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On Some Current Political AND Organizational Problems

—Charu Mazumdar

IN THE article which Parimal Dasgupta¹ has written on the Czechoslovak event and in his letter² to the editorial board of the *Deshabrati*³, he has placed the recent happenings in Czechoslovakia on the same footing as the Hungarian event of 1956. In Hungary, at that time, counter-revolutionaries from outside infiltrated into the country and, joining forces with the reactionaries inside, attempted to occupy the country. They carried out a large-scale massacre to finish off the revolutionary comrades with a view to imposing by force the capitalist system. At that time, Hungary was still a socialist country. Referring to the Hungarian events of 1956,

1. This refers to an article "After Hungary Czechoslovakia" by Parimal Dasgupta in which he made known his assessment, different from and opposed to the stand taken by the West Bengal State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and the revolutionary journal DESHABRATI, in regard to the Soviet social-imperialist aggression against Czechoslovakia.

2. This refers to the letter (dated 31. 8. 68) which Parimal Dasgupta addressed to the editorial board of DESHABRATI. In it he stated that he was feeling "worried and uncomfortable" over the editorial of DESHABRATI (of August 29, 1968) on the Czechoslovak event. According to him, this editorial endorsed the standpoint of reactionary parties like SSP, PSP etc. Such stand, according to him, "has caused grave harm to our politics". He sent his article ("After Hungary, Czechoslovakia") with this letter with a request to publish it in DESHABRATI. His request was, however, turned down.

3. This refers to the editorial entitled "Rise Up In Protest Against the Barbarous Soviet Aggression Against Czechoslovakia" which appeared in DESHABRATI on August 29, 1968. In it the social-imperialist nature of Soviet aggression was exposed and sharply condemned.

Chairman Mao pointed out : "It was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder." That is why, the intervention of the Soviet government there was justified and it fulfilled the task of helping to defend socialism in that country. But now in 1968, when the Soviet Union has committed aggression against Czechoslovakia, neither the Soviet Union nor Czechoslovakia is a socialist country —both having degenerated into capitalist countries. That is why, the sending of troops into Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other East European countries is nothing but an out and out imperialist aggression. So, to place these two events on the same footing means denying the fact that the Soviet Union has degenerated into a social-imperialist country, and endorsing the Soviet imperialist aggression against Czechoslovakia as a correct action, an action to defend socialism.

Parimal Dasgupta, in his article, has sought to make out what a plot reaction hatched to destroy socialism in Czechoslovakia. The truth is, capitalism had already been restored in Czechoslovakia, and it was the Czechoslovak ruling clique which, with the active collaboration of the Soviet revisionists, did so after destroying socialism there. So, to try to look for the existence of a reactionary plot there means supporting the Soviet imperialist aggression.

Parimal Dasgupta has found the points raised in the *Deshabrati* editorial (of August 29, 1968) strange, but has not cared to indicate what particular issues he has in mind. There is, however, one issue that he has not raised in the article he has written, the issue of US-Soviet collaboration. In the article he points only to US-Soviet conflict but has failed to show that it is within the framework of US-Soviet collaboration. No wonder he finds the

points raised in the *Deshabrati* editorial strange. There is enough ground, therefore, to believe that what he finds baffling and strange is that anyone should find US-Soviet collaboration behind the Czechoslovak event. The fact that the Soviet aggression took place with the knowledge of Johnson has little importance for him. This is because he either rejects or fails to understand the fact that Soviet social-imperialism, in collaboration with US imperialism, is striving to dominate the world. This leads to one thing —to deny in effect the fact that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist country. This is why he did not hesitate to use even the propaganda materials supplied by the Soviet Union to bolster up his own argument. No wonder *Deshabrati's* editorial seemed laughable to him.

of cap. To those who consider the Soviet Union as a socialist state cannot but find *Deshabrati's* editorial laughable. But then, why should it seem so laughable to Parimal Dasgupta ? Does he stand by the May Declaration (1968) of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries ? Did not that Declaration point out that the Soviet Union had already degenerated into a social-imperialist state ? Why, therefore, the editorial should appear so laughable to him ? Since it does appear so to him, the question naturally rises : Does he at all support the stand taken by the Communist Party of China ? Does he, so to say, support the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung ? Does it not follow from what he wrote in his article and from what he chose not to write, and also from his remarks, that he does not support the stand taken by the Chinese Party and Chairman Mao's analysis of the nature of the Soviet Union ? In his article he has criticised Soviet revisionism and described the process by which the Khrushchev clique usurped power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin and restored capitalism there, but has failed to draw the conclusion, which he should have drawn, the conclusion that the attack on Czechoslovakia

is an imperialist aggression. Were he able to see this as an imperialist aggression he would also have known that even the resistance of the bourgeoisie of a country against aggression has a revolutionary role and that the proletariat of that country is called upon to work for unity with that bourgeoisie. When faced with Japanese aggression, the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao correctly adopted the programme of united front and united with Chiang Kai-shek (Sian incident). Chairman Mao pointed out that Chiang Kai-shek was closely linked with the British and the US imperialists who did not want Japan to occupy China. But, on the other hand, Wang Ching-wei, closely linked as he was with Japanese imperialism, followed the policy of abject surrender to and cooperation with the Japanese, and thus turned into an enemy of the Chinese people. Because he failed to see that the Soviet attack was an imperialist aggression, Parimal Dasgupta could not bring himself to welcome the resistance that developed in Czechoslovakia against it; he slighted the resistance and considered it to be an expression of a struggle of the reactionary ruling clique for a share of power. It is true that no mass resistance led by a correct party has developed as yet; but it does not follow from this that we can slight or look down upon whatever resistance has developed. We must never forget that such resistance is an expression of the principal contradiction of the Czechoslovak people.

His inability to see the fact of Soviet social-imperialism lands him in a position where he equates the standpoint of the *Deshabrati* editorial with that of the reactionary parties like PSP, SSP etc. But how can one overlook the fact that this inability to see the fact of Soviet imperialist aggression has brought Parimal Dasgupta's standpoint very close to that of the CPI (M)? Instead of condemning Soviet armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, Parimal

Dasgupta, in his article, sought to be neutral and sat in judgement to portion out the guilt between the two—the aggressor, and the victim of aggression. This amounts to shirking the revolutionary duty towards the Czechoslovak people and to refusing to attach importance to the heavy burden of new exploitation and indignity that were heaped on the Czechoslovak people by the Soviet aggression. What revolutionary, worth the name, can ever think of adopting such an attitude? On the contrary, such an attitude perfectly fits one who is going to turn a traitor to the people's cause sooner or later. Don't we find that only those who have turned traitors to the people's cause are the ones who have come out in support of the Soviet aggression? It is, therefore, most unfortunate that Parimal Dasgupta should have chosen to act in the manner he has.

It appears from the frequent hints that he dropped, that Parimal Dasgupta had quite a few things to say about the working of the State Co-ordination Committee (West Bengal). But unfortunately, busy as he was with the strike in the State Electricity Board and unable as he was to attend meetings of the Committee for quite a long period of time at a stretch, his criticism could not be thoroughly discussed at the State Co-ordination Committee. There can be no doubt whatsoever that, if he could attend the Committee meetings his criticisms would have been heard and thoroughly discussed, making our differences clear. Such discussions help develop our political education. We feel unhappy that such discussions could not be held, and it is he who is to blame for this.

Parimal Dasgupta and others have formed a rival Co-ordination Committee on the State level and have also published a document. In the document they have stated that certain allegedly erroneous trends, conceptions and deviations have appeared among the communist revolutionaries, and have also described what these errors are.

They have discussed their viewpoint only briefly and this makes it very difficult for us to understand them.

They have stated that work in the cities is being neglected and that there is a trend which refuses to participate in trade union activities and have stressed the necessity of building mass organizations.

The question is: if everyone concerns himself with building mass organizations, who is to build up the underground party organization? Do we expect the mass organizations to organize the agrarian revolution? Certainly, no one is thinking like this, and it is correct not to think like this. It is precisely for this reason that the All India Co-ordination Committee (AICCCR) has laid the utmost stress on building underground party organizations. Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers chose not to criticize this stand of the AICCCR openly and preferred to lay stress on the work of mass organizations instead, that is, on open work.

They also speak of class organization and class struggle in the peasant movement. There are different classes within the peasantry, namely, the poor and landless peasant, the middle peasant and the rich peasant. It is not clear which class or classes they have in mind. Again, if they take the entire peasantry as a single class and try to build organizations accordingly, these will inescapably turn into organizations like the Kisan Sabha led and dominated by the rich and the middle peasants. Moreover, such an attempt on our part will strengthen the tendency to carry on open movements through those open mass organizations inevitably turning us into another set of leaders of revisionist mass organizations. The leadership of the poor and the landless peasants over the peasant movement can be established only if we build underground Party organizations among the peasant masses.

Further, they have sought to discover Che Guevara-ism

in our peasant movement. This leads to repudiating the necessity and inevitability of guerrilla war in the peasant movement. Obviously, the peasantry as a whole does not participate in this guerrilla warfare. What happens is that the advanced class-conscious section of the peasant masses starts the guerrilla war. For this reason, guerrilla war, at its initial stages, may appear as a struggle of only a handful of people.

However, this kind of guerrilla war has nothing in common with what is advocated by Che Guevara—the guerrilla war which is waged by the petty bourgeois intelligentsia without the peasant masses. The guerrilla war that we speak of, on the other hand, is initiated by the class-conscious elements of the poor and landless peasants and can be led and carried on only with the active cooperation of the poor and landless peasant masses.

This kind of guerrilla war has nothing in common with the kind advocated by Che Guevara for the further reason that this kind of guerrilla war is launched not by relying on arms and weapons—so characteristic of a Che-type war, but is launched without arms and by relying confidently on the cooperation of the masses. Precisely for this reason, this war can be started only through an intensive propagation of the politics of seizure of political power among the peasant masses. And this work can be performed only by the Party units among the peasantry—units that are composed of the poor and landless peasants. And these Party units can carry out this task only by organising guerrilla war of the poor and landless peasants. We must remember that the poor and landless peasants can establish their leadership over the peasant masses only by conducting a guerrilla war. Guerrilla warfare is the only tactic for carrying on peasants' revolutionary struggle. And no mass organization can ever accomplish this through open work.

It follows from the above that the tactic adopted by

Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers with respect to the peasant movement is completely opposed to the line laid down by Comrade Lin Piao. They seek to give a new explanation of the politics of Naxalbari peasant struggle. A new explanation—but why? Is it not because they have ceased to consider the conclusions and politics of Comrade Kanu Sanyal's Report on the Naxalbari struggle as correct? They do consider them as not correct, and so it is no wonder that they should feel the need for seeking a new explanation. According to them, Comrade Kanu Sanyal's evaluation of the Naxalbari struggle is based not on Mao Tsetung Thought but on the theory of Che Guevara. That they should at all think like this is because they do not think of guerrilla warfare and are unable to comprehend its significance and importance.

Another point they have raised is that the four main enemies of the Indian people are being considered and their importance judged in isolation from each other. This naturally leads to the question whether by pointing out the principal contradiction between the Indian masses and their enemies we are isolating it from other fundamental contradictions and laying undue emphasis on it. Of course, not. No doubt there are four main enemies and that they must be defeated and eliminated. But in order to defeat and eliminate them we must first find out the principal contradiction and then apply our main force to resolve that contradiction. Only thus can we eliminate all our enemies. Not to find out the principal contradiction is to negate the main aspect of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to open the gates wide for Right and 'Left' deviations. In India, as we know, all sorts of deviations raised their head because the problem of finding out the principal contradiction was consistently ignored. Now, it seems, Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers have opted to act in exactly the same old way.

Lastly, the question of building mass organizations—about which Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers seem to be greatly concerned. Now, what do we mean by mass organization? As Lenin has said, even the trade union organization represents a united front of different ideologies among the workers. And as such it is the ability of the Communist Party to act independently that determines the way this united front will work. The extent to which organized revolutionary cadres are present in a mass organization and whether these revolutionary cadres are propagating revolutionary politics independently or not—these two things determine whether a mass organization is a revolutionary one or not. We all know how, during the period when we were suffering most under the spell of revisionism, we built numerous mass organizations and also Party units inside them. But we functioned the Party units merely to supplement the trade union work. As a result, we were unable to win the workers over to our political views, even to our revisionist politics. All those who have done trade union work have the bitter experience of how the workers rallied round the communist leaders in order to win their economic demands and yet how they voted for the Congress Party during the parliamentary elections.

We must understand that the members of a trade union do not necessarily turn into communists simply because its leader happens to be a communist. The Party units have to shoulder a great responsibility. They must independently propagate the revolutionary politics, that is, the politics of agrarian revolution, among the working class in order to inspire them with it. They must do so, because the proletariat will never be able to grasp the necessity of carrying out agrarian revolution by waging its struggle for economic demands. The politics of agrarian revolution must be brought to the proletariat from without, from outside the trade union struggle. For

this, we require revolutionary worker cadres, equipped politically, that is, equipped with the Thought of Chairman Mao. And such cadres can be brought up only through underground Party organizations.

