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A Call To Peasant Revolutionaries

THE government led by Indira Gandhi is on the one hand trying to deceive the people of the country by mouthing progressive phrases and on the other hand, together with all the State governments, it is carrying on the most ferocious attacks against the revolutionary struggle of the peasant masses led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) with a view to suppressing it. They are carrying on the most ferocious attacks against the revolutionary peasant fighters in Andhra, in Orissa, in Debra and Gopiballavpur in West Bengal, in Tripura, in the whole of North Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh and in the Punjab. They have issued instructions to kill the peasant revolutionaries everywhere. Today, the ruling classes have run amuck in order to protect their class interests, and are declaring war against the revolutionary masses of the whole country. While murder and destruction are their weapons they continue to mouth deceptive sweet words. The counter-revolutionary dual tactics of this reactionary government, namely, to practise deception on the one hand and to carry on the most ferocious attacks against the revolutionary people on the other, are becoming clear as daylight before the eyes of the entire people.

The reason why the government led by Indira Gandhi is mouthing progressive phrases is that they are out to suppress the people's struggle by means of most brutal attacks, and establish a fascist rule in the country and then, taking advantage of this, bind India to the chariot-wheels of the anti-China war plots of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They are out to make the Indian people serve as cannon-fodder of these imperialist

powers and in this their chief accomplice and ally is modern revisionism.

Chairman Mao has taught us that revolutionary violence is the only answer to counter-revolutionary violence. We must deal with their every attack by launching counter-attacks ; only in this way shall we be able to deal with their attacks.

The revolutionary peasant fighters must therefore, adhere still more firmly to the path of struggle. They must keep in mind the teaching of Chairman Mao's : **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"**. The enemies want to kill us. To allow the murderers to remain alive means death to us. Take the vow to liquidate them and adhere to the path of revolutionary violence through guerrilla method. Have faith in the teaching of Chairman Mao's : **"wherever there is oppression, there is resistance"**. Fighting peasants, you must launch counter-attacks with full faith in this teaching of Chairman Mao's, and the more firmly you adhere to the path of armed struggle the more will be the splits in the camp of reactionaries, the more will be the fighting zeal of the broad masses, and the more will the struggle spread like waves all over the country.

So, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) calls upon every revolutionary peasant fighter today—avenge every attack of the enemy and spread the struggle like waves ! This is the only path, the only tested path for self-defence, and there is no other path. This is how a revolutionary peasant army can be built. This is so because you are today the only force for revolution, the only force for progress in India, and no power can prevent the onward march of revolution. You must never forget this. Victory will certainly be ours !

— Charu Mazumdar

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 25th ANNIVERSARY
OF ALBANIA'S LIBERATION

**CPI(M-L) Sends Message of Greetings
to Party of Labour, Albania.**

27th November, 1969

Comrade Enver Hoxa
First Secretary, and
Members, Central Committee,
Party of Labour,
ALBANIA.

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) hails the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Albania and extends to you and, through you, to the people of Albania its warmest revolutionary greetings on this festive occasion.

The victory of the valiant liberation struggle of the Albanian people waged under your leadership—a part of the world-wide anti-fascist struggle—is a historic event. It liberated Albania from age-old foreign domination and feudal rule, ensured the triumph of socialism and transformed Albania from a backward country into one of the most advanced countries of the world. Since then, the heroic Albanian people under your leadership have achieved many victories that have won the admiration of the world's revolutionary people. The great fight against modern revisionism you have been carrying on since the emergence of this monster is indeed a source of inspiration to all Marxist-Leninists all the world over. Our Party and people rejoice over the tremendous successes in

socialist construction—victories in all spheres of life—that have been achieved by the Albanian people during the last twenty-five years since liberation.

Socialist Albania is the beacon of socialism in the midst of the dark forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction that rule the rest of Europe today. It is certain that all the machinations of the imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists against the heroic Albanian people are bound to fail.

Ours is the great era of Chairman Mao's Thought, an era when imperialism is heading towards total collapse and socialism is marching towards world-wide victory. We are confident that the day is not far off when the Indian people, guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, will overthrow their enemies—the imperialist powers headed by U.S. imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists, the Indian feudal lords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists—and fight shoulder to shoulder with the great Chinese people, the heroic Albanian people and the revolutionary people of all the countries to bring about the final doom of imperialism and reaction.

Once again we greet the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic event of Albania's liberation and wish you greater victories in the years to come.

Long live Socialist Albania !

Long live the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver !

Long live the revolutionary solidarity between the Indian and Albanian peoples !

**Central Organizing Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)**

March Forward By Summing Up the Experience of the Peasant Revolutionary Struggle of India

—Charu Mazumdar

WE differ from the programme of the revisionists on three questions :

First, we hold that the democratic revolution can win victory only through armed struggle, that is, through people's war.

Secondly, the village is the centre and the peasantry are the main force of this people's war. This people's war is a peasant war.

Thirdly, this people's war can be victorious only under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. This is why we have accepted Mao Tsetung Thought as the only weapon both for our theory and practice.

We stand for unifying India and for recognizing the right of the nationalities to self-determination. In order to be able to grasp the significance of this slogan we have to realize that our enemies are not weak. Imperialism and social-imperialism rank among the foremost industrial powers of the world. Thanks to the manoeuvres of the imperialists, the Indian comprador-bureaucrat capital, though weak economically, is regarded as the leader of the national movement, while feudalism has continued to maintain its entrenched position in India for thousands of years. So, our enemies are not weak. But they can be defeated. This is so because ours is a country of 500 million people. A vast force will be generated once all the revolutionary forces of this country are united. It is possible to destroy our enemies with the help of this force.

Our Party is a party of class struggle and our only task is to develop class struggle. And it is in the interest of this very class struggle that we must recognize the right of nationalities to self-determination. This is so because imperialism ruled our country for two hundred years through its policy of "divide and rule". By this the imperialists were able to create distrust and suspicion in the mind of every nationality about other nationalities. It is only by sowing the seeds of such distrust and suspicion that the imperialists could carry on their rule. Therefore, the working class must recognize this right of self-determination in order to dispel this distrust. Only when this is done, will it be possible to build the unity of all the revolutionary classes and revolutionary forces on a nation-wide scale and we shall be able to actively resist the divisive tactics of bourgeois nationalism.

We advocate introducing a system in which the administration will be carried on by revolutionary committees at all levels. This is a thing that did not form previously a part of the programme of democratic revolution. This is a contribution of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. We are adopting it because we believe that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China is the third revolution that has influenced the world system. After the first revolution—the great October Socialist Revolution—the democratic revolution of every country became part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. After the second revolution—the great Chinese Revolution—the revolution in every country can be victorious only by taking the path of people's war. Exactly in the same way, today, after the victory of the third revolution—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—the democratic revolution of every country has become a component part of this Cultural Revolution. This is because no revolution of any country in the present era can win victory without fighting revisionism.

Today, revisionism is the enemy of the revolution of every country and its weapon is bourgeois democracy. So, the democratic revolution must necessarily fight against bourgeois democracy, that is, against institutions like elections, parliaments etc., in order to be able to move forward. Therefore, we can never make use of these institutions in carrying forward the democratic revolution today. We must carry on administration with the co-operation of the masses and through revolutionary committees which include their leaders and which are formed with their co-operation. We cannot say just now, what the character of the revolutionary committees would be like. It would be bookish to talk of implementing in toto the "three in one" alliance which grew out of the Cultural Revolution of China. Our revolutionary committees will grow out of the experience of our struggle and we shall have to work out their form on the basis of that experience.

None of the three great revolutions—the great October Socialist Revolution, the great Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—is a revolution of a particular country; on the contrary, each of them is a pillar of triumph of the international working class in its victorious march to conquer the world. Each of these revolutions has worldwide influence and the experience of each of these has enriched the arsenal of the international working class. After the October Revolution it was no longer possible for the bourgeoisie to lead any revolution, because they were frightened by the victory of this Revolution. So, it was the working class which had to lead every revolution after the October Revolution. The victory of the great Chinese Revolution has frightened world imperialism. So, revolution in every country has to reckon with the reality of intervention by the world imperialist system. That is why the revolution in every country must learn the lessons of the Chinese Revolution and can be victorious only by taking the path of people's war.

Similarly, today, after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, revisionism, which has assumed the form of social-imperialism, has turned into the enemy of every revolution. That is why no revolution in any country can win victory without fighting revisionism.

The new thing that we are saying is that we must unite with China and the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and that by uniting with it we unite with the revolutionary people the world over.

After World War II, particularly, after the death of the great Stalin, imperialism aided by the internal reactionary revisionist forces succeeded in taking away all the achievements of the international working class. Imperialism dragged the world almost to a position similar to the one that existed in 1920 when there was only one socialist country in the world—the Soviet Union. Today, there exist in the world only socialist China and another small country, socialist Albania. There is no other socialist country. Yet, we assert that this is the era of total collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of socialism. We are saying this and this is a fact. This is so because the revolutionary people the world over have accepted Mao Tsetung Thought and grasped the limitless power of people's war, and the fighting masses in various countries of the world have already begun their sacred struggle to destroy imperialism with revolutionary determination and boundless confidence. That force may be weak today but the inexorable law of history is such that it will accumulate strength with the passing of every day until it becomes irresistible. This will destroy imperialism and social-imperialism in its victorious forward march.

This is an era of revolutions and as such, great upheavals will take place in different countries; even imperialism will come forward to lead the upheavals in various countries in order to deceive the masses. So, the

compass of revolution in this era is the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. Whether one follows the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao is the only yardstick to judge a revolutionary. Every party, every struggle and even every individual has to be judged by this yardstick. Today, China is the centre of world revolution and the base area of the revolutionary struggle of every country. So, uniting with the Communist Party of China means uniting with the revolutionary people of the whole world.

In order to put this programme into practice we shall have to study constantly Chairman Mao's thought and sum up the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the revolutionary people of India.

Our Experience

We learnt the following lessons from the Naxalbari struggle :—

1. The peasant fought not for land or crops, but for political power.
2. The peasant carried on armed struggle against the armed attacks of the counter-revolutionary state apparatus.
3. The peasant relied on the weapons that he himself made in order to carry on his armed attacks, and snatched away firearms with the help of these weapons.
4. The peasant relied not on others but stood on his own feet to carry on this struggle.
5. This struggle developed only by fighting against revisionism.
6. This fight against revisionism can be carried on only with the thought of Chairman Mao and only when the peasant masses grasp Chairman Mao's thought and put it into practice.

Four Questions

After the Naxalbari struggle came the struggle of Srikakulam. The latter has demonstrated that the peasant can carry on protracted war only through guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare is the peasant's own mode of fighting. Even after one accepts the guerrilla warfare there still remain four main questions. The revolutionary peasants of India have solved these questions.

First Question : Where to start guerrilla warfare ?

The wrong conceptions regarding this question were that guerrilla warfare can be started only in mountainous areas or where there is jungle. Guerrilla war is the people's war of the peasants, and Chairman Mao has taught us that people's war can be waged only by relying on the masses ; therefore, guerrilla warfare can be started wherever there are peasants. By waging guerrilla warfare in the plains the revolutionary peasants of India have demonstrated that it is possible to wage guerrilla warfare in the plains also, that it is possible to wage it wherever there are peasant masses.

