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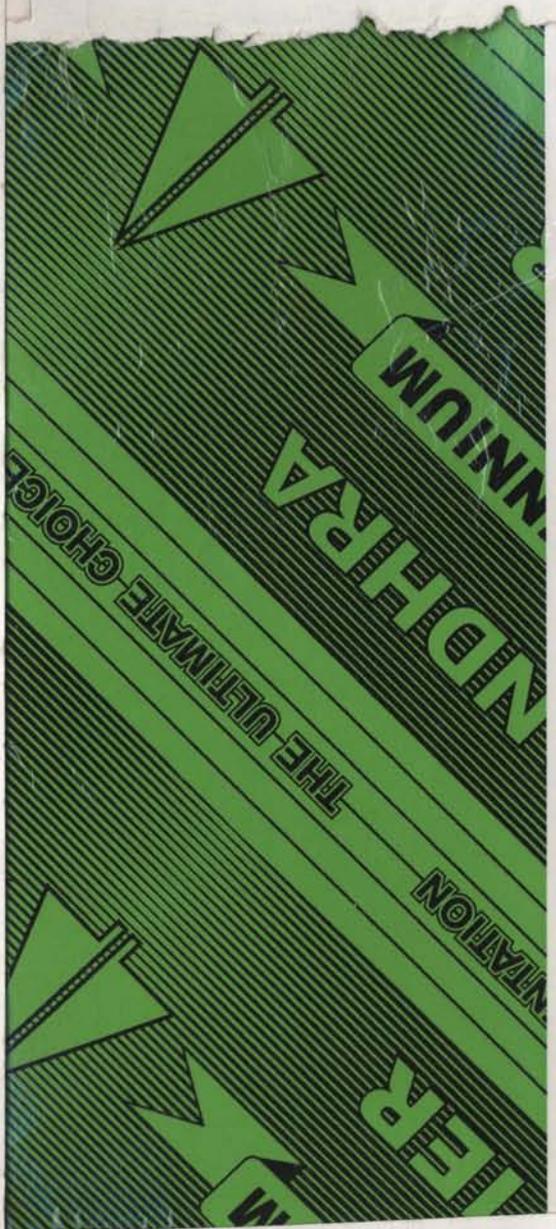
JANUARY 1969

Liberation

BOYCOTT MID-TERM ELECTION !

1968—A YEAR OF REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE
TO THE COMRADES WHO ARE WORKING IN VILLAGES
REVOLT IN KERALA

“BOYCOTT ELECTIONS”—SOME LESSONS
REAL FACE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA
KERALA UNDER REACTIONARY U.F. RULE (2)



THE ULTIMATE CHOICE IN DOCUMENTATION

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LIBERATION

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Editor-in-Chief :

Sushital Ray Chaudhury

An Appeal

Comrades and Friends,

Lok-Yuddh, our Hindi weekly, is now Six months old. It has been doing very useful work and its importance at this can hardly be exaggerated. The demand for this journal is also steadily rising and its circulation has increased by more than 1000 copies during these months. Yet *Lok-Yuddh* has been running at a deficit and this deficit cannot be met without your help. This is how you can help:

1. Donate generously to the *Lok-Yuddh* fund. Please remember that your donations are urgently required if *Lok-Yuddh* is not to suspend publication.
2. Push up the sale of *Lok-Yuddh* by at least another 1000 copies and enrol as many subscribers as possible. *Lok-Yuddh* will be self-sufficient if the circulation goes up by one thousand copies more.
3. Send your comments, criticisms and suggestions for making *Lok-Yuddh* a more effective weapon of struggle.

With revolutionary greetings,

Sushital Ray Chaudhury

On behalf of

All India Co-ordination Committee
of Communist Eevolutionaries.

January 15, 1969

The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past

—Mao Tse-tung

To The Comrades Who Are Working In Villages

—Charu Mazumdar

Translated from the Bengali text as appeared in the weekly 'DESHABRATI', December 26, 1968.

Chairman Mao instructs us to make class analysis. No doubt, our comrades who are going to villages are making class analysis accordingly. But their shortcoming is that they make this class analysis by themselves and do it mentally. As a result, the peasant cadres are not learning how to make class analysis. What is even worse, the revolutionary classes are not becoming conscious of their own responsibility. Therefore, the first task of our comrades at the *baithaks* [small meetings] of peasant cadres should be to make a class analysis of every cadre according to what Chairman Mao teaches in respect of making class analysis of the peasants. Moreover, the comrades must do it after considering the opinions of peasant cadres. Only when this is accomplished our organisers should clearly expound the mass line and explain to the poor and landless.

peasants why they, more than anyone else, need revolution so urgently, and that, for this reason, the poor and landless peasants should take upon themselves more responsibility than others to make this revolution victorious. Division of jobs to ^{be} done only after this.

At the next meeting, the first thing to be done is to make an assessment of the work done, and to try repeatedly to make the poor and landless peasants conscious of their responsibility so that they can undertake increasingly greater responsibility.

Class analysis must be done every two or three months on the basis of work done. This time the analysis must be done on the basis of these three principles: (1) class basis; (2) eagerness to do work; (3) eagerness to fight. Correct analysis of classes can be done only through such check-up. This is because while making class analysis for the first time, peasant cadres are likely to include many middle peasants in the poor peasant category. Such mistakes of the previous analysis can be rectified when analysis is again made on the basis of the above three principles. When peasant organisers start doing their work in this way, the rank and file peasant organisers will learn to make class analysis themselves. Moreover, revolutionary classes will grow conscious of their own responsibility.

Only when we organize our work in this way can all the revolutionary classes be awakened, made conscious and be helped to carry out their revolutionary tasks. This three-point check-up, that is, check-up on the basis of the above three principles, will serve as a preliminary rectification campaign among the peasant masses and so, the struggle against revisionism will take a concrete form. In this way we can also develop peasants as leaders. This means the peasant movement will cease to be dependent on the wishes and desires of the petty bourgeois comrades who come from the intelligentsia. Further, this will help to quicken the process of integration of the comrades who come from the

intelligentsia. On the other hand, those comrades who are unable to integrate themselves with the peasantry will not be able to hinder the struggle.

At the present time we have a great need for petty bourgeois comrades who come from the intelligentsia. But we must remember that not all of them will remain revolutionaries to the end. On the contrary, it is more probable that many of the cadres who come from the intelligentsia will later become non-revolutionaries and even counter-revolutionaries. We must never forget this. Therefore, if these cadres make the class analysis and carry out the work of check-up in the areas they work even for once, such areas will thereafter cease to be dependent on them. So every cadre coming from the intelligentsia should keep notes of the class analysis which he makes with the help of the peasants. They should then send such notes. These notes may then be published in *Liberation*, *Deshabrat*i and our other journals as reports of investigation after careful consideration. These reports will be of great help to the comrades working in other areas.

Now, when struggles are breaking out in various areas, we must lay the greatest emphasis on developing revolutionary cadres. This is the most urgent task at present and we must throw all our might in carrying out this task.

An immense possibility has opened up before us, tremendous victories are coming within the reach of the revolutionary masses of India. Our ranks must cast away all sorts of defeatist ideas and thinking from their mind. That is, as Chairman Mao teaches: "We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking, all views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."

Our slogan today is as Chairman Mao says: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

NOTES

BOYCOTT ELECTIONS AND ADVANCE ALONG THE ROAD OF REVOLUTION

In less than a month from now mid-term elections will be held in four states—West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Barely two years ago, the general elections were held and 'United Front' governments replaced Congress governments in all these states one after another. A wave of hope and enthusiasm swept the country and the revisionists of all hues, who took a prominent part in building these 'united fronts,' hailed this change of government as the dawn of a new era.

But soon there descended darkness even at dawn. Food became still more scarce than before, unemployment still more acute, retrenchment still more widespread and the necessities of life still more costly. All this was bound to happen because the 'United Front' governments are pledged to maintain the old relations of production. Faithful to the Indian Constitution, they are neither able nor willing to solve the basic problem, the problem of land. The experience of the 'United Front' governments has once again demonstrated that without smashing the state machinery of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie and without destroying feudalism in the countryside, no benefit can be rendered to the masses and the talk of 'relief' or reform is pure deception.

When the Dange revisionists are unashamed advocates of the 'parliamentary path' and 'peaceful transition,' the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Namboodiripad clique tries to camouflage its real intentions with the help of some Marxist jargon. "Although a form of class rule of the bourgeoisie", their *Programme* states, "India's present parliamentary system also embodies an advance for the people. It affords

certain opportunities to them to defend their interests, intervene in the affairs of the state to a certain extent, and mobilise them to carry forward the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress." All the imperialists and reactionaries of the world—the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists, the reactionary ruling classes of India and their parties and propaganda organs—have been lauding India as the show-case of parliamentary democracy, a model to be followed by 'developing' countries. The neo-revisionists, a more treacherous lot, are trying to instil in to the minds of our people the same faith in India's *sham* parliamentary democracy—only in a more crafty manner. In this semi-colonial, semi-feudal country even bourgeois democracy is non-existent; here, the 'fundamental rights' are a sham and the unfettered dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie over the exploited masses is very real. The Preventive Detention Act, the Defence of India Rules, the Essential Services Maintenance Act and similar other laws, which negate every bourgeois democratic right of the people, make a mockery of parliamentary democracy and prove how false, hypocritical and pernicious is the theory that "India's parliamentary system also embodies an advance for the people" and "affords certain opportunities to them to defend their interests."

The revisionists and neo-revisionists, purveyors of the ideology of the reactionary ruling classes, have been trying ceaselessly for years to divert the Indian people from the path of revolution to the parliamentary path. In 1951, they stabbed the heroic Telangana struggle in the back and issued a call to the people of India to rout the Congress and establish the people's government through the ballot-box. Even earlier, in 1946, when India was, like the whole of South-east Asia, swept by anti-imperialist struggles, both armed and unarmed, these agents of foreign and domestic reaction opted for elections to the colonial

legislatures! These Trotskyites have ever ignored the peasant question and the role of the peasantry in India's national democratic revolution; they have ever been hostile to the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great CPC which has demonstrated in practice how a successful revolution can be accomplished in a colonial or semi-colonial country.

People of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, arise! Cast off all revisionist illusions about the parliamentary path, which blunt our revolutionary consciousness and disrupt our class struggles, which have proved since the end of the Second World War to be a trap, a snare, even for the revolutionary peoples of the advanced capitalist countries like France and Italy! Take to the road of revolution, the road along which Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the Chinese people to victory, the road lighted up by the revolutionary struggles of the heroic peasantry of Naxalbari and Srikakulam! Only by following this road can the Indian people liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capital and hasten the doom of the world imperialist-capitalist system.

People of India, repudiate parliamentarism, the path of counter-revolution, and advance along the road of class struggle, the road of revolutionary struggle, under the banner of Chairman Mao's thought, to smash the chains that bind you!

✓ THE REVOLT IN KERALA

Great was the joy and enthusiasm of our people when towards the end of November the revolutionaries in Kerala rose arms in hand and attacked police stations and a big landlord's estate and took possession of the wealth he had plundered from the people. When these deeds caused alarm among the reactionary ruling classes, they were

applauded by the revolutionary people of India. The Dange revisionists and the Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Gopalan clique have been forced to drop their masks and to work frantically as a wing of the reactionary state apparatus to torture and suppress the revolutionaries.

In different parts of India, the people are rising in revolt against the present regime of oppression and exploitation. It is not likely that all these revolts will be led by communist revolutionaries or that they will suffer from no weaknesses. It is only natural that mistakes will be committed even in struggles waged under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries. But how should we assess a struggle? In assessing it, we should be guided by two criteria: (1) Which class or classes have taken part in it? (2) Who are the targets against whom it is directed? One may recall here that in 1966 an agitation led by the *sadhus*, rank reactionaries, spontaneously turned into a struggle against the reactionary government and the ruling Congress Party. While reporting on this incident over the Peking Radio, our Chinese comrades declared that this protest demonstration reflected the deep discontent and anger of our people towards the Congress Party and its government which weigh heavily like a dead weight on the back of the Indian people. This statement was used by the neo-revisionist leadership only to malign the great Communist Party of China. Revolutionary communists did not then come forward to unmask the neo-revisionists and analyse and interpret the event from a Marxist angle. We failed to draw the lesson that we should look into the essence of things and should not allow ourselves to be deceived by their mere appearances. That is why many of us have now been unable to understand the happenings in Kerala.

We know from the reports in the bourgeois papers that poor and landless peasants took part in the revolt in Kerala. We also know that this revolt was directed against the reactionary state power. It is, therefore, indisputable that

this revolt is a part of the revolutionary struggle of the Indian people. It is the duty of the revolutionaries to come out in support of this struggle and, at the same time, to point out how the thought of Chairman Mao can be integrated with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution. A detailed analysis of the role of the leadership, instead of helping this task, strengthens the hands of reaction.

It will no doubt be necessary to analyse the role of the leadership, find out whether it was right or wrong, and draw lessons from this analysis. But we shall learn nothing if we fail to respect the uncommon courage and heroism of the poor and landless peasants of Kerala, if we fail to acknowledge the leadership of the revolutionary classes.

No doubt, the revolutionaries of Kerala put politics in command. If the revolt suffered from any weakness, it might be that proper importance was not given to class struggle. If class struggle is neglected, our politics become empty and the will to struggle becomes weak.

Once again we salute the brave peasant revolutionaries of Kerala who are putting up a heroic fight against the big landlords and their state machinery. We are confident that in the course of their struggle they will learn how to apply correctly Chairman Mao's thought in the concrete conditions of India and lead the Indian revolution to victory.

OPPOSE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CIVIL WAR WITH REVOLUTIONARY CIVIL WAR

On Christmas Day, at least forty-two peasants, mostly women and children, were burnt to death in the village of Kilavenmani in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu. The landlords' gangs came to the hamlet in police lorries and

private jeeps and fired on the landless peasants. They set fire to every hut including the one in which three old men, twenty women and nineteen children had taken shelter. The landlords' private army poured petrol on the hut, carefully locked it from the outside and saw to it that the victims would not be able to escape from the fire they kindled. Besides these forty-two whom the fire consumed, several peasants with gun-shot injuries were removed to hospital. The police station at Kivalur is only three and a half miles from the scene of the mass murder. Here, besides the normal contingent, a reserve police contingent had been stationed for the last three months. They chose not to intervene when their patrons' armed gangs were engaged in 'shoot all, burn all, kill all' operations.

There is much talk of the 'Green Revolution' in this country. This 'Green Revolution', which is taking place in some parts of the country like Thanjavur, is supposed to bring wealth and prosperity to the peasantry. Which class actually benefits from the 'Green Revolution'? "Thanks to the perverse Government policy", wrote Charan Gupta in his Calcutta Diary in *Frontier* of Jan. 4, '69, "which passes as the New Agricultural Strategy, the landlords are being supplied with inputs at subsidised rates, are being offered fantastic prices for their crop, and are exonerated from paying any tax worth the name." So, the state machinery serves as the convenient instrument of the landlords to 'triple and quadruple' their earnings in two or three years at the expense of the working people who, ultimately, have to provide the subsidy and pay the fantastic prices. When, on the other hand, landless agricultural workers demand only a very modest rise in wages, they are murdered in cold blood or burnt alive by the landlords' gangs or shot by the same state machinery.