Trade unions serve as training schools for the proletariat only when there is no revolutionary situation in a country and when the bourgeoisie appears to be quite strong and the proletariat considers itself very weak. In such a situation trade union struggle creates self-confidence among the workers and increases their confidence in struggle and they learn the tactics of fighting in the course of their struggle against the bourgeoisie. In this way trade union struggle becomes a training school for the proletariat.

But in another situation, that is, when a revolutionary situation prevails and when any struggle rapidly develops into an open clash with the state power—in such a revolutionary situation, the Party organization becomes the only class organization of the proletariat. Particularly in a country like India, where the main centre of revolution lies in the rural areas, the Party is called upon to shoulder much heavier responsibility and the task of building Party organizations among the proletariat becomes most urgent. This is so because the proletariat cannot play its leading role without the Party organization. So, when we say that a revolutionary situation now prevails in India, it necessarily follows that in India, our task today is to build underground revolutionary Party organizations and not mass organizations. It is this underground Party organization that will lead the class struggle. We must remember what Chairman Mao has taught us: **“Never forget class struggle.”** Only through such class struggles can the broad masses of workers feel the necessity and inevitability of smashing the existing state apparatus and realise that an agrarian revolution is necessary in order to seize state power. Only thus can the proletarian leadership be established over the agrarian revolution.

Instead of emphasising the need for building underground Party organisations, Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers have put the emphasis on the need for building mass organizations. By acting like this, they are actually trying to avoid the task of building revolutionary Party organizations.

The politics that Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers are preaching through their writings and their ‘Co-ordination’ is most harmful to the revolutionaries. This is so, because with their revolutionary phrase-mongering they are rendering every single target of attack of the revolutionaries vague and indistinct. They are inventing arguments cloaked in revolutionary guise in order to induce us to drift along with the old revisionist current, to let ourselves be carried away by the old revisionist way of doing things to which we have been so long accustomed.

On the Czechoslovak event Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers weakened the anti-revisionist struggle by not arousing hatred against the Soviet social-imperialists. In the present-day India when the revolutionary masses, after rejecting the parliamentary road, have begun to take to the new road—the road illumined by the Thought of Chairman Mao—Parimal Dasgupta and others are trying to divert the masses from that new road and to drag them back to the parliamentary road. And they are doing all this in the name of Chairman Mao and behind a revolutionary facade.

At a time when we have begun building the revolutionary Party, we must defeat this harmful politics. Unless we defeat it, the Party will not be able to advance along the correct revolutionary path and will not be able to master the revolutionary style of work as taught by Chairman Mao. That is why all revolutionaries must actively fight against the political views of Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers.

[This article was first published in the Bengali periodical GHATANA PRABAHA, Vol. 2, No. 1 entitled ‘Parimal Babur Rajniti.’]

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

**On the brutal murder of
Comrade P. Krishnamurty
and Six other Comrades**

The Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is stunned at the cowardly and atrocious murder of seven comrades, including Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurty, by the reactionary Congress government in Andhra Pradesh, which was aided and abetted by the modern revisionists, on the night of May 26-27, 1969. Comrade Krishnamurty was one the founders of the CPI (M-L) and a member of its Central Organizing Committee. Son of a poor peasant family, Comrade Krishnamurty was a leader of a new type, a good disciple of Chairman Mao. With his selflessness, modesty, unostentatious heroism, love for the people, and faith in the victory of the Indian revolution, he will remain an inspiring example to all comrades. We should all emulate his daring to struggle, daring to sacrifice and daring to win.

The death of these comrades is a great loss to our Party and people, but their revolutionary spirit will live for ever in the hearts of all our people and of all revolutionaries. We will all cherish their memory, we will turn our sorrow into strength and our great grief into bitter hatred for the enemies and deal more powerful blows at them so that the cause of the Indian revolution, for which Comrade Krishnamurty and the other six comrades laid down their lives, may triumph within the shortest possible time.

—July 9, 1969

NOTES

GREAT AND INSPIRING SUPPORT

Great was the enthusiasm of our comrades and friends when, on July 2 and subsequent days, the Peking Radio greeted the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). It broadcast the *Communique* of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, issued on April 22, 1969, and announced that *People's Daily*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, had reproduced on July 2 the text of the *Political Resolution* of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The Peking Radio also broadcast most of the *Resolution* as well as portions from Comrade Kanu Sanyal's address at the historic May Day rally in Calcutta, announcing the formation of the Party.

In *The Worker*, its organ, the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) has also hailed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Their message of greetings is published elsewhere in this issue.

Tholilali, Tamil weekly of the Ceylon Communist Party, reported on the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and hailed its emergence.

We, Marxist-Leninists in India, owe a deep debt of gratitude to Marxist-Leninists in other countries, especially to the great Communist Party of China, the leader of the international communist movement, for their warm fraternal support and correct guidance at every crisis in our Party history. We remember how the heroic struggle of the Naxalbari peasantry, the first single spark of the Indian revolution, was applauded by the great Party led by Chairman Mao. Now, too, the great CPC has come forward to extend its unmistakable and inspiring support

to our new-born Party, the Party of armed struggle based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

A great trust is reposed by the world's revolutionary forces on our Party, a contingent of the international communist movement. Only by striving harder to fulfil its great task—the task of integrating itself with the Indian masses and rousing them boldly to carry the Indian revolution through to the end along Chairman Mao's road—can our Party prove worthy of that trust and perform its internationalist duty. Ours is a great new era—the era of the complete collapse of imperialism and the world-wide triumph of socialism—the era of Mao Tsetung. The victory of the 500 million people of India over imperialism, revisionism and reaction will bring nearer the victory of the world proletarian revolution. Our road may be long and tortuous but the prospect at the end of it is thrilling. As Chairman Mao said,

“The Indian nation is a great nation. The Indian people are a great people. Indian reactionaries and their masters, U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, are all paper tigers. The Indian people can achieve complete liberation through their own struggle.”

The support of the international proletariat and of its leader, the great CPC, will be a source of immense strength to our Party and to our people in this struggle—a part of the world proletarian revolution.

HOMAGE TO OUR MARTYRED COMRADES

Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurty and six other important comrades were murdered in cold blood by the police of the reactionary government on the night of May 26-27. Comrade Krishnamurty, one of the founders of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), was a member of its Central Organizing Committee. This very able organizer and leader of the guerrilla struggle that is now raging in the Srikakulam district, parts of Warangal,

Khammam and several other districts of Andhra and certain areas of Koraput in Orissa, was feared by the enemy and loved by the people.

The other comrades were T. Chinna Rao, B. Papa Rao, D. Gopala Rao, Niranjan Rao, Ramachandran and Narisimhulu. All these comrades were very young—between thirteen and twenty—except Comrade Narisimhulu, who was a fifty year-old poor peasant. All these comrades, except Comrade Niranjan Rao, were party members and very good guerrilla fighters. Comrade Niranjan Rao, a bright thirteen year-old boy, worked as a tailor and whenever free, he read *Quotations* from Chairman Mao Tsetung, recited and explained them to his mother even while taking his food. He fought with his parents who were reluctant in consideration of his age to allow him to join a guerrilla squad. He was killed on the same day he received the permission and joined Comrade Krishnamurty. Comrade T. Chinna Rao, a fourteen year-old boy, had won the hearts of the people all over Andhra by his brilliant performances in *Jamukulakatha* (a popular dramatic form in Andhra). Comrade Papa Rao was a student leader who afterwards became a guerrilla fighter. Comrade Gopala Rao had escaped twice from the police camp after his arrests. Comrade Ramachandran was a talented guerrilla fighter. Comrade Narisimhulu had been a party member for fifteen years. He was so harassed and oppressed by his landlord that he left his home with his daughter and joined a guerrilla squad.

While moving from one area to another, Comrade Krishnamurty and the other comrades were suddenly surrounded and overpowered by a large number of armed policemen. Instead of putting them behind prison bars, the enemy tied our comrades with ropes, took them to a place near the hills, shot and murdered them. Then they invented and circulated the story of a clash to cover up this cold-blooded, atrocious murder.

The manner in which our comrades were killed indicates that we are in the midst of war; it shows how ruthless, how remorseless, is this war. Faced with a bitter class war that threatens his very existence, the enemy feels no scruple to trample underfoot the laws he himself has framed.

The murder of our comrades also reflects the panic that has gripped the enemy. He is afraid of the fate that awaits him. He is afraid that the struggles of the people will, in no distant future, grow powerful enough to overthrow his rule and bring our comrades back from prison. So, the enemy, who has brought Central Reserve Police battalions to crush the guerrilla struggle in Srikakulam, is making wild and savage attacks on our comrades and people. But there is no doubt that however much he may try to make trouble, he is bound ultimately to fail, for our people shall follow undeviatingly the path of People's War indicated by Chairman Mao.

Before they died, Comrade Krishnamurty, a true disciple of Chairman Mao, explained to the policemen what communism means and what the communists are fighting for. It is learnt that the ordinary policemen refused to shoot him when ordered by their officer. Comrade Krishnamurty told the police officer who fired several shots at him that they might murder him and the other comrades but their place would be taken by many more comrades. He said, "You cannot stop the advance of the revolution by murdering us. No power on earth can suppress the armed revolution of our people which has just started and the present regime of exploitation and oppression is doomed."

The silence of the dark night was broken by the loud slogans our comrades raised as they fell to the enemy bullets:

Long live Chairman Mao!

Long live the Indian Revolution!

The nearby villages and hills resounded with these slogans.

With the calculated, heinous murder of these brave and beloved comrades, the peasants' armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh has entered a new phase. A wave of grief as well as of anger and hatred for the enemy has swept through the whole of Andhra. Far from demoralising them, the great sorrow has chastened our comrades and people and made them more grim and determined. In every nook and corner of Srikakulam and in every other district of Andhra Pradesh, the peasants have vowed to avenge the murder of P. K. and of the other comrades. It is a cry everywhere: "We must carry on the armed struggle and annihilate the class enemies to avenge Comrade P.K.'s murder." This has caused panic among the landlords who have started saying, "Why this unnecessary murder? The communists will also murder us out of revenge."

The Party cadres now realize more fully than ever before Chairman Mao's teaching:

"Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence."

They are more resolute than before, they fear no sacrifice and are readier to surmount every difficulty to win victory. Thus the comrades are paying their best homage to the imperishable memory of Comrade Krishnamurty and the other martyrs. There is no doubt that the murder of individual comrades, however talented, cannot stop the march of the revolution. On the other hand, as Chairman Mao said:

"Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve,

Which dares to make sun and moon

shine in the new sky."

AN ATROCIOUS PLOT

We have reasons to believe that the reactionary government of Andhra Pradesh has plans to murder more of our comrades—even comrades who are now in prison.

It is learnt that they intend to take Comrade Adibhatla Kailasam, Comrade M. Venkata Narsayya and Comrade Satyamurty from prison to a place outside it on the pretext of an on-the-spot investigation and to murder them there and to announce afterwards that they were shot while trying to escape. The reactionary government is mortally afraid of these comrades. They are aware that they will not be able to keep them behind prison bars for a long time. These comrades will again return to the midst of the revolutionary people and lead their struggle as they did before. Comrade Adibhatla Kailasam, a member of the Srikakulam District Committee of the CPI (M-L), has led many struggles of the Girijans; Comrade Venkata Narsayya and Comrade Satyamurty are leaders of the peasant struggles of Guntur and Warangal districts respectively. It is curious that though Comrade Venkata Narsayya and Comrade Satyamurty were arrested quite sometime ago their arrests have not yet been announced by the reactionary government.

We appeal to the people to remain vigilant and to foil the atrocious plot of murdering our comrades. We warn the reactionary government and the reactionary classes which they represent that they will be inviting swift vengeance if the proposed murders are carried out.

INDIAN REACTIONARIES, GET OUT OF NEPAL!

India's reactionary rulers are the hated enemies not only of the Indian people but also of the people of neighbouring countries, whose freedom they seek to curb at the behest of their imperialist masters.

During his visit to Nepal last month, India's foreign minister Dinesh Singh said:

"We have a *special relationship* with Nepal, bound by history and tradition."

What does this *special relationship* mean in concrete terms? It means that the Indian reactionaries will continue to enjoy the right to man Nepalese checkpoints at the Nepal-China border with Indian personnel, to maintain a military group in Nepal, to intrude into Nepalese territory—Susta and other areas—and to obstruct and undermine Nepal's foreign trade by taking advantage of the geographical conditions.

Immediately after Dinesh Singh returned to India, Nepal's Prime Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista openly challenged this *special relationship* theory. In an interview with a correspondent of *Rising Nepal* on the evening of June 24, Bista rightly said: "...to our way of thinking it is not possible that Nepal compromise its sovereignty to accept what may be called limited sovereignty for India's so-called security. The theory of special relations with Nepal outside geographical, social and economic realities is out of step with modern developments in our relations."

Nepal's Prime Minister demands that the Indian personnel manning the checkpoints at the northern border and the Indian military group in Nepal should all be withdrawn. He said: "His Majesty's Government feels that they can and should be withdrawn...To connect their presence with the treaty or with any over-all relation," he added, "is not correct."

Today, the people of Nepal are loud in condemning the Indian reactionary rulers' expansionist policy towards Nepal. They accuse the Indian reactionaries of creating disturbances not only in the Susta area of Nepal but also along the 500 mile-long open border in the south. They point out that the Indian reactionaries have been encroaching upon Nepalese territory. In a recent editorial, the Nepalese paper *Samaj* denounced the attitude of the Indian reactionary ruling classes towards Nepal in connection with the Koshi, Gandak and other irrigation projects.