Second Question : Is it possible to wage guerrilla warfare without mass movement and mass organization ?

The revolutionary peasants have demonstrated through their struggle that neither mass movement nor mass organization is indispensable for waging guerrilla warfare. What is indispensable is the spreading and propagation of revolutionary politics, that is, the thought of Chairman Mao. And this spreading and propagation can be done only by secret Party organizations. It is possible to wage guerrilla warfare and also to unite the masses by giving prominence to politics, by forming guerrilla squads through secret Party organizations and by using them against the class enemy. The spread of guerrilla "actions" helps the broad masses to participate in the struggle. Mass organization

and mass movement increase the tendency for open and economist movement, and expose the revolutionary workers before the enemy, which makes it easier for the enemy to launch attacks. Therefore, open mass movement and mass organization are obstacles in the way of the development and expansion of guerrilla warfare.

Third Question : On whom to rely for waging guerrilla warfare ?

To this question the revolutionary peasant struggle of India has given the clear-cut answer that the development and expansion of guerrilla warfare is possible only by relying on the poor and landless peasants ; no other class is able to wage this struggle. This is because it is the poor and landless peasants that have the most intense hatred against the feudal class. This class hatred of the poor and landless peasants can be roused by inspiring them with revolutionary politics—the politics of establishing the state power of the peasant masses. And it is only they who can develop the guerrilla warfare by conquering death, by undergoing boundless self-sacrifice and through the most arduous labour. Their class hatred helps them to remain steadfast in their struggle and they alone can bring about a high tide of revolution by uniting the whole of the peasantry. Our experience shows that wherever the petty bourgeois intellectuals tried to lead the struggle, guerrilla warfare failed to develop, the aims of the struggle were violated, guerrilla warfare could not be linked with class struggle, the ludicrous tendency to purchase guns in the name of collecting arms increased, resistance to attacks by police could not be organized and, what is more, even self-defence was not possible. The failures in big "actions" generated frustration.

Role of the Revolutionary Intellectual

In India, which has been subjected to imperialist exploitation for two hundred years, the intelligentsia has an

important role to play. This is so because the broad masses of the poor and landless peasants in our country are unable to read or write. But in order to develop the revolutionary peasant war and bring firmness and steadfastness into the struggle it is necessary to spread and propagate the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* among the peasants, to help them go through again and again Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" and take lessons from these articles, and to help them study everyday the "Three Main Rules of Discipline" and the "Eight Points for Attention" for fighters. Today, the intellectuals must undertake this task. Moreover, it must be remembered that these writings are necessary today not only to develop the struggle of the peasant masses. Whoever thinks in terms of revolution, be he a worker, a peasant or a petty bourgeois individual, must necessarily study these writings repeatedly and take lessons from them. Only in this way the level of political consciousness of the fighting masses will be raised. We shall be able to learn ever newer lessons and raise our consciousness if we study these writings repeatedly linking them with the experience of life. Therefore, these are the only things for the revolutionaries to read. So, the revolutionary intellectuals must shoulder the responsibility of heightening the prestige of these writings and creating the urge for learning lessons from them not only among the peasant masses but also among the revolutionary masses of all the other classes. It is only by working in this way that they will be able to apply the thought of Chairman Mao creatively and develop as good communists. The revolutionary intellectuals must fulfil another task, the task of propagating among the peasant masses the experience of the revolutionary war that is now going on in various countries of the world, and of spreading and propagating the lessons of the great Chinese revolution among the peasants. It is only by carrying out these tasks that the revolutionary intellectuals

can integrate themselves with the poor and landless peasants and thus become good revolutionaries.

Fourth Question : How to start guerrilla warfare ?

To this question the revolutionary peasant struggle of India has given the answer that guerrilla warfare can be started only by liquidating the feudal classes in the countryside. And this campaign for the annihilation of the class enemy can be carried out only by inspiring the poor and landless peasants with the politics of establishing the political power of the peasants in the countryside by destroying the domination of the feudal classes. That is why the annihilation of class enemy is the higher form of class struggle while the act of annihilating class enemies through guerrilla action is the primary stage of the guerrilla struggle. The annihilation of class enemy does not only mean liquidating individuals, but also means liquidating the political, economic and social authority of the class enemy. The revolutionary peasant struggle of India has conclusively proved that once the guerrilla fighters deviate from the campaign of annihilation of class enemies, politics loses its place of prominence among them resulting even in moral degeneration of the guerrilla units. The petty bourgeois, the intellectual, the middle peasant or the peasant of any other class in the village is unable to assume leadership of this struggle, because the class hatred among them is not nearly as intense as that among the poor and landless peasants. The poor and landless peasants can establish their leadership over the whole of the peasant masses only through the campaign for the annihilation of class enemy.

The revolutionary peasant struggle of India has also conclusively proved that in order to be able to wage guerrilla warfare and to persist in armed struggle we must daily and constantly carry on struggle against revisionist ideas. We must evolve a new style of work through our struggle against revisionist ideas. Only thus can we fulfil

the heavy responsibility that lies on our shoulders today. We must make our links with the revolutionary masses firmer and deeper at every stage of the struggle, must improve the level of our political propaganda and application of the thought of Chairman Mao. We seek the co-operation of the masses not merely in struggle; we must adopt the method of holding discussions and exchanging opinions with the revolutionary masses in conducting Party work also and even in deciding the policy of the Party. We should not hesitate to accept the views of the revolutionary masses, because the Party has no interest other than that of revolution.

The fight against revisionism is not a matter of our inner-Party struggle alone, it must also be carried on among the broad masses. Creating a high tide in struggle depends on the extent to which we can spread the fight against revisionism among the broad peasant masses. Revisionism is the main enemy of this era. Therefore, the struggle against revisionism both inside and outside the Party will be our main struggle.

Sectarian Tendency

Sometimes a sectarian tendency creeps into this struggle against revisionism. Our Party members must be vigilant about this tendency also. The form in which this sectarian tendency is expressing itself at present is the sort of thinking among us that after the formation of our Party we have become the sole revolutionary force in the country. Of course, there can be no doubt whatsoever that ours is the only revolutionary Party in India. Naturally, this tendency weakens our reliance on the revolutionary class, which results in isolation from it. Let us cite an example. The decision to form a guerrilla squad was adopted at a certain *baithak* [group meeting] of poor and landless peasants. When the assembled poor and landless

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NOTES

GREETINGS TO SOCIALIST ALBANIA

On November 29, 1944, the heroic national liberation war of the Albanian people ended in complete victory. This war waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, now the Party of Labour, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxa, was truly a heroic one. The entire people participated in the liberation war against the Italian fascists and the German nazis; many thousands laid down their lives fighting for the liberation of their country. With liberation, people's democratic dictatorship—the essence of which was proletarian dictatorship—was established in Albania.

During the last twenty-five years Albania, which was an agrarian country, has changed into an agrarian-industrial country. During the last few years she has made rapid advance in socialist industry with the internationalist help of Socialist China. By 1971, every village, every hamlet, every home in Albania, however remote, will enjoy the benefit of electricity.

After the death of great Stalin the Khrushchov revisionists succeeded in usurping the leadership of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and of various countries of Eastern Europe. In these countries proletarian dictatorship was replaced by bourgeois dictatorship. But, though encircled by revisionist and other hostile countries, Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxa stood firm, heroically upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Albania's uncompromising fight against modern revisionism is truly inspiring. Today Albania shines as the beacon-light of socialism in Europe.

Socialist Albania has not relaxed in her struggle against modern revisionism. She has adopted various measures to

consolidate further the proletarian dictatorship and to ensure the leadership of the working class in the various spheres of life.

Socialist Albania is successfully resolving the contradictions between physical and intellectual labour, between the city and the country. A new generation of young men and women with the motto "Serve the People" is arising in Albania. They are determined to conquer new heights in socialist construction as yet unattained.

Socialist Albania's struggle against the imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists helps and strengthens our own struggle and the struggles of the worlds' revolutionary people against the common enemies of mankind. All imperialist threats, all social-imperialist blackmail, have failed: the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxa have valiantly defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of their liberation, we greet the heroic people and the Party of Labour of Albania and wish them greater victories in socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in the years to come.

THE MOST FEROCIOUS ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

It is a civil war that Sundarayya, Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and Co. have declared against the people. In perfect collusion with the other reactionaries, this filthy clique of two-faced counter-revolutionaries, is desperately trying to extinguish the flames of revolution that are spreading. In its issue of October 23, 1969, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported that high police officials of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had met at a conference in Calcutta to draw up a co-ordinated plan of operations against the revolu-

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Document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic Of China

—Refutation of the Soviet Government's
Statement of June 13, 1969
October 8, 1969

ON OCTOBER 7, 1969, the Chinese Government issued a statement on the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In its statement, the Chinese Government exposed the essence of the Soviet Government's statement of June 13 this year, reiterated its consistent stand for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations, proposed that first of all an agreement be reached on the provisional measures for maintaining the status quo of the border, averting armed conflicts and disengaging the armed forces of the two sides in all the disputed areas along the Sino-Soviet border and declared that the Chinese Government and the Soviet Government have now decided through discussion that boundary negotiations are to be held in Peking between the Chinese and Soviet sides. The Chinese Government's stand and proposals have opened a path for the relaxation of the situation along the Sino-Soviet border and for promoting a reasonable settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question.

In its statement of June 13, the Soviet Government continued to defend tsarist Russian imperialist crimes of aggression against China and slanderously accused the Chinese Government of pursuing what it called an expansionist policy by inventing all sorts of nonsensical and preposterous arguments. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China deems it necessary to reply to and refute these absurdities.

L—Dec. 2

1. Historically, Was It China Which Committed Aggression Against Russia, Or Was It Russia Which Committed Aggression Against China ?

In its statement, the Soviet Government asserted that the 1.5 million square kilometres of land seized by tsarist Russia from China had never belonged to China, that the Ching emperors, like the Russian tsars, had also committed aggression against others and that consequently there could be no talk about aggression and the victim of aggression in the relations between Russia and China. This is a forgery of history in defence of the old tsars' aggression.

The great Lenin taught us : **"The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within definite historical limits..."**¹ The Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China have never evaded the fact that in the historical process of the formation and development of China as a multi-national country, China's feudal rulers, like the feudal rulers of other countries, carried out expansion and committed aggression against some surrounding countries. But after the Opium War of 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colony and became a victim of the imperialist powers' aggression. As for Sino-Russian relations, China never committed aggression against tsarist Russia, and it was the military-feudal imperialist tsarist Russia that committed aggression against semi-colonial China ; the Sino-Soviet boundary question which remains outstanding to this day is precisely the product of tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China.

Lenin pointed out in April 1917 : **"That both Nicholas II and Wilhelm II represented the reactionary and capitalist classes of their respective countries (i.e. Russia and Germany), that during the last few decades both had been pursuing a policy of plundering foreign countries, plundering**

China, subjugating Persia, carving up and partitioning Turkey, is a well-known fact. Had Mr. Plekhanov touched, however lightly, upon the history of diplomacy and foreign policies during the last few decades, he could not have failed to see this, and would not have dared to deny it"² However, the present Soviet Government has tried hard to deny it by inventing all sorts of preposterous arguments.