In Thanjavur the landless labourers had demanded 6 litres of paddy, instead of the usual 5½ litres, for every 48 litres harvested. According to one estimate, the

difference in terms of money amounts to 12 paise. For more than three months the landlords and the police have been working together to terrorise the peasants and force them to surrender. A PTI report from Thanjavur, dated Nov. 15, '68, reproduced in the December issue of *Liberation*, stated that the police had fired tear-gas shells twice and made a lathi-charge on 300 farm labourers in Karuvelli village near Nagapattinam. Even earlier, on October 15, G. Ramachandran, an agricultural worker, was stabbed to death near Kivalur. On Nov. 1, agricultural workers were beaten up and some of them stabbed in Puducheri village. At least a dozen of them had to be admitted to hospitals. About the middle of November, Pakiriswamy, an agricultural labourer, was murdered in the village of Sikkil, a few miles from Kivalur. Kunju Pillai, another peasant, was abducted by the landlords and is still untraced. The body of one more agricultural worker was recovered from a road at Thiruvarur a few weeks ago. On Nov. 20 and Dec. 5, the landlords' gangs raided several villages in the district. During all this time the sham Marxists, who claim to lead the peasants of the area, have been busy appealing to the sense of justice of 'popularly elected' DMK ministers and state and district officials—the political and administrative agents of the landlord butchers—for action against these butchers! The mass murder at Kilavenmani which has climaxed this series of raids and murders has once again demonstrated how futile and pernicious is the policy of the revisionists and neo-revisionists who preach dependence on the state machinery for redress of the wrongs suffered by the peasants.

The fire that blazed up at Kilavenmani revealed as in a flash the grim truth—the bitterness, the remorselessness, of the counter-revolutionary civil war which the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie and their state are waging against our people. The innumerable lock-outs

and retrenchments in factories and offices, the daily shootings by the police, the imprisonment of thousands of workers, peasants, employees, students, teachers etc., the frequent murder of poor peasants in different parts of the country, the man-hunt now going on in the Wynad hill-tracts, the savage torture of communist and peasant revolutionaries in Kerala by the reactionary Namboodiripad government, the military-type operations the reactionary governments have launched against the brave peasants of Naxalbari, Srikakulam and other places—all these are part of the counter-revolutionary civil war against the people. They are realising that this counter-revolutionary civil war can be fought only with revolutionary civil war in the way the heroic peasants of Terai and the Eastern Ghats are doing.

Tears are being profusely shed by the revisionists, neo-revisionists and others for the murdered peasants of Thanjavur. In *New Age* on Jan. 5, the Dange revisionists have sought to depict this war against the landless peasantry as a "crime against the *Harijans*"—not as a war between the classes but as a conflict between the higher and lower castes. But even the Dangeites cannot excel the neo-revisionists. The neo-revisionist Polit Bureau member, P. Ramamurthy, M.P., addressing a public meeting at Tiruvarur after the mass murder, "appealed to the landowners to be broadminded and agree to give six litres. He requested the district officials to persuade obstinate landowners to agree to these wages." (See *Patriot*, Jan. 2, '69). As faithful agents of the ruling classes, these revisionists and neo-revisionists are following in the foot-steps of Gandhi. They are seeking to divert attention from the class-war, the very real civil war now going on in the country; they are appealing to the love and charity of the beasts in human shapes, whose teeth and claws are already red with the blood of murdered peasants; and they are praying with folded hands to the organs of the state—whose sole purpose is to oppress the working people and to coerce them into submission—to intervene on behalf of

the landless agricultural workers! We do not know if the peasants of Thanjavur are able to enjoy this cynical joke in the midst of their bitter suffering and grim struggle against the landlords and their state. These revisionists and neo-revisionists, birds of the same feather, are no fools; they are only knaves whose sole mission has ever been to stab the struggles of the people in the back, to act as the fifth column among the working people. Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Wynad and Thanjavur are all exposing their counter-revolutionary features, though in different ways.

But the peasants of Thanjavur have not been cowed by the violence unleashed by the landlords' gangs and the police and are also seeing through the treachery of the revisionists and neo-revisionists. It was reported in the bourgeois press that the harvesting operations had come to a standstill after the mass murder. According to a UNI report, the Superintendent of Police of East Thanjavur district stated that adequate police protection was being given to landowners for harvesting the crops.

There will be enough time for sorrowing afterwards. Now it is time for the toiling people to eliminate the agents of the enemy from their midst, to regroup their forces and deal more powerful blows at the regime that legalises the cruellest exploitation and mass murder of the toilers.

A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

The people of India, like the people of the rest of the world acclaim the hydrogen bomb test successfully conducted by Socialist China on December 27, 1968. It at once exploded the myth that the great proletarian cultural revolution in China had caused a set-back in the spheres of science and technology—a myth spread by the imperialists and the revisionists. The successful thermo-nuclear test, on the other hand, marked a fresh victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a new victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Within an amazingly short time Socialist China has

smashed all the conspiracies of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to deprive her of nuclear weapons and all their plots to maintain their nuclear monopoly and push nuclear colonialism. The great success of China's new hydrogen bomb test is one more shattering blow at the policy of nuclear blackmail which the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have been pursuing for all these years in order to re-divide the world between themselves.

The people of India rejoice over the success of the new hydrogen bomb test because they are fully convinced that the nuclear bomb in the hand of Socialist China is an effective deterrent to world war and a sure guarantee of world peace. By making Socialist China an impregnable fortress, it makes the forces of world revolution immeasurably strong. The development of nuclear power by China marks a victory not only of the great Chinese people but of the revolutionary peoples of the entire world.

Once again the Chinese Government have solemnly declared that the limited nuclear tests they are conducting and the development of nuclear weapons by them are "entirely for the purpose of defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly, with the ultimate aim of abolishing nuclear weapons." They have further repeated that "at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons." The U. S. imperialists, the chief allies of the Soviet revisionists, have always refused to make a similar declaration. The people of India are convinced that every new successful test of nuclear weapons by China brings nearer the day when all such weapons will be abolished.

On the occasion of this splendid victory we send our warmest greetings to the great Chinese comrades who, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are quickly building China into a powerful modern socialist state and thus removing the threat of a nuclear conflagration, that has hung over the world for more than twenty years.

Sparks Are Flying

The year 1968 is over—a year of momentous developments. Since 1967 a radical change has been taking place in the political atmosphere of this country. Marxism-Leninism, thought of Mao Tse-tung, has emerged out of the clouds of right opportunism and is now illumining the path of the Indian revolution. Struggles of the peasants, workers, students and white-collar employees are breaking out everywhere and pounding at the reactionary social system in this country. A genuine United Front of workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie is now building up. Far mightier struggles than those of the past are about to sweep the country. Sparks are flying.

SRIKAKULAM

We present before our readers a report dated December 20, 1968, we received from comrades in Srikakulam :

The Government of Andhra Pradesh let loose repression on the Girijans of Srikakulam in the month of February, '68, which has been continuing since then. The Special Armed Police with the aid and assistance of the big landlords and money-lenders have been committing many crimes against the poor Girijan masses, with the aim of suppressing their revolutionary activity and protecting the loot and plunder of the exploiters. The landlords, their State government and the bourgeois press claimed that the "Naxalbari" movement in Srikakulam had been suppressed and the Communist revolutionaries working in that area had been isolated. Of late, the State Governor in his address to the State Assembly noted with satisfaction that his government had restored law and order in the Agency areas of Srikakulam. But hardly a day had passed after his

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"BOYCOTT ELECTIONS!" Some Lessons of Recent History

—Satya Ghosh

FRANCE provides a striking example demonstrating how a revolutionary mass movement can be disrupted once the people are deceitfully persuaded to give up armed struggle and walk into the blind alley of parliamentary elections. I am not referring to the revolutionary upsurge which took place in that country in May this year and the subsequent fraudulent bourgeois elections there. What I refer to is the sequence of events which happened there 23 years ago, and to which the Chinese comrades have pointedly drawn the attention of all Marxist-Leninists. We, the Communist revolutionaries of India, must today study the events that took place in France and in Italy, in order that we may successfully fight the deceitful tactics of our own revisionists and neo-revisionists, who, while fraudulently mouthing revolutionary phrases, shamelessly participate in bourgeois elections and even compete with the ruling Congress Party and the other reactionary political parties in singing the praise of the so-called parliamentary democracy in India, devised and imposed by the British imperialists to preserve and protect the imperialist-feudal interests in this country.

During the period of the anti-fascist war, the French Communist Party organized people's armed forces five lakh [half a million] strong which at one time liberated Paris.

Translated from the Bengali text (slightly revised) from the weekly DESHABRATI, October 31, 1968. Much of the material of this article is taken from Jacques Juarquet's "Revisionism in France," reprinted in WORLD REVOLUTION, Vol I, No. 3 from L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE, and Jen Li-Hsin's "A Reactionary Capitulationist Programme," that appeared in PEKING REVIEW, November 17, 1967.

But to Thorez, the then general secretary of the French Communist Party (CPF), the people's armed forces were a dreadful monster. In November 1944, this coward, who had hidden himself abroad for a long time, returned to France and handed over the people's armed forces as a gift to the class enemies of the people in exchange for an official post, the vice-preiership. For the sake of securing ministerial *guddi* through bourgeois elections, he forced the people's armed forces which had shown exemplary valour, spirit of sacrifice and had a record of heroic exploits, to disband and hand over their arms to the class enemies. In November 1945, the de Gaulle government sponsored the election of the first National Assembly. The French Communist Party, which had at that time an armed force at its disposal, chose to surrender its arms rather than to boycott the election, and took part in it. At one time it formed the "Left majority" in the Assembly. But the French bourgeoisie easily revised the electoral law. As a result, in the election of 1951 there was a sharp reduction in the number of CPF seats to 103, that is, there was a loss of 79 seats. In the 1956 election, the CPF gained 150 seats. But before the parliamentary election in 1958, the French monopoly capitalists again revised the electoral law with the result that the number of seats held by the CPF fell very drastically to a mere 10, that is, it lost 140 seats. As an awakened French Communist Party member remarked, the French bourgeoisie treated the Communist Party like a lemon, to be squeezed dry and then thrown away.

For a period during which Maurice Thorez was in hiding, Jacques Duclos acted as the leader of the CPF. After Paris was liberated and the city was under the control of the armed forces led by the CPF, Duclos, who had just come out of hiding, said in a speech on November 15, 1944:

"When some men advocate the disarmament and liquidation of the Republican Civil Guard while the fifth

column is strongly armed, they show that they prefer disorder to the arming of the people."

Thus the Party leadership declared that the Republican Civil Guard, the people's armed forces led by the Party, was not to be disbanded. The class enemies were, of course, eager to break the power of those heroic combatants of the resistance struggle and have popular forces, assembled during the Resistance at the call of the CPF and the National Front, disbanded. The CPF was fully correct in opposing this attempt of the class enemies, and in refusing to let victory slip into the hands of the enemies of the people.

But before long the CPF began to speak in a different voice. Two months after Duclos' speech, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party meeting at Ivey, January 21-23, 1945 heard a speech of Maurice Thorez, who had just returned to France with the special authorization of de Gaulle. Speaking of the same Republican Civil Guards, patriotic ex-militimen, the Secretary General of the Party declared:

"These armed groups had their reason for being before and during the insurrection against the Hitlerian occupation and its Vichyite accomplices. But now the situation is different. Public security should be assured by the regular police forces constituted for this purpose. The Civil Guard and all irregular armed groups should, in general, no longer be maintained."

Thus, the Party leadership ordered the soldiers of the Resistance, who were led by Communists, to turn in their arms!

But this treachery was only a beginning for Thorez, who had the approval and following of the whole leadership of the French Communist Party in this. This traitor then pushed through along the road of treachery and subsequently managed to become the vice-president of the Council in the first government of de Gaulle. Since then

what a frantic campaign he launched throughout all of France under the motto: "Renaissance, democracy, unity!"

And what could this so-called "renaissance" of France mean under the conditions prevailing then? The France state machine remained, and remains even to this day, in the service of the bourgeoisie, and the organs of repression—the army, police, prisons—were, and are still, exclusively in the service of the dominant class, that is, the bourgeoisie. Under these conditions the "renaissance" of France could only mean the strengthening of capitalism and not of the proletarian revolution. However, the CPF completely ignored all these facts and went on to give a call for a "battle of production" and bitterly fought all militant demands coming from the workers.

At the same time, elections and referendums were taking place. And what did the Party leaders, several of whom had already managed to become ministers, do? They dreamed only of getting votes and seats in parliament and of climbing on to the ministerial *guddi*. The Party leaders eagerly bartered away the vital interests of the working class in order to curry favour with and to reassure bourgeoisie. Thus, Maurice Thorez launched his notorious revisionist theory of the "peaceful road" from capitalism to socialism. In an interview published in the British conservative newspaper, *The Times*, on October 18, 1946, he declared:

"The progress of democracy throughout the world, despite rare exceptions which prove the rule, makes it possible to imagine other routes for the advent of socialism than taken by the Russian Communists. Anyway, the road must differ for each country. We have always thought and stated that the people of France, rich in glorious tradition, will themselves find their way toward more democracy, progress and social justice..."

Further on he insists on the infamous "unity":

"The union of worker and republican forces is the sure foundation of democracy. The French Workers Party

which we propose to build by the fusion of Communists and socialists will be the guide of our new, popular democracy."

This declaration by Thorez was nothing but a subtle repudiation of the teachings of Lenin and of the revolutionary road of the October Revolution. To misinterpret the thought of Lenin with such deliberateness, as Thorez did, is an expression of base opportunism. With this he came to terms with the class enemies and the Social Democrats, who held firm to their own 'principle', the principle of loyally managing the interests of the bourgeoisie. As is known, the French bourgeoisie found itself in a difficult position owing to the military defeat it suffered in 1940 at the hands of Hitler's army and also because of its treason to the country. The emergence of a popular armed force led by the French communists in liberated France threw them into a panic. They were almost dead with fear of an impending revolution. Thorez with this policy of his came to the rescue of the French bourgeoisie and allowed them to wriggle out of an impossible situation. Thorez's policy was based not on Lenin's teachings but on a non-proletarian ideology.

The CPF at that time had tremendous prestige among the working class and the people because it had organized and led armed resistance against the invading Hitlerite aggressors. It alone was capable of appealing to the workers. Thorez treacherously put this great prestige of the CPF in the service of the bourgeoisie and allowed them to rehabilitate themselves not only in the economic, financial, industrial and agricultural fields, but in the political field as well. The Social Democrats were unmasked in the course of the war and the Resistance movement. But thanks to the treacherous policy of Thorez, they managed to sew up their tattered garments and got down once more to their dirty political business. The Church played a similar role.

In this way the entire fashionable, reactionary group

succeeded in weaning away the communist leaders of France from the path of class struggle, trapped them in the electoral game and even allowed them to occupy some ministerial posts. Then the French bourgeoisie, with the help of U. S. imperialism, unceremoniously dismissed the communists, who had served them so well until then from the ministerial posts, like a lemon squeezed dry. Obviously, the bourgeoisie had correctly calculated that the communist leaders were so deeply committed to the "peaceful road" that, dismissed from the ministerial posts, they would invariably engage themselves again in the electoral struggle rather than resort to armed struggle. Moreover, the working class and the mass would quickly become disillusioned about their role they continued for long to remain in the reactionary cabinet. On the other hand, their prestige among the masses would go up as soon as they were thrown out of the cabinet, which could then be used once more to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie even better.

The CPF did not make any concrete analysis of the positions of various social classes in France in 1944, nor did it analyse the problems. It viewed all the problems from the viewpoint of class collaboration and never from the viewpoint of class struggle. By collaborating with the parties and representatives of the bourgeoisie the CPF concretely and actively supported the restoration of the reactionary state where every organ remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie serving its interests. And by engaging in the electoral struggle and making the development of the militant mass struggles conditional upon the presence or non-presence of communist ministers in the bourgeois government, the CPF not only helped to strengthen that reactionary state machine but condemned itself to a position where it had to choose one of the two alternatives: either it was to submit to the reactionary "system", and thus degenerate into a peaceful party

engaged in electoral struggles only, or get crushed by those very reactionary forces which it itself had helped to regain power. Before long CPF began to reap the harvest on the poisonous seeds it had sown earlier. Once the bourgeoisie grabbed back power, thanks to the help rendered by the CPF, it did not hesitate to wreak its class vengeance on the working people. The French miners, in particular, suffered most from it. The CPF had persuaded the workers to turn in their arms with a view to restoring 'order'. Now, the bourgeoisie employed its armed force to preserve that 'order' and the miners had to pay the price of the Party leaders' sins with their own lives. Struggling with empty hands against well-armed forces of 'order', several miners were killed.