It pointed out that India is utilizing these water resources for itself, while the fields in Nepal remain dry. It said : "We may point out that India charges higher prices for such daily necessities produced in India as sugar, kerosene oil, gasoline, iron, textiles and salt. These commodities are sold in Nepal at prices 20 per cent higher than in the international market. This gives a fair idea of the extent of profits reaped by India in its exports to Nepal, valued at 750 million rupees every year.

The architect of the present expansionist policy of the Indian reactionary ruling classes was Jawaharlal Nehru, that accomplished lackey of imperialism. The policy is no different from the "forward policy" pursued by the British imperialists during their long direct rule over India, when India was used as a base of aggression against countries in Asia and Africa. The heirs to the mantle of the British *raj* have sought to preserve and extend the imperialist gains. In July 1950, Nehru concluded an Indo-Nepali treaty of "Peace and Friendship". Speaking on the new treaties with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, Girdhar Lal Jain remarks in his book *India Meets China in Nepal* :

"Apparently such a step was considered necessary to ensure that the rulers of these strategically important states were prepared to show *the same sense of loyal friendship to the new regime in India which they had earlier shown to the British*. This appears to be a valid assessment in view of the fact that *the new treaties were modelled after the existing ones.*" (p. 14—our emphasis).

On December 6, 1950, Nehru told Parliament :

"Our interest in the internal conditions of Nepal has become still more acute and personal, because of the developments across our borders, to be frank, *especially those in China and Tibet*. Besides our sympathetic interest in Nepal, we were also interested in the security of our own country. From time immemorial the Himalayas

have provided us with magnificent frontier. Of course, they are no longer as impassable as they used to be, but they are still fairly effective. We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated because it is also the principal barrier to India. Therefore, much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own security."

This is the language of all imperialists and their lackeys. The independence of Nepal can be trampled underfoot on the pretext of ensuring the security of India !

The sovereignty of Nepal and other Himalayan countries has actually been trampled underfoot not to ensure the security of India but to serve the interests of the imperialists and their stooges. In an article in *Times of India* of February 2, 1960, entitled "Prospect and Retrospect ; Nepali Sensitiveness and Nationalism," Prem Bhatia wrote that as the need arose to protect Nepal from Chinese "invasion or subversion," "*the U.S.A. and India came to realise that their aims in Nepal were identical.*"

Today, these aims have become identical with the aims of the Soviet revisionists, the new Tsars of the Kremlin. These aims are to use countries like Nepal and India as their neo-colonies and bases for aggression against other countries, especially Socialist China.

The people of India must stand by the people of Nepal in their struggle against the Indian reactionaries and their imperialist masters. They must demand the immediate withdrawal of the Indian personnel from the Nepal-China border and of the Indian military group from Kathmandu. They must demand an end to the Indian reactionaries' policy of encroaching on Nepalese territory.

We pledge our fullest solidarity with the people of Nepal in their just struggle.

CONSPIRACY OF THE DOOMED

The Indian people cannot but view with grave concern and deep anger the criminal anti-China political and military conspiracy that is at present being hatched by U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys—the Japanese reactionaries and the Indian reactionaries headed by Indira Gandhi.

The central aim of this U.S.-Soviet conspiracy is to launch aggression against China, to destroy the revolutionary movement of the Asian people and to defeat communism. The two chief lackeys, who are playing a key role in this anti-China, anti-people and anti-communist military-political conspiracy are the Japanese reactionaries—the “general manager” of U.S. imperialism in Asia—and the Indian reactionaries led by Indira Gandhi. This conspiracy is an integral part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism for redividing the world between themselves and for joint world domination.

Just after the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, the U.S. imperialists occupied China's territory Taiwan and adopted the notorious “containment of China” policy which aimed at strangling the victorious Chinese revolution through economic blockade, political subversion and intimidation. To achieve its purpose the U.S. imperialists relied for support on its Asian lackeys—foremost of whom was Jawaharlal Nehru. Under Nehru and his successors, India was turned into the largest base of aggression of U.S. imperialism in Asia. But as is known to all, the “containment of China” policy of the U.S. imperialists failed ignominiously and China swept forward with the force of a hurricane, established socialism, victoriously carried out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, immensely strengthened her dictatorship of the proletariat, built a modern industry and modern agriculture, and won thunderous victories in the development of nuclear weapons and

rockets and in all other branches of science, technology and culture—all under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China led by him. The wild dreams of U.S. imperialism and its No. 1 accomplice, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, were shattered.

But, as Chairman Mao has taught us: **“Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law.”** The U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are acting exactly in the manner indicated by Chairman Mao. They are not reconciled to their defeat. On the contrary, they are trying still more frenziedly to rig up an anti-China military alliance in Asia. What the U.S. imperialists failed to achieve, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, mad gamblers as they are, is hoping to achieve.

Recently, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique has openly sponsored a plan for a so-called “system of collective security in Asia.” On May 29, the Soviet revisionists' mouthpiece *Izvestia* instructed the Indian reactionaries and called on some southeast Asian countries by name to set up a system of so-called “collective security.” Not content with this, soon afterwards, the Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev himself clamoured that “the course of events is also putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia.” Since it intruded into the Chinese territory of Chenpao Island in March this year, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sent more than 20 delegations, including the Soviet revisionist chieftains Kosygin and Podgorny, on conspiratorial missions to countries and regions around China. Last month it summoned its ambassadors to the Asian countries and the United States back to Moscow for the sinister plot. Seeing this feverish eagerness of the Soviet revisionist

renegades to establish this so-called 'collective security,' the Japanese bourgeois paper *Asahi Shimbun* remarked that the Soviet revisionists "are seized with ill-disguised anxiety and uneasiness" in their efforts "to intensify their diplomacy of containing China."

What is this "system of collective security in Asia" so vigorously peddled by the new tsars of the Kremlin? In their mad haste to oppose China and the revolutionary struggles of the Asian people they have picked this up from the garbage heap of the notorious U.S. war-monger John Foster Dulles, who clamoured that "the cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defence." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "system of collective security" is a tool for opposing frenziedly the great socialist China and the revolutionary movements of the Asian people, for controlling the Asian countries and for pushing further its social-imperialist policy of aggression and expansion in Asia. This "system" is, above all, an anti-China military alliance which the Soviet revisionist renegades are trying to rig up in collusion with U.S. imperialism, a new and more elaborate attempt to encircle China, to intimidate and subvert her, and finally to launch aggression against her.

The Indian reactionaries led by Indira Gandhi are playing the role of an energetic pedlar of their imperialist masters' wares. The Soviet revisionist renegades greatly rely on Indira Gandhi and Co. to push through their anti-China plot of "collective security." Indeed, the Soviet revisionist renegades have long been carefully fostering the Indian reactionaries with all-round support not merely to carry on social-imperialist exploitation of India but also to use the Indian soil, India's manpower and resources for their anti-China, anti-people, counter-revolutionary objectives. It is for this reason that they have helped the Indian reactionaries in arms expansion and war preparations

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Indian People Embark On Revolutionary Road Of Armed Struggle

THE Indian communist revolutionaries are vigorously studying and applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the light of the concrete questions of the Indian revolution and beginning to lead the revolutionary people of India on to the revolutionary road of armed struggle. They are scoring remarkable achievements.

"Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun"

India is a big country with a population of 500 million. Many years of brutal rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism have thrown the Indian people into the depth of misery. Plagued by hunger and poverty, the Indian people are among the most poverty-stricken people in the world. To fight for their own emancipation, the Indian people have developed various kinds of revolutionary struggles. To stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Indian people, the reactionary Indian ruling class has long propagated the "doctrine of non-violence". Catering to the needs of the reactionary ruling class, the Indian revisionists are trying hard to spread illusions of "peaceful transition" in a vain attempt to lure the Indian people on to the "parliamentary road". The crimes of the Indian revisionists in shamelessly betraying the Indian revolution have won praise and support from the notorious Khrushchov and the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi.

In the sixties of the 20th century, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought launched a powerful struggle

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against modern revisionism and scored a great victory. In this situation, the Indian communist revolutionaries took concrete action to rebel against the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party, smashed the shackles of the "parliamentary road" and embarked on the revolutionary road of armed struggle. They translated into different dialects and published in large quantities the brilliant works of Chairman Mao and propagated Mao Tsetung Thought widely in revolutionary journals. They distributed and put up large quantities of revolutionary leaflets and posters, laying emphasis on spreading the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

The Indian communist revolutionaries have begun to go deep into the rural areas, to lead and rouse the peasants to armed struggle. The revolutionary struggle of the peasants that erupted in the Naxalbari area, Darjeeling district, West Bengal State, at the beginning of 1967 struck India like spring thunder. The heroic fight of the Naxalbari peasants, in which they opposed reactionary rule and feudal oppression with violence, has become a glorious banner for the Indian people's struggle for emancipation.

In the past two years, the spark kindled by the Naxalbari peasants' revolutionary struggle has been blazing in several parts of India. Under the leadership of the Indian communist revolutionaries, the hill people in Srikakulam district, Andhra State, who are severely oppressed by the Indian reactionaries, have armed themselves with bows and arrows and dealt heavy blows at the reactionary Indian police. The flames of their struggle have spread to the plain and coastal areas and further extended to the adjoining Orissa State. In some places in Bihar State and Uttar Pradesh, the revolutionary peasants have organised themselves, heroically beat off the armed suppression by the landlords and reactionary troops and police and seized back large tracts of land from the landlords.

Recently, a peasant revolutionary armed force appeared in the jungles of Lakhimpur, Uttar Pradesh, striking repeated blows at the reactionary police force. In Kerala State, the revolutionary peasants have also waged armed struggle.

Indian Communist Revolutionaries Striving to Solve Questions In Revolutionary Practice

The Indian communist revolutionaries and Indian revolutionary people while firmly embarking on the revolutionary road of armed struggle are constantly summing up the experience and lessons in the revolutionary practice in the past two years and using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to solve a series of questions arising from the revolutionary practice.

After summing up the experience and lessons gained in the Naxalbari struggle, the Indian communist revolutionaries pointed explicitly to the importance of building a party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In a report summing up the experience of the Naxalbari struggle published not long ago, they pointed out that one of the causes of the temporary set-back in the Naxalbari struggle is: "the absence of a party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tsetung Thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear self-criticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work."

The Indian communist revolutionaries in the Naxalbari struggle have set forth the question of the important significance of establishing revolutionary political power. They pointed out that the Naxalbari peasants' struggle is a struggle not only for land but for political power. The heroic Naxalbari peasants set up Revolutionary Committees and established the peasants' political power

in various places. They declared the bourgeois law and law courts in the villages null and void. The decisions of the Revolutionary Committees were proclaimed to be the law. The Indian communist revolutionaries, in summing up the experience of this struggle, pointed out that only by arming the peasants, organising guerrilla units and a regular armed force, and setting up liberated areas, can the political power of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords be overthrown and new political power established in India. On the question of seizing political power through armed force, the Indian communist revolutionaries resolutely exposed the Indian revisionists for their revisionist line of limiting the peasants' struggle against feudalism to the distribution of land and of opposing the seizure of power by the peasants through armed force.

To have confidence in and rely on the masses and to fully arouse them is another important question raised by the peasants in Naxalbari and other areas in the course of the revolutionary struggle. In Naxalbari and other areas, the Indian communist revolutionaries organised some 90 per cent of the rural population into the Peasant Committees. They warmly praised the creative power of the Naxalbari peasant masses and their important role in the democratic revolution. They also stressed the necessity to protect the initiative of the masses. Many fighters taking part in the Naxalbari struggle have studied Chairman Mao's works, and have reached a better understanding of the mass line. One revolutionary said: "Chairman Mao has taught us that we should cherish boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. While we were working in the villages in the past, my feeling towards the peasants had been superficial. I wrongly took it for granted that the peasants should welcome me and be grateful as I was there to work for them. Comparing my thinking with Chairman Mao's

thesis on 'serving the people whole-heartedly', I have discovered that I am individualistic in my thought. My world outlook is now undergoing a change."

Another fighter who had taken part in the Naxalbari struggle said: In the revolutionary struggle, self-reliance is a most fundamental question. To persist in self-reliance one should have confidence in and rely on the masses of people politically and economically.

The Indian communist revolutionaries attached much importance to rural investigation and class analysis. An article published in the weekly *Deshabrati* quoted a teaching of Chairman Mao from his brilliant article *Analysis of the Classes In Chinese Society*. Chairman Mao said: "The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies." The Indian communist revolutionaries pointed out in their article that to ensure success for the revolution it is imperative for the Indian revolutionaries to make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Indian society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution. The Indian communist revolutionaries have conducted investigation and class analysis in some villages so as to obtain a clear picture of the class fronts in the countryside and settle the basic question of who are to be relied upon, who are to be united with and who are to be the targets of attack.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle."