In its statement, the Soviet Government asserted that only the Hans are Chinese, that neither the Manchus nor the other minority nationalities of China can be regarded as Chinese, and that none of the regions inhabited by China's minority nationalities are Chinese territory. How can this hold water ?!

The overwhelming majority of the countries in the world are multi-national countries, and one nationality often separately inhabits several different countries. As Engels said, **".....no state boundary coincides with the natural boundary of nationality, that of language."**³ China became a unified, multi-national feudal country as early as more than two thousand years ago. She existed in the world always as a multi-national country irrespective of the changes of feudal dynasties and irrespective of which nationality was the ruling one. In history, many changes occurred in regard to China's boundary, yet China's territory was never confined to the Han-inhabited regions ; before China was invaded by the Western imperialist powers in the middle of the 19th century, her boundary was clear-cut.

The Soviet Government's argument that state boundaries should be determined according to nationality is a most reactionary "doctrine". As early as over a century ago, Engels penetratingly pointed out that this so-called "principle of nationalities" **"is nothing but a Russian invention concocted to destroy Poland"**.⁴ To put it bluntly, the wild aim of the Soviet Government in bringing forth anew this so-called "principle of nationalities" is to split

the Chinese action and occupy China's frontier regions inhabited by her minority nationalities.

With regard to the eastern sector of the Sino-Soviet boundary, the Soviet Government asserted in its statement that the Heilung River basin was first settled by Russian immigrants, that it had always belonged to Russia and that the Hans and Manchus of China had never been there. This is indeed a fantastic tale.

Anyone with a slight knowledge of history knows that it was not until the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century that Russia became a unified country, it was not until the latter half of the 16th century that tsarist Russia crossed the Ural Mountains and expanded to Siberia, and it was not until the middle of the 17th century that a handful of tsarist Russian colonialists invaded the Heilung River basin, while China had exercised jurisdiction over this area many centuries before Russia became a unified country.

In the first half of the 8th century, not to mention earlier periods, China's Tang Dynasty already set up administrative organs in the Heilung River basin. In the beginning of the 15th century, China's Ming Dynasty set up several hundred administrative organs of different levels, such as the *Tuchihhuishi-szu*, *wei* and *suo* in the vast area from the Onon River in the west to the Kuyeh Island [Sakhalin] in the east and from the Oudi River in the north to the Sea of Japan in the south. The well-known Nurkan *Tuchihhuishi-szu* was set up in 1409 in Tirin near the estuary of the Heilung River. Among the officials and officers of these administrative organs, there were Hans and Nuchens (Manchus) as well as people from China's other nationalities. In the first half of the 17th century when the Manchus became China's ruling nationality, China's Ching Dynasty continued to exercise jurisdiction over this area, stationing officers and officials there for defence and administration, recruiting soldiers and

collecting taxes. The wars between China and the tsarist Russian colonialists in the latter half of the 17th century were wars of resistance waged by China against the invaders and were not military expeditions as asserted in the Soviet Government's statement. It was the Cossacks of tsarist Russia who had really made expeditions from beyond the Ural Mountains thousands of miles away to the Heilung River basin. The 1689 "Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu" confirmed in legal form that the vast areas of the Heilung and Wusuli River basins were all Chinese territory.

Moreover, the Soviet Government alleged that the "willow pale" in the Ching Dynasty formed the then northeastern boundary line of China, vainly attempting to prove thereby that the Heilung and Wusuli River basins were not Chinese territory. What was the "willow pale"? It was a willow fence built by the Ching Dynasty authorities in the Liaoho River basin to mark the limits of forbidden areas, and ordinary inhabitants were prohibited from crossing the fence for hunting, grazing their flocks or collecting ginseng. The areas marked by the "willow pale" covered only a very small portion of the vast region of Northeast China which included the Heilung and Wusuli River basins and was under the jurisdiction of the General of Aihwei, Governor of Heilungkiang, the General of Ningkuta, Governor of Kirin, and the General of Shengching, Governor of Liaoning. That the Soviet Government should describe such a "willow pale" as forming China's state boundary is as absurd as describing the walls of the Kremlin as forming the state boundary of Russia.

With regard to the western sector of the Sino-Soviet boundary, the Soviet Government alleged in its statement that back in the forties of the 18th century the Chinese minority nationalities east and south of the Balkhash Lake had been naturalized as tsarist subjects, implying that this area had long belonged to tsarist Russia; it further alleged that it was not until the fifties of the 18th century when

the Ching rulers "seized" Dzungaria that Sinkiang became Chinese territory. This is a sheer distortion of history.

Political, economic and cultural ties between the Sinkiang region and the rest of China have existed for at least more than 2,000 years. Far back in the years before Christ, China's Han Dynasty set up administrative organs in the vast area east and south of the Balkhash Lake. In the 8th century the great Chinese poet Li Po of the Tang Dynasty was born in the town of Chu by the Chu River south of the Balkhash Lake. Dzungaria, which was situated in the area east and south of the Balkhash Lake, was composed of the nomadic tribes of Oirat Mongols of China. The pacification of Dzungaria by the Ching Dynasty was an internal affair of China, which had nothing at all to do with the Sino-Russian boundary.

The fact that in the Ching Dynasty China's western frontier was originally at the Balkhash Lake is not only recorded in a large number of Chinese official documents but even corroborated by many writings and historical maps of tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. For instance, Babkov, the Russian representative who signed the 1864 "Tahcheng Protocol on the Delimitation of Sino-Russian Boundary", stated clearly in his writings that China's boundary was at the northern bank of the Balkhash Lake.⁵ In the *Atlas of History, USSR* authorized by the Soviet Government in 1958, it is also clearly drawn that up to the 19th century China's frontier was still at the Balkhash Lake.

The Chinese minority nationalities east and south of the Balkhash Lake had never been naturalized as Russian subjects before the mid-19th century. The Soviet Government claimed that in the first half of the 18th century the Kazakhs of eastern and northern Kazakhstan in the vicinity of the Balkhash Lake were naturalized as tsarist subjects. There is a mix-up in places here. Those who once expressed their willingness to become tsarist subjects

in those days were some of the tribes of western Kazakhstan situated between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea and of northern Kazakhstan, and not the Kazakhs of eastern Kazakhstan, still less had they anything to do with the Chinese minority nationalities east and south of the Balkhash Lake.

The Soviet Government asserted that China's northern frontier was marked by the Great Wall. This is not the Soviet Government's invention. The inventor of this "theory" was Nicholas II, the last of the old tsars. The different sections of the Great Wall were constructed in the 4th century B.C., while the linking up of these sections by the Chin Dynasty took place in the 3rd century B.C.. But even then, the Great Wall did not form China's boundary. While discussing the Sino-Soviet boundary question, the Soviet Government referred to the Great Wall which was built more than 2,000 years ago and dwelt upon it with such great relish. We would then ask: And where was Russia's boundary at that time?

II. Who Is It That Is Pursuing an Expansionist Policy?

Engels pointed out: "...the Russian who is a Chauvinist, will sooner or later fall on his knees before the tsar..."⁶ To speak in defence of the old tsars is to defend aggression. He who wants to commit aggression against others accuses others of the same; this is a habitual practice of all aggressors.

In its statement, the Soviet Government slanderously asserted that China's territorial claims on other countries occupy a very large place in China's present foreign policy and propaganda and that today the Chinese leaders claim lands which, in the past, Chinese conquerors invaded or intended to invade.

However, the label of expansionism cannot be pinned on China. The whole world knows that New China has

no territorial claims against any country and that she has not stationed any troops in any foreign country. With regard to the boundary questions left over by history between China and her neighbouring countries, the Government of the People's Republic of China has always held that a fair and reasonable settlement should be sought on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, taking into consideration both the historical background and the actual conditions. Since 1960, China has successively and satisfactorily settled boundary questions and concluded new equal boundary treaties with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both China and her neighbouring countries concerned find these treaties satisfactory. Until recently, even leaders of the People's Republic of Mongolia could not but admit that tranquillity prevailed along the border between China and the People's Republic of Mongolia.

It is the Soviet Union, and not China, that has sent large numbers of troops to be stationed in the People's Republic of Mongolia. It is the Soviet Union, and not China, that has dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. And it is again the Soviet Union, and not China, that is making a show of force everywhere, in Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Facts speak louder than eloquence. Is it not perfectly clear as to who is carrying out expansion and aggression and is today claiming lands which, in the past, conquerors invaded or intended to invade?

The reading of these preposterous arguments advanced by the Soviet Government in its statement cannot but bring to one's mind the wild plans of carving up China, which the old tsars had dreamt about in earlier days.

In his diary of February 16, 1903, the Russian War Minister Kuropatkin wrote, "...our sovereign has grandiose plans in mind: Seize Manchuria for Russia and proceed

to incorporate Korea into Russia. He also dreams of placing Tibet under his own rule."⁷

In his secret memorial to Tsar Nicholas II in 1916, the same Kuropatkin said that the alteration of the Sino-Russian boundary was a very urgent matter and suggested that a straight line be drawn from the Khan Tengri Peak of the Tianshan Mountains to Vladivostok [Haishenwei] as the boundary line, so that Kulja [Ili], the northern part of Mongolia, and Manchuria would be included in the territory of the Russian empire.⁸

Lenin made similar references in 1916 in his *Notebooks on Imperialism*: Tsarist Russia "was constantly carrying out expansion also in East Asia according to a premeditated plan, which changes in the light of circumstances but remains unchanged in its essential portions, aimed at direct seizure of vast territories right up to the Great Wall and the achievement of hegemony in East Asia."⁹

And now, the Soviet Government flagrantly repeated in its statement the assertion that before the Ching Dynasty China's northern frontier was marked by the Great Wall and that in the west the Chinese border did not extend beyond Kansu and Szechuan Provinces. This cannot but make one suspect that in the state policy being formulated by the Soviet Government, there is a shadow of the "grandiose plans" of carving up China, which the old tsar had in mind.

In the past the old tsars colluded with the Western imperialist powers in carving up China; today the Soviet Government is attempting to ally itself with U.S. imperialism and the Japanese and Indian reactionaries for realizing its ambitious design of carving up China or dividing spheres of influence in China. The U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries say that Taiwan is not China's territory; the Indian reactionaries say that Tibet is not China's territory; the Soviet Government says that none of the land north of the Great Wall and west of Szechuan

and Kansu Provinces is China's territory. One aims at southeast China, another at southwest China and still another at northwest, north and northeast China. Is this not a marvellous coordination ?!