Thus the Party of 75,000 strong armed force, instead of advancing towards socialism, slid down into the mire of electoralism, parliamentarism and ministerialism, thanks to the opportunism of the Party leaders. The leaders persisted in their nefarious anti-Leninist practice and even accentuated it with the result that the Party sank deeper and deeper into the mire of opportunism with every subsequent parliamentary election, destroying the revolutionary proletarian fighting potential of the CPF quickly with every passing year. We know today to what depth the CPF has sunk. One has only to recall the despicable role played by the CPF during the revolutionary mass upheaval in France in May this year, to realise the degree of its degeneration. The CPF today has become a full-fledged bourgeois party, and is no different from other bourgeois parties. Like the other bourgeois parties it also participates in the scramble for ministerial posts. In order to help one section of the bourgeois parties against another, the CPF gladly put itself out of the elections of December 1965. There is no limit to its shameful capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

When Thorez began his treacherous drive to push

the CPF into the bottomless pit of degeneration, many comrades in the Party grew alarmed and challenged him. But Thorez, who had great manoeuvring skill, quickly got rid of all those who dared to challenge his "discipline", defamed them and forced them out of the Party. It may be recalled in this connection that almost all militants dating from the Resistance, all those who engaged in armed struggle against the Nazi occupation and the French traitors of the Vichy government, were successively removed from political functions and important posts in the Party. Two top leaders, Andre Marty and Charles Tillon, were expelled from the Party. Is it correct that they opposed the decision to dissolve the militia and turn in arms? What is certain is that Marty always advocated forms of the class struggle of a proletarian nature and Tillon played a primary role in the military combat of the Resistance. On May 28, 1952, there was a formidable anti-U.S. demonstration against the war criminal Ridgway on his trip to Paris. For this, Thorez punished Marty and Tillon, using police methods and slanderous lies in complete violation of the principle of democratic centralism.

Thousands upon thousands of really revolutionary and proletarian cadres of France lay down their lives in the difficult armed Resistance against the invading Nazi army. Many of those exemplary militants who survived were trampled upon by modern revisionism before it could establish itself in France.

A similar thing happened in Italy also. Like Thorez in France, Italy had its Togliatti. What Thorez did in France, Togliatti did in Italy. The people's armed struggle in Italy had developed vigorously. By the end of World War II, there was an armed force of 256,000 guerrillas and insurgent workers. They liberated Milan, Venice and more than 200 other large and small cities, captured the fascist chieftain Mussolini and executed him. But Palmiro

Togliatti, the then general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, who had just returned to Italy after 18 years abroad, advanced a capitulationist line. Togliatti's line advocated bringing in socialism "not by resorting to force and insurrections" but by reforming the social structure. He forced the guerrilla detachments in north Italy to accept the united command of the reactionary Badoglio government and the "allied armies". Moreover, he disarmed the guerrillas and the patriotic police. In this way, he bartered away the fundamental interests of the proletariat and surrendered to class enemies the fruits of victory gained by the Italian people in the course of their anti-fascist armed struggle, in exchange for the portfolio of minister and vice-premier in the reactionary Italian government. Togliatti's treacherous line totally destroyed the revolutionary proletarian potential of the Italian Communist Party, which had a great tradition, and turned it into a full-fledged bourgeois electoral party.

The same things happened not only in France and Italy but in a number of other European and Asian countries also. Take for instance the events that happened in China after the Second World War.

Like Thorez in France and Togliatti in Italy, China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, betrayed the cause of the Chinese revolution. After the War of Resistance Against Japan ended in 1945, this traitor advanced the theory that "armed struggle in general has come to a stop," and that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has now become peaceful and parliamentary; this is a legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle" and "all political issues should be solved peacefully." He suggested that the Chinese Communist Party which had at that time a battle-seasoned 10 lakh-strong [one million] army and 20 lakh-strong [two million] militia force under its leadership, give up its leadership over the People's Liberation Army and allow it to be "reorganized" into Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary Kuomintang army. He tried to force the Party to hand over its army and leadership of the People's Liberation Army to the Chiang clique and run for the posts of "officials" in Chiang's

"Central government." But unlike in France and Italy, this treachery of China's Khrushchov could be totally defeated in China because of the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao.

Lastly, let us turn to India. After the Second World War a tremendous revolutionary upsurge of workers, peasants, students, soldiers and other toiling masses, violent and armed, started in India threatening to sweep away the British imperialists. A most significant feature of it was the armed peasant struggle against feudalism in various places of India, of which the peasant struggle in Telangana was the biggest, longest and the most developed. India's Khrushchovs—Ranadive, Sundarayya, Dange and others, in collusion with the Nehru government stabbed the glorious Telangana struggle in the back and forced the heroic peasant revolutionaries and revolutionary communists to turn in their arms to Nehru's army and police and finally handed over thousands of these revolutionaries to Nehru's butchers to undergo inhuman torture and death. These Indian Khrushchovs bartered away the fundamental interests of the Indian proletariat and the cause of the Indian revolution in exchange for some seats in the reactionary parliament of the Nehru clique. They forced the Indian Communist Party into the blind alley of parliamentary and electoral struggle and ran for ministerial *guddis*. The struggle between the two lines: the revolutionary proletarian line and the capitulationist line of "peaceful parliamentary struggle" advocated by India's Khrushchovs began since then in the Indian communist movement.

So, we see that the slogan "boycott elections" advanced by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries is correct not only for West Bengal or India. Indeed, this is a slogan of all the people of the world who are oppressed by imperialism. This slogan is not merely a tactical slogan valid only for a given period. On the contrary, this is a strategic slogan valid for an entire era which began after the Second World War and the victory of the great Chinese revolution.

As the Chinese comrades have pointed out, during World War II, at the same time as it achieved tremendous

growth, the international communist movement produced its own opposite—an adverse current of counter-revolutionary revisionism. The main characteristic of this adverse current was the rejection of violent revolution and the advocacy of the parliamentary road. The twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union developed this adverse current into a fully developed, openly counter-revolutionary theory. As we know, it was Chairman Mao alone who stood up firmly in opposition to this counter-revolutionary revisionist adverse current at that time and has since been leading the great Communist Party of China and the international communist movement in the great world wide-struggle against it, winning thunderous victories.

The call given out by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries to boycott elections has to be viewed in the context of this struggle of the international communist movement and in the light of the thought of Chairman Mao. This call, this slogan, flows directly out of Chairman Mao's thought. We must remember that this slogan is neither a temporary nor a local slogan. If any revolutionary judges the question of participation in or boycotting the bourgeois parliament in the old way and concludes that this slogan is valid only for today and only for those four States in India where mid-term elections are going to be held soon, he is sure to commit mistakes. In India, today, armed struggle is not a matter of distant perspective but a living concrete reality of the present. In fact this has been so since 1946. Today, in 1968, after Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Muzaffarpur, Lakhimpur etc. and the armed peasant struggles that are bursting forth every day in all parts of the country, there is no ground whatsoever to make this question a debating issue. The Indian revolution has started its victorious march forward smashing all the obstacles put up by the reactionaries and revisionists. No power on earth is capable of stopping it from developing and winning final victory.

Phrases And Facts : About Kerala

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—Partha Choudhuri

Tools of Foreign and Domestic Reaction

We have already seen how the "Marxist"-led U. F. Government of Kerala robs the working people to fatten the landlords and other blood-suckers and how it tries ruthlessly to suppress the workers and workers' movements in the interests of foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie. The anti-working class policy of the "Marxists", "Communists" and "Socialists" is only part of a larger policy—the policy of inviting India's big bourgeoisie and foreign monopolists to exploit Kerala's human and natural resources and thus one of strengthening India's neo-colonial fetters. They are playing the same game as the Congress Party—the game of the Indian reactionaries and their masters, U.S. imperialists and Soviet neo-colonialists.

To begin with, let us quote Namboodiripad himself on the Kerala U.F. Government's industrial policy :

"First, the coalition partners are united in their desire to get the process of industrialization accelerated. They are unanimous that the State should take a positive stand with regard to giving encouragement and assistance to those who are desirous of starting new industries....

"Secondly, after the statement of the industrial policy was adopted and published, it was subjected to scrutiny by different sections of public opinion both in Kerala and outside. Industrialists were unanimous in acclaiming it. On the other hand, the trade union movement was highly critical of some passages in the statement which may well go contrary to the right of the working class for collective bargaining and their freedom of organization and struggle. Communists and Socialists felt that the incentives offered

without any discrimination to all capitalists might end up in helping the rapidly growing monopoly capitalists (Indian and foreign) to allow them to strengthen themselves not only against the working people but also against the small and medium industrialists." ("E.M.S. Answers the 'Washington Post,'" *People's Democracy*, Jan. 14, '68—Our emphasis)

Namboodiripad claims that there is basic conflict of approach between the constituent parties of the U.F. on the question of collaboration between Indian and foreign monopolies. But he adds that "regardless of the particular method of industrialization (on which we may have our reservations), we unanimously demand that our State should get a legitimate share of India's industrial development; the same thing applies to the big or monopolist Indian capital. Whatever our own views may be on the desirability of allowing these monopolists to grow and strengthen themselves, we would demand that a share of the industries that are to be set up in the country should be located in Kerala." (Ibid—Emphasis ours) So, the "Marxist" Chief Minister is not opposed to any "particular method of industrialization"; his Kerala must have "a legitimate share of India's industrial development" even though it means the increased penetration of foreign monopoly capital and the strengthening of the Indian big bourgeoisie, even though it means further impoverishment of the working people and the ruin of small and medium industrialists !

Namboodiripad added : "It [the State Government] can certainly take the initiative in creating the proper climate for entrepreneurs either within Kerala or outside to embark on new industrial projects. We can give various incentives for those who are willing to expand existing or establish new industries." (Ibid)

This "Marxist" is quite aware that industrialization under the auspices of foreign monopolists or India's big bourgeoisie means further enrichment of these sharks and more fierce exploitation of the working people and greater

ruin of the national bourgeoisie and their small and medium industries. This "Marxist" is also perhaps aware that this "method of industrialization" takes away more jobs than it creates.

In a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country like India this "method of industrialization" leads to intenser exploitation and oppression by the foreign monopolists and the native comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. This is also the actual experience of the Indian people. The class or classes that hold state power plus the imperialist bourgeoisie, whose agents and props they are, thrive at the cost of the sweat and blood of the workers and the peasantry. The all-important question is: which class or classes hold state power? The emergence of the "Marxist"-led ministry in Kerala has in no way changed the character of the Indian state which is the organ of the class rule of the feudal class and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie, an organ for the suppression of the workers and peasants in the interests of these exploiting classes. It is the ruling classes that have set down in the Indian Constitution that the rights of property of even the foreign monopolists are sacred and inviolable.

The neo-revisionist clique's own *Programme* states: "Experience of the three plans demonstrates beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly when it has entered a new acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to seek to develop along the capitalist path.....It gives rise to ever-growing contradictions and is beset with imbalance and crisis. While it imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people, it gives them no hope of a better future and brings them into inevitable conflict with the capitalist path of development." (Para 33) So, the "Marxist" Party's *Programme* itself admits that this "method of industrialization," which they call "the capitalist path of development" and which the "Marxist"-led Kerala

Government is following both in words and in deeds, is not only futile but also "imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people." In reality, the path followed by the ruling classes of India is not the path of independent capitalist development but one of preventing the long-delayed agrarian revolution, protecting and preserving the feudal elements, developing comprador-bureaucrat capital and thus strengthening the neo-colonialist strangle-hold of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists over India. Namboodiripad's "Marxist" Party has obviously become a party of the ruling classes: it is following the same path—the path of treachery to the interests of the Indian people—and feverishly implementing the policies of the ruling classes.

So, a grateful Birla, who is setting up the world's largest pulp factory in Kerala, in which he has invested Rs. 20 crore, said: "I am very happy in Kerala. I do not mind the communists running the Government there..... Frankly speaking, I have got no problem in Kerala." Birla expected Jyoti Basu to create in West Bengal conditions similar to those in Kerala to induce him to invest more in West Bengal. (*Statesman*, Oct. 24, '67)

According to a PTI report from Calicut, reproduced in *New Age* of Dec. 4, 1966, G. D. Birla said that the credit for bringing him to Kerala should rightly go to E. M. S. Namboodiripad. "Mr Namboodiripad [as the "Communist" Chief Minister of Kerala during 1957-59] gave me good terms which even a Congress Government would not have given," added Birla.

While declaring a war of words against India's big bourgeoisie, Namboodiripad and his men are literally groveling at their feet. *Economic Times* reported: "Birlas have been approached by the Kerala Government to take over its cotton mills. This was disclosed by Mr G. D. Birla at the annual meeting of the Hindusthan Aluminium Corporation Ltd., held here today [in Bombay on June 29, 1968]."

According to a UNI report from Bombay, dated Dec. 18, "Mr. G. D. Birla yesterday paid compliments to the Communists and Kerala Government headed by the CPI(M) leader, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, and said they respected the private sector. What is more, the Kerala Government has approached Mr Birla to take over the management of a State-owned cotton mill in pursuance of its policy 'to hand over public sector industrial units to private individuals' for running it efficiently. Mr Birla told the half-year meeting of the Bombay Industries Association here that whatever the Communists did in Kerala, they did not disturb industries providing employment to the people. *'They respect the private sector and industrial peace', he added.*" (*Statesman*, Dec. 19, 1968)

To save its face the Namboodiripad Government made a clumsy effort to deny the above statement of G. D. Birla. In a press note issued on Dec. 19, they described the statement that Birla had been requested by the Kerala Government to take over a "sick" textile mill as "absolutely contrary to facts." But the very next day Kerala's Industries Minister, T. V. Thomas, confirmed Birla's statement and declared at a Press Conference that the State Government had invited Mr G. D. Birla to take over the mill. (*Statesman*, Dec. 22, '68) How ridiculous, vain and dishonest are the efforts of the neo-revisionists to hide their counter-revolutionary features from the people and from their own ranks!

It may not be irrelevant here to mention that India's Minister for Industries, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, told Lok Sabha on Dec. 18, '68, that the assets of the Birla group of companies went up by 49 per cent—from Rs 292.7 crores to Rs 437.5 crores—between 1963-64 and 1966-67, that is, in the course of only three years. These, of course, are the *known* assets. These figures give some idea of the fierce intensity with which the Indian people, especially the Birlas' workers, are being exploited.

The revisionists and neo-revisionists are indeed vying with the Congress leaders in rendering every service to the Birlas, the Walchands and others in order to fatten them at the cost of the blood and tears of the people, whatever their *public posture* may be. In the name of maintaining industrial peace, they are ruthlessly suppressing the workers' struggles for better pay and security of service by placing the police at the disposal of these most savage tycoons. What is rather amusing is that these revisionists and neo-revisionists, who equate socialism with the existence of the 'public sector' and wax eloquent on its virtues in their speeches and writings, respect the private sector in actual practice and take the initiative in handing over a public sector undertaking to the private sector—to the Birlas!

These lackeys of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords are also minions of the foreign capitalists and Soviet neo-colonialists. On March 20, 1968, Kerala's Industries Minister, T. V. Thomas, informed the Kerala Assembly that there was no proposal to nationalise foreign-owned industries in the State. Answering a question he said there were 45 industries in the State owned by foreigners employing more than a lakh of workers. Mr Thomas said the Government had received complaints from some plantations that the workers were asked to work more without being given compensating pay. (see *Indian Express*, March 21, '68) These revisionist and neo-revisionist renegades aid and abet every crime of the foreign and native oppressors and exploiters but they pounce upon the workers whenever the latter put up any resistance!