The broad masses of revolutionary people of India are applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to solve the strategy and tactics of the revolution, and other questions, and to constantly expose and repudiate the

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Crises-Ridden U.S. Imperialism Will Not Last Long

U.S. imperialism can find no solution to its daily growing difficulties at home and abroad, nor can it extricate itself from rapidly developing political, economic, military and cultural crises. This is the awful mess new U.S. imperialist chieftain Richard Nixon has inherited from his predecessor, Lyndon Johnson. In these circumstances, Nixon has had to admit in dismay that "there are a number of problems which this administration confronts; each requires urgent attention" and "it is very difficult to single one out and put it above the other."

Finding themselves in an impasse and on their last legs, the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups thrust the Republican Nixon into power to get U.S. imperialism out of its crises. But statements before and after taking office show that not only has he no panacea to offer, but he is in fact at a loss about what to do in the face of the grave crises. This brought on the Western press wailing that "the Nixon Administration is already in a state of crisis before it begins work."

Nooses Around U.S. Imperialism's Neck

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has replaced the German, Italian and Japanese fascists as the world's biggest aggressor, oppressor and exploiter. It has formed all kinds of military blocs all over the world, dispatched more than one million troops to be stationed on foreign soil, and set up more than 200 huge military bases abroad to carry out wars of aggression and suppress the revolutions of the people of many countries. It spends over 80,000 million dollars a year on frenzied arms expansion and war preparations. U.S. imperialism dreams of building

a huge American empire by these means. But, as our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out, "U.S. imperialism has over-reached itself. Wherever it commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world." By frantically persisting in its perverse actions, U.S. imperialism is fast becoming the opposite of what it wishes subjectively.

Bankrupt "Global Strategy"

The raging flames of the people's armed struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the waves of the national-liberation movement in these regions and the storms of people's movement in Western Europe and North America have completely upset the counter-revolutionary "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese people have persisted in people's war and have severely battered more than one million U.S., puppet and vassal troops and thrown them into an awkward predicament. The valiantly fighting Laotian people have dealt hammer blows at U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Laos and have won one victory after another in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The people's revolutionary

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absurdities and lies spread by the Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists, thus pushing the revolution ahead unceasingly.

1969 is the year of paramount importance for the revolutionary people the world over. In this year, the communist revolutionaries and revolutionary people of India will surely strengthen their unity, frustrate the tricks and intrigues of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists, march forward in bigger strides on the glorious road of armed struggle, and achieve more and bigger victories.

(From Hsinhua News Bulletin, May 10, 1969)

armed forces in Burma, Thailand and other countries have grown rapidly. They have mounted frequent attacks on the enemy, making it hot for U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The armed struggles of the Arab, African and Latin American peoples have also developed rapidly. And the struggle of the workers, students and people of other strata in Western Europe and North America is surging forward irresistibly with tremendous momentum. Just as the U.S. reactionary press admitted, the war of aggression against Vietnam placed U.S. "prestige in the world at a low point" and had chewed up American manpower and material resources at an astonishing rate. It also admitted that in the Middle East, the Arab people's struggle against Israel, U.S. imperialism's tool for aggression, was "an increasing danger" to the interests of U.S. imperialism, and that "tension continues to rise" in Africa. The "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, Latin America, it said, was "a more troublesome area than any other facing the new president."

Violently pounded by the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, the general crisis of capitalism is deepening daily, the various military blocs U.S. imperialism has painstakingly rigged up and the imperialist bloc it heads are splitting and falling apart rapidly. Again and again, French President de Gaulle has fiercely challenged U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary "global strategy." He has driven all the agencies of the U.S.-controlled NATO bloc and U.S. military personnel out of France and has all U.S. bases in the country dismantled. The U.S. press cried out in alarm that the French action foretold that no U.S. base in the world would be "permanent." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's armed invasion of Czechoslovakia last August, with the tacit consent of U.S. imperialism, and the vicious development of the financial crisis in the capitalist world have further sharpened the contradictions within the imperialist bloc.

U.S. imperialism has landed itself in unprecedented isolation in the world.

It is against such a background that Nixon's high-ranking brain-truster and senior foreign-policy adviser Henry Kissinger had to confess in an article on U.S. foreign policy that U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary "global strategy" to dominate the world has met with disastrous failure. He lamented, "The United States is no longer in a position to operate programs globally" and "the U.S. can no longer impose its preferred solution." In the best of circumstances, he said, the new administration will be beset by crises.

Unprecedented Sharpening Class Contradictions At Home

The repeated and serious defeats of U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and expansion abroad have greatly deepened the domestic crises confronting U.S. ruling circles. As class contradictions in the country have sharpened to an unprecedented extent and the revolutionary consciousness of the masses rapidly rises, the trend of an all-round upsurge of the American people's struggle has now appeared. All this has placed U.S. imperialism under heavy fire both within the country and abroad and made it difficult for U.S. imperialism to cope with this situation.

The struggle of the Black people in the United States was sparked to a new height last year by the U.S. imperialists' assassination of Martin Luther King. The waves of their struggle swept 168-cities and towns, including Washington, the heart of U.S. imperialism. The Afro-Americans have showed undaunted fighting spirit in their struggle and their political consciousness is rising steadily. They have fiercely pounded the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism at home. Reviewing the Afro-American struggle in 1968, *Time* magazine said in dismay: "Nowhere was protest more prevalent or potent than in the United States." An Afro-American struggle

against racial oppression broke out in Jacksonville, Florida, on January 24, this year. Though it was temporarily suppressed by the reactionary authorities, it indicates that a more profound Afro-American struggle on a larger scale for freedom and emancipation is brewing.

In the meantime, the strike struggle of the American workers has developed vigorously. The number of strikes in 1968, 4,950 in all, was the highest in 15 years, bringing about the biggest loss in work hours since 1959. The beginning of this year witnessed a big strike of more than 60,000 oil workers followed by that of 18,000 aircraft machinists. The 75,000 dockers along the east coast and the Gulf of Mexico persisted in their strike for over a month. This strike has already inflicted a loss of over 500 million dollars on the monopoly capitalist class, which howled in alarm that the strike "poses a critical danger" to the U.S. economy and urged the newly inaugurated Nixon "to do his utmost" to crush the strike. The continuous strike struggle by the U.S. workers is not only hitting U.S. imperialism hard economically, it is also hitting hard at its policy of aggression abroad.

The student movement and the youth movement against the war of aggression in Vietnam have also developed in depth and rolled forward in continuous waves. Progressive students of San Francisco State College in California have persisted in their struggle against racial discrimination and the decadent bourgeois educational system for nearly three months now. Progressive student struggles have also broken out in the University of California, San Fernando Valley State College, East Los Angeles College, Sacramento State College and Southwest College in California, as well as in Brandeis University (Massachusetts), the University of Chicago, Swarthmore College (near Philadelphia) and Queens College (New York).

Commenting on the situation in the American people's struggle, the U.S. bourgeois press gloomily admitted that a

growing number of militant Afro-American groups will henceforth take up arms in struggle, violence will increase, and there will be "a turn from spontaneous to planned violence." The strike struggle upsurge and the refusal by more and more workers to recognize the contracts negotiated by the scab trade unions with the capitalists, the American press acknowledged, are "threatening to upset a pattern" by which the U.S. bourgeoisie controls the workers' movement through scab unions. It admitted that the mounting student movement may lead to the "destruction" of the schools of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Aggravating Politico-Economic Crises

The sharpening class contradictions have intensified the contradictions within U.S. ruling circles. This was manifested by mutual abuse and recrimination among politicians representing the interests of the different monopoly capitalist groups during last year's presidential election campaign. Each tried to overwhelm the other with abuse, and blame the other for the crises gripping U.S. imperialism. But none could find a way out for U.S. imperialism.

The economic situation in the United States is no better than the political one. The financial and monetary crisis is deepening, inflation is developing viciously, international payments deficits are huge, the position of the dollar is shaky and the "overproduction" crisis looms large. All this compelled Nixon to admit helplessly that the economic problem is one of the "urgent" questions requiring his attention and that to "safeguard" the dollar will rank among the highest priorities in his consideration. However, despite the ballyhoo, he could offer no solution whatsoever to the existing problems.

Like its predecessor, the Nixon Administration is trying to wage a last-ditch struggle by stepping up arms expansion

and war preparations, as well as by intensifying its collaboration with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique—No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism. However, in these attempts, Nixon is lifting a rock only to drop it on his own feet. The conspiracy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to divide the world in collaboration with each other has been exposed and this has enabled the people of the world to see more and more clearly that the counter-revolutionary essence of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism is identical despite their different signboards. Both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are, as the saying goes, like “idols of clay which can hardly survive when crossing a river.” Having landed in the abyss of crisis, the more desperately they struggle, the sooner they will reach their doom.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 7, 1969)

Big Scab Liu Shao-chi Is the Mortal Foe Of The Working Class

by Kung Hsiang-tung,

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DURING the last few decades, masquerading as the “leader of the workers’ movement,” the big scab Liu Shao-chi engaged in deception and blackmail everywhere and committed innumerable crimes. He did his best to sell out the power of leadership of the working class, vigorously spread the theories of “class collaboration” and “the dying out of class struggle,” and tried to emasculate the revolutionary soul of the workers’ movement and corrupt and disintegrate the working class ranks through economism. In the crucial movements of the revolution, he brutally suppressed the workers’ movement in a vain attempt to liquidate the proletarian revolution and subvert the proletarian dictatorship. He is a jackal from the same lair as the world’s scabs old and new—Bernstein, Kautsky, Khrushchov, Thorez, Togliatti and their like. He is the mortal foe of the working class.

Selling Out Working-Class Leadership

Political power is the fundamental question of the revolution. What type of a state is established and what road is taken—socialist or capitalist—are decided by what class is relied on to make the revolution and what class leads it. On this fundamental question, there has always existed a sharp struggle between the two classes, between the two roads, and between the two lines.

Chairman Mao teaches us: “The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat.” The working class is the most far-sighted, most selfless and most firmly and thoroughly revolutionary. Nurtured on Mao Tse-tung’s

thought, it has a high level of consciousness in class struggle and in the struggle between the two lines.

The big scab Liu Shao-chi always opposed reliance on the working class, negated its leading role and did his utmost to sell out its power of leadership. In the initial stages of the democratic revolution, he invented the theory of the working class being "infantile," slandering the workers as being "always lacking in public virtue," "guild-minded" and "lumpen," and viciously asserted that "such an infantile proletariat" could not possibly seize political power. The working class was beneath his contempt. On the other hand, he lavished praise on the bourgeoisie, trying in vain to hand all the power of leadership of the proletariat—including military power, state power and leadership of the mass movement—to the bourgeoisie so as to carry out the most thorough class capitulationism. He went all out to extol Chiang Kai-shek, the common enemy of the Chinese people, as "the leader." He described the Kuomintang, which stands for the interest of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, as "the banner," and clamoured that the Chinese revolution "must be carried on under this banner." He glorified the Kuomintang scab trade unions, saying they should be turned into "the leading organs of the mass movement." This was utterly preposterous!

Chairman Mao brilliantly pointed out on the eve of China's liberation at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party in 1949 that, after the countrywide victory of the Chinese revolution, the basic internal contradiction is "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." He sharply criticized the erroneous Right opportunist view of relying on the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao stressed that "we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class." The big scab Liu Shao-chi lost no time in dishing out his theory

that the working class was "unreliable." He slandered the working class as a "broken chair" saying that "the chair ought to be reliable, but something is wrong with it, so it is unreliable." At the same time, he praised the bourgeoisie to the skies. He kept spreading the drivel that the Chinese bourgeoisie was still "in its youth." He flattered the capitalists and reactionary technical "authorities" for supposedly "having technical know-how" and "excelling our Communists in management," and wanted to hand over the leadership of the factories and enterprises to them. He even bowed at the feet of the capitalists, begging them to exploit the workers. He said obsequiously: "Exploit us please, so that I can make a living and my wife and children can live." He was completely shameless! He also openly opposed working-class leadership over state power, instigated the Rightists to attack the Party, and advanced the idea of the bourgeois "two-chamber system" and of the "open opposition party," so as to prepare public opinion for the bourgeoisie to usurp power. In the realm of ideology and culture, he all the more endeavoured to negate working-class leadership. He put renegades, enemy agents, capitalist roaders and reactionary academic "authorities" in important posts in a vain effort to turn this realm into an advance post for the restoration of capitalism.

"The working class must exercise leadership in everything."
China's socialist revolution and socialist construction must be carried out under the leadership of the working class. As the great proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victories, the Chinese working class has mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in all parts of the superstructure. Over-all proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all fields of culture, has been realized. The immortal contributions of the Chinese working class

in every period of the revolution are convincing proof that it must and can exercise leadership in everything. These contributions have proclaimed the complete bankruptcy of the big scab Liu Shao-chi's fallacies that the working class is "infantile" and "unreliable."

Corrupting Working-Class Ranks

Old or new, all scabs resort to "economic struggle" to oppose political struggle. They use economism to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. For more than forty years, the big scab Liu Shao-chi obstinately carried out counter-revolutionary economism in the workers' movement to corrode and disintegrate the workers' ranks and sell out the fundamental interests of the working class.