Recently, all sorts of sensational anti-China outcries have emanated from Moscow, clamouring about how brutal the Chinese are and alleging that China wants to alter her boundary by force of arms, swallow up the People's Republic of Mongolia, launch a large-scale nuclear war against the Soviet Union and create a huge empire stretching from the Pacific to the Black Sea, and so on and so forth. This cannot but make one recall Lenin's remarks of December 1900 : "At the present time, the press is conducting a campaign against the Chinese : it is howling about the savage yellow race and its hostility towards civilisation, about Russia's tasks of enlightenment, about the enthusiasm with which the Russian soldiers go into battle etc., etc. Journalists who crawl on their bellies before the government and the money-bags are straining every nerve to rouse the hatred of the people against China."¹⁰ What a striking likeness between the anti-China waves stirred up by the Soviet Government today and the doings of the old tsars in the past !

It should be pointed out that this statement of the Soviet Government inciting animosity against China was turned out shortly after Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, had proposed the so-called "Asian collective security system." In concocting the "Asian collective security system," the Soviet Government's aim is not merely to form an anti-China ring of encirclement and further its aggression against China, its more immediate and practical aim is to use the name of "collective security" and "regional cooperation" to control Asian countries, just as it has used the "Warsaw Treaty Organization" and the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" to control East European countries.

We would advise the Soviet Government to sober down a little ! The Chinese people have long stood up. The time when the people of the Asian countries could be trampled upon at will has gone forever. More and more Asian countries have seen through your intention. If you should insist on going down the road taken by the old tsars, you will definitely come to no better end than the old tsars.

III. Is It We Who Have Distorted Marxism-Leninism, Or You Who Have Betrayed Marxism-Leninism ?

The treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people. After the Great October Revolution, the Government of Soviets led by Lenin advocated the annulment of these unequal treaties. But owing to the historical conditions at the time, this proletarian policy of Lenin's failed to materialize. These are objective facts which brook no distortion.

The Soviet Government said that these treaties were all signed by the two contracting parties and lengthily quoted hypocritical empty words from the treaties, trying hard to prove that they were equal treaties. This only further reveals that the Soviet Government has lost its reason in its effort to justify the old tsars' crimes of aggression against China. One may ask : Is there any treaty on earth which is not signed by the contracting parties ? If treaties signed by the contracting parties were all equal treaties, then are there any unequal treaties on earth at all ?

The Soviet Government has extolled these treaties in such a way as if treaties were all sacred and inviolable so long as they were signed by the contracting parties.

Yet the Soviet Government made no mention whatsoever of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu" and the "Sino-Russian Burinsky Treaty." Were not these two treaties also signed by the Chinese and Russian Governments?

The Soviet Government asserted that the first Declaration of the Government of Soviets to China of 1919 already pointed out which treaties between Russia and China were unequal treaties and that the second Declaration of the Government of Soviets to China of 1920 only confirmed the principles contained in the first Declaration. This is a distortion made with ulterior motives.

The second Declaration to China made by the Government of Soviets clearly provided for a "development" of the principles contained in the first Declaration. How could it be described as a mere "confirmation"? Since an explicit declaration was made to annul "all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia" and to "renounce all seizure of Chinese territory," how could it be said that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun," the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Tientsin," the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking," the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty," etc., by which vast expanses of Chinese territory were annexed, all kinds of privileges seized and huge amounts of indemnities extorted were not included in "all the treaties" that should be annulled?

Article VII of the 1924 "Agreement on General Principles for the Settlement of the Questions Between China and the Soviet Union" stipulates in explicit terms that the two countries are "to re-demarcate their national boundaries...and pending such re-demarcation, to maintain the present boundaries." If indeed as asserted by the present Soviet Government, the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary were all equal treaties and no problems whatsoever existed, then what was the need for re-demarcating the national boundaries?

The facts about tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China have long been recorded in the immortal writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and no one can tamper with them.

In October 1858, Engels said in referring to the benefit obtained by tsarist Russia from the Second Opium War that "Besides sharing in all the ostensible advantages, whatever they be, secured to England and France, Russia has secured the whole of the country on the Amoor, which she had so quietly taken possession of."¹¹

In September 1859, Marx said: "When Russia requested the cession of the Amur, he (i.e. British Prime Minister Palmerston) brought it about by the second Chinese war, and now that Russia wants to consolidate her influence at Peking, he extemporizes the third Chinese war."¹² The 1860 "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" was the treaty which tsarist Russia imposed on China by taking advantage of this war of aggression against China.

In February 1916, Lenin said: "But the whole world knows that for decades tsarism has been oppressing more than a hundred million people belonging to other nationalities in Russia, and that for decades Russia has been pursuing a predatory policy towards China, Persia, Armenia and Galicia."¹³

In April 1924, Stalin said: "...tsarist Russia was the home of every kind of oppression—capitalist, colonial and militarist—in its most inhuman and barbarous form. Who does not know that in Russia the omnipotence of capital was combined with the despotism of tsarism, the aggressiveness of Russian nationalism with tsarism's role of executioner in regard to the non-Russian peoples, the exploitation of entire regions—Turkey, Persia, China—with the seizure of these regions by tsarism, with wars of conquest? Lenin was right in saying that tsarism was 'military-feudal imperialism.' Tsarism was the concentration of the worst features of imperialism, raised to a high pitch."¹⁴

Tsarist Russian imperialism seized vast expanses of Chinese territory, and it goes without saying that the boundary treaties by which these territories were annexed are unequal treaties. Many earlier Soviet writings also recognized that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Tientsin", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty" were unequal treaties. For instance, it is unequivocally admitted in the *Diplomatic Dictionary* published in 1961 under the editorship of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and others that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" is an unequal treaty. But now the very same Gromyko has gone so far as to describe such a statement as a "false allegation". As Lenin pointed out as early as 1915: **"This is not at all surprising in this day of words forgotten, principles lost, philosophies overthrown, and resolutions and solemn promises discarded."**¹⁵

Since the Soviet Government accused us of distorting Marxist-Leninist classical writings, we would ask you to publish in the Soviet press the full texts of both the previous and the latest statements of the Chinese Government and the present document as well as the relevant articles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from which we have quoted, so that the people and the Communists in the Soviet Union may judge for themselves whether it is we who have distorted Marxism-Leninism or you who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

IV. Is the Soviet Government Really Prepared to Take the Treaties as the Basis for Settling the Sino-Soviet Boundary Question ?

In its statement, the Soviet Government expressed in an equivocal way its willingness to take the treaties as the basis for settling the Sino-Soviet boundary question, as if its stand were not at variance with that of the Chinese

Government. Actually this is not so. Please note the following examples.

The 1884 "Protocol on Sino-Russian Boundary in the Kashgar Region" clearly stipulates that in the Pamir area, from the Uz-Bel Mountain Pass "the boundary of Russia turns southwestwards, the boundary of China runs due south". This is the only treaty stipulation relating to the Sino-Russian boundary in the Pamir area. Yet the Soviet Government alleged that this Boundary Protocol "has nothing at all to do with" the ownership of the Pamir area and that it was the notes exchanged in 1894 which were the documents of "demarcation".

What are the facts? The facts are: In 1892, tsarist Russian imperialism, in violation of the stipulation of the 1884 Boundary Protocol, dispatched its troops to the Pamir area again and further occupied by force of arms more than 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory west of the Sarykol Range. At the time, the troops of the two sides faced each other along the Range. In April 1894, China and Russia exchanged notes, and the Chinese Government was forced to agree to the tsarist Government's proposal to maintain temporarily the respective positions of the troops of the two sides pending a final settlement of the Pamir question. However, the Chinese Government made explicit reservations at the time, declaring that "in adopting the above-mentioned measure, the Chinese Government does not at all mean to abandon the rights China possesses over the territories of the Pamirs which are situated beyond the positions occupied by the Chinese troops at present. It considers that it should maintain the rights based on the 1884 Protocol until a satisfactory understanding is reached". Finding itself devoid of justification, tsarist Russian imperialism dared not insist that the Sarykol Range should form the boundary.

The present Soviet Government has gone farther than the old tsars. It wants to force on China as the

Sino-Soviet boundary line the line of military occupation of the old tsars and itself. How can this be regarded as taking the relevant treaty as the basis for determining the alignment of this sector of the boundary?

The 1860 "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" clearly stipulates that in the sector of the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers, the rivers form the boundary line between China and Russia and that the land lying left of the Heilung River and right of the Wusuli River belongs to Russia while the land lying right of the Heilung River and left of the Wusuli River belongs to China. The map attached to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and the red line on the attached map were drawn unilaterally one year before the signing of the Treaty and imposed on China by tsarist Russia. The attached map is on a scale smaller than 1 : 1,000,000. The red line on it only indicates that the rivers form the boundary; it does not, and cannot possibly, show the precise location of the boundary line in the rivers.

That the river forms the boundary means that the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary line. This was recognized not only by tsarist Russian imperialism but also by the Soviet Government. Article 5 of the "Regulations on the Safeguarding of the State Frontier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in August 1960 stipulates in explicit terms: "The state boundary of the USSR on navigable boundary rivers runs along the centre of the main channel or the thalweg of the river." The *Bolshaya Sovietskaya Encyclopaedia* published in 1926 also clearly wrote in the entry "The Amur" [the Heilung River] that from Khabarovsk [Poli] upwards, the Amur is the boundary river and, moreover, the boundary with China runs along the centre of the channel. However, the Soviet Government has now claimed that according to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking", the boundary line

between the two countries in the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers runs along the Chinese bank of the rivers. This is a new territorial claim in violation of the treaty stipulations, which even the old tsars dared not advance.

In order to deny the principle of international law that the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary line in the case of navigable boundary rivers, the Soviet Government cited as an example the treaty concluded between Costa Rica and Nicaragua in 1858, saying that this treaty stipulates that "the boundary line" between Costa Rica and Nicaragua "runs along the right bank of the San Juan River" and that "the Republic of Nicaragua enjoys exclusive right of possession and sovereign jurisdiction over the waters of this river"; moreover, it impudently alleged that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" was likewise a case in point. Of course, there are exceptions to any established principle of international law, and the same is true of the principle that the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary in the case of navigable boundary rivers. But explicit stipulations must be made in treaties for any exceptional case. Articles II and VI of the 1858 boundary treaty between Costa Rica and Nicaragua do contain such stipulations. Now we want to ask the Soviet Government: Where is it stipulated in the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" that the boundary line between China and Russia runs along the Chinese bank of the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers? And where is it stipulated that tsarist Russia "enjoys exclusive right of possession and sovereign jurisdiction" over the Heilung and Wusuli Rivers?

The above two examples give one reason to doubt whether the Soviet Government is really prepared to take the treaties as the basis for settling the Sino-Soviet boundary question.

V. The Chinese Government's Stand Brooks No Distortion

The Chinese Government's stand for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question is, in summary, as follows :

1. Distinguish between the right and wrong in history and confirm that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people.

2. In consideration of the actual conditions, take these treaties as the basis for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations and for determining the entire alignment of the boundary line. China does not demand the return of the Chinese territory which tsarist Russia annexed by means of these treaties.

3. Any side which occupies the territory of the other side in violation of these treaties must, in principle, return it unconditionally to the other side, but necessary adjustments of the areas concerned on the border may be made by the two sides in accordance with the principles of consultation on an equal footing and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and in consideration of the interests of the local inhabitants.

4. Conclude a new equal Sino-Soviet treaty to replace the old unequal Sino-Russian treaties and carry out boundary survey and erect boundary markers.