When Kerala's Industries Minister, Dangeite T. V. Thomas, returned from Japan after signing a number of very important agreements with the biggest Japanese monopolists for exploiting Kerala's natural resources and people, the neo-revisionists screamed out in sanctimonious hypocrisy. In an article entitled "T. V. Thomas Invites

Japanese Monopolies," B. T. Ranadive wrote: "Mr Thomas wishes to appear as the saviour of the people, but in reality he is just selling the people of Kerala bound hand and foot to some of the biggest, most ruthless and avaricious monopolists in the world.....Thus revisionist Thomas by inviting Japanese monopolist capital, by offering it concessions, is only playing the game of the Indian reactionaries and helping American monopoly capital to secure a tight grip over India. He has taken steps which facilitate the Congress game of forging an economic alliance with Japanese monopolists, an alliance for which the Americans are working—an alliance whose political objective will soon be seen as containment of China." Every word of this criticism is, no doubt, true. Ranadive also probes the root, the source, from which this treacherous policy arises. Full of indignation, he says: "It is useless, of course, to blame the revisionists for betraying their pledges and declared statements. *For revisionism will not be revisionism if it did not pretend to be revolutionary and betrayed every undertaking it gave.....* This is where repudiation of proletarian outlook, adoption of the bourgeois class-outlook leads. In the name of industrial development foreign monopoly capital is invited, people are offered for the loot of foreign exploitation—exactly in the same way as the Congress does. In the name of industrial development new chains are being created for the people who are being misled to believe that they will be able to develop Kerala's resources with the help of foreign monopolies.....The example of Thomas shows how the Congress outlook—how the outlook of the big bourgeoisie—has corroded revisionist thinking and how even on the question of fighting penetration of foreign capital they are succumbing to the pressure of the bourgeoisie. This is on par with their alliance with the Jana Sangh and their opportunist coalition agreements. [One is reminded in this connection of the neo-revisionist clique's own coalition agreements with Muslim League, D. M.K., P.S.P.

etc. and may recall Sundarayya's words: "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"—see *Statesman*, Nov. 20, '68] The logic of revisionism must lead to a compromise with communalism and to actively help to promote foreign monopoly penetration in Indian economy." (*People's Democracy*, Nov. 12, '67) The case against revisionism has been ably stated.

But the question is : Do the neo-revisionists really differ from the revisionists on the question of foreign collaboration ? Or, are they trying to make a scapegoat of Thomas and the other Dangeites, their partners in the U. F. ?

The following facts may be worth noting. First, according to *Statesman's* special representative in South India, Mr Thomas was invited by a Japanese firm and *his visit was formally approved by the Kerala Cabinet*. Second, the aggrieved Thomas pointed out that "what inspired him to go to Japan was a speech delivered by Mr Namboodiripad sometime back while inaugurating a factory at Ankamaly in the State, which was a joint venture of indigenous and Japanese entrepreneurs. Then Mr Namboodiripad had extolled it as 'a precious gift' to Kerala and expected many more of that kind would follow." (*Statesman*, Nov. 5, '67) Third, C. Achuta Menon, Secretary of the Kerala unit of the Dangeites, said "that giant enterprises like steel plants in Bhilai, Durgapur, Rourkella and Bokaro, a second shipyard, an oil refinery at Cochin, hydro-electric projects of Sabarigiri and Iddiki and Toshiba Anand Lamp Factory in the State among many others were set up with foreign economic and technical aid. If foreign collaboration was something that should be avoided, why did the CPI (M), he asked, endeavour for the materialization of those undertakings ?" (*Statesman*, Nov. 9, '67) A very inconvenient question, isn't it ? Fourth, "asked whether the Marxists' opposition to Japanese collaborations did not conflict with

their demand for setting up a shipyard at Cochin with Japanese assistance, Mr Namboodiripad contended that *his party was only against Japanese collaborations with private sector and not with the public sector ventures.*" Fifth, "answering criticism [in the Kerala Assembly] that the Marxists were deliberately undermining the industrialisation of the State by taking a stand against Japanese collaboration, the Chief Minister said that *his party had not said any final word against collaboration with Japan. But as a matter of principle, his Government and his party would prefer aid from socialist countries for industrialising Kerala.*" (Mark the word *prefer*)

Does not the above, read in the context of "E.M.S. Answers the 'Washington Post'", make it abundantly clear that the "Marxists" are a two-faced lot—with one face turned towards their ranks and the other towards their masters, the foreign monopolists and Indian comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, whose interests they are always serving very faithfully—in practice, if not in words. They pretend in public to fight the very policy they are pursuing. To quote once again the words of Ranadive himself, "revisionism will not be revisionism if it did not pretend to be revolutionary and betrayed every undertaking it gave." This bunch of revisionists headed by Sundarayya, Namboodiripad and Ranadive knows well what it is doing!

One may ask 'Comrade' Ranadive: When you rightly accuse Thomas and the other Dangeite renegades of "adopting a bourgeois class-outlook" and "playing the game of the Indian reactionaries and helping American monopoly capital to secure a tight grip over India", why do you unite with them in "United Fronts" throughout India, and divide the spoils of office wherever possible, instead of fighting and isolating these unashamed agents of imperialism and domestic reaction? And, when in office, why do you adopt and implement the same policies—the policies directed against the working class and the peasantry for the benefit

of the ruling classes? How can you, true 'Marxists', work together with the Dangeites, whom you dub as agents of the reactionary ruling classes, in mass organisations like the A.I.T.U.C.? Has Dimitrov, whom you quote profusely, taught you that a United Front should be built up by the party of the working class uniting with the agents of U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries in order to serve imperialism and its henchmen? One can perceive the very real and close unity in action between you and these and other counter-revolutionaries and this 'unity in action' is growing!

What is the nature of the "aid" from the Soviet Union, which these sham Marxists *prefer* to "aid" from imperialist countries? We have already unmasked the nature of Soviet "aid" in this journal (see *Liberation* November 1967 and August 1968). In brief, the Soviet revisionist renegades, who have set up a bourgeois dictatorship in their own country and rebuilt the Soviet economy on the profit motive, have been dumping their goods, often of very poor quality, in India at exorbitant prices, exporting along with these goods dubious experts on extravagant terms and buying the produce of our industries at prices subsidised by the India Government. All this they are doing in the name of helping to build India's heavy industries! Both the revisionist cliques—the Dangeites as well as Sundarayya, Namboodiripad, Ranadive and Co. are unashamed pedlars of Soviet 'aid', which the Soviet social-imperialists are using as an instrument of exploiting the Indian people and India's natural resources.

There are some friends who hold that Namboodiripad and his U. F. Government represent Kerala's national bourgeoisie, that they are fighting the foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie represented by the Congress Party and defending the interests of the national bourgeoisie

of Kerala. Unfortunately, the actual facts do not justify this conclusion. The policies that this neo-revisionist clique is implementing are the same as those of the Congress Party despite the war of words between them. Their policy of extending a warm welcome to foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie is causing the ruin of the small and medium industries and of the national bourgeoisie who own them. It is the Birlas, the Walchands, the Canadian, Japanese and other foreign monopolists who are, and will be, flourishing at the cost of Kerala's national bourgeoisie. As we have said before, the neo-revisionists, like the Dangeites and others, have become a party of the ruling classes.

To soothe the conscience of their ranks, the P. B. and the C. C. of the neo-revisionists felt obliged to criticise the 'anti-labour and pro-monopoly implications' (to use the words of Namboodiripad himself) of the Industrial Policy Statement. Let us quote Ranadive :

"It is known that the Industrial Policy Statement drawn by the same Minister [T. V. Thomas] and adopted by the Ministry really helps the capitalists and prejudices the cause of the workers. It was unfortunate that our comrades also accepted the Statement at the time. ... That Statement promises all kinds of concessions to the capitalists while it imposes on the trade unions the obligations to write an anti-strike clause in their constitution (adequate provision for industrial peace as if the workers are the breakers of peace) if they wish to secure recognition from the employers.

"The Statement does not guarantee the basic rights of workers even formally. All that is promised is that labour will be protected from 'unfair practices', a penal clause will be added to the Minimum Wages Act, to enforce the Act effectively. The Government will only 'uphold the legitimate rights of labour'. Dearness Allowance, Bonus, Wages—these vital issues are deliberately omitted from the

Statement so that the capitalists are lured to Kerala with the temptation of making high profits. No wonder Mr. Birla recently said, 'I am very happy in Kerala...'

"After all this the workers are told, 'The State will favour recognition to trade unions having constitutions containing adequate provisions for industrial peace.' This is the language and demand of a hardened capitalist and employer—the language of the Congress rulers and the former British rulers and not of the representatives of workers...

"It is on the basis of these assurances that the foreign capitalists are being invited. It is not surprising that Mr Thomas said that he had been able to create interest and enthusiasm among the leading industrialists of Japan to help the industrialists of Kerala; that there was no anxiety in the minds of Japanese industrialists about the political developments in Kerala or about the atmosphere of industrial relations." ("T.V. Thomas Invites Japanese Monopolies," *People's Democracy*, Nov. 12, '67—Our emphasis.)

So, foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie are being lured to Kerala on the basis of certain assurances—assurances given not by the Dangeite T. V. Thomas alone but by the entire Kerala ministry headed by Ranadive's comrade Namboodiripad. While Namboodiripad or Jyoti Basu consistently carries out pro-imperialist, pro-comprador and pro-landlord policies, Ranadive, Gopalan or Promode Dasgupta shrieks out against the same policies, makes a scapegoat of some T. V. Thomas, Manjooran or P. C. Ghosh and shirks all responsibility for them! A nice division of labour! They must serve the foreign and domestic reactionaries and, at the same time, keep their Marxist mask on to hoodwink their dwindling ranks and the masses. For, their service to imperialism and domestic reaction consists in hoodwinking the masses at a time when the Congress Party fails to do so!

Sometimes, at unguarded moments, the mask falls off

and we are allowed glimpses of their true selves, for instance, on occasions like the following :

"Leading industrialists and businessmen of Calicut gave a reception to the Marxist Communist leaders who are here for the Central Committee meeting.

"At the dinner arranged in their honour at one of the leading hotels, the General Secretary, Mr P. Sundarayya, said that, *though the interests of the Communist Party and the industrialists were supposed to be incompatible, he would request them to extend all help and suggestion to the party so as to enable it to face the difficult days ahead.* [Mark the words *supposed to be.*]

"The Chief Minister, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, found the dinner a pleasant one because there were no memorandums. [There was no need for one when Namboodiripad had already presented the Industrial Policy Statement to his hosts. That helped the dinner to be quite pleasant.]" (*Indian Express*, Nov. 1, 1967)

Time and again these shameless lackeys of the reactionary ruling classes urge the workers to maintain *industrial peace* when the workers are being ruthlessly exploited by foreign and domestic sharks. Presiding over an industrial economic seminar on January 25, 1968, at Kottayam, T. V. Thomas "underlined the importance of maintaining industrial peace in order to attract outsiders to invest more in setting up industries in Kerala." The "Marxist"-led Government's Industrial Policy statement contained the following clause :

"The State will favour recognition to trade unions having constitutions containing adequate provisions for industrial peace."

Is it accidental that the Kerala Government's memorandum to the National Commission on Labour made such recommendations on policy questions like the code of

discipline, recognition of unions, making workers shareholders, automation and registrar's powers that even the AITUC led by Dange and Ramamurthy did not dare stomach them publicly? On the Kerala Government's attitude to dealing with strikes during conciliation, the AITUC pointed out in a note to the Chief Minister that the anti-strike clauses in the Industrial Disputes Act were themselves reactionary and the proposal of the Kerala Government to put more "teeth in this anti-worker legislation" would be greatly welcomed by the employers. On the proposal for making workers shareholders, the AITUC said, "It is difficult to understand how a Left-led government would now sponsor this move as an experimental measure." The employers are after the worker's Provident Fund and want to get it invested in shares of the companies. The trade unions have so far opposed this move. The AITUC note, referring to the Kerala Government's opposition to the proposal for giving legal sanction to wage board recommendations, said that the Government has not evidently followed recent developments. The tripartite study group on wage boards of the NCL has unanimously recommended statutory enforcement of wage board recommendations accepted by the Government." The AITUC felt obliged to oppose the Kerala Government's view favouring the piece-rate system of wages. The piece-rate system, they pointed out, has been used by employers to increase the rate of exploitation.

Among other things, the Kerala Government recommended that the trade union activities of any leader or leaders taking part in any illegal strike [almost every strike in this country is declared illegal by the Government—even one day's token strike of the Central Government employees] should be seriously dealt with and such leaders should be debarred from trade union activities for three years! Even the reactionary Congress Government has not imposed any such penalties! On the

question of automation, the memorandum shamelessly declared that automation was inevitable. It added that though automation would lead to unemployment it would ensure better and quicker production.

In the fifties, these revisionists and neo-revisionists and the All India Trade Union Congress dominated by them supported rationalisation. The ruling classes then sought to solve the growing economic crisis and to earn super-profits through rationalisation. It was a vicious offensive against the workers and threw hundreds of thousands of them out of employment. Today, as the crisis deepens, the ruling classes are resorting to automation which is directed mainly against white collar employees and threatens hundreds of thousands of them with loss of jobs. As, in the fifties, the revisionists and neo-revisionists supported rationalisation and disrupted the workers' struggle against it from within, so today their Government in Kerala has come out in open support of automation to ensure high profits for the foreign monopolists and the Indian comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie at the cost of the life and livelihood of a section of the petty bourgeoisie. Elsewhere, these double-dealers are mouthing militant slogans against automation and are, at the same time, trying to stab any effective struggle against it.

Minions of U. S. Imperialism

An impression has gained ground that whatever may be the crimes of the neo-revisionist clique, they are at least genuine anti-imperialists, at least anti-U.S. imperialists? Do they not often roar against U.S. imperialism in their writings and speeches? Don't they shed profuse tears of sympathy for bleeding Vietnam and other victims of U.S. aggression? Don't they warn us against the menace of U.S. imperialism to India's 'sovereignty' and 'independence'? Yes, they do all this and more. Yet one can

hardly escape the conclusion that they are serving the interests of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, faithfully, that their anti-imperialism is a sham while their service to imperialism is real. What leads one to this conclusion?

The "Marxist"-led Government, as we have seen, is not only generous to imperialist capital already entrenched in Kerala but also anxious to "create the proper climate" (to use Nambudiripad's words) for more of foreign monopoly capital—Canadian, Japanese etc., etc.—to flow into Kerala. Much of the foreign monopoly capital or Indian comprador-bureaucrat capital is linked with U.S. monopoly capital directly or indirectly. *In words*, they are great anti-imperialists fighters; but *in deeds*, they are lackeys of the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists.

Even in words, they refuse to admit that the U. S. imperialists, together with the Soviet neo-colonialists, have *already* reduced India into a neo-colony of theirs. According to them, such a threat from U. S. imperialism has been hanging over India for years but it is as yet only a threat. Thus, by refusing to recognise U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the Indian people they deliberately sabotage the Indian people's struggle against this most ferocious enemy of mankind.

That is why, the Kerala Government does not hesitate to flirt with U. S. imperialism. The "Marxist" Food Minister, Mrs Gowri Thomas, shamelessly announced that she would like to have rice "even though it is from the U. S. A. that is bombing Vietnam."

About 1400 members of the U. S. "Peace Corps" have spread over Kerala. It is common knowledge that the "Peace Corps" is controlled by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. Yet Nambudiripad came out as an apologist and protector of these hated international agents of U. S. imperialism. On March 27, 1967, this neo-revisionist chieftain denied in the Kerala Assembly that members of

the "Peace Corps" were engaged in espionage in the State. He described these U. S. agents as giving "technical help in development works in the fields of industry, health, animal husbandry and education."