During the period of the democratic revolution, Liu Shao-chi, in an effort to maintain the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, energetically advocated that "the policy of the workers' movement should be to wage all forms of economic struggle...the development of economic struggle means the development of the Chinese workers' movement." He also said: "Once the economic struggle is successful, the Chinese workers' movement can advance along a road of smooth progress." Obviously, this programme he put forward for the workers' movement is a programme of counter-revolutionary economism, which is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. His criminal aim in striving to put the workers' movement into the "purely economic" orbit was to liquidate the political struggle of the working class, to oppose the workers' movement co-ordinating its efforts with the revolutionary war, and to oppose the seizure of state power by armed force.

Lenin once pointed out: "The confirmed adherents of the bourgeoisie and of the government which serves it have even made repeated attempts to organize purely economic unions

of workers and to divert them in this way from 'politics,' from socialism." The big scab Liu Shao-chi is exactly this kind of confirmed lackey of the bourgeoisie that Lenin denounced.

To cover up the reactionary nature of the "economic struggle" which he advocated, Liu Shao-chi went in for shameless sophistry. He asserted that "economic struggle is at the same time political struggle." To put it plainly, his "political struggle" was nothing more than begging for a few economic reforms within the limits allowed by the Kuomintang reactionaries' "factory law" and "trade union law." It would not have harmed the Chiang regime in the least. It could never alter the position of the working class as the enslaved and the ruled.

After nationwide victory, this No. 1 scab continued to push his counter-revolutionary economism stubbornly. He clamoured that "the production movement is the workers' movement," and urged "struggling for the workers' livelihood." He organized "trade unions for production" under the signboard of "production and construction." Feigning "concern" for the workers' livelihood, he exerted his efforts to organize "welfare trade unions" and promote "material incentives."

Chairman Mao has wisely pointed out: "In this stage [the historical stage of socialism], classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration remains." It is of paramount importance for the workers' movement under the dictatorship of the proletariat to firmly grasp class struggle, constantly consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The big scab Liu Shao-chi, however, did all he could in advocating that "the production movement is the workers' movement." His criminal aim was to try to negate class struggle, liquidate the

socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism.

In socialist China under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the national economy is by no means developed by depending on material incentives but by putting proletarian politics in command and using the socialist revolution as the motive force, that is, **"grasp revolution and promote production."** The slogan "struggle for the workers' livelihood" advanced by the big scab Liu Shao-chi and the multifarious bonus systems pushed by him were all sugar-coated bullets fired at the working class. All this was designed to corrupt and disintegrate the ranks of the working class, so as to put an end to the revolutionary workers' movement.

Suppressing Workers' Revolutionary Movement

The bourgeoisie has always resorted to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of economic bribery and armed repression to undermine the workers' revolutionary movement and maintain its reactionary rule. Not only did the arch scab Liu Shao-chi use economism to corrupt and disintegrate the ranks of the working class, but he also hired himself out to imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries as early as the period of democratic revolution. Working hand in glove with them, he mercilessly suppressed the workers' revolutionary movement. He is an executioner whose hands are stained with the blood of the working class.

As far back as 1921, Chairman Mao personally kindled the raging flames of the revolution in Anyuan, and the strike by the railway workers and coal miners there resulted in brilliant victories. But as soon as the big scab Liu Shao-chi arrived in Anyuan, he signed an "agreement" with the capitalists stipulating that the workers were "forbidden to gather to raise a disturbance and coerce"

and "forbidden to go on strike repeatedly," thus suppressing the workers' revolutionary struggle. He also personally went down into the pits to "strengthen discipline" for the capitalists and, acting on their behalf, punished the workers who "did not obey the mine rules" and dismissed the "reckless" leaders of the workers. In this way, this big scab openly worked energetically for the capitalists to counter-attack and seize the fruits of the general strike from the hands of the workers.

During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War when the Chinese working class waged a heroic struggle against feudal warlords and imperialism, the working class in Kwangtung, Hunan and Wuhan organized workers' armed pickets and took back foreign concessions, thus pounding the foundations of reactionary rule hard. Tailing after the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, the big scab Liu Shao-chi railed at the workers' movement for being "excessive" and blamed the workers for "being 'Left' deviationist to the extent of becoming muddle-headed." Frightened to death in Wuhan by the heroic struggle of the workers' pickets, he, in the name of the general secretary of the Hupeh Provincial Federation of Trade Unions, hurriedly imposed "ideological control" on the workers' pickets and ordered the workers "absolutely not to take action." At the critical moment in the revolution when the Kuomintang reactionaries were preparing a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, Liu Shao-chi, acting as a traitor, went so far as to provide the Kuomintang reactionaries with "intelligence on the workers' movement," give them advice and work out plans for them. He also ordered the workers' pickets to dissolve and to hand over several thousand rifles; even the clubs used by boys' corps were handed over to the Kuomintang in neatly tied bundles. Moreover, he shamelessly went to the workers' department of the Kuomintang personally to make a traitorous report. Half a month later, the

Kuomintang reactionaries launched a barbarous massacre of the unarmed working class and revolutionary people.

After the liberation of the country, the big scab Liu Shao-chi made use of the Party and government power he had usurped and stood completely on the side of the bourgeoisie to urge "the capitalists to struggle against the workers." He always opposed Chairman Mao's great teachings on carrying out large-scale mass movements in the factories and mines, slandered the mass movements as "something that was started haphazardly" and stifled them in every way. Under the signboard of "scientific management," he controlled and punished the workers and advocated the enforcement of capitalist discipline. When the storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution approached Liu Shao-chi hastily dished out the bourgeois reactionary line to suppress the revolutionary masses and launched a converging attack against the revolutionaries in a vain attempt to put down the great proletarian cultural revolution movement personally initiated by Chairman Mao.

The arch scab Liu Shao-chi's numerous crimes of suppressing the workers' movement before and after liberation fully prove him to be the top spy sent by the Chiang Kai-shek regime into the ranks of the working class.

Emasculating the Revolutionary Soul of the Workers' Movement

Lenin pointed out long ago: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." "Only the theory of revolutionary Marxism can be the banner of the class movement of the workers." In the present era, the only correct theory guiding workers' revolutionary movement is Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which

imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Mao Tse-tung's thought reflects the fundamental interests and demands of the working class and the masses of labouring people. It is the guiding thought for all the work of our Party, our army and our country, the very soul of the workers' revolutionary movement.

The big scab Liu Shao-chi all along feverishly advocated the theory of "spontaneity." He ranted that the workers' movement "must depend primarily on the spontaneous movement of the masses." He repeatedly stressed that "the workers' daily economic demands should be used as the slogans to mobilize the workers," and opposed "adding political slogans to the economic demands raised by the masses." The counter-revolutionary essence of these fallacies lies in opposing the use of Mao Tse-tung's thought to lead the workers' revolutionary movement, and in emasculating the revolutionary soul of the workers' movement.

The big scab Liu Shao-chi and company frantically opposed using Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide the workers' movement and did their utmost to sabotage the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Their aim was to oppose imbuing the working class with Mao Tse-tung's thought but to imbue it with bourgeois ideas and use the bourgeois world outlook to guide the workers' movement in an attempt to lead the workers' movement astray and into opportunism.

Over the past decades, Liu Shao-chi has always taken the reactionary stand of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. Catering to the needs of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, he has betrayed the fundamental interests of the working class and committed towering crimes. He is a faithful lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the

Kuomintang reactionaries and a sworn enemy of the working class. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has proclaimed the death sentence on the big scab Liu Shao-chi politically and the total bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the workers' movement. We must carry on and deepen the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and thoroughly wipe out the pernicious influence of the big scab Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the workers' movement.

"The proletariat and working people of Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening. The U.S. imperialists and all other such vermin have already created their own grave-diggers ; the day of their burial is not far off".

—Mao Tsetung.

FRANCE TODAY

—M. L.

A GREAT storm of revolutionary mass struggles is sweeping across Europe on a scale and intensity as has never been seen before in history. The struggle of the working-class against ruthless capitalist exploitation and against the evil system of monopoly capitalism, and the struggle of the progressive students in Europe against the decadent bourgeois educational and social systems are steadily dragging a panic-stricken European monopoly capitalist class to its grave. The revolutionary mass struggles of the working-class and people of Western Europe, and of the entire capitalist world, is merging with the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and together with the struggles of the Afro-American people and the people under revisionist rule, form an irresistible revolutionary torrent which is sweeping away imperialism, revisionism and all reaction to its final doom. The mighty storm of the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples has driven mortal fear into the gangster bosses of the reactionary world, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, who are frantically stepping up their global collaboration in a vain

attempt to stamp out the flames of revolution, and, at the same time, redivide the world.

The European people's revolutionary mass struggle is directed against the monopoly capitalist class and the revisionist cliques in power, as well as against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, who also oppress and exploit the European peoples. The people of Czechoslovakia are rising against the fascist, social-imperialist aggression of Soviet revisionism and their traitorous collaborators, the Dubcek revisionist clique. In Western Europe, as the contradictions amongst the imperialists grow with the deepening politico-economic crisis in the bourgeois world, (just as the contradictions among the revisionist countries are sharpening), the masses have increasingly made U.S. imperialism and its aggressive counter-revolutionary NATO military alliance the target of their attacks. On numerous occasions, in every country in Western Europe, U.S. consulates and "cultural centres" have been stormed by the angry masses, massive demonstrations condemning U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other parts of the world have been staged, and U.S. imperialism's interference in and control over the affairs of their own countries vehemently condemned.

The number one representative of U.S. imperialism, Nixon, is at present visiting Western Europe in an attempt to patch up the disintegrating European alliance and reinstate U.S. imperialism's shaky dominance in it, as well as to reassure the European monopoly capitalists that U.S. imperialism will not make more deals with Soviet revisionism behind their backs. Nixon's visit has once again demonstrated the deep hatred of the European people for U.S. imperialism. Wherever he goes—Brussels, London, West Berlin, Paris or Rome—he is confronted with massive demonstrations, and the angry masses shout, "Nixon get out!" "U.S. imperialism get out of Vietnam!", "Smash U.S.-Soviet plot for world domination!" In

Rome, on February 27th. '69, thousands of reactionary police tried to suppress by force the massive anti-U.S. demonstration, the battle lasting several hours and resulting, according to bourgeois press reports, in injuries to a hundred demonstrators and the arbitrary arrest of several hundred militant demonstrators. Several reactionary policemen were severely injured in the battle. It was one of the biggest and most militant mass actions and demonstrations that has ever taken place in Rome. 8/25/

The revolutionary mass movement in Europe is the inevitable outcome of the deepening contradictions in capitalist society. It is the manifestation of the rapid deepening of the general crisis of capitalism—in the era in which imperialism is heading for final and total collapse and socialism is advancing toward worldwide victory, and is an objective necessity which no reactionary force can hold back. It symbolises a great, new awakening of the revolutionary proletariat and people of Europe and is dealing the international monopoly capitalist groups, and the imperialist system as a whole, a shattering blow.

"...France is the land where, more than anywhere else, the historical class struggles were each time fought out to a decision..." (Engels, Introduction to the third edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*).

"...a lull has set in the revolutionary struggle of the French proletariat; although, long as this lull may be, it does not at all preclude the possibility that, in the coming proletarian revolution, France may show herself to be the classic land of the class struggle to a finish." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*).

The Economic Crisis And Sharpening Class Contradictions

A glorious new page was written last May in the history of the French people and proletariat, who, almost a century

ago, for the first time in history, seized power from the bourgeoisie and established the Paris Commune. The revolutionary mass movement of the French workers and students last May has lit a spark which has spread the flames of revolutionary mass struggles all over Europe.

The general political and economic crisis in the entire capitalist world is daily deepening and is sharply reflected in the politico-economic crisis in France. The financial crisis, which has thrice shaken the whole capitalist system in the past year and a half, has brought to the verge of collapse three of the main currencies of the capitalist world—the dollar, the pound and the franc, and is a manifestation of the insurmountable economic crisis in the imperialist countries. The biggest over-production crisis since 1929 has developed in the capitalist world. Capital has accumulated immense stocks of unsold merchandise, forcing the closure of factories, and causing growing unemployment and increasing misery and pauperization of the masses.

The general economic crisis of capitalism is reflected in a concentrated form in France. The French economy, already by '67, was rapidly deteriorating. The intense struggle for world markets among the imperialist powers; the policies of monetary inflation and taxation followed by the French ruling circles, in an attempt to strengthen French monopoly capital, which have led to a steady decline in the purchasing power of the people and their living standard; and the "unfavourable position of the French monopoly enterprises in regard to technique, management and production, are important reasons for the decline of the French economy.

To cope with the intensified competition of the world market, the French ruling circles (in their Fifth Plan), have encouraged the mergers between monopolies and the disappearance of small enterprises, which has led to mounting unemployment and numerous struggles of the

workers against retrenchment. 1,500 mergers took place in '67. At the same time the French monopolists have stopped up their ruthless exploitation of the working class.

With regard to agriculture, the French ruling circles have followed the policy of encouraging the big capitalist farms to swallow the small and medium ones. This policy has resulted in the steady pauperisation of the peasantry and forces 100,000 of the labour force, in the rural areas to leave for the cities every year.

Even small traders, petty bourgeois intellectuals and white collar employees such as teachers, clerks, lawyers and journalists are finding it more and more difficult to make a proper livelihood. Recently the merchants and traders all over France have occupied municipal offices and seized tax records as protest against the government's "added-value" tax, which has sent prices shooting further up. The prices of consumer goods rose 10% in '67 over the previous year, and continue to rise steeply.