5. Pending an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations, maintain the status quo of the border, avert armed conflicts and disengage the armed forces of the Chinese and Soviet sides by withdrawing them from, or refraining from sending them into, all the disputed areas along the Sino-Soviet border, that is, those areas where the two sides disagree in

their delineations of the boundary line on the maps exchanged during the 1964 Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations.

Any unbiased person can see that this stand of the Chinese Government is reasonable and just and demonstrates its utmost sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. Now the Chinese Government and the Soviet Government will soon hold boundary negotiations in Peking at the level of vice-minister of foreign affairs. We hope that the Soviet Government will seriously consider the Chinese Government's stand and proposals for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question, so that positive results may be achieved in these negotiations.

Notes :

- 1 Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 20, p. 401.
- 2 Lenin, "In the Footsteps of Russkaya Volya", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 24, p. 91.
- 3 Engels, "What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?", Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 176.
- 4 Engels, "What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?", Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Chinese ed., Vol. 16, p. 177.
- 5 Babkov, Recollections on My Service in Western Siberia, 1859-1875, p. 162.
- 6 Engels, "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsardom", Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 18.
- 7 "Kuropatkin's Diary", Journal of R.S.F.S.R. Red Archive, 1922, Vol. 2, p. 31.
- 8 Soviet Journal "New East", Vol. 6, p. 270.
- 9 Lenin, "Notebooks on Imperialism", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 39, p. 765.
- 10 Lenin, "The War in China", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 338.
- 11 Engels, "The Progress of Russia in Far-East", Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Chinese ed., Vol. 12, p. 664.
- 12 Marx, "The New Chinese War", Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Chinese ed., Vol. 13, p. 574.
- 13 Lenin, "Speech Delivered at an International Meeting in Berne, February 8, 1916", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 116.
- 14 Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 6, p. 67.
- 15 Lenin, "Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, 'Imperialism and the World Economy'", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 94.

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The Soviet Modern Revisionists Are The Sworn Enemies of The Indonesian People

By—Marzuki

[This article was sent to us by Indonesian comrades.
— Ed. LIBERATION.]

ILLUMINATED by the invincible thought of Mao Tsetung and led by the P.K.I. which is tempered in the sharp class struggle, the Indonesian people are now gallantly and heroically taking the road of revolution, i.e., the road of revolutionary armed struggle. In the main islands, such as Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra and Sulawesi the flames of revolutionary armed struggle have been kindled and in the vast rural areas the Indonesian Communists are leading the peasant masses in carrying out guerrilla war which will certainly develop into a mighty people's war to overthrow the political power of the feudalist, comprador and bureaucrat capitalist classes and establish people's democracy in Indonesia.

The primary task of the Indonesian revolution at present, as pointed out in the new Programme of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) For People's Democracy in Indonesia—published in *Indonesian Tribune*, No. 9 Vol. II-1968—of the P.K.I. is to destroy completely the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship which constitutes a political power of the bureaucrat-capitalist, comprador and landlord classes and which is fully subservient to U.S. imperialism.

Who has propped up the fascist dictatorship of Suharto-Nasution? The Message of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. of May 23rd, 1967, clearly pointed out: "...the Soviet revisionist clique, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, has propped up the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which has led the

slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and patriots". The new Programme of the P.K.I. said that "the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, the running-dog of U.S. imperialism and the ally of the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, has transformed Indonesia, a beautiful and fertile country of thousands of islands, which is rich in raw material resources, into a vast hell for the Indonesian people." The counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. which was imposed by the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. upon the international communist movement has seriously harmed the cause of socialism the world over. It has also caused grave damage to the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) and brought tremendous losses to the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of P.K.I. in its Self-Criticism in September 1966 stated that modern revisionism, with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, is the greatest danger not only to the international communist movement but to the Indonesian Communist Party as well.

The documents of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I., i. e., the "Self-Criticism of the Central Committee of the P.K.I.", the "Message of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. of 23rd May, 1967" and the new Programme of the P.K.I., glaringly exposed the treacherous role of the Soviet modern revisionists in Indonesia. The Soviet modern revisionists are the **supporter** and **ally** of the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. The P.K.I. documents mercilessly exposed the Soviet modern revisionists as betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, traitors to the Soviet people and the peoples of the world as well, including the Indonesian people.

The Soviet modern revisionists have not only turned the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union into

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, completely restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and turned the C.P.S.U. into a fascist party, but also at the same time collaborate with and capitulate to U.S. imperialism. The Soviet modern revisionists have further degenerated into social imperialists and social-fascists, into new tsars. Colluding with U.S. imperialism the Soviet modern revisionists attempted in vain to redivide the world into their spheres of influence. Following in the wake of U.S. imperialism the Soviet modern revisionists put into practice the most dirty policy of neo-colonialism vis-a-vis the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the East European countries and Mongolia.

The Soviet modern revisionists are the biggest liquidators in this era. Their internal policy and their policy towards countries in East Europe is to restore capitalism, to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, while their external policy is to liquidate the world proletarian revolution and the revolutions for national independence. Shamelessly the Soviet modern revisionists imposed their capitulationist line of "peaceful co-existence" on the national liberation revolutions. The Soviet modern revisionists are frantically forcing the national liberation movements to submit to the selfish interest of their big-nation chauvinism. Thus, they have completely trampled underfoot the principle of proletarian internationalism.

II.

In what way do the Soviet modern revisionists betray the proletariat and people of Indonesia in general, and the P.K.I. in particular? **Firstly**, by imposing counter-revolutionary revisionist "theory" of "peaceful co-existence" and "peaceful transition" on the Indonesian people and the P.K.I. The Soviet modern revisionists also carried out frantic activities of recruiting P.K.I. renegades who have

sold themselves to the class enemies, such as the renegade clique who gathers around "Tekad Rakjat" (a bulletin in the Indonesian language published in Moscow by the P.K.I. renegades on the order of the Soviet modern revisionists. "Tekad Rakjat" means "People's Will"), and who shamelessly call themselves "Marxist-Leninist Group of the P.K.I.". This is a hopeless attempt to split the P.K.I. **Secondly**, by directly supporting the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime with arms and ammunition to massacre the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people, and by rendering economic aid to the fascist regime in a vain attempt to prop up the tottering economy of Suharto's regime.

When the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. summed up the experience and lessons of the Party in leading the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle, as outlined in the document of Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC of the P.K.I., the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia elatedly welcomed the new political line of the P.K.I. and were determined to carry out the tasks set out in the new "Three Banners of the Party", i.e., the first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; the second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class; the third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. The Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia regard the above-mentioned document of the P.K.I. as a call to the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary forces to unite and engage in a new struggle to overthrow the fascist military regime of

Suharto-Nasution and establish the power of People's Democracy in Indonesia.

It is not only the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people who regard this important document of the Political Bureau as the correct line has charted the correct road for the Indonesian revolution, i.e., the road of the Chinese revolution. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over warmly welcomed the P.K.I. document and gave it a high appraisal. The editorial of *Hongqi*, organ of the Communist Party of China, No. 11, 1967, for example, pointed out that "the two documents of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (i.e., the August 17, 1966 Statement of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I. and the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I.—author) are a telling blow at U.S. imperialism and its flunkys, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime, and the revisionist leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of Indonesia". *Hongqi* also pointed out that "the conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party concerning the "Three Banners" conforms with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, and will play an important guiding role in the Indonesian revolution". *Hongqi* further said that "the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, guided by the invincible Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surmount obstacle after obstacle, effect this historic change and lead the Indonesian people on the long march for winning victory in the revolution".

But the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionist leading clique as its centre, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of different countries, became frightened and terrified. Stricken with fear they intensified their plots against the Communists and revolutionary people

of Indonesia. Why are they so terrified? Obviously, the documents of the Political Bureau of the P.K.I. constitute a heavy blow to them.

We have mentioned that the Soviet modern revisionists betray the interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary Indonesian people in two different ways. Concerning the **first way**, the Soviet modern revisionists perform the following vicious practice: As soon as they learnt that Indonesian Communists have summed up the experience of the Party in leading the people's revolutionary struggle, criticized the Right opportunist errors committed by the leadership of the Party in the past, pointed out the road for the Indonesian revolution, and laid down the principles for the struggle, as elaborated in the document "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I.", the Soviet modern revisionists frantically mustered a bunch of renegades who have sneaked into the P.K.I., to carry out splittist activities against the P.K.I. This handful of renegades under the name of so-called "Marxist-Leninist Group of the P.K.I." then issued a Soviet-revisionist-prepared document called "For the correct road for the Indonesian revolution", an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist document, peddling the bankrupt "peaceful road". The Soviet modern revisionists also ordered these renegades in Moscow to publish a bulletin: "Tekad Rakjat".

This counter-revolutionary document is concocted by the Soviet modern revisionists to counter the "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I.". The counter-revolutionary document openly defended and propagated the erroneous programme of the Fifth Congress of the P.K.I. (1954), i.e., the line of "peaceful" transition to people's democracy, class collaboration and opportunist views on the bourgeois state. In its "Introduction" to the Programme of the P.K.I. For People's Democracy in Indonesia, the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I.

Suharto-Nasution and establish the power of People's Democracy in Indonesia.

It is not only the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people who regard this important document of the Political Bureau as the correct line has charted the correct road for the Indonesian revolution, i.e., the road of the Chinese revolution. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over warmly welcomed the P.K.I. document and gave it a high appraisal. The editorial of *Hongqi*, organ of the Communist Party of China, No. 11, 1967, for example, pointed out that "the two documents of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (i.e., the August 17, 1966 Statement of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I. and the Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I.—author) are a telling blow at U.S. imperialism and its flunkies, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime, and the revisionist leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of Indonesia". *Hongqi* also pointed out that "the conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party concerning the "Three Banners" conforms with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, and will play an important guiding role in the Indonesian revolution". *Hongqi* further said that "the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, guided by the invincible Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surmount obstacle after obstacle, effect this historic change and lead the Indonesian people on the long march for winning victory in the revolution".

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pointed out: "The essence of the mistake committed by the Party during this period was the failure to carry out the principle of Marxism-Leninism on revolution, namely, the seizure of political power by armed force. The opportunist and revisionist mistake was reflected in the Party Programme that was endorsed by the Fifth Party Congress (1954) and, still more clearly, after the Programme as revised by the Sixth Party Congress (1959) and the Seventh Party Congress (1962).

"The Programme endorsed by the Fifth Party Congress spoke of the necessity 'to replace the government of the feudal and comprador overlords, and to establish a people's democratic government'. The Programme pointed out that 'parliamentary struggle alone is not enough to achieve the aim of establishing a people's democratic government', and that 'the way out lies in changing the balance of forces between the imperialists, the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the forces of the people on the other; the way out lies in arousing, mobilizing and organizing the masses, in particular the workers and peasants'. However, the programme did not mention a single word on the necessity to seize political power through armed struggle. Without armed struggle, it is impossible to change the balance of forces as stated in the programme. it is impossible to find a way out for the Indonesian people, and it is impossible to establish a people's democratic power".