Sometime ago a delegation which included representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from Taiwan visited Kerala and was received by Namboodiripad. Though the India Government does not formally recognise the Chiang Kai-shek clique, leaders of the India Government and of various reactionary parties are occasionally visiting Taiwan and trying to build up friendly relations with the Chiang clique as a part of their rabid anti-China policy, as a part of the U. S.-sponsored policy of creating "two Chinas." By welcoming Chiang's men, this neo-revisionist chieftain displayed his hostility towards Socialist China and served the needs of the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries.

One more instance of servility of the neo-revisionists to their U.S. masters may be cited here. During their demonstrations on the Vietnam Day last year, the youth of Kerala, incensed by the brutalities of the American aggressors laying waste the whole of Vietnam, set on fire in Trivandrum a van belonging to the U.S. I. S. The "Marxist" Chief Minister promptly expressed "deep personal regret" for the incident in a letter to the U.S. Consul and promised to take severe action against the young men!

The Spearhead of Reaction's Offensive Against the People

Recently, events of far-reaching significance have been happening in Kerala with a bewildering rapidity. During this severe crisis that is shaking Kerala, the "Marxist"-led U.F. Government, especially, the "Marxists" are acting as the spearhead of reaction's vicious offensive against the working people.

The strike of Kerala's transport workers and employees now going on and the manner in which the "Marxist" Transport Minister is handling it are an ironical comment on the sham Marxists' loyalty to the interests of the working class and their claim of strengthening the democratic struggles of the working people. The CPI (M) Congress meeting at Ernakulam has described this strike, in which 95 per cent of the workers and employees are participating, as unjustified. Kerala's "Marxist" Transport Minister has been accused by the Secretary of the Kerala Council of the "CPI" (a constituent of the "United Front") of adopting 'despicable bourgeois tactics' to break the strike. Striking workers are being indiscriminately arrested; what is even more revealing is that the "Marxist"-led Government is trying to recruit black legs in large numbers to thwart the transport strike. (See *Statesman*, Dec. 29, '68)

Even more despicable is the role the "Marxists" and their allies are playing as agents of the rich landlords and planters in drowning in blood the simmering revolt of Kerala's peasantry. Reporting on the developments in Kerala since the attack on the Pulpalli wireless station in the Wynad forests, Ramji wrote in *Frontier* of Dec. 14, '68:

"And on top of all this, very much similar to the developments in Naxalbari, heavy concentrations of police here have become a terror to the lowly and have-nots among the inhabitants of the thickly forested Pulpalli hilly tracts. The police force have been billeted in the houses of rich planters of the region and are feted royally. In return, like grateful watchdogs, the police pounce on all and sundry pointed out by the planters and rich landlords. *A regular manhunt is going on in these areas to serve the interests of anti-communist vested interests in the name of re-establishing law and order.*

"The police raid houses at will at all times night and day, beat up inmates, molest women and play the role of goondas with a sense of unbridled licence. The young

college student Ajitha was terribly molested after she was caught. She was made to stand half-naked in the midst of a jeering rabble, many of whom laid rough and insulting hands on her. All the others suspected of belonging to the party which raided the Pulpalli police wireless station have been cruelly manhandled. *The police are making a determined effort to scare away the tribals whose lands have been already snatched away by the migrants from Central Travancore and other sections, all adepts at encroachment. This Pulpalli incident has given the vested interests a rare opportunity to drive away with police help the tribals who had been resisting the land grab policy of 'civilised' settlers from the so-called forward, developed areas of the State. The Pulpalli area has been notorious for the cruel injustice meted out to the tribals who have been deprived of their lands and who are without any means of livelihood. And the similarity to Naxalbari is made more pronounced, since the Kurichians and other tribals are in the habit of carrying bows and arrows. This is now a crime, for which they are being hunted like animals.*

"These developments in the name of law and order and security by a United Front Government headed by Marxists, are strikingly similar to the tactics adopted by Congress Governments. This has not been lost on a big section of the have-nots in the State. The impression has gone forth that in order to appease the vested interests and possibly to stave off Central intervention, the Marxists are ready to play a role, traditionally associated with Congress governments."

When these political managers of the domestic and foreign reactionaries have geared the entire state machinery to enrich and strengthen the jotedars, the mainstay of feudalism in the country-side, and to crush the incipient revolt of the peasantry, they also threaten to unleash fascist hordes against the rebellious peasantry. According to a party source, the *Statesman's* special representative

reported, the neo-revisionist chieftain, P. Sundarayya, said that his party was fully prepared to meet the extremists' challenge in Kerala and, if necessary, it would field its \$5,000 strong volunteer corps, including 10,000 women, to counter the extremists. (See *Statesman*, Dec. 4, '68) When Sundarayya was talking of meeting the challenge of the 'extremists', he was certainly not thinking of a few hundred Kunnikkal Narayanans or Ajithas, whom the elite armed police of Namboodiripad might be able to tackle for the present. He must have had in mind the millions of peasant revolutionaries of Kerala who, inspired by Mao Tse-tung's thought, will in no distant future rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, smash all the feudal fetters that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. Then Sundarayya will be required to rush his fascist bands to the help and support of the various other fascist hordes, Indira's army and police and Namboodiripad's armed police. We know the counter-revolutionaries of all shades—from the Jana Sangh to the Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Gopalan-Ranadive clique—are feverishly preparing for those historic days. Let them prepare.

In the meantime, in order to cover up the bitter civil war that is going on between the exploiting classes and the exploited, in order to hoodwink the cruelly exploited working people, the "Marxists" shamelessly prate of the virtues of the Indian Constitution and the parliamentary path and of law and order. On Nov. 26, '68, *Namboodiripad* said at the Kerala State Assembly during question time that the Constitution contained many good ideas which were worthy of implementation. But these ideals were not being implemented by the Congress leaders, faithfully. (see *Statesman*, Nov. 27, '68)

Addressing a rally of his supporters on Nov. 10, '68, at Malappuram, Namboodiripad said the present parliamentary system of Government by itself would not usher in a revolution in the country. But there was no harm in using

the system as an experimental measure to do some good to the common man. (See *Hindusthan Standard*, Nov. 12, '68)

Are these only momentary lapses on the part of an individual named Namboodiripad? No, these are no aberrations of an individual but part of a settled policy of the clique which calls itself Marxist. This clique which speaks of "universal adult franchise and parliament and state legislature" as instruments of the people in their struggle for *democracy* for defence of their interests, and asks them to uphold and defend parliamentary democracy, is consciously leading the working people into the trap carefully laid for them by the exploiting classes. Today, it is not for the working people to uphold and defend the parliamentary system—an instrument which the bourgeoisie has devised and uses to hide the real nature of its rule that is based on violence—but to smash it by revolutionary violence and set up proletarian or people's democratic dictatorship in its place.

To talk of upholding parliamentary democracy in a country like India is a two-fold deception: first, because bourgeois parliamentarism is today a snare to lure the working people in a bourgeois democracy from the path of violent revolution; secondly, because India is not a bourgeois democracy. It is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country where the democratic revolution for the overthrow of feudalism is yet to take place. India changed from a colony into a neo-colony when the British imperialists granted India 'independence' by an Act of British Parliament. That is why the government here enjoys the *unfettered constitutional right* of detaining citizens without trial and trampling underfoot what are supposed to be democratic rights of the people.

These flunkeys of domestic and foreign reactionaries are tireless in proclaiming the sanctity of the existing law and order. The "Marxist" Chief Minister Namboodiripad

insists from time to time that the struggles of the working people must not transgress the limits of law and order. Whether it is the question of *gheraos*, strikes, organisations of volunteers, measures against the Central Government employees or withdrawal of cases against them, this "Marxist" always comes out as a defender of 'law and order.' He and the other members of the clique are terribly angry with the Union Law Minister, P. Govinda Menon, because Menon asked the people "to take the law into their own hands for protecting their democratic rights," and not because Menon was obviously inciting the counter-revolutionary violence of his followers. Asked by a Congress member in the Kerala State Assembly whether Namboodiripad himself had not made inflammatory speeches when he visited other states, Namboodiripad replied: "I have not asked the people to take up the stick." This, of course, is partly true. These neo-revisionists do not ask the people to take up the stick against the class-enemies, but against the communist and peasant revolutionaries! The whole pack of neo-revisionists, like the Dangeites, has developed an exuberant love for 'law and order'—the same kind of love that overflowed the heart of Gandhi during the British colonial days. Lenin said: "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another; it is the creation of 'order,' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes." So, 'law and order' in a state ruled by the lords and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie (or by the independent bourgeoisie) are meant to 'legalise' and maintain the system of oppression and exploitation of the working people by the ruling classes. But these agents of reaction dressed in borrowed Marxist robes would have us believe that law and order in this class society protect the interests of the working people and must be defended against the attacks of the ruling classes who, according to

them, are anxious to subvert 'law and order'! It is under the existing 'law and order' that the foreign monopolists increasingly plunder the wealth of the country; the Birlas increase their assets by 49 per cent in the course of only three years; the Walchands employ bands of ruffians to wipe out all traces of their murdered workers; the rapacious tycoons cheat the public exchequer of hundreds of millions of rupees by evading taxes; the princes and kulaks mint gold out of the sweat and blood of the peasantry; hundreds of thousands of workers and white-collar employees are thrown out of employment and chronic unemployment is the lot of tens of millions of others; and tens of millions of peasants are driven out of their lands and become paupers. But the "Marxists" would have us defend this 'law and order' and this "parliamentary system which", according to their Programme, "embodies an advance for the people." The "Marxists" fly into rage when the peasant revolutionaries try to strike at the very foundations of the existing social system based on the oppression and exploitation of the working people. *Though they join Chavan, the Swatantra Party, the Jana Sangh, the P. S. P. etc., etc. in the chorus denouncing revolutionary violence, they have no distaste for counter-revolutionary violence.* The blood of the martyred and other oppressed peasants of Naxalbari and Wynad and of the workers and peasants in many other places, Sundarayya's threat and their unleashing of fascist bands against communist revolutionaries in different parts of the country are eloquent proofs of this fact.

We can depend upon Nambudiripad to tell us about the real significance of the 'United Front' Governments led by the "Marxists." The neo-revisionist chieftain says:

"I may now claim that one of the biggest achievements of our pre-election alliance and the post-election coalition Government is that we have shown that it is possible for the various non-Congress parties to come together, and

establish a relatively stable alliance on which a stable coalition Government can be built.

"This is of tremendous significance for the country as a whole. For, the main feature of the political situation in India today is the rapid decline in the influence and the power of the Congress, accompanied by the absence of any single party which can replace it. Only a combination of parties can meet the situation. Such a combination should necessarily include the Communists and Socialists and other secular democratic radical parties." ("E.M.S. Answers the 'Washington Post.'")

What, then, is the aim, the purpose, of the 'United Front'? It should not be confused with a United Front of revolutionary classes, groups and individuals for waging armed struggles to overthrow the present social system. It is a 'United Front' to replace the Congress when the ruling classes are in the throes of a deep political crisis and the influence and power of the Congress are rapidly declining. Its object is not to destroy the present oppressive system but to preserve and restore stability to it when historically that system has long outlived its utility and become utterly reactionary, when that system is inexorably proceeding towards its doom. So, the 'United Front' of this kind aims not at making revolution but at opposing it. Today, the "Marxist" Party has come forward to organise this counter-revolutionary front so that it may act as a dam against the rising tide of agrarian revolution. That is why the Nambudiripad-Sundarayya-Ranadive clique has discovered that the principal contradiction today is between the policies pursued by the Central Government and the welfare of the country. This contradiction, they claim, can be resolved by transferring more power from the Centre to the States, from Indira Gandhi to Nambudiripad, Ajoy Mukherjee or Annadurai! For the neo-revisionist clique, the contradictions between feudalism and the peasantry, between imperialism and the people, between

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comprador-bureaucrat capital and labour, hardly exist. There is no need to overthrow feudalism and imperialism and to smash the existing state machine of the landlords and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. It is quite evident that this shadow-boxing with the Central Government does very little harm to the ruling classes while it distracts the attention of the people from the main enemies.

In his book (the name of the Bengali edition of which is *Natun Kerala*, published in January 1958), Namboodiripad, then Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, wrote:

"If, on the other hand, we fail, then there is the danger that the anti-communists, taking advantage of our failure, may split even further the country into communists and non-communists and push our country, too, into disunity and civil war as they have succeeded in doing in several other countries. So our success or failure in this state has an importance which is national in character." (Re-translated from the Bengali edition).

In his book *Kerala: a Report to the Nation*, the Congress leader H. D. Malaviya wrote:

"Strangely enough, the best advice to the Congress came from the Communist Namboodiripad. After Devikulam [a parliamentary by-election held in May 1958 and won by a Communist candidate], EMS advised the Congress 'to reconsider its policies and function as a party of constructive opposition.' In later amplification of this statement he said at Coimbatore that if instead of a constructive approach the opposition parties united only in somehow crushing the Communists, it can only lead to a disastrous situation, and he referred to the example of China." (pp. 113-114)

To these "Marxists" the prospect of a revolutionary civil war is alarming, the civil war in China and the victory of the epoch-making Chinese Revolution are a disaster! They are afraid of this 'disaster' being repeated in India.

Lenin said: "In the long run we know that the

problems of social life are resolved by the class struggle in its bitterest and fiercest form—civil war." ("Constitutional Illusions", *Collected Works*, V. I. 25). The age-old production relations have long been acting as fetters on the productive forces in this country and the exploiting classes are using the state machinery to keep in tact these relations of production. This contradiction, "the problems of social life", cannot be resolved without revolutionising the relations of production, without overthrowing feudalism and imperialism and smashing their state machinery—without a civil war. The "Marxists" are fully conscious that this civil war, open or concealed, is raging in the country. The mass retrenchment in the factories and offices, the innumerable struggles of the workers, students and the petty bourgeoisie, the daily firings on the people, the imprisonment of thousands, the occasional murder of poor and landless peasants, the man-hunt now going on in the Wynad forests, the burning alive of forty-two peasants in Thanjavur, the heroic revolt of the peasantry in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and other places and the military-type operations the reactionary governments have launched against them—what do all these reveal? But, in the name of preventing civil war, in the name of defending 'law and order' (which seek to conceal the most ruthless civil war), these "Marxist" lackeys of the exploiting classes want to preserve the old, putrid relations of production and the rotten regime of oppression and exploitation and to render the working people defenceless in face of the counter-revolutionary violence of the ruling classes.

When the revolutionary situation in India has long been mature, when Naxalbari and Srikakulam have lighted up the path of the Indian Revolution, the "Marxists" and their 'United Fronts' are acting as the spearhead of reaction's offensive. In this crisis of Indian history they are playing a double role. First, together with Chavan and the other reactionaries, they proclaim their determination

"to put down without mercy" the revolutionary violence of the brave peasantry of Naxalbari, Wynad and various other places and act as a wing of the reactionary state apparatus. Secondly, this bunch of contemptible counter-revolutionaries has taken upon itself the task of fighting the revolutionary forces politically. That is the historic task they have been allotted by the ruling classes.

When Mrs Y. Reddy demanded in the Rajya Sabha a ban on the communist revolutionaries, Mr Chavan said that it was a suggestion for action, but added that it was difficult to ban ideas. (see *Statesman*, Dec. 12, '68) Namboodiripad said the same thing at a Press Conference: "They have to be fought politically. You cannot solve it just by a ban." (*Statesman*, Nov. 29, '68) So, the *Blitz* wrote editorially on Dec. 14, '68: "It is gratifying to see agreement on this basic point in quarters which otherwise are wide apart." At his Trivandrum Press Conference Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of troubled Kerala, clearly reaffirmed the need for a combination of police and political measures. Two days later, Mr Y. B. Chavan told the Home Ministry's Informal Parliamentary Consultative Committee that the extremists could not be tackled by police action alone."