As a result of this "solution" of pushing the economic burden on the backs of the people, there are in France today between 700,000 and one million unemployed workers, the highest figure since World War II, and the unemployed youths number 200,000. Many students after graduating are faced with unemployment. In this situation the French people have taken the path of resolute and uncompromising struggle against the moribund capitalist system.

The "Storm of May"

In the last few years, the French workers have waged strike after strike in defence of their vital interests, and their movement has grown and become strengthened through numerous struggles. The last few years have also been a period of vigorous development of the movement of the students (both in the universities and lycees or high schools) against the decadent bourgeois educational and social systems. In May '68, the struggle of the French

workers and students reached a peak. Inspired by the evergrowing world-wide revolutionary situation and by China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the French workers and students launched heroic and powerful struggles against the moribund monopoly capitalist system.

The Marxist-Leninists of France achieved important successes in the May movement. They exposed the treacherous manoeuvres of the revisionists, Trotskyites, and anarchists, and several thousand demonstrators came over to the side of the revolutionaries, raising high the red banner of Marxism-Leninism. Thousands of workers, disgusted with the betrayal of the revisionists, tore up their revisionist party membership cards.

The strike movement of the ten million French workers from every branch, in particular of industry, dealt a severe blow to the capitalist economy and greatly accelerated the collapse of the franc. During the one month strike period the entire industrial production came to a standstill, transport and communications were completely disrupted and the economic life of the country paralysed. It caused the gross output value to fall by 6% at least, a loss of about 36,000 million francs for the French monopoly capitalists. Besides, there was a loss of markets and French exports were reduced by one third due to the drop in production and delay in deliveries resulting from the strike. This resulted in a big fall in France's foreign exchange earnings and a serious deterioration of France's international balance of payments. The foreign trade gap has widened and the financial deficit has risen enormously. The Bank of France disclosed that since the May strikes France lost more than a quarter of its total gold and foreign exchange reserves. Today, the French monopoly capitalists are the most indebted of the imperialist bourgeoisie, its balance of payments showing a deficit of almost 20% in spite of its politics of "austerity" and intensification of the exploitation of the working-class.

The "Storm of May" was a powerful source of inspiration for the revolutionary people all over the world. Itself inspired by the mounting revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples and, in particular, by China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it has in turn, given a profound revolutionary impetus to the international revolutionary movement, especially to the revolutionary mass struggles in Europe. J. Jurquet, commenting on the international significance of the May movement, writes: "The revolutionary storm which swept over France has had important repercussions in the whole of W. Europe. ...the magnitude and forms of the movement in France have awakened a new enthusiasm in the hearts of innumerable young people, student in most cases, in many countries. Under the sign of active solidarity with the French students who were engaged in struggle against repression, or in order to put forward their own demands, the students followed the example of the student 'Commune' of the Quartier Latin, in Italy, in Spain, in Belgium, in Germany, in Great Britain, in Yugoslavia, in Turkey and in a general fashion in Latin America. Everywhere, in heroic battles which cannot possibly be realised in details, they have raised the red flag, singing the *Internationale* and have fought with courage against the forces of repression, inspired by the French example.

"They have erected barricades in Italy, in Spain, and in various other countries, braving for hours the assaults of the police despatched against them like in Paris. Such actions confer an unquestionable international character to the great days of the revolutionary struggle of May-June '68." (Extract from *Le Printemps Revolutionnaire de '68*, by J. Jurquet.)

Since last June the French ruling circles have adopted a number of fascist measures to break up the organizations of the workers and students and to suppress the mass movement. All demonstrations were banned as of June

12th, '68, along with several organizations of workers and students, while many generals of the fascist OAS were released from jail and given a free hand to intimidate the masses. The systematic sacking and arrests of militant workers, the employment of shock troops and police repression in the universities are all preparations for further fascistization. Political deception went alongside brutal repression, such as the "National Assembly election" hoax and De Gaulle's "participation" which the revisionists joyfully hailed.

A new financial crisis whose brunt was borne by the franc, swept over the capitalist world in November '68. The imperialists quarreled bitterly amongst themselves and tried to pass the burden on to each other, and, finally, on to the backs of the people—which is invariably capitalism's sole criminal 'solution' for its perpetual crisis. De Gaulle indicated that a host of "austerity measures" would be adopted, among which is a tax increase of more than 2,500 million francs, the raising of electricity and gas rates and railway fares, and the freezing of workers' wages (while prices rose about 5%). At the same time he warned that further brutal fascist measures would be taken against the French people to put an end to "all agitations and demonstrations, all tumults and processions". Mixing deception with threats, he urged the workers to cease their struggles and called for "national unity to save the franc". The revisionists, in ardent support, echoed their bourgeois masters and urged the workers to "produce more to save the franc". But neither the repression and threats of the bourgeoisie nor the treacherous schemes of their revisionist agents could check the working-class movement long. The aroused workers and the Marxist-Leninists, drawing invaluable lessons from the revolutionary experience of May, have resumed their glorious revolutionary struggle. They are putting the revolutionary politics of the proletariat to the front and are reorganizing from the base.

The Working-Class Is Advancing Steadily And Becoming Stronger Every Day In The Struggle Against Fascist Repression

The French workers are proving once again that the French monopoly capitalist class, like all decadent and reactionary forces, is outwardly fierce but inwardly weak and panicky. De Gaulle's "measures" and threats were immediately resisted by the revolutionary workers. The several thousand workers of the three Renault factories, who played a leading role in the "May Storm", struck in protest against the oppressive policies in early December. The workers of the Citroen Motor Co. also went on strike in protest against the bourgeois repression and the unjust dismissal of two militant workers.

Already at the end of October, the workers of the Citroen Motor Co. had staged a series of militant protests and demonstrations in defiance of the government ban, against the "business deal" between the Citroen Co. and the Fiat Co., which gives the Fiat Co. virtual control over the bankrupt Citroen Co. This merger "deal" between the international monopoly groups is a direct threat to jobs of thousands of workers. The revisionist scabs who control the General Confederation of Labour (CGT), shamelessly condemned the militant protests of the workers as being "against the interests of the workers", while they feverishly worked behind the scenes with the bosses to work out an "agreement on personnel" in order to stab the workers in the back.

Many strikes were staged by the revolutionary workers against the fascist bourgeois repression and in protest against the arbitrary, large-scale arrests and sacking of militant workers. In many factories, the militant workers, especially the young workers, vehemently opposed and exposed the attempts of the revisionist scabs to lure the striking workers back to work. The revisionists resorted to their usual treacherous tactics of denouncing the

militants in the name of fighting "adventurism" and at the same time carefully pointed them out to the bourgeoisie.

In February and March this year, a wave of strikes, waged solely at the initiative of the rank and file workers, swept over the country. The most important of the strikes were at Mans, Sochaux, Tudor and the station of Lyons. Other important strikes waged by the workers in defence of their vital interests, were the strike of the 10,000 metallurgists at Girond, the week-long strike by the Renault workers at the end of February, the strike at Caillol; and at the Hachette Syndicate Trust in early March whose factories were occupied by the workers. Armed police had sealed off a part of the town and surrounded the factories in an attempt to break the strike by force and threats. The revisionist and bourgeois press, which has joined in a conspiracy to suppress all news of militant struggles, kept its usual silence over the struggle of the Hachette workers also. But news of it appeared on posters drawn up by the "Comite D'Action" ("Action Committees") of the rank and file militants at work-places and living quarters on the side-walks of Paris.

On 11th March, a nation-wide general strike paralysed entire France and marked a fresh upsurge of the working class struggle in France. It was the first powerful mobilisation of the workers and people since May '68, and a "new turning point" to quote *L'Humanite Rouge* of the mass struggle in France

This powerful mobilisation was due mainly to the rising fury of the masses against "the hardening of the bourgeois dictatorship", its fascization. The monopoly capitalists, while stepping up the tempo of production and its exploitation of the workers have refused to give even the slightest concession. Persecution and arrests in the factories, universities and workers' quarters, the brutal suppression of the masses and the naked rule of the

bayonet are being met with ever-growing resistance by the people. The process of fascization in France and other capitalist countries is a sign of the rapid weakening of the rule of the monopoly capitalists and the profound political crisis of the whole capitalist world. Bourgeois democracy has been stripped off its mask, and in its place stands revealed the real police rule.

During the mounting nation-wide strikes described above, the revisionist trade union bosses and bureaucrats were pushed aside by the workers in most cases, and even the bourgeois press called it "wild trade unionism". At this period, the revisionist bosses of the CGT were demanding that the workers should give up their struggle, because they wanted to hold "negotiations" with the bourgeoisie at Tilsit, which, they claimed, would be more successful in a "peaceful atmosphere". Already in May '68, these revisionist scabs had betrayed the 10 million workers of France, who were then mobilised, in the name of holding "negotiations" with the bourgeoisie at Grenelle. Tilsit, like Grenelle, was another miserable failure, another betrayal. The bourgeoisie refused the slightest concession.

As the rank and file could not be deceived any longer and were becoming increasingly militant and "unmanageable", the CGT was driven into a corner and had the "imprudence" to propose the general strike on March 11. But March 11 proved not to be a day of "trade union unity", for which the revisionists had hoped and by which they mean suppression of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, but the day on which revisionism received many more blows. On that day the revolutionary workers formulated plans for more militant struggles against the monopoly capitalists, for the occupation of factories. They openly defied the revisionists who tried to limit the mobilisation to mere economic demands with slogans like "increase

of salaries". But the revolutionary workers and the many militant students politicalized the massive demonstrations at Paris and other cities and regions with their slogans: "Grenelle, Tilsit treason", "national interest, capitalist interest," "Down with revisionism, Long Live Communism". The militants held political discussions in which the revisionists were forced to participate and were again exposed in their true colours before the workers who constantly applauded the militants. This is an indication that the revolutionary proletarian ideology is taking roots among the masses of the French workers and is becoming stronger with each passing day, while modern revisionism, especially after the glorious triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, is in its death throes, doomed to the garbage heap of history, along with the decadent imperialist system which sustains it. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will triumph!

What are the current tasks of the revolutionary French workers and the Marxist-Leninists? How can the working class and its vanguard carry the struggle forward?

The French Marxist-Leninist journal, *L'Humanité Rouge*, (March 13th, '69, issue), in the article entitled "Long Live the New Upsurge Of Mass Struggles", says: "The real communists have at present two tasks to achieve: to hit each time harder at moribund capitalism, and to denounce and combat revisionism which serves as its bulwark. **But to lead these struggles well it is necessary to get organized.** This organization starts at the basis—rank and file committees must be formed, workers' commissions, worker-student committees, action committees to unite the workers who have decided to take their fate in their own hands. But this organization among the rank and file is inseparable not only from a co-ordination, but also from a correct line. This direction can only be given by the vanguard armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Let's get organized at the base and in action!
Unify the Marxist-Leninist vanguards!"

Communist Party of Britain (ML) Hails Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

Following is the message of greetings from the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) to the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), published in the June issue of The Worker.

THE Communist Party of India's revisionist leadership was fully exposed in October 1962 when the reactionary Nehru Government, acting on orders of its US and Russian masters as well as its own capitalists and landlords who desperately need chauvinism to divert the people from their just struggles, launched an attack on China over a disputed border. The CPI renegades sided with the government and helped to jail hundreds of communists. Unfortunately, among those jailed were leaders whose Marxism lay in verbal attacks against revisionism, and whose opportunism enabled many rank and filers to suppose these were genuine Marxists and to obey the decision, from on high, to form a new Party in 1964—the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The underlying revisionism of these so-called "left" communist leaders like Namboodiripad, Basu, Ranadive etc., was seen most clearly when they were released from prison in 1966—a release which was undoubtedly ordered in order to curb the militant rank and filers busy developing genuine mass struggles. The so-called Marxists crushed all such movements and mobilised their ranks to fight the 4th general elections. In their attachment to bourgeois parliament they were not a

whit less revisionist than the Dangeites. After coming to power in West Bengal and Kerala through shabby alliances with the class enemy, including big landlords, these supposed Marxists revealed their treachery by trying to suppress peasants and workers, rising up in revolt against the most appalling conditions of exploitation and oppression. When the poor peasants of Naxalbari, in the tea garden region of North Bengal, rose up in armed rebellion not simply against landlords but against an oppressive state, under the leadership of the local communist unit, they were attacked by armed police and soldiers being ordered by CPI(M) Ministers! Since Naxalbari in May 1967 to April 1969 the genuine communists of the land, pledged to the overthrow of the reactionary semi-colonial and semi-feudal Indian Republic, which is the puppet of both Anglo-US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, spread armed revolt among workers north and south. On April 22, 1969, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin, they formed the first revolutionary communist party of India, pledged to carry the Indian revolution of the Indian peasants and workers through to the end, through protracted people's warfare to be launched in India's villages. We send our warmest revolutionary greetings to them and pledge our solidarity with them.