"The opportunist political line with regard to the state power can be seen clearly in the view that was made the basis to formulate the Programme of Immediate Demands, the integral part of the Party Programme. All governments existing prior to the establishment of the people's democratic government can be no other but bourgeois governments; they are organs of the rule of the bourgeois and feudal classes to exercise dictatorship over the working class and other sections of the working people.....This

opportunist political line hindered the growth of the consciousness among the working class and other sections of working people on the necessity to replace bourgeois dictatorship with people's dictatorship led by the working class, through revolutionary violence. On the contrary, it helped to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie that was already facing economic and political crisis.

"It is clear that the Party programme since the Fifth Congress was an opportunist and revisionist programme. For this reason, the Political Bureau has considered it necessary, and accordingly decided, to replace the old revisionist Party programme with a new Party programme, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist programme".

The document "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I." has most strongly criticised the opportunist and revisionist mistake made by the Party leadership during the period between 1951 and 1965.

Indeed, it becomes very clear now why the Soviet modern revisionists are so adamant in propagating the political line of the Fifth Congress of the P.K.I. They are thinking that by confronting the document of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I.—"Self-Criticism"—with the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the P.K.I.—they have done a very "clever" thing. But, in fact by doing so they have exposed themselves the more fully as renegades of Marxism-Leninism and betrayers of the Indonesian proletariat and revolutionary people. The Soviet modern revisionists have again and again tried frantically to impose their counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "peaceful" transition on the P.K.I. and revolutionary people of Indonesia, by using these handful of P.K.I. renegades in Moscow, by widely propagating the revisionist decisions of the Fifth Congress of the P.K.I.

The Soviet modern revisionists are active in propagating rumours and slanders that the "P.K.I. has been destroyed", that "there is no more Central Committee of

the P.K.I.", and that "each group is following its own way." But they are completely dissatisfied. Before their lips are dried in slandering the P.K.I., the rattling of guns spread over the vast rural areas of Indonesia proclaiming the unfolding of the revolutionary armed struggle in the main islands of Indonesia. The Soviet modern revisionists must face an even harder fact. Contrary to their ridiculous slander that "there is no more Central Committee of the P.K.I.", the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I., still in existence and actively leading the people's struggle, has outlined the new Programme of the Party.

What are the aims of the Soviet modern revisionists in spreading the slanders that the "P.K.I. has been destroyed"? It is for the dirty purpose to vainly strangle the fighting spirit of the members and cadres of the P.K.I. and of the Indonesian revolutionary people. They are spreading the poison of pessimism in order to gain the pretext that a so-called "completely new P.K.I." should be established which is "Marxist-Leninist" and, of course, that will act under the baton of the Soviet modern revisionists, and continue to adhere to the opportunist and revisionist programme of the Fifth Congress of the P.K.I.

For a long time the Soviet modern revisionists are spreading rumours overtly and covertly—that the "P.K.I. is split", that the "P.K.I. has been destroyed", that "each group is going its own way", and scores of other slanders against the P.K.I. Recently they are also active in spreading false news in their press that "on the question of which road to follow there is still no unanimity among the Indonesian Communists". Well, the revolutionary armed struggle under the leadership of the P.K.I. has begun and is developing. The Indonesian revolutionary people is now taking the road of the Chinese revolution. This is as clear as daylight!

Precisely at a time in which the revolutionary armed struggle is unfolding, under the leadership of the P.K.I.

the Soviet modern revisionists are frantically spreading false reports and hurling slanders against the Indonesian Communists and the P.K.I. that "on the question of which road to follow there is still no unanimity among the Indonesian Communists." Everyone knows that the document "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the P.K.I." is the only main document of the P.K.I. which has summed up the experience and lessons of the Party in leading the Indonesian revolutionary struggle and outlined a correct political line. While the new Programme of the P.K.I. is the only Programme for the P.K.I. The Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are resolute to take the road of people's war as shown by Chairman Mao Tsetung, to win final victory. So, what then, are the motives of the Soviet modern revisionists and their agents, in spreading slanders against the P.K.I.? Obviously, it is to prepare the public opinion and to create pretexts to justify their plots in creating a "new P.K.I." under a "Marxist-Leninist" sign board, but which follows the revisionist line of "peaceful" transition. In one word to split the P.K.I.

Concerning the **second way** of strangling the Indonesian people's revolution, we witnessed a more unbridled attacks and vilification of the Soviet modern revisionists against the P.K.I. and the revolutionary people of Indonesia. They openly support the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime with weapons, ammunition, military wares and credits. Marshal Grechko, chieftain of the Soviet revisionist armed forces overtly told Nasution: "...good relation between the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the armed forces of Indonesia in general could be maintained and further developed..." The organ of the Soviet revisionist government, *Izvestia*, said in an article commemorating the 22nd anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, that the Indonesian fascist military regime headed by Suharto-Nasution "always have the support and the sympathy" of the Soviet modern

the P.K.I.", and that "each group is following its own way." But they are completely dissatisfied. Before their lips are dried in slandering the P.K.I., the rattling of guns spread over the vast rural areas of Indonesia proclaiming the unfolding of the revolutionary armed struggle in the main islands of Indonesia. The Soviet modern revisionists must face an even harder fact. Contrary to their ridiculous slander that "there is no more Central Committee of the P.K.I.", the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I., still in existence and actively leading the people's struggle, has outlined the new Programme of the Party.

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revisionists. *Izvestia* praises the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime but uttered not a single word of the barbarous persecutions and mass murder committed by Suharto's regime against the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people. It is still fresh in our memory that in November 1966 the Soviet revisionists officially agreed to defer payment of Indonesia's huge debt amounting to 1,200 million US dollars, which was used primarily for purchasing weapons and ammunition from the Soviet Union to murder Indonesian Communists and patriots.

In December 1966 the Soviet revisionist "embassy" in Djakarta handed over a military project called "055" to the Indonesian navy. The Soviet revisionists also give military training in the Soviet Union to Indonesian military personnel, to oppress and persecute Indonesian Communists and people. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists sent their military personnel to Indonesia, even to East Java, to help Suharto in carrying out his "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the people's armed forces. In August 1968 the chieftain of the Indonesian navy, Muljadi, stated that the Soviet modern revisionists continue aiding the fascist regime with military experts. Muljadi also said that the Soviet revisionists agreed to support the fascist regime with military spare-parts and warships. Indeed, the Soviet modern revisionists do not try to conceal their support to Suharto's regime. On August 24th, 1968, the Soviet revisionist ambassador in Djakarta openly declared that "...the whole world knows the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to Indonesia."

The Soviet modern revisionists are also active in prettifying the Indonesian fascist military regime. The Soviet revisionist ambassador in Djakarta said on November 7th, 1967, that the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime is "anti-imperialist" and "follows a neutral foreign policy" while *Pravda*, organ of the Soviet revisionist party, wrote in March 1968, that Suharto, the butcher of the Indonesian

Communists and patriots is "a national hero", a "brilliant leader", and a "general who has liberated West Irian". Indeed, only those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and revolution can say such nice words about Suharto, a butcher of Communists and the people.

In helping to prop up the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, the Soviet revisionists never forget their own imperialistic ambition. Being social-imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists are aiming at Indonesia's rich natural resources and its vast market for their manufactured goods. They are therefore very active in trying to have closer economic relation with the Suharto regime. At the beginning of August 1968 the Soviet revisionist ambassador in Djakarta, Sytenko, held a secret negotiation with Sumitro, the minister of commerce of Indonesia's fascist regime in order to enlarge the volume of trade between Indonesia and the Soviet Union. The modern revisionists are also practising neo-colonialism in Indonesia, as they are doing in India, the East European countries, the Middle East, Mongolia, and other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

III

The dirty practices of the Soviet modern revisionists in the world and in Indonesia in particular, shows that the Soviet modern revisionists are agents of imperialism, an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, which have sneaked into the international communist movement. They are the enemies of the peoples the world over, including the Indonesian people. Lenin once said: "...the struggle against imperialism remains an empty talk if it is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism". Soviet modern revisionism is the most concentrated expression of opportunism at the present time. Therefore, the struggle against imperialism, against the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which is a lackey of U.S. imperialism,

is sheer nonsense if at the same time no principled struggle is waged against Soviet modern revisionism and its lackeys.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. has correctly pointed out in its Message of May 23rd 1967: "For the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and people who cherish liberation and independence, the fight against the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union is absolutely indispensable, because the Soviet revisionist clique, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, has propped up the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which has led the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and patriots."

The task for the Indonesian revolutionary people to fulfil is crystal clear, i.e.: To take up arms to overthrow the fascist military regime of Suharto-Nasution, lackeys of U.S. imperialism, and at the same time to carry out a consistent and principled tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet modern revisionists, dangerous and vicious enemies of the Indonesian people.

Defeat Of "Mechanization" by Revolutionization Is the Logic of History

After seeing the documentary "Chenpao Island
Brooks No Violation"

—Hung Chuang-chih

Of a P.L.A. armoured unit

"**WE** will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack." On March 15, our frontier guards and civilians on Chenpao Island triumphantly repulsed the Soviet revisionist aggressor troops' armed intrusion into our motherland's territory Chenpao Island. With the powerful spiritual force of fearing neither hardship nor death, they knocked the stuffings out of the aggressors and sent them flying helter-skelter, thus exposing the paper tiger features of the new tsars. The documentary *Chenpao Island Brooks No Violation* factually records the heroic feats performed during this counter-attack in self-defence. The film is a song of victory for the defeat of Soviet revisionist "mechanization" by ideological revolutionization.

Filled with deep hatred for imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, we were greatly indignant when we saw in the film how, during its intrusion into China's territory Chenpao Island, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism used aircraft, large numbers of tanks, armoured cars, etc., and how it heavily shelled the tiny Island and launched three frenzied assaults. This social-imperialist gangster was full of bluster and arrogance, as if it was an "iron tiger." The Soviet revisionists thought that they could overwhelm

the Chinese people with their "tortoise shells" [tanks and armoured cars] and realize their fond dream of aggression and expansion. However, confronted by the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, their "tortoise shells" were nothing but paper tigers which fell to bits as soon as they were hit. Just note, we didn't use aircraft or tanks. Relying on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and with the resolve to "fight the Soviet revisionists to the end even if our blood make the Wusuli River flow red," our fighters displayed great courage and composure. They flexibly counter-attacked in self-defence and reduced the Soviet revisionists' "tortoise shells" to heaps of scrap iron which lay like dead "turtles." The Soviet revisionist aggressor troops, with their "tortoise shells" knocked out, their "mechanization" a failure, revealed their true paper-tiger features. They were useless on foot, they just couldn't walk and they had no place to hide. Our heroic fighters stood on top of the "tortoise shells" as they denounced the new tsars and joyfully recounted how our ideological revolutionization defeated the Soviet revisionists' "mechanization."

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."** Vice-Chairman Lin instructs us: "What is the greatest fighting power? It is men who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is courage, it is fearlessness in the face of death."