A Political Correspondent of *Frontier* hit the nail on the head when he wrote in its issue of Dec. 7, '68: "But the many Naxalbaris building up in tribal tracts and among organised peasantry pose a challenge at once to Mr Chavan and the CPI(M). What Mr Nanda got the CPI to do for the Government to isolate those who later formed the (PI(M) is now sought to be got done through the CPI(M) to secure the isolation of the ultras.....The Centre has achieved its objective of stabilising the CPI(M)'s anti-China stance so that the party is ready to call its recalcitrant extremists Chinese agents." (Our emphasis)

To fight the communist revolutionaries politically at the bidding of the foreign and domestic reactionaries,
(Continued on page 56)

Real Face of Parliamentary Democracy in India

—Asit Sen

Class Nature of State

It was in 1847 that Marx presented his thesis about the state at the Second Congress of the Communist League. He said: "The state does neither control the class society nor does it determine the characteristics of the class society, but it is the class society that controls the state and determines its characteristics. Therefore, the politics and the history of political development should be examined in the light of the economic development and not the reverse." This Second Congress asked Marx and Engels to prepare a manifesto. This manifesto—the Communist Manifesto—has been a sharp-edged weapon in the hands of the international proletariat.

Class society controls the state. In other words, the state grows out of the class society to serve its needs. Despite some relatively independent motion that it seems to acquire for some time after its birth, the state must necessarily conform to the development of production relations. Moreover, all the laws, rules and regulations of the state are made with the specific purpose of preserving the existing social-economic structure. Since the exploiting classes control this social-economic structure, they wield the state power also. In other words, the state is the highest form of organization of the exploiting classes which they use to protect their class positions. Naturally they have to make arrangements to suppress by force class struggles whenever necessary. This arrangement is the organization of armed force.

This is a slightly abridged translation of an article published last year, in the special autumn issue of the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI.

It becomes clear, therefore, that the working class and the toiling masses must first of all seize state power in order to win their freedom and liberation. But what state power should they seize? They must smash the existing state apparatus which protects the existing class relations based on exploitation, and build up a new state power, a new state apparatus of their own to replace the old one. Only by doing this can they seize state power and basically change the existing class relations. There is no other way to seize state power. It is never possible to bring about fundamental changes in class relations simply by getting hold of the existing state apparatus. Such thinking is anti-Marxist and merely results in preserving the existing class relations. This, of course, does not mean that the exploited classes can launch their decisive struggle

(Continued from page 54)

the neo-revisionists are sparing no efforts. In the name of fighting 'left deviations', they heap all kinds of abuse on the communist revolutionaries and the great Chinese Communist Party. They are politically so bankrupt that they adopt the vilest methods to slander the communist revolutionaries and Socialist China. A Political Correspondent of *Frontier* wrote in its issue of Dec. 14, '68:

"Mr Namboodiripad's police machinery was responsible for planting the story that two letters from the Chinese Embassy were seized from one of those arrested in connection with the attacks on police posts. The story was subsequently denied by the Inspector-General of Police." (Our emphasis)

This is the kind of *political* fight the neo-revisionist scum is waging against communist and peasant revolutionaries! *Let them carry on this fight on behalf of the ruling classes of India till they and their 'United Fronts' are swept away like so much filth by the rising tide of Indian Revolution.*

—December 31, 1968

any time they like. It may not be possible for them to launch this struggle at any given moment, but that should not deter them from preparing themselves for this struggle ceaselessly, never postponing this preparation even for a moment. The inter-relation between the state and the class relations must never be lost sight of, or, the working class is sure to lose the main direction of its struggle.

Democracy—Unbridled Power for Oppression of One Class By Another

From the above it becomes clear that in a class society there is absolutely no room for pure democracy, that is, a democracy which guarantees equal rights to all. Even the widest democracy in a class society can only be unrestricted power in the hands of one class to defend its own class interests, a dictatorial power to suppress by force the other class or classes.

Though basically it is dictatorial power of the bourgeoisie over the working class and other toiling people, bourgeois democracy apparently recognises some rights of the oppressed classes. Of course, such recognition is merely formal and flimsy and had to be extracted from the bourgeoisie through a long bloody struggle. After it had overthrown feudalism and seized power primarily with the help of the peasantry and other toiling people whom it had rallied under its banner of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity', the bourgeoisie began to exercise this dictatorial power against the oppressed classes. Naturally, the working class rose in protest and began to fight for establishing its class rights in the political power by demanding introduction of adult franchise. Though the bourgeoisie had to concede this demand, it took good care to keep the bureaucracy, the police and the military—that is, the essential components of state power, safely out of the scope of the right to vote.

The constitution which granted this adult franchise was framed by the bourgeoisie itself and the essential components of state power were placed beyond the reach of the working class. The elected representatives constituted various types of legislatures, which can pass laws only within the limits set by the constitution, and as we know, the bourgeois constitution has never been framed anywhere, by elected representatives. As a result, the real power has always been in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the elected representatives have no power whatsoever to change the bourgeois social system limited as they are by restrictions imposed by the bourgeoisie through its constitution. The bourgeoisie frames its constitution in a way so as to perpetuate the existing social order and never allows provisions which may interfere with the production relations. Further, as long as the system of exploitation exists even the rights earned by the exploited classes lose their meaning. Take, for example, the freedom of speech and its main instrument—the newspaper. It does not require much knowledge to understand that the toiling people are quite unable to own newspapers to serve their needs. The few that they own can hardly cope with the huge mass of propaganda spread by hundreds of newspapers owned by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie spread as a rule anti-people ideas and try to drown the small voice of people's propaganda media in a deluge of bourgeois propaganda. Moreover, the bourgeois constitution arms the bourgeoisie with provisions to gag the people's propaganda media any time on charges of sedition. The same thing applies to meetings, processions and strikes. And all these rights can at any time be taken away on the plea that they infringe upon the right of private property.

So we see that the state in a class society, be it a democracy, a republic, monarchy or an open dictatorship, can never come under the control of the exploited classes. The exploited classes can seize state power only by

destroying the bourgeois state apparatus and building a completely new one of their own.

That the so-called democracy in our country is only a weapon to exercise dictatorship over the toiling people will become evident from a discussion of the Indian Constitution and the Constituent Assembly which framed it. What is more, we shall see that India's reactionary rulers do not even have full freedom to exercise this dictatorship; they are mere partners of foreign imperialist exploiters in exercising it. Lastly, we shall find that no class can take away state power from another class without destroying the old state apparatus through a revolutionary struggle.

New Imperialist Technique

For a better understanding the old story needs retelling. By 1870, capitalism, after going through the phase of competition developed into monopoly capitalism which again grew into finance-capital. Then some advanced capitalist countries began to export capital and thus built up a huge empire in the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Countries of these regions were turned into colonies and forced to remain backward and agricultural in order to perpetuate imperialist exploitation. In some countries exploitation was carried on by imperialism through indirect political domination. Later, the two World Wars brought about great changes in the world situation. After the Second World War, in particular, national liberation struggles developed vigorously. As a result, the imperialists felt the urgent need to change its tactics to retain their colonial possessions under the new situation. This new tactic consisted in giving formal independence to the colonies. The demonstration of this new technique of formal independence took place in Egypt in 1922. In 1927, it was again applied in Iraq with treaty provisions covering the maintenance of British bases there. In 1946, after the Second World War, Jordan was similarly

made formally independent. The U. S. imperialists, following the British, applied the same technique in Philippines in 1947, and a year later, in 1948, the British imperialists applied it again in Burma. The reality is, far from withdrawing from the countries which it made formally independent, imperialism retained, and even strengthened its hold over them through the new technique. The essence of imperialist colonial policy consists in:

1. Economic exploitation of the colonial country, its resources and manpower, in the interests of the big monopolists of the imperialist country;
2. Strategic domination of the colonial country and making it join the world imperialist camp;
3. Maintenance of a political system, which can serve these objectives of the imperialist country.

Let us see how this new technique was applied in India.

How India Became A Victim of Imperialism's New Tactics

On June 24, 1946, P. J. Griffiths, leader of the European Group in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, said in a speech: "India in the opinion of many was on the verge of a revolution before the British Cabinet Mission arrived. The Cabinet Mission has at least postponed, if not eliminated, the danger." Later, on March 5, 1947, Stafford Cripps said in the British Parliament that there were two alternatives before the British Government; (1) to maintain British direct power in India by a considerable reinforcement of troops, or (2) to make a political transfer on the lines of the 1947 settlement. As he admitted, the British Government "had not the power" to maintain its direct rule by force of arms. Indeed, political transfer of power was the only choice before the British, to continue its exploitation and domination over India. For this transfer, they picked up the representatives of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords, the reactionary classes which readily

became imperialism's junior partners in defending imperialist interests and drowning people's anti-imperialist revolution in blood.

The February Declaration of 1947, which proposed the notorious Mountbatten Settlement, spoke of transferring power to "responsible Indian hands" by June, 1958. At the same time the Declaration warned that no constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly would be accepted by Britain unless it was drawn up "in accordance with the proposals" contained in the Cabinet Mission Plan. It further warned that if the Indian Constituent Assembly should dare draw up a Constitution not approved by Britain, the British government would have to "consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over."

This Declaration of February, 1946, was the key guiding statement of policy for the "transfer of power" which took place six months later. As is evident from this, there was no question of a free choice by the Indian people of the kind of government under which they might wish to live. There was no question of a free sovereign Constituent Assembly, freely elected by universal suffrage of the Indian people. The so-called Constituent Assembly was under direct British imperialist pressure to draw up a Constitution acceptable to them. So, the "transfer of power" did not create independent sovereign Indian State but merely installed in power a 'representative' body chosen by the imperialists and committed to protect most effectively the imperialist interests.

In fact, to get a Constituent Assembly (Consebly) convened and then get a constitution passed by it is not the important thing for a country that wishes to become independent and sovereign. The important thing is *who* convenes that Constituent Assembly and how it is really being constituted. A necessary pre-condition, even according to bourgeois democratic convention, for convening such an

Assembly is formation of a temporary government by the people who are to take over power. Only such a government can constitute and convene a Constituent Assembly. It is a fact that no such temporary government was formed in India, and the preliminary preparations for the formation of the Consembly were carried out by the governors of provinces according to the directive of June 16, 1946, from the British Governor-General. It is clearly seen that the provincial governors, acting on the strength of section 62(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935, called the provincial legislatures into session to elect representatives to the Consembly. These legislatures, which were themselves formed under the Act of 1935 and elected on the basis of extremely restricted franchise based on property or educational qualifications, proceeded to "elect" representatives to the Consembly according to the directives of the governors based on section 63(2) of the 1935 Act. This is how the 'sovereign' Consembly came into being! That is not all. Some people, and important people at that like Jinnah, Nehru, Ambedkar etc., were not even 'elected' by these puppet legislatures but were simply chosen by the British imperialists to 'represent' and 'lead' the Indian people!

So, we see that the Consembly was not constituted under the care of a qualitatively different temporary government, but under the benevolent guidance of the British military and civil bureaucrats in terms of laws passed by the British imperialist government. Thus, an 'Interim Government' was formed by the British in July, 1946, with Jawaharlal Nehru as vice-president (the president was the British Viceroy Wavell). Every member of this government was required to take three oaths—the first being the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. This so-called Interim Government was formed to continue British imperialist rule under the guidance and control of the British viceroy.

The transfer of power on August 15, 1947, turned India into an 'independent Dominion' in terms of the Independence Act of 1947 of the British Parliament, headed by a Governor-General appointed by the British imperialists. The Dominion government led by Nehru, who, like all other Indians, continued to be a British subject, owed allegiance to the British Crown like its predecessor—the so-called Interim Government. This state of affairs continued for about three years upto January 26, 1950.

This "Independent" Indian Dominion government took over and carried forward the entire administrative machinery of imperialism; the same bureaucracy, judiciary and police of the old imperialist agents and servitors; the same methods of repression, police firing and lathi-charges on unarmed crowds, prohibition of meetings, suppression of newspapers, detentions without charge, persecution of trade union and peasant organisations and filling jails with thousands of left-wing political prisoners. The interests of imperialism in India were zealously protected. Military control continued to remain in the hands of the British imperialists. In the initial stages, this government was even headed by a British imperialist overlord, Mountbatten, and British governors were maintained in some key provinces. In short, this government served as a bailiff of the imperialist overlords and did what the imperialists wished to be done.

What were the economic policies of this "independent" government?

On February 17, 1948, Prime Minister Nehru declared: "There will not be any sudden change in the economic structure. As far as possible, there will be no nationalisation of existing industries." In April, Reuter's Trade Service Financial Section confidently reported: "Large-scale nationalisation of existing industries is ruled out in the Government of India's industrial and economic policy

for the next ten years." This was confirmed in the Resolution on Economic Policy published five days later.

This government's intimate links with imperialism were most pronounced in the fields of military strategy and foreign policy, where the close and firm bonds binding the 'independent' Indian government to the chariot-wheels of Anglo-American imperialists are seen more clearly.

Betrayal by the Revisionist CPI Leadership

The CPI leadership has always been fully aware of what the British imperialists, with the help of Indian reactionary classes, were trying to achieve through the so-called transfer of power, though it must be admitted that its significance was not clear to the broad Party masses and cadres. The CPI leadership fully utilised this fact to carry through their treacherous policy of betraying the cause of anti-imperialist national liberation struggle and thus served fully the needs of foreign imperialism and the Indian big bourgeoisie. Since then these leaders have dodged the question of agrarian revolution, the primary condition for accomplishing national democratic revolution, under one pretext or another. But things are quite different now. Learning from the experience of their own life, the common people, the toiling masses, have come to realise that feudalism in the countryside, which has been nurtured and protected by imperialism, must be eliminated. This is the principal task to be accomplished. Once this is accomplished, imperialism and the Indian big bourgeoisie will be doomed. The people have not only realised it but are already plunging into struggle to accomplish this task.

In this situation, the counter-revolutionary revisionist leaders of the CPI, the Dangeite and neo-revisionist cliques, can no longer disrupt this revolutionary upsurge by applying their old tactic of issuing Party mandates. So, they have adopted a new tactic, which is: to defend the 'holy Constitution', to fight for using the 'limited oppor-

tunities' given by this Constitution, that is, fight for the ministerial *guddi*. They think they can convince the toiling people through this tactic that the Constitution, which in reality serves as a shield protecting the interests of imperialism and the Indian big bourgeoisie, is a precious achievement of the struggle of the toiling people, which they must defend! Obviously, this 'new' tactic of these traitors serves the interests of imperialists and Indian reactionaries even better than their old tactic. Indeed, what can be better for the imperialists and the Indian reactionary classes than that the vast masses of the Indian people can be persuaded to play the game of 'using' the 'limited opportunities given by the 'sovereign' Constitution while feudalism and imperialism carry on their ferocious oppression and exploitation of the toiling people without hindrance and on an increasing scale under the protection of the same Constitution? The new tactic of the Dangeite and the neo-revisionist clique aims at prolonging the life of imperialism and feudalism in this country and so eminently serves their needs.

But what is the people's path for liberation which these renegade leaders have always opposed? To win liberation for the hundreds of millions of toiling people of India, it is necessary to wipe out feudalism—the main base of imperialism in India, in the countryside—and in the process, to build people's armed forces in the course of struggle, and eventually to break the back of comprador-bureaucrat capital and capture the cities. This is the path blazed by Naxalbari. Naxalbari grew out of historical necessity and is the living inspiration for the people to move history forward.

It is, therefore, not difficult to see why, today, in the liberation struggle of the workers and all other toiling people of India, the conflict between the two lines, the two paths—the peaceful parliamentary path and the revolutionary path of armed struggle—has grown so acute.