Chinese Foreign Ministry Strongly Protests Against Soviet Government's Direction of Troops to Intrude Into China's Territory And Create Incident of Bloodshed

THE Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China sent a Note to the Soviet Embassy in China on June 11, strongly protesting against the Soviet government for directing Soviet troops to intrude into the western part of the Barluk mountains in Yumin county of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, on June 10 and deliberately create a fresh incident of bloodshed. The full text of the note reads as follows :

Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China :

At 21:30 hours in the evening of June 10, dozens of Soviet troops intruded into the western part of the Barluk mountains in Yumin county of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, carried out wanton provocations against three Chinese herdsmen who were grazing cattle there and kidnapped one of the herdsmen. At 21:40 hours in the same evening when Chinese frontier guards proceeded to make representations, the Soviet troops, truculently refusing to talk reason, were the first to open fire, killing a Chinese herdsman on the spot. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fight back in self-defence. This is a fresh incident of bloodshed created solely by the Soviet government. Furthermore, the Soviet

troops subsequently sent large numbers of tanks and armoured cars to intrude into Chinese territory in an attempt to provoke still larger armed conflicts. The incident is developing.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Soviet government against its direction of Soviet troops to encroach on Chinese territory and deliberately create an incident of bloodshed, and demands that the Soviet government immediately stop its encroachment on Chinese territory, immediately stop its armed provocations and immediately send back the kidnapped Chinese herdsman. The Chinese Government reserves the right to demand compensation for the losses.

The Chinese Government once again sternly warns the Soviet government that it must change its policy of territorial expansion and armed provocation against China. Otherwise it will surely meet with severe punishment by the Chinese people and the Soviet government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

**Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China**

Peking, June 11, 1969

Red Area of Revolutionary Struggle Expands In Andhra Despite Campaign of Suppression

"The furore over the Telengana issue", bewailed the *Statesman's* special representative in South India the other day, "seems to have diverted public attention from a much more dangerous development in Andhra Pradesh—the alarming increase in Communist violence.

"From the salwood forests of Srikakulam to the scattered mountains of Telengana, Naxalite bands have of late been extremely active. Raids on houses of landlords and the ambushing of police patrols have become regular features of what the Naxalites themselves publicly proclaim to be the beginning of a violent guerrilla struggle for a 'proletarian revolution'. . . .

"Much more alarming is the slow but steady spread of Naxalite violence to other areas of Andhra Pradesh. A year ago the movement was largely limited to the tribal belt of Srikakulam. Today Naxalites are active in at least 19 taluks spread over Visakhapatnam, east and west Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Anantpur, Warangal and Khammam districts.

"Despite its preoccupation with Telengana, the Andhra Pradesh Government has of late taken note of the Naxalite threat. A senior police officer has now taken over the anti-Naxalite operations and there has recently been some welcome police activity in the mountains of Srikakulam. *But no significant progress has been made in snuffing out the revolt.*" (*Statesman*, July 5, 1969)

Though the above report correctly reflects the alarm that has gripped the ruling classes, there is some deliberate understatement in it. A few weeks ago, the Agency areas of the three taluks—Parvatipuram, Pathapatnam and

Palakonda—were declared by the reactionary government of Andhra Pradesh to be “disturbed areas”. Several Central Reserve Police battalions were rushed to the district, and the Srikakulam countryside, where the guerrilla struggle is raging, is dotted with police camps which number 62 to 65. About two months ago, the Chief Secretary, the Inspector General of Police and other high officials of the Central and State governments met and decided to recover the initiative from Communist hands. **So this campaign of encirclement and suppression was started in right earnest by the reactionary governments at the centre as well as in the State. But this campaign has failed:** the mercenary gentleman of the press who wrote the above report in the *Statesman* has also admitted this failure. As he bewails, raids on houses of landlords and the ambushing of police patrols have become regular features. The enemy has failed to win back the initiative from the Communist hands. **The armed struggle in Srikakulam has reached a new stage with regular ambushing of the police by the guerrillas at a time when the campaign of encirclement and suppression is going on. While a phenomenal expansion of the red area of revolutionary armed struggle is taking place in Srikakulam and various other districts of Andhra, red political power has come to exist in 300 villages of the Agency area despite the vicious attempts of the enemy to encircle and suppress it.** Terrified landlords have fled away and the Agency area today is free of the class enemy. Here no machinery of the reactionary government operates. Here no forest or revenue official of the reactionary government, no *panchayat samiti* man, can enter. The guerrillas and members of village self-defence squads try to protect the villages from police marauders. The administration is run, production is looked after, and disputes are settled by the Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi, the revolutionary mass organization of the peasants, which has a membership of more than 8,000 in the Agency area.

alone. Here the Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi—the new organ of state power—is carrying on investigation about lands the owners of which have escaped or have been annihilated by the guerrillas and about lands surrendered by the landlords. The Samithi will soon undertake the work of distributing these lands among the poor and landless peasants. Here, in every village, the People's Court settles disputes among the people themselves and metes out justice to the enemies of the people. No doubt, the People's Court strengthens the unity of the people in their struggle against the enemy.

Both on the hills and in the plains, guerrilla struggle is rousing and mobilizing the people as nothing else can. It is giving confidence to them—faith in their own power—and has unleashed the people's initiative. At Padmapuram in Sompeta taluk the people organized themselves and informed our comrades that certain landlords were notorious: “Comrades, come and punish them, and seize their property. If you don't come, we shall seize it and give the gun to you.” They themselves organized such an action on April 24. Together with the guerrillas, hundreds of people marched to Padmapuram, confiscated the property of a landlord and handed over the landlord's gun to the guerrillas. The Party cadres are acquiring a new faith in the people. In the Bathapuram area of Sompeta taluk severe repression has been going on. Even several women have been raped. The people organized themselves to fight the repression and to take revenge. The notorious landlords have fled away even from the plains area of Sompeta taluk. The fact is, when a guerrilla action takes place in one area, masses are so roused that they themselves move and go on seizing the property of the landlords en masse. A typical case was the action in Borivanka, a village in Ichapuram taluk, on May 19 when two notorious landlords were annihilated. Here even farm servants took part in the action.

After the Borivanka action, the class enemies tried to annihilate our comrades and Comrade P. Krishnamurty's murder was planned by them. They kept watch on the movements of Comrade Krishnamurty and succeeded in getting him and six other comrades murdered by the police. This murder has roused the anger and hatred of our comrades and people throughout Srikakulam, throughout Andhra and steeled their determination. From Chittor, from Nellore, from all over Andhra, letters are pouring in, letters telling the Andhra Organizing Committee of the Party that "Comrade P.K.'s path is our path and we must avenge his death." The class enemies are nervous. They are now saying that the murder of Comrade P.K. has been a grave mistake, because the communists are now so angry that they will wipe out the entire landlord class.

Class hatred has been so much roused that, on June 19, 400 people, including a large number of women comrades, participated in an action at Akkupalli in Tekkali taluk under the leadership of the Sompeta Area Party Committee. Here the class enemy was annihilated with vengeance and his property was confiscated. Here, on the walls of the landlord's house were written with his blood, "Blood for blood," "You murdered P.K., so we will annihilate you all—this is only the beginning." The slogans "Long live Mao Tsetung" and "Long live Indian Revolution" were also written with the blood of the class enemy. At Konaka in Sompeta taluk, a very notorious big landlord owning 2000 acres of land was annihilated. It is reported that this landlord had paid money to a renegade who spied on Comrade P.K.

In the first part of May, in an encounter with the police in Parvatipuram, 5 policemen were killed. Here, again, on May 2, a police attack was beaten back. The police camps at Aviri and Jarada were attacked by the guerrilla squads, who threw grenades and opened fire. The Aviri

camp was subsequently removed. In another encounter two policemen were seriously injured.

The entire Pathapatnan taluk was roused by the action on May 11 at Ethamanuguda of Pathapatnam Agency area. For seven days before the notorious landlord was annihilated and his property was confiscated, 200 people, besides the members of guerrilla squads, had camped in a nearby place. The people in the surrounding areas, who fed them, knew the fact but it was kept a secret from the enemy.

The masses were in action again at Loharajola in the Pathapatnam plains area, where severe repression has been going on. At this place, only 6 furlongs from the nearest police camp, 1200 to 1500 people, besides some squads of guerrillas, took part in the action. Four landlords' houses were seized. One landlord, named Induvadanaiddu, was annihilated; two landlords surrendered; and the fourth one, named Mungetisatyam, who was less notorious than the others, was caught and taken to the Party centre. Our politics was explained to him. He was told that only the most notorious class enemies were annihilated. He promised to correct himself. He was told that the Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi had fixed the price of paddy at 3 seers per rupee and was warned against cheating by the use of false weights. He agreed to carry out these instructions. The People's Court fined him Rs. 500 and ordered his release.

This had a very good effect. Mungetisatyam went about saying everywhere that the communists are good and confessing his own misdeeds committed in the past. It is understood that some rethinking has started among the landlords, particularly, among the small ones. So this action has disorganized the landlords who were trying to organize themselves.

During the above action the policemen in the nearby camp did not intervene out of fear. Next day, all the 15

policemen of the camp were suspended by the Superintendent of Police.

At Tumbali in the Parvatipuram plains, a landlord, Gudlasiddhanthi by name, was annihilated, his property was seized and promissory notes worth Rs 1,00,000 were burned. One thousand people participated in this action in a well-disciplined manner under the guidance of guerrilla squads.

Today, in every nook and corner of Srikakulam district and in many other parts of Andhra, people themselves are sending letters to the landlords using the name of the Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi or the Communist Party, telling them that they are notorious landlords, that they will be annihilated and their property will be confiscated. Landlords have fled away from some areas; in certain others, they stay away for the night.

In the Pathapatnam plains the landlords met at a conference and proposed to reduce the price of paddy etc. One Congress landlord opposed the proposal. The people came to know of this, resolved to annihilate him and contacted the Party Committee.

In the Pathapatnam plains, a farm servant, when harassed by a landlord, said to him: "You have the military, we have the People's Army. What happened in Loharajola recently? The People's Army will come and annihilate you. Your property will be seized." His words had an immediate effect. This shows the mood of the oppressed peasantry.

The guerrilla struggle is spreading like wild fire to other districts of Andhra. Already guerrilla actions have taken place in Visakhapatnam, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. In West Godavari, the *sarpanch* of Mupparru village in Eluru taluk was annihilated. At Rajolu in Repalle taluk of Guntur the property of a landlord was confiscated. In another action

at Chandavaram in Narasaraopeta taluk of Guntur, a big landlord was annihilated, his property was seized and promissory notes of Rs. 1,00,000 were burnt. In Karimnagar, one guerrilla action has taken place. In Janagam and Mankota taluks of Warangal, a series of actions have taken place under the leadership of our guerrilla squads. In Mulugu taluk of Warangal, some actions have been organized by revolutionary cadres who do not yet belong to our Party. In Kothagudam and Bhadrachalam taluks of Khammam, many guerrilla actions have taken place under the leadership of our Party as well as under the leadership of other revolutionary cadres. The Party hails all these actions though it is unfortunate that a leader of the Nagi Reddy group, in Janagam taluk of Warangal denounced such actions as acts of dacoity. It is still more unfortunate that *Janashakti*, the organ of the Nagi Reddy group, is content merely with condemning the police repression and still refuses to hail the revolutionary armed struggle that threatens today to spread like a prairie fire throughout Andhra Pradesh.

“...In the revolution in semi-colonial China, the peasant struggle must always fail if it does not have the leadership of the workers, but the revolution is never harmed if the peasant struggle outstrips the forces of the workers.”

MAO TSETUNG,

A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.

Reports from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar

REVOLUTIONARY peasants' armed struggle in the rural areas of India continues to develop and expand, particularly after the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The peasants' revolutionary armed struggle led by the Party is spreading deeper and faster than ever before in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as in many other states of India.

Uttar Pradesh :

With the spread of peasants' revolutionary armed struggle in newer places in the Palia area in the Lakhimpur district, the reactionary police have run amuck. They carried out terror-raids in Khejiria, Krishnanagar, Raninagar, Ibrahimpur villages and beat up men, women and children alike. They are also organizing provocative raids across the India-Nepal border—in Nepalese territory—to force the Nepalese authorities to agree to carry out joint suppression campaigns against the revolutionary peasants. For instance, the reactionary Indian police organized dacoity in the house of one Rajaram (Radha) and later again in the house of one Bir Singh (Baisakhi), both places being in the Nepalese territory. A few weeks ago, the reactionary Indian armed police entered into a village in Nepalese territory, raided the house of Comrade Jiut and beat up his wife and two children. They also intimidated and oppressed other villagers. They are forcing labourers to construct various military structures in some places in the forest and to dig "trenches" without payment.

Peasants are being arrested and tortured. Police raids have been carried out in some 30 places in Nainital, Moradabad and Lakhimpur districts.

But no amount of repression can stop the revolutionary armed struggle from advancing, be it in Palia or in Moradabad or in Nainital. What is more, the armed struggle has already spread to wider areas in Palia. No matter what repressive measures the reactionary ruling classes may take, the revolutionary people led by the Communist revolutionaries cannot be cowed; they are preparing to deal effectively with every repressive measure.