To arm ourselves with Mao Tsetung Thought and to do a good job of our ideological revolutionization is fundamental to our defeat of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. It was precisely because our comrades-in-arms on Chenpao Island had attained a high level of ideological revolutionization that they displayed the greatest courage in battle and were able to take enemy

positions in attack and hold their own in defence, to pit one man against ten and to work miracles. New fighters who had never before fought on a battlefield were able to fight magnificently and cadres who had never before commanded in battle were able to command well. The heroic fighters on Chenpao Island put it aptly: "Our greatest ability to defeat the enemy is a high level of proletarian consciousness." This superiority is exclusively possessed by a people's army and is something which none other can have. As for the Soviet revisionist army, under the control of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, it has degenerated into a fascist army which suppresses the people at home and carries out aggression against other countries. It has long since forfeited the political superiority of a proletarian army and like all reactionary armies has blind faith in "tortoise shells" and makes a fetish of weapons. But after all, what use is a political corpse encased in a "tortoise shell"?

Our army's glorious fighting record over the decades is a record of defeating all kinds of "mechanization" through ideological revolutionization.

Under most difficult conditions and with very poor equipment, we relied on Chairman Mao's great thinking on people's war and on proletarian consciousness and courage to defeat the then all mighty "military despot of the East"—Japanese fascism—and smashed Japanese imperialism which was dreaming of hegemony over all of Asia.

With millet plus rifles we wiped out, within the short space of a little over three years, the 8-million-strong reactionary Kuomintang army which was equipped with modern weapons provided by U.S. imperialism, bringing about the complete collapse of the Chiang dynasty and driving the imperialists out of China.

During the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, we gave full play to the great thinking of daring to struggle and daring to win and defeated the world's No. 1

imperialism, and forced it to stop its war of aggression against Korea. We exposed this arrogant paper tiger for what it was to the people of the whole world.

Today, in the battles of counter-attack in self-defence on Chenpao Island, we pulverized the Soviet revisionists' much-vaunted "tortoise shells" and defeated the "mechanization" they relied on, thus humiliating this ferocious social-imperialism and exposing its feebleness.

You fight with your "mechanization" and we with our revolutionization; you exert your superiority and we exert our superiority. No matter how many "tortoise shells" the enemy has and no matter what superiority it may possess in "mechanization," it cannot escape being severely beaten like it was on the Chenpao Island! Courage and fearlessness in the face of death are an incomparably powerful spiritual atom bomb. It is the logic of history that revolutionization is bound to triumph over "mechanization"!

—[From *Peking Review*, No. 39, 1969]

"Mao Tsetung Thought Is Our Greatest Support"

Palestinian Guerrillas Ardently Study Chairman Mao's Works in The Course of Fighting

(*Hsinhua correspondent*)

AT THE encampments of the Palestinian guerrilla fighters, this correspondent saw many Palestinian guerrillas assiduously studying Chairman Mao's work. Many of them expressed the confidence that following Chairman Mao's teachings and taking the road of the Chinese armed revolution, Palestine would certainly be liberated.

Wherever the Guerrillas Set Up Camps, They Take Along Chairman Mao's Works

Many Palestinian guerrilla fighters diligently study Chairman Mao's writings in the course of intensive fighting. The guerrillas frequently change their camp sites in order to deal the Israeli aggressors more powerful blows. In such difficult conditions of war, many guerrillas take with them Chairman Mao's works wherever they go. "Mobile field libraries" have been established in many encampments. The "library" has neither rooms nor desks and chairs. It consists of one or two suitcases filled with the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao, and some books and periodicals about the Palestinian revolution. Here, the guerrillas can read the Arabic editions of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tsetung*, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* and many of Chairman Mao's works in pamphlet form, such as *On Protracted War*, *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan* and *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*.

Many fighters study Chairman Mao's writings conscientiously under the trees or in tents during their rest period. Sometimes, responsible members of the camps organize the fighters for collective study or discussion. Some guerrillas said: "It is heart-warming to read Chairman Mao's writings. There are many common points between Palestine and China. The great Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao sets a brilliant example for our Palestinian revolution. In studying Chairman Mao's works we can learn the rich experience in struggle of the Chinese revolution." A fighter named Abu Mazin of Al Assifa, the commando force of Al-Fatah (the Palestine National Liberation Movement), has read many of Chairman Mao's works. He said: "Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and the most sincere friend of our Palestinian people. We Palestinians cherish a profound friendship for China, because China has Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese people resolutely support us in our struggle. Mao Tsetung Thought is the greatest support for our revolution. So long as we march forward along the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao the Palestinian revolution will surely triumph."

Many guerrilla fighters not only study Chairman Mao's writings themselves, but take these writings to the refugee camps and organize the militia and inmates to study them. A young militiaman called Ismail in Baga refugee camp on the outskirts of Amman, capital of Jordan, took from his pocket the pamphlet *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* in which he had underlined many passages. He said: "I study this book almost every day and I feel greatly inspired every time I read it. From this writing of Chairman Mao's we can envisage the future of the Palestinian revolution. Though we are still confronted with many difficulties, the torch of armed struggle lit by the revolutionary fighters with their blood can never be put out. The Palestinian revolution will certainly grow

from a spark into a prairie fire." This young militiaman who has read many of Chairman Mao's writings added: "Mao Tsetung Thought is a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. Once you grasp this ideological weapon, you can defeat imperialism, revisionism and Zionism."

**Warm Love for the People, Bitter Hatred for the
Enemy ; Fight for the Liberation
Of the Homeland**

During a visit to the encampment of an Al Assifa unit near Karameh on the eastern bank of the Jordan River one day in late July, this correspondent witnessed a moving scene which demonstrates how invincible Mao Tsetung Thought has deeply penetrated the hearts of more and more Palestinian guerrillas.

This unit has veteran guerrillas aged over forty and young fighters of 13 or 14 years old ; sons of peasants who had no chance to go to school and young college students. They came here from all places for the same purpose—to fight for the liberation of their homeland.

Abu Kifah, who is responsible for the encampment, is a young commander. He cherishes an ardent love for Chairman Mao's works. He said: "Chairman Mao's teachings on the people's army and people's war are the guiding principle of our guerrilla units." He added: "We Palestinian guerrillas regard the Chinese People's Liberation Army created and led personally by Chairman Mao as our shining example. Chairman Mao's teaching that **'The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible...'** is very important for our guerrilla unit. Not only Israeli Zionism, but imperialism, revisionism and reaction are our enemy. Without the support of the masses, our guerrillas cannot exist."

During intervals between battles, the fighters of this encampment often help the peasants to do farm work.

They also distribute rifles to the local militia. They go on night patrol together with the militiamen. The unit is stationed in an orchard, yet none of the fighters has ever violated mass discipline. No one has even picked a fruit. The guerrilla fighters look after the houses and orchards for peasant households which have moved from the battle-front to the interior. There are regular meetings in the encampment at which criticism and self-criticism are made.

The broad masses of the Palestinian people regard the guerrillas as their own army. Some Palestinians living in the areas under Israeli occupation send information to the guerrillas, or act as their guides, or give cover to their activities at the risk of their own lives. When the mountain paths and the highways were blocked by heavy snow, the local inhabitants carried food to the guerrillas on their back. During enemy attacks, many of them fought shoulder to shoulder with the guerrillas.

You Fight in Your Way and We Fight in Ours ; Attack the Enemy in Flexible Operations

The guerrillas cherish warm love for the people, and bitter hatred for the enemy. They always vie with one another in applying for taking part in battles whenever there are military operations to be carried out. The guerrillas make great efforts to apply in the course of fighting Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics on people's war: **"You fight in your way and we fight in ours ; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't."** Operating flexibly, they hit the enemy on the battlefield and inflict heavy losses on him.

The day this correspondent visited the encampment near Karameh, a mine-sweeping group led by Abu Malwan, another commander of the encampment, returned. They had dug out over 100 mines laid by the enemy. The fighters brought some of them home and laid the rest in

places frequented by the enemy to kill the enemy with his own mines.

With great elation, Malwan said: "Even enemy planes and tanks fail to cope with us, how can these few wretched mines block our advance? The enemy relies on weapon and technical equipment, while we rely on courage, political consciousness and the people's support. Facts have proved that we can defeat the well-equipped enemy with simple weapons."

Night is the best time for the guerrillas to strike the enemy. On the very night this correspondent visited the encampment, the unit planned to launch a surprise attack near Jericho on the western bank of the Jordan River. From a front-line observation post this correspondent could see enemy searchlights constantly turning in all directions and flares which were shot into the sky. Though the Israeli aggressor troops had built rows of defence works, electrified wire entanglements, laid mines and set up an electron alarm system, they still felt insecure and panic-stricken. They were so nervous that bushes and trees were taken for guerrilla fighters. When an animal moved about, they were so frightened that they opened fire blindly as if confronted with an overwhelming army attacking them.

Some guerrilla fighters said: "Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is absolutely correct. In the famous Karameh battle on March 21, last year, we exposed the true features of Israel as a paper tiger. Now we Palestinian guerrillas are immeasurably stronger than we were a year and a half ago. A look at the messy state of the enemy position shows that the Israeli aggressor is nothing but a paper tiger pure and simple."

An elderly fighter named Abu Sheikh said: "The reason why our people were driven out of their homeland is that we had not taken up arms. Now, we have our own army.

Neither U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, nor the United Nations can prevent us from marching forward. We will fight on from generation to generation so long as Palestine is not liberated."

**We Palestinian People Sincerely Wish
Chairman Mao a Long, Long Life**

During this correspondent's visits to guerrilla encampments and refugee camps, all the revolutionary Palestinian people were eager to express their best wishes for the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao. In the refugee camp on the outskirts of Amman, this correspondent saw portraits of Chairman Mao put up respectfully in some of the refugees' tents. Many Palestinians repeatedly told this correspondent: "Be sure to tell the Chinese people about the Palestinian people's boundless respect and love for Chairman Mao."

A Palestinian guerrilla fighter named Sherif said warmly, "We sincerely wish Chairman Mao a long, long life! We Palestinian people will certainly follow Chairman Mao's teachings to carry the revolution through to the end!" His statement expresses the common wish of the broad masses of the revolutionary Palestinian people.

—[From *Peking Review*, No. 39, 1969]

No mention of working class struggle

India's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Surges Forward

FIRMLY taking the revolutionary road of seizing political power by armed force, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has gone deep into the rural areas, done propaganda work among the masses, organized and armed them, and developed armed struggle with agrarian revolution as its main content, thus bringing on a new vigorous development in the revolution in India.

After the spark of the peasants' armed struggle was kindled by the Indian revolutionaries in 1967 in Naxalbari (West Bengal State), the flames spread in 1968 to Srikakulam District (Andhra Pradesh), Lakhimpur District (Uttar Pradesh) and Muzaffarpur District (Bihar State). This year the peasants' armed struggle has expanded further. The armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh which started in the remote mountainous area of Srikakulam District has developed and extended to 19 rural areas in 10 districts on the broad plains of that state and the jungle areas of neighbouring Orissa State. Peasant guerrillas are also active in Nainital and Unnao Districts (Uttar Pradesh) Ranchi District (Bihar State), Rupar District (Punjab State), and the southern coastal area of West Bengal.