'Parliamentary Democracy' In India

While analysing the situation after the boycott of the Witte Duma, Lenin said, the constitutional illusions had been spread so widely among the proletariat that the only means of combating such illusions was the boycott. And he repeatedly warned us in this connection that we must proceed from a concrete analysis of a concrete situation to judge whether we should take advantage of parliamentarism.

But a more important thing is that whatever Lenin said about parliamentarism and elections relate to the parliamentary systems in independent capitalist countries. We get the correct direction from the thought of Chairman Mao, which fully applies to the concrete conditions in India. This is what Chairman Mao said of the old China under Chiang Kai-shek's rule: "The characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal, that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse."

The bourgeois agents who wear the mask of Marxism-Leninism jump at our throat in malicious glee at this and shout, "Now you see, India has a parliament whereas China had none!" Well, gentlemen, we deliberately discussed, though briefly, the history of the introduction of the 'parliamentary system' in our country with you in mind. The British imperialists did this because they had to. In the changed new historical context imperialism could prolong its existence in India only by introducing such a 'parliamentary system' as this. Moreover, without this

it could not have reared and trained its agents who now rule India—or, sit in the 'opposition.' But how can genuine Marxist-Leninists ever overlook the fact that imperialism continued to safeguard its interests even as it introduced the bait of an 'independent and sovereign' parliament and a constitution before the people, designed to preserve and safeguard its interests in the future also. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the makers of the Constitution, the members of the so-called Constituent Assembly, were not free citizens of a free India but merely *subjects* of the British Empire, that even to this day the 'Republic of India' continues to remain in the British Commonwealth and owes allegiance to the British Crown, a fact which continues to determine her existence as a 'Republic', and that the so-called Constitution of 'free' India is based upon the "Government of India Act of 1935", which was prepared by the British imperialists and passed by the British parliament in order to safeguard imperialist interests in India?

A general principle of British laws is that the British imperial domination be ended, legally, only by laws properly made by the British, or by force, that is, by overthrowing that authority through a successful revolution. Since 1859, when India came under the direct rule of the British Crown, its sovereignty has never been seriously challenged by India. Neither the Government of India Act of 1935 nor the Indian Independence Act of 1947 did end the British sovereignty over India. What is more, even the Presidential proclamation that India had become a Republic did not in any way curtail that sovereignty. The proclamation did not dispute the fact that India had already accepted [in 1949, a few months before this proclamation] the British Crown as the symbolic head of the Indian State by agreeing to stay on within the British Commonwealth, all members of which accept the British Crown as its "symbolic head." The formal right that the Indian Independence Act of 1947 gives to India and Pakistan, the

✓ right to decide whether to stay in or get out of the British Commonwealth, exposes its utter worthlessness when we remember that neither of them ever cared to slip out of the grip of the Commonwealth tentacles by exercising that right.

✓ The rebellious American bourgeoisie in their Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, asserted their sovereignty and broke off all the bonds of British colonial domination in these unambiguous terms: "These united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political communication between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." One cannot find anything even distantly resembling this bold assertion of independence and sovereignty by the American bourgeoisie in any document of India.

✓ **British Laws Dominate India :
Indians—Still British Subjects**

The British Nationality Act, 1948 provides for the protection of special privileges of officials in Ireland who are or have been in the service of the British imperial authority, and of persons who had been in one way or other connected with the United Kingdom. We in India also come within the scope of this Act. In addition to this, there is that "India (Consequential Provisions) Act" of 1949, passed just before India was to become a Republic [on January 26, 1950], with a view to keeping her firmly bound to the chariot-wheels of the British Crown, which lay down clear provisions by which all the existing British laws or those subsequently passed by the British Parliament as well as all other British enactments would have validity in India also from the date

she declared herself a Republic! These laws would operate in relation to India and persons and things belonging to or in any way connected with India. This Act of 1949 made it clear that the British laws would continue to have the same validity in India in respect to the above matters after she declared herself a Republic as they had before the proclamation.

The fact is that we in India, the citizens of 'free' India, continue to be even now the **subjects of the British Imperial Majesty!**

The simple conclusion, and the only conclusion, that flows from all this is that imperialism covered up its rule in India with the cloak of 'parliamentary democracy' in order to frustrate the liberation of India and the democratic revolution. And to make this cloak look convincing India's Constitution was made into the most voluminous one in the world full of contradictory statements and boring even to the most eager student of political science.

'Fundamental Right' Indeed!

Take one example from the 'fundamental rights' provided for in the Constitution. The 'freedom' and 'independence' of the Indian State is such that it is unable to confiscate the British or any other foreign capital in India. There is a clause in the fundamental rights of the Constitution which forbids such an action without legitimate and adequate compensation. This clause, like many others, was borrowed from the GOI Act of 1935. More, this clause in the Constitution curbs the state's right in this regard to an even greater extent than the one in the 1935 Act.

India's 'Parliamentary Democracy'—An Imperialist Device To Safeguard Exploitation and Stop Revolution

The traitorous Dangeite and neo-revisionist cliques ceaselessly preach the false notions that the British imperialists

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were forced to concede sovereign power to the Indians and leave India because of the strength of the national liberation struggle and that the Indian rulers, after securing the reins of power in their hands, proceeded to introduce parliamentary democracy in the country. These have no relation whatsoever to reality.

The truth is, after Russia and the colonies of the Tsar comprising one-sixth of the world broke out of the world imperialist system in October 1917, the Indian bourgeoisie's ability and role to lead the revolution for national salvation ended. From then its role was strictly limited to containing the enormous power of national revolution within pre-determined limits and using it as a lever to gain concessions from imperialism. Later, during the Second World War, in the changed circumstances the Indian bourgeoisie had to give up even this role, since the anti-imperialist solidarity of India's workers, peasants and all other toiling people proved more dangerous to it than imperialism. On the other hand, imperialism also began to devise new ways to meet the new situation unfavourable to them. Faced with this situation, imperialism entered into an alliance with its two most reliable and safe allies in India—the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords. This alliance does not mean surrender of power by imperialism. On the contrary, it means that imperialism retreated one step in order to blunt the power of the national liberation revolution by means of a new tactic and to continue to exploit India's workers, peasants and all other toiling people with an even greater ferocity. The imperialists needed the ruse of parliamentary democracy to achieve these two objectives. This explains why the British imperialists themselves introduced, built up and nurtured the system of parliamentary democracy in India with the help of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. The toiling people of India played only a secondary and passive role during the counter-revolutionary machinations and during

the transfer of power. Only a conscious revolutionary role of the advance-guard of the toiling people could ensure activation of the toiling masses. We may, therefore, recall here the role played by the leadership of the Communist Party, which is supposed to be the political organisation of that advance-guard.

Role of the Leaders of the CPI

As is well-known, at the time when imperialism and the native big bourgeoisie and big landlords were jointly hatching plots and working to cripple the national liberation struggle, the revisionist leadership of the CPI did not come forward to lead the people to achieve victory in the national liberation revolution. Nor did this leadership call upon the toiling people of India to advance along the path of class struggle in order to frustrate the imperialist conspiracy. Nothing of the sort. On the contrary, what this counter-revolutionary revisionist leadership did, amounted to advising the imperialists to choose the most suitable ruse to cover up the ugly features of their heinous conspiracy so that the people might be made to swallow the same with the least difficulty. So, instead of organising people's struggles to throw out the British imperialists—the No. 1 enemy of colonial India—this renegade leadership of the CPI preferred to submit a memorandum to the imperialist Cabinet Mission. In the memorandum the renegades spoke of ending British rule. But it is clear they were not even thinking of ending this rule through a revolution. To do so, one does not submit memoranda to the imperialist oppressors. The only way to achieve liberation of India from the clutches of imperialism is to throw it out by the revolutionary force of the people. This traitorous leadership, by this memorandum business, was cynically spreading among the people the poisonous revisionist notion that imperialist rule, the grip of imperialist exploitation and oppression, could be ended

by submitting petitions and memoranda to the imperialists themselves, by appealing to the 'good sense' of the imperialists! Further, in this memorandum these leaders 'demanded' that the imperialists prove their sincerity by declaring India independent and sovereign! As an additional proof they demanded that the British Government should also declare that all British troops would be removed from India within six months.

What did these 'demands' amount to? By these 'demands' the revisionist leadership was only trying to increase their own political prestige among the people by showing off their 'anti-imperialism' while in fact serving faithfully the needs of British imperialism. They 'demanded' of imperialism essentially what it itself intended and needed to do in order to prolong its existence in India. These renegades were not at all concerned with overthrowing the existing social-economic structure and the backward semi-feudal land relations—the mainstay of the British in India; they were happy to demand only the withdrawal of the British troops from India, because it had already become impossible for the British economically, politically and militarily, to continue to station troops in a vast country like India after the Second World War. The British were not in the least worried over these 'demands'—because these exactly fitted in with the new tactic of imperialism of ruling India not directly, but through trusted 'local agents. This is neo-colonialism, pure and simple. And the CPI's traitorous leaders have since then been peddling this neo-colonialist domination of imperialism as the victory of anti-imperialist revolution, as national salvation!

Opposed to this road of neo-colonialism that imperialism carried through, endorsed by the CPI leaders, there was another road, the road of people's revolution, which alone could bring national salvation. To defeat imperialist conspiracy it was necessary to organise revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle and carry it through to the end.

To do this it was necessary to develop anti-feudal struggle in the backward countryside where imperialism has its main social base, as the main component of the liberation struggle. But such anti-feudal struggle can only be a bloody, difficult and protracted struggle and such a struggle began in Telangana. Defying the petition-*wallah* leaders of the Party, the revolutionary Communists led the heroic Telangana peasants in armed struggle against feudalism and for the overthrow of imperialist rule. But in the conditions that existed then, the memorandum-*wallah* Party leadership succeeded, with the help of Nehru, Bhavani and the Tito clique, to force the heroic communists and peasant revolutionaries of Telangana to surrender with arms to the reactionary Nehru government.

What the Revisionist Traitors Are Doing Now

The conditions in which the revisionist CPI leadership succeeded in betraying the revolutionary Telangana struggle do not exist now. The revisionists can no longer succeed in stopping the revolutionary tide in the old way. That is why they have launched a new struggle to defend the 'sacred Constitution', that is, 'defending' people's interests by defeating their class enemies through the 'battle of the ballot box', through elections. This 'struggle' is, however, merely a development of their old capitulationist policy. Today, these renegades stop at nothing in their effort to convince the people that India is independent, that the Constitution is a sovereign democratic constitution and that the reactionary Indian state is sovereign. They fraudulently preach that there is nothing essentially wrong with the Constitution or the so-called parliamentary democratic structure as exists in India today. The trouble is, according to them, the enemies of the people have managed to grab power and are desecrating the Constitution and pushing the people deeper and deeper into misery. So, they have started the ruse that 'parliamentary democracy' and 'Constitution' are in peril, being misused by the ruling Congress Party, and call upon the people to rally *in defence of* 'parliamentary democracy' and the 'sovereign and democratic' Constitution! They claim this

to be the main struggle in the present and also prescribe the weapon to be used in this struggle—the weapon of so-called 'adult franchise' conceded by the Constitution.

Years ago, they could at least criticize, no doubt cautiously and mildly, the Constituent Assembly, which framed the Constitution, as undemocratic and not representing the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. This they did in their memorandum to the Cabinet Mission. But the situation has changed since then and these renegades now do not dare even to express the mildest criticism. They consider that in the conditions prevailing in India today, which is like a volcano about to erupt, even the most cautious criticism may prove fatal for them and their masters. So, they are exerting their utmost to falsify history and spin out all sorts of arguments to justify this falsification. Their shameless peddling of the parliamentary path, of the forming of the so-called "alternative democratic governments," the so-called "non-Congress" UF governments is the necessary logical outcome of this. These renegades are seriously working to contain the revolutionary tide within the four walls of the 'struggle' for ministerial *guddi*, within the limits of the Constitution imposed by the imperialists. They are prepared to go to any length, and in fact are already going, to disrupt any struggle that threatens to spill over beyond these limits. This explains why they have been so furiously spreading all sorts of slanders against the heroic Naxalbari struggle and those who support and uphold it, and have been borrowing indiscriminately all kinds of anti-China slanders from the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists to detract from the immense and growing prestige of revolutionary China and Chairman Mao among the Indian masses.

World imperialism led by U.S. imperialism, though in its death-throes, has succeeded in enslaving India's economy. This has been possible, first, because the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India, have long since entered into an alliance with imperialism, having no longer any role to play in the national liberation struggle; secondly, because of the capitulationist treacherous policy

pursued by the CPI leadership. The degeneration of the Soviet Union into an imperialist power and its active participation in imperialist exploitation and oppression of India, which it is trying to preserve and safeguard as part of the world imperialist camp, add a new aspect to the Indian situation.

To throw away the trammels that bind them now and to liberate themselves, the toiling people of India must first of all complete the revolution that is long overdue. Agrarian revolution is the axis of this revolution which is to take place under conditions when imperialists exploit and oppress India indirectly. To organize this agrarian revolution they must first of all tear off the deceptive mask of the so-called parliamentary democracy in India. And this can be done successfully only by thoroughly rejecting and repudiating the electoral politics. We must not forget that imperialism, feudalism and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie exploit and oppress our people with impunity by means of this electoral politics. The revisionist cliques of the CPI and the CPI (M) are frantically going about peddling their rotten theory that the Constitution offers opportunities, even if "limited", and that people should take advantage of these "limited" opportunities to defend their rights and improve their living conditions. This is absolutely false and has not even a grain of truth in it. There is absolutely no opportunity, not even limited, which the people can use to their advantage in any way under the existing semi-colonial semi-feudal structure in India. This is the iron-clad fact. To deceive the people with talks of 'taking advantage of limited opportunities offered by the Constitution' is an unpardonable crime. This is done by the revisionists and neo-revisionists in order to help prolong imperialist-feudal exploitation and oppression of India. This is the essence of their electoral politics and parliamentary path.

Revolutionary Indian People Are Advancing

—Hsinhua Correspondent, Peking

THE Indian revolutionary people have this year carried to a greater depth and wider scale their heroic struggle against the Indian reactionaries and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. In the course of their struggle, they constantly summed up experience, consolidated their ranks and accumulated strength; they often seized favourable opportunities to strike hard at the Indian reactionaries, throwing them into panic.

Extensive Dissemination of the Revolutionary Truth

This year has witnessed the extensive spread of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought in various places in India. Proceeding from the concrete conditions in the country, the Indian revolutionaries have emphatically propagated the necessity for the Indian people to take the revolutionary road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing political power by armed force. They have forcefully repudiated the "parliamentary road" trumpeted by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party and the Dange renegade clique to berumb the Indian people.

The Indian revolutionaries have translated and published Chairman Mao's brilliant works in large quantities and reproduced Chairman Mao's writings and quotations in their revolutionary journals. They have spread the revolutionary truth among the broad masses of the Indian people, especially among the poor labouring people most brutally oppressed and exploited. It has been leaked out in the Indian press that among the "adivasi" (indigenous)

peasants living in Chota Nagpur area, Bihar state, many can recite quotations from Chairman Mao.

The Indian revolutionaries have also spread the revolutionary truth among the people by secretly painting huge slogans and pasting up leaflets. Large numbers of revolutionary slogans have appeared on the walls in villages and towns. They include: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," "Without a people's army the people have nothing," "Not ballots but bullets needed for revolution!" "Boycott elections!" "Long live violent revolution!" "Armed struggle, yes, yes!" "Down with the vankees!" "Red salute to Naxalbari!" "Liberation is possible only by smashing the bourgeois state machinery!" "Mao Tse-tung, zindabad! (Long live Mao Tse-tung)."

In November, a huge slogan "Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung" appeared on a wall near the Dum Dum international airport in Calcutta. "Down with elections" and other revolutionary slogans were painted all over the walls of a small street in Bombay, the second biggest Indian city, on the night of December 17. These actions of the Indian revolutionaries have dealt heavy blows at the Indian reactionaries. Indian Minister of Home Affairs Y. B. Chavan clamoured in Parliament on December 20 for another bill so as to carry out wanton suppression of the people.