Bihar :

Peasants' armed struggle continues to spread in the rural areas of Muzaffarpur district. On the night of June 13, a peasant guerrilla unit organized a raid on the house of a notorious landlord in Paharchak village under Baruraj police station. This landlord was a tyrant and severely oppressed the peasants. He had made every effort to crush the peasants' revolutionary struggle with the reactionary armed police force. During the raid, the peasant guerrillas annihilated the landlord and his two accomplices, seized all the legal deeds and documents concerning land and confiscated the ornaments pawned out by peasants. Greatly enthused by this just action of the guerrillas, hundreds of peasants gathered after the raid. All the deeds and documents in respect of land seized by the guerrillas were burned before the assembled peasants; steps were taken to return the ornaments pawned out to the landlord and confiscated by the guerrillas to their rightful owners.

This successful armed action by the peasant guerrillas, led by Communist revolutionaries, has tremendously heightened their prestige among the peasant masses, and has also aroused them to take part in revolutionary activity.

With this raid, the area of the armed peasant guerrillas' activity has extended from Paru to Baruraj P.S. The police has so far failed to trace any revolutionary in this connection.

On the night of July 5, peasant guerrillas led by Communist revolutionaries successfully carried out a raid on the house of a landlord at Narsinghpur village in Mushahari block in Muzaffarpur district and seized his property.

Two class enemies were shot dead and twelve others (the landlord's relatives and bad characters hired by him to fight the peasantry) were injured. The guerrillas were armed with indigenous weapons besides bombs and firearms.

The landlord of Narsinghpur had played the chief role in hunting down the revolutionaries during the historic Mushahari struggle. He had taken the armed police around many villages for tracking down the underground leaders. He was instrumental in burning down dozens of huts, looting away the property of the peasants, and in subjecting indiscriminately the peasants, old and young, male and female, to inhuman torture.

The Party Committee of the area had blacklisted him as enemy No. 1 and was all the time preparing for a successful attack. Now, the Red guerrillas following the teachings of the Chairman have avenged the brutal assaults made on the peasants. While conducting the operations, revolutionary slogans like "Mao Tsetung Lal Salam", "Naxalbari Lal Salam", "Long live Agrarian Revolution" were shouted. After the raid, the guerrillas disappeared.

This heroic feat of the people's armed force has tremendously enhanced the fighting morale of the peasantry and has completely demoralised the class enemy. The Jana Sangh men came to offer their help to the landlord's family under police escort. None of the guerrillas have yet been arrested.

Thus, between June and July (i.e., within the short period of one month), three guerrilla raids have been made in Muzaffarpur district, killing 4 enemies and injuring 15.

NOTES

(Continued from page 32)

and fostered them as their anti-China hatchetmen. The Soviet revisionists, particularly the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, have relentlessly pursued the policy of tightening their grip over India and of making the Indian ruling clique an increasingly more docile and pliable tool in their hands. The Indian reactionary rulers, in their turn, gratefully oblige their masters in Moscow and Washington by carrying out their behests, since, owing to their deepening isolation from the people, the masters' support is increasingly proving vital for them to cling on to the citadel of power. The social-imperialist interests of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the anti-people interests of the Indian reactionary rulers have become so intimately interwoven that one cannot exist without the support of the other. The Soviet social-imperialists, in collusion with U.S. imperialists, have even brazenfacedly introduced a most sinister and unique 'convention'—the convention of choosing openly by consultation among themselves the person who would head the Indian central government. Successors to Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri were chosen in this manner. Such is the extent of dependence of the Indian reactionaries on their US.-Soviet masters.

On May 6 and 7, Kosygin, the Soviet revisionist chief-tain, who had taken the opportunity of attending the funeral of the deceased Indian President Zakir Hussain, held lengthy secret talks with Indira Gandhi. Western and Indian press reports revealed that the talks centred round "the two countries' mutual border problems with China." The Soviet revisionists wanted the Indian reactionaries to "form a common approach" towards strengthening the anti-China military alliance. Thus tutored, Indira Gandhi hurriedly made a trip to Tokyo to have counter-revolutionary collaboration with the reactionary

Sato government of Japan in helping U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to rig up a counter-revolutionary military alliance in Asia against China, against communism and against the revolutionary people. Indira Gandhi's visit to Tokyo served the interests of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. U.S. imperialism had long wanted Japanese and Indian reactionaries to collaborate for serving its policy of aggression, and Indira Gandhi's visit was jointly planned by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Going by reports, Indira Gandhi's main effort during this visit was to discuss with Sato and Co. the ways and means of putting into effect the Soviet revisionist plot for an "Asian collective security system." She admitted there that Kосygin had talked with her about this "proposal" in New Delhi earlier in the month. She further said that the aim of this "proposal" is to "contain" China's "influence in Asia." As expected, Sato evinced great interest in the Soviet revisionists' "proposal". Indira Gandhi also obliged Sato and his master—U.S. imperialism—by committing Indian support to U.S. imperialist aggressive plots in the Pacific region of Asia. To pressmen, she said that though India is outside "Pacific Asia," "India is prepared to cooperate with the projected system" sponsored by U.S. imperialism through the so-called "Asian and Pacific Council." At a press conference, she said that Japan and India must "cooperate closely" and "help each other" in serving the common policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism—the policy of opposing China and committing aggression in Asia.

These criminal aggressive activities by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and their lackeys, the Indian reactionary rulers—who mercilessly exploit and brutally oppress the Indian people—cannot but arouse the just anger and hatred of the Indian people. The great Chinese people led by the great, glorious, and correct

Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao and Vice-chairman Lin Piao are the truest friends of the Indian people, and have always provided genuine and whole-hearted support to the Indian people in their struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction. But U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the Indian reactionary rulers and their jackals—the renegade Dange clique and Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu & Co.—are all trying unitedly to whip up an anti-China hysteria, to build a counter-revolutionary public opinion in India against China, against revolution, against communism. This is because, apart from the use of the Indian soil and of Indian resources, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism need millions of Indian people to serve as cannon-fodder to carry out their policy of aggression against China and to suppress revolutionary movements elsewhere in Asia. India occupies a pivotal position in the Soviet social-imperialists' "system of collective security in Asia." But the imperialists' and social-imperialists' wild desires will never be fulfilled. The Indian people, inspired by the brilliant Mao Tsetung Thought, have already embarked on the path of revolutionary armed struggle, and will never allow themselves to be used as cannon-fodder to serve the criminal designs of U.S. imperialism against China and against the revolutionary people of Asia. They are determined to turn India from a base of aggression against China and the Asian people, into a base of revolution and to fight unitedly with mighty Socialist China and the revolutionary people of Asia and the world to destroy U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all their lackeys, including the Indian reactionaries.

This is not the first time that imperialists have tried to check the victorious march of people's revolution and Marxism. They tried to "contain" the new-born Soviet Union in the days of Lenin, and more than a dozen imperialist states and their lackeys launched aggression to

smother the flame of the October Revolution. And it ended disastrously for the imperialists. Now, they are trying to "contain" a mighty Socialist China enjoying the support of the revolutionary people the world over. Can there be any doubt how this will end? No matter what fiendish tricks U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism may adopt to rig up their "system of collective security in Asia," their attempt is bound to end more disastrously and more ignominiously. Conspiring to launch aggression against China and to stop the irresistible revolutionary tide of the Asian people, U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys are merely hastening to their inevitable doom. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the people of India fighting shoulder to shoulder with the great Chinese people and with the revolutionary people the world over under the all-conquering banner of Mao Tsetung Thought will send U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys to their graves. This is inevitable. All the anti-China, anti-people and anti-communist conspiracy of imperialism and Soviet revisionism is doomed.

THE REVISIONIST FARCE IN MOSCOW

For the revisionists, the time seems to be out of joint. Quite a few years ago, despite the objections of the great Communist Party of China, Khrushchov planned a world meet of Communist parties most of which had turned revisionist. Hope then told Khrushchov a flattering tale. The leadership of most of the Communist Parties of the world had been usurped by the modern revisionists of Khrushchov's ilk. It seemed such an easy affair to rally his revisionist brothers behind his policy of close collaboration with U.S. imperialism and to ostracize Socialist China and Socialist Albania who opposed this treacherous policy.

For the last five years Khrushchov and his successors had worked hard to implement his plan. And after several

postponements the revisionist farce was staged in Moscow in June this year. Though it was intended to consolidate the revisionist camp, to establish the Kosygin-Brezhnev clique's full political and organizational control over the revisionist forces, to co-ordinate, direct and intensify their struggles against Socialist China, Socialist Albania and national liberation struggles, and to rally support to the Soviet social-imperialists' plan of joint world domination with the U.S. imperialists, it turned out to be the very opposite of what the Soviet revisionist renegade clique expected of it.

The meeting exposed the sharp contradictions between the interests of the Soviet revisionists and those of other revisionist parties. They are indeed united in their fight against socialism and revolution but many of these parties can hardly recognize the Soviet tsars' right to intervention and aggression in other countries and can hardly lend their full support to the Soviet tsars' counter-revolutionary alliance with the U.S. imperialists for joint world domination without signing their own death warrants. So, voices were raised at the meeting strongly denouncing the Soviet social-imperialists' invasion of Czechoslovakia; the notorious anti-China campaign, the corner-stone of Soviet foreign policy, did not succeed. The agenda for the meeting had to exclude any condemnation of China and Brezhnev was denounced at the meeting itself for attacking China.

To camouflage the real purpose of the conference of the revisionist international, it put up the signboard of a spurious struggle against imperialism. In the name of carrying on a struggle against imperialism the Soviet social-imperialists wanted the conference to serve their needs—the needs of their counter-revolutionary global strategy. According to Reuter and AFP, the main points of the principal document of the conference were "calls for Communist unity against imperialism, co-existence

between States regardless of social system, abolition of military alignments, development of an effective European security system, and efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and eventually to ban them." It is rather amusing that the revisionists have still faith in their ability to deceive the masses by issuing such hypocritical calls. There is no doubt that Communist unity against imperialism—and against revisionism as well—is growing fast despite all the attempts of the revisionists to disrupt it. Similarly, numerous facts prove how utterly hypocritical are the calls for co-existence between states, for abolition of military alignments, for development of an effective European security system and for efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the new tsars of the Kremlin, their installing of at least three hundred long-range missiles in the People's Republic of Mongolia, the numerous armed provocations against Socialist China, the latest call of Brezhnev from the Moscow meeting itself for the setting up of a military bloc in the name of Asian security—all these conclusively show that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists are jackals of the same lair.

It is obvious that the world conference of the revisionists has flopped: the result is a wider split between the revisionists though it aimed at greater consolidation. This is inevitable because the revisionist parties are bourgeois parties, each serving the interests of the bourgeoisie of its country. Naturally, insoluble contradictions are driving the revisionist parties apart. When the Soviet revisionist renegades preach the theories of "limited sovereignty", of "international dictatorship" and of "the socialist community" to justify their aggression and to impose their neo-colonial rule over other countries, they are bound to face the resistance of the people of those countries.

Today, the revisionist camp, riddled with sharp contradictions, is, indeed, a decadent force. On the other hand,

communist unity is growing rapidly: within the last few years Communist Parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought have emerged almost in every country of the world and are forging the closest unity with the great Communist Party of China and with one another. Revisionism, the close ally of imperialism and the sworn enemy of the world's people, is fast disintegrating.

A GOOD BEGINNING

The youth and students of Calcutta gave the lead which was taken up by the youth and students in various other places of West Bengal. They stopped the screening of the anti-Chinese film *Satranj* in several cinema halls of the city and of other places. The exhibition of two other anti-Chinese films, *Humsaya* and *Kismat*, has also been stopped by the revolutionary youth and students. They have done an excellent thing. The offensive of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and their lackeys in the sphere of education and culture is most vicious. These enemies of the Indian people are using all means of education and culture—books, newspapers, journals, films, the radio etc.—to deprave and poison the minds of our people and to sow the seeds of hostility in them towards the great people of Socialist China. Since October 1962, there has been a spate of anti-Chinese films—Indian and American. Many rabidly anti-Chinese films, produced by the U.S. monopolists, and claiming to be documentaries about the Tibetan serf-owners, now refugees in India, and about others, have been screened in almost every cinema-hall in India. The modern revisionists of both varieties have quietly aided and abetted all this vile propaganda against Socialist China, the red bastion of world revolution.

The revolutionary people of India will no longer suffer the friendship between the Indian and the Chinese people to be undermined; they will resolutely fight the counter-revolutionary offensive of their enemies in the sphere of culture as in other spheres.

Quotation from Chairman Mao Tsetung

It is essential to unite with the middle peasants, and it is wrong not to do so. But on whom must the working class and the Communist Party rely in the countryside in order to unite with middle peasants and realize the socialist transformation of the entire countryside? Surely on none other than the poor peasants. That was the case when the struggle against the landlords was being waged and the land reform was being carried out, and that is the case today when the struggle against the rich peasants and other capitalist elements is being waged to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture. In both these revolutionary periods, the middle peasants wavered in the initial stages. It is only after they clearly see the general trend of events and the approaching triumph of the revolution that the middle peasants will come in on the side of the revolution. The poor peasants must work on the middle peasants and win them over, so that the revolution will broaden from day to day until final victory.



The Editorial Board, *Liberation*, regrets that the concluding portion of the article "An Investigation into the Nature and Forms of Exploitation: A Report of class Analysis of a village" could not be published in this issue. It will appear in the August issue of *Liberation*.

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