says that they "have introduced this new concept of peaceful transition to socialism in our Party Programme" exactly on the basis of "the new orientation in the Communist movement" i.e., on the basis of the Khrushchevite revisionist theory of peaceful transition to socialism. And these renegades with a long record of treachery to the people behind them accuse us of revising Marxism-Leninism from the Left ! These traitors are out to sabotage the agrarian revolution that is now unfolding, as they did during the years 1946 to 1951.

To cover up their betrayal, these neo-revisionist renegadas are now raving against the great CPC as the Dangeites have been doing. Really speaking, their support to People's Democratic revolution is a sham while their opposition to it is real; their friendship towards the CPC is a sham while their hostility to it is real; and their opposition to the Dangeites is a sham while their unity with them is real. Like all renegades, this bunch of crafty counter-revolutionaries is doomed to fail.

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