Peasant Struggles Rising Wave Upon Wave

The Indian revolutionaries have been working hard to integrate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution. They paid great attention to going to the rural areas and mobilizing the peasants in the revolutionary struggle. Summing up their past experience in their work in the rural areas, the Indian revolutionaries pointed out the importance of making investigations in the rural areas and of applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought in making class analysis. They pointed out that this is the way indispensable for distinguishing between the enemy and

ourselves, a question of the first importance for the revolution. An article on investigation of two villages published by the Indian weekly *Desha Brati (Patriot)* exposed with numerous facts the extremely cruel feudal exploitation in the countryside and refuted the modern revisionists' fallacy that capitalism has prevailed in India's countryside.

With the daily awakening of the Indian peasant masses, the revolutionary peasants' armed struggle against brutal repression and their struggle to seize land have risen in successive waves in various parts of India. The people of Naxalbari, West Bengal State, have been persisting in their struggle. Moreover, in February this year, the peasants in Srikakulam, Andhra State, launched several surprise attacks on the reactionary troops and police with home-made guns as well as bows and arrows. In July, 5,000 peasants in the northern part of Uttar Pradesh seized back more than 20,000 acres of land from the landlords. In August, the peasants in Muzaffarpur District, Bihar State, heroically beat back the attacks of the police and armed bands of the landlords, holding a locality under their control for three days.

Recently, the reactionary Indian Government published a proclamation urging all the state governments to strengthen their secret service set-ups and intensify the suppressive measures against the revolutionary peasants. It instructed the state governments to send police as quickly as possible to the "troubled spots" and promised that the Central Government would come to their assistance if necessary. On December 5, Home Minister Chavan told Parliament in alarm that Indian revolutionaries are very active not only in West Bengal but also in eastern Uttar Pradesh, northern Bihar, Andhra and Kerala. He shouted hysterically that this "threat" cannot be underestimated and must be met with.

No matter how desperately the Indian reactionaries may struggle, the nearly 400 million woe-stricken Indian peasants are bound to rise up in struggle and get rid of the shackles on them. This is a historical trend that no reactionary forces can stop.

People's Struggle Surging in the Cities

This year, the struggles of the Indian workers, students and teachers have pounded heavily at the reactionary rule in India. The strike staged by 4 million government employees, including railway, postal and tele-communication workers, in September was unprecedented in scale. It hit the Indian Central Government with a force more direct and more powerful than that of all past strikes of government employees. The tide of struggles staged by the students and teachers has spread to several states as the year is drawing to an end. Newspaper workers and employees who seldom took part in past strikes, have also struck for two months for higher wages.

The Indian urban people's struggle is spearheaded more and more directly at U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionary Indian rulers this year. When Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defence and now President of the World Bank arrived in India in November, the Calcutta citizens staged a mammoth anti-U.S. demonstration. Deeply frightened McNamara had to leave the international airport by helicopter. When a delegation of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was holding talks with the reactionary Indian Government in New Delhi in September, the revolutionary people of the Indian capital put up many slogans saying "Nec-colonialists, go home!" in the city and its suburbs, denouncing the Soviet revisionists for plundering the Indian people. Furthermore, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of the reactionary Indian Government and Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai were surrounded on several occasions this year by the indignant masses who stoned these reactionary chieftains to show their bitter hatred for the reactionary rule.

The urban people in India have manifested a courageous and undaunted spirit in their struggle. The inwardly weak reactionary Indian Government has revealed its fascist

✓ features in suppressing the big strike of the government employees. It ordered the police to open fire at the strikers, killing ten of them. 10,000 people were thrown into prison and over 10,000 people were discharged or suspended from work. However, the employees and workers of the posts and tele-communications departments carried on their struggle against the reactionary government in various forms. The "pen-down" strikes and "slow-down" struggle lasted more than one month after the big strike and threw the Indian reactionaries into a very awkward position.

Indian Reactionaries Are Doomed to Destruction

Under the blows of the Indian people's struggle, the Indian reactionary rule which is beset with difficulties both at home and abroad is becoming more and more unstable. As pointed out by an article in the November issue of the Indian revolutionary monthly *Liberation*, the Indian "ruling classes have been enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crisis than before. Their economy, an appendage to imperialist economy, is afflicted with a mortal disease from which there is no hope of recovery." The article said, "As the contradictions between the people and the exploiting classes grow sharper, the Congress Party, the main party of the Indian landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, can hardly deceive the people any longer with talks of economic planning or of building socialism. It is also a house divided against itself. A dogfight is going on between different factions and parties of the ruling classes, which have linked their fate with that of U. S. or British imperialists or of the Soviet neo-colonialists. Their fight for power and super-profits among themselves and their masters is making the political crisis even more sharp."

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "The Indian nation is a great nation, and the Indian people a good people." The Indian reactionaries and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism—are all paper tigers. The Indian people will certainly win complete emancipation through their own struggle!

—December 26, 1968

(Continued from page 16)

address when the State government, the bourgeois press and the reactionaries raised a cry of alarm. What is more, they are now much more worried for this movement which is no longer confined to the Agency parts alone but has spread to the plain areas of the district.

Mass Actions Against Landlord and Money-Lender Oppressors

On 25th November, the Girijan masses of about 250 from 25 villeges holding their traditional weapons of bows and arrows, spears etc., went to the house of the landlord and money-lender, Teegala Narasimhulu, of Pedagothili village in Parvatipuram agency and took possession of his accumulated paddy, rice, and other food-grains worth about Rs. 20,000. They have also seized documents, promissory notes and other papers which are used as instruments for exploiting the people. This landlord apart from his crimes, aided and assisted his brother Seemala Raju during the repression period from Feb. '68. The masses have at least retaliated his crimes.

No mention of land

On 27th Nov., the Girijan masses of about 200 from 20 villages took action against another big landlord and money-lender S. Ramamurthy of Duddukallu area in Parvatipuram Taluk. He had been a very cruel oppressor of the masses of 40 villages in this area. Grains about Rs. 20,000 and a record of usurious loans amounting to Rs. 22,000 have been seized by the peasants. The document shows in detail his technique of exploiting the poor Girijans and the wealth he has accumulated. The State Government readily came to the rescue of the landlord and money-lender oppressors by rushing hundreds of special armed policemen to the agency areas apart from those already posted.

No anti-hitation work

Mass Actions on the Plains

On 24th November a squad of 'Mahila' (women) volunteers propagating the need for agrarian revolution and Naxalbari-type action reached Garudabhadra village in Tekkali taluk (near Palasa Rly. Station). The local landlord Maddi Kamesu with his goondas obstructed the 'Mahila' squad, man-handled the women volunteers, confined them in the village by surrounding the volunteers. On hearing the news, the peasants and women who were working in the near-by fields rushed to the scene. The landlord and his goondas attacked the rescuers. But these attacks were repulsed and the volunteers were freed. Enraged by the vile attack of the landlord, some 250 people of the Sompeta taluk and Tekkali taluk cut and took away the landlord's standing paddy crop.

On 10th December, a prohibition party indiscriminately raided Girijan villages of Althi Hills in the the Pathapatnam taluk. The people drove them away. Next day scores of policemen with the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Srikakulam District went to the villages and began to assault them. The Girijan masses of about 500 fought and repulsed the police with stones, bows and arrows, wounding many men including the Deputy Superintendent of Police. The police fired at the masses and killed two of them. Among the injured were some women.

The masses led by the communist revolutionaries participated in all these actions. They are enthused and enlightened by the Naxalbari peasant revolutionary struggles. They have taken to the path of Naxalbari as the only path for their liberation from the oppression of feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, American imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The Girijan masses as well as the land-poor and landless peasants in the plain areas are getting organised to fight back the combined landlord-police offensive launched against them.

Since we received the above report, more news of the heroic struggles of the Girijan masses against the brutal exploitation of the landlords and usurers and their state machinery have appeared in the bourgeois papers.

According to a report that appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Dec. 22, the police fired 19 rounds to disperse hundreds of Girijans, who had attacked them with guns, axes, bows and arrows in Pulipatti hills in Parvatipuram Agency area of Srikakulam district on December 20. The official report said a police force under a Police Inspector was proceeding along the valley, one and a half miles from Ballaruguda village to conduct a raid when they were surrounded by hundreds of armed Girijans who had assembled on five hill tops. The armed Girijans opened fire on the police party with guns and discharged arrows. They pushed boulders and pelted stones on the police party from all directions. During the clashes on Dec. 20 and on subsequent days, at least 4 policemen, including an officer, are reported to have been killed.

A PTI report from Hyderabad, dated Dec. 29, stated that under the leadership of the Communist revolutionaries more than 1000 armed Girijans went to a landlord's house in the tribal area of Srikakulam district on Dec. 27. The Girijans, who were armed with guns, axes, knives and other weapons, took possession of the landlord's property worth Rs. 20,000. A police party which went to the village from the Mandemkal outpost on receiving information was fired at by the Girijans. When the police returned the fire the Girijans retreated into the hills. (See *Statesman*, Dec. 30, '68)

Another PTI report from Hyderabad, dated Jan. 6, states that on Saturday night (Jan. 4) armed Girijans set ablaze a number of houses including a school building which was being used as a police camp by a raiding police party in the village of Dakshini in the Parvatipuram Agency area. The Girijans attacked the police with guns as the police came

out of the blazing camp and there was an exchange of gun-fire. (See *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Jan. 7, '69)

Today, the heroic Girijan struggle is entering a new phase in which mass struggles and guerrilla actions are being co-ordinated.

NAXALBARI

Last month a successful guerrilla action took place within Kharibari police station area. A notorious *jotedar* was meted out exemplary punishment.

A communist revolutionary who was detained as an under-trial prisoner by the reactionary government escaped from Siliguri jail hospital last month. The West Bengal government admitted this after about a month. (See *Statesman*, Jan. 7, 1969)

HALDIBARI (West Bengal)

According to a report in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Dec. 17, '68), there was a serious clash between peasants and a landlord's men during harvesting. Two armed policemen were attacked and beaten by the policemen and their rifles were snatched away. Later, more policemen were rushed to the place. They tried to terrorize the people and managed to get back the rifles.

MIDNAPUR (West Bengal)

According to the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Dec. 24, '68) the district authorities of Midnapur in a report to the West Bengal Home Department have congratulated themselves for detaining 13 'extremist' leaders without trial under the Preventive Detention Act. The report considers Gopiballavpur, Debra and Jhargram police station areas as "trouble spots." To avoid 'trouble,' the district administration is gradually withdrawing the forest offices from these areas. They are not trying to recover about 2,000 acres of land forcibly occupied by the peasantry.

The above report also states that a political party, a constituent unit of the "United Front", is closely co-operating with the *jotedars* during the harvesting work.

24 PARGANAS (West Bengal)

In the Bhangor area, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Dec. 24, '68) reports, the peasants are occupying land, particularly, Government land. Already 2 to 3 thousand bighas of land (1 bigha = $\frac{1}{3}$ acre) have already been distributed by the peasants among themselves.

In the village of Dwariknagar within Namkhana police station area, according to a report in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Dec. 24, '68, there was a serious clash on Dec. 17 between the share-croppers and *jotedars*. The *jotedars* tried to reap the harvest and take it away by force. About 1,000 peasants resisted them. During the clashes that followed the *jotedars* fired upon the peasants. The police, as usual, came to the help of the *jotedars* and arrested several peasants.

On Dec. 22, according to a report in the *Statesman* (Dec. 25, '68), the peasants attacked the police camp at Baliara village, Namkhana. They had demanded the removal of the police camp from the village. The police fired two rounds. According to a police source, three camp personnel were injured.

KHAGARIA (Bihar)

A report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Dec. 19, '68 states that 500 peasants, led by suspected Naxalites, and armed with guns, revolvers and bombs, entered the house of a prosperous landlord in village Ramunia near here and took possession of 628 bags of harvested paddy, 78 bags of foodgrains and 5 bags of fertilisers on Dec. 16.

According to the above report, 'extremist' communists have become increasingly active on the Darbhanga, Saharsa and Khagaria border for some time past and they have

been 'inciting' the poorer sections of the people in the countryside to adopt the Naxalbari pattern of action.

The *Patrika* adds that this is the third incident of its kind in recent times in this belt.

RANCHI (Bihar)

The Birsa Seva Dal, the militant organisation of the Adivasis of Chota Nagpur, has sent out a call to the people to boycott elections [the mid-term elections in Bihar are scheduled to take place in February] and to build up revolutionary struggles for the overthrow of the present reactionary regime. It may be recalled here that in the course of the last six months the Adivasis clashed with the police on three occasions and the police fired upon them at Chiri, Raidih and Chainpur.

THANJAVUR (Tamil Nadu)

The news of the unspeakable crime of the landlords of East Thanjavur district whose hired gangs burnt alive at least 42 peasant women, children and old men in the village of Kilavenmani on Christmas Day sent a shiver of terror through the whole country. It was also a feeling of anger and hatred for the reactionary ruling classes and a determination to strike harder at their regime, that filled the minds of the people of the country. The peasants of East Thanjavur, who had been waging a heroic struggle against their exploiters for several weeks, were not cowed by the vicious attack of their sworn class-enemies. Harvesting operations came to a stand-still as the landless labourers did not allow scabs to do the work of harvesting. The landlords are depending on the police of the reactionary DMK Government to rescue them from their plight. On Jan. 4 the *Statesman* reported the Superintendent of Police had told reporters that harvesting in many of the Nagapattinam villages in East Thanjavur district had been resumed by Jan. 1 with adequate police protection to landowners.

But the time is coming when no police protection will be adequate enough to save the landowners from the just anger of the awakened peasantry.

BHATINDA (Punjab)

The Punjab State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries writes :

Naxalbari Flames Reach Bhatinda District in Punjab

Under the leadership of communist revolutionaries, the landless peasants and agricultural labourers of two villages, namely Bhikhi and Samaon, captured forcibly the land of a notorious money-lender and landlord and also the *nazaul* land on December 8, 1968. On seeing the militant demonstration staged by the revolutionary peasants and the peasants ploughing the fields of the landlord, the armed goondas of the landlord and the local police fled away. For three days after December 8, no armed goonda or police could enter the villages. But on December 12, all of a sudden, the whole District police force encircled the village but the revolutionary people gave shelter to the comrades and the peasant revolutionaries and foiled every attempt of the police to arrest them. After this the police resorted to fascist repressions, tormented the peasant masses and also harassed the women and children of the peasant revolutionaries. Because of this fascist police action, the peasants of the whole area were enraged and they stood more united than ever to resist the police repression and settle accounts with the goondas but the police force was withdrawn the very next day.

With this revolutionary action the Naxalite peasant movement has started in Punjab and all the Revolutionary Peasant Committees have taken the decision to capture the *nazaul* lands and lands of notorious money-lenders and landlords during the next crop.

ALLEPPEY (Kerala)

A message from Trivandrum, dated Jan. 3, states :

Armed with weapons and led by the communist revolutionaries, several hundred agricultural labourers have occupied in the Naxalbari way about 6 square miles of paddy-fields in the village of Pallipapad in Alleppey district. According to journalists and eye-witnesses, the situation is extremely critical and is causing anxiety *despite* the presence of the armed police force. Under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries, several hundred agricultural labourers, including quite a large number of women, equipped with arms, marched along the road in a procession. They demonstrated before the Harippad Police Station and threatened the class-enemies and others belonging to the hostile camp. Now there is evidence of the Naxalbari type of activities of the communist revolutionaries in the villages of Pallipapad and Kuttanad where most of the landowners are supporters of the Congress or the Kerala Congress. They have recently organised a force to 'defend their lives and property.' (See *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Jan. 4, '69)

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