In Srikakulam District, where the peasants' armed struggle is raging, the peasant masses under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have set up an area for armed struggle encompassing some 300 villages. Peasants set up people's courts in this area to try enemies of the people and have begun to organize the apparatus of rudimentary revolutionary political power.

Wherever the peasants' armed struggle has developed, the peasants who were oppressed and enslaved for generations have proudly stood up and swept away the arrogance of the landlord class and all other reactionaries.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) which was founded in April this year explicitly stated in its political resolution: "It is the responsibility of the working class as the leader of the revolution to unite with the peasantry—the main force of the revolution—and to advance towards seizure of power through armed struggle." The resolution also stressed that "to fulfil this task the revolutionary Communist Party must study Chairman Mao's thought."

Cherishing the great ideal of overthrowing reactionary rule in India and achieving complete freedom from oppression and exploitation for the people, members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and other Indian revolutionaries have gone to work in places where feudal oppression is serious and class contradictions are acute. They work in the revolutionary spirit of "whether we live or die, it must be for the people." Regarding the propagation of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought among the peasants as their primary task, they have ardently disseminated the great truth that "**political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**" among the poor peasants. Applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they made typical investigations about the economic conditions and political attitudes of the various classes in the rural areas, formulated the class line in rural work and put forward the task of developing agrarian revolution and eliminating feudalism in the countryside.

After the revolutionary peasants were aroused and organized, the Indian revolutionaries first helped them to set up their armed organizations—guerrilla units and peasant self-defence forces and then they launched attacks on the feudal forces in the rural areas. They frequently punished despotic landlords and corrupt officials who had committed many bloody crimes, seized guns, grain and land from the landlords, and ambushed reactionary police and landlord armed forces sent to carry out "encirclement and

suppression" operations and round up the peasant armed forces and revolutionary peasants. In July this year, a guerrilla unit in an area in Srikakulam District repulsed a reactionary police force of 60 men, killing its two officers. The guerrillas and peasant self-defence force in another area attacked a 150-man reactionary police unit in June. In Sompeta area, Srikakulam District, hundreds of peasants together with the guerrillas confiscated the property of a despotic landlord and seized his firearms. In the Pathapatnam area in the same district, several guerrilla units along with well over 1,000 peasants attacked the homes of four landlords. Terrified by this powerful mass action, the reactionary police stationed less than one mile away were afraid to show themselves.

Since the guerrillas are closely united with the peasant masses, they are able to frustrate the "encirclement and suppression" operations conducted by the reactionary government and they are growing in strength steadily. In the Pallia area in Lakhimpur District (Uttar Pradesh), where there was a vigorous peasant armed struggle, the revolutionary peasants were active in providing the guerrillas with information about the police while preventing any information about the guerrillas from reaching the enemy. The reactionary government had sent armed police to make about 10 sudden raids in different villages in the area, but, under the people's protection, none of the revolutionaries was arrested. The police arrested some peasants, cruelly tortured them and tried to force them to give information about the leaders of the armed struggle. But the peasants, valiant and indomitable, refused to utter a single word that would harm the revolutionaries. Further incensed by the police atrocities, the people joined the guerrilla forces more actively and took up arms to hit the enemy. The number of guerrillas doubled. Once, three leaders of the revolutionary armed struggle were arrested by the police in Bihar State. Over 200 local armed peasants

carried out a successful ambush while the reactionary police were escorting these leaders through a dense forest. The peasants wounded 19 policemen and rescued their leaders from a police jeep. The flesh-and-blood relations between the guerrillas and the peasant masses have greatly dismayed the Indian reactionaries.

In summing up the experience of armed struggle, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pointed out that armed struggle is not merely for land but for state power. It pointed out: The monopoly of land ownership and feudal exploitation by the landlords in the villages are being preserved by the state power which serves the landlords. To end the monopoly of land ownership and feudal exploitation by the landlords, it is necessary to establish a new political power through armed struggle. In some areas where armed struggle has been developed, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has led the revolutionary peasants in destroying the reactionary political power at the basic level, abolishing the reactionary laws and establishing rudimentary people's political power.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history."** Today, the broad masses of the people in India are awakening and the peasant movement is rising. The vigorous development of the peasants' armed struggle led and supported by the Indian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) foretells that hundreds of millions of Indian peasants will surely rise to overthrow the four big mountains—U.S. imperialism, social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism—which bear down like a dead weight on them. Although the Indian people's revolution may meet various kinds of difficulties and have twists and turns in its course of advance, no force in the world can prevent the Indian people from marching forward triumphantly along the road of seizing political power by armed forces.

—[From *Peking Review*, No. 44 1969]

Revolutionary Armed Peasant Struggle In Debra, West Bengal

A Report by the Debra Thana Organizing Committee, CPI (M-L)

'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. When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

"Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again...till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution."

—Chairman Mao Tsetung

THE experience of the struggle of the poor people the world over, especially that of the poor people's struggle at Debra, helped us to realize the truth of this teaching of Chairman Mao's. The heroic peasants of Debra have fought against jotedars and usurers and their lackeys, and against the wicked gentry. Time and again the jotedars launched vicious attacks against us. They threatened to use their guns against our demonstrations, brought large numbers of goondas and the police to suppress us, played devilish tricks, trapped our comrades in a web of court cases, got them sentenced to life-term imprisonment and harassed the peasants endlessly in the name of arbitration. When they found themselves in a tight corner they licked

the dust, made compromises, conceded the peasants' demands only to begin their dirty game later. Fighting against the oppression of the jotedars the peasants have suffered setbacks only to rise up again like heroes.

The peasants of Debra have realized from their own experience the truth of what Chairman Mao has taught. Echoing Chairman Mao's words they say: "How can a jotedar ever wish good to others? A butcher never lays down his knives, and will never become a Gautama Buddha."

The peasant movement of Debra has a history of relentless tit-for-tat fight in which the peasants have received blows and hit back. To know their present struggle the comrades should also know the history of their past struggles.

The Background: When the United Front came to power in West Bengal for the first time after the 1967 general election, the revolutionary ranks in the CPI(M) accepted this UF government in good faith as an instrument of class struggle and took the call for stepping up the mass struggles as a genuine one for which they had waited so long. Thus a surging wave of class struggle started in our area. At places the movement against hoarders began to develop and the whole area under the Debra P.S. shook as the poor peasants in their thousands demonstrated. Raids on blackmarkets by armed demonstrations began to take place in such large *hats* [village markets] as those at Balichak, Radhamohanpur and Malihati. The movement reached its peak on the issue of increasing the wages of the agricultural labourers. They started their movement for wage-increase all over the *thana* [area under police station]. The unbending and stiff attitude taken by the jotedars and the rich peasants only increased the class hatred and class consciousness of the landless peasants. There came a time when the peasants did not remain satisfied only with their demand for wage-increase but called for a fight to the finish

against ~~the the~~ entire jotedar class. When the jotedars threatened to attack a peasant demonstration at Bahulasini with guns the peasants, far from being frightened, stood firm and prepared to resist the jotedars' attack with bows and arrows. They refused to be intimidated any more by the *anchal pradhan* who threatened them. The peasants began to rise up defiantly against the traditional feudal authority. Whenever the jotedars saw a peasant demonstration, they felt frightened and said: "There comes the army!" Didn't we see how they defied and trampled upon the so-called order of the *anchal pradhan* and made a heroic attempt to annihilate the feudal chief of area no. 8? Didn't we see how the jotedars were terrified at this? A police camp was set up at Debra. But the peasants refused to relent. The flare-up during the harvesting season was even more serious and the class solidarity and class struggle of the peasants against the entire jotedar class began to overstep the pale of economic demands. They openly raised the slogan: "We will return blow for blow", and beat up the jotedars in broad daylight. The peasants invariably armed themselves when joining a demonstration. Their own struggles helped them to realize better that they must wage armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution.

This is what put the Party bosses [of CPM] in a fix. Had the district and provincial leaders anticipated that the peasants would act so seriously in response to their simulated battle cry of 'stepping up the mass struggles (!)', they would hardly have given that call. Now the district and central leaderships began to express their disapproval: "Why must you hold armed demonstrations? It seems you are afraid to hold meetings and demonstrations unarmed and in a peaceful manner!" They even went so far as to rebuke the peasants of Debra: "You are ^{on} treading the adventurist path!" All this was happening at Debra at the time of the great Naxalbari

struggle, and the peasants were beginning to understand the significance of this struggle. This helped to put the treachery of the Party leadership in bold relief. This is how a new phase began for the peasants of Debra—the phase of getting themselves initiated in revolutionary politics.

Warrants were issued against comrades by the UF government which, on its last day in office, promulgated section 144 in our area banning meetings, demonstrations and carrying of weapons openly. That is how the UF government and the jotedars jointly launched their counter-offensive against the peasants. Leading comrades were forced either to court arrest or to go into hiding, the morale of the masses began to break and all the weaknesses of the movement became obvious.

A stage was reached during the 1967 movement when the annihilation of the class enemy and building a base area came up as an inescapable task. But open propaganda can never become the basis of a secret Party unit. So, the organization became helpless before the onslaught of the government and the jotedars. When police repression began and section 144 was promulgated, there was no way to carry forward the movement other than by means of guerrilla activity, by forming secret squads and annihilating the class enemies. It transcended the limits of economic struggle and the question of seizure of power appeared as a natural and inevitable question. But two things stood in the way—first, lack of propagation of the politics of seizure of power among the broad peasant masses; secondly, the petty bourgeois nature of the leadership.

The Naxalbari struggle had, at that time, just taken place and the Party [CPM] leadership was trying its best to hide from the Party workers of this area the true character of the Naxalbari struggle—the fact that it was a heroic attempt to seize political power. It was because of this and the fact that the Party as a whole was

“votegrabbing and legalist” in character that we failed to raise the issue of seizure of political power as the only and immediate task. The peasants were burdened with hundreds of court cases, comrades were arrested on charges of murder and warrants were issued against others. The agricultural labourers and sharecroppers began fighting two kinds of battle against the jotedars—putting up armed resistance and fighting legal battles in lawcourts. These two kinds of battle are mutually exclusive and cannot be carried on simultaneously for long.

Abject dependence on and illusion about the existing laws emerged as the main thing from these mutually exclusive battles, and the issue of the seizure of power never became the main thing. The revolutionary cadres were unable to clearly grasp the revolutionary politics themselves. Despite all these limitations the peasants were ahead of us and a consciousness that “either the tiger or the man,—both can never live together” seemed to grip their minds rapidly. This consciousness found expression in such acts as their attempt to snatch away the arrested comrades from the custody of the police, using bows and arrows to tackle the jotedars who were armed with guns, taking preliminary steps to organize even the women into fighting groups in the villages, harassing a police inspector in front of agricultural labourers, dealing firmly with blackmarketees, etc. But owing to our petty bourgeois class origin and lack of proletarian class consciousness we thought that it would not be proper to go to such length, that it might invite large scale police repression and that the peasants might not be able to withstand such repression. This put a brake on the initiative of the peasants. We remember Comrade Kanu Sanyal's well-known words in his “Report on the Peasant Struggle In The Terai Region”.

He said: “The most important thing is—never to allow the initiative of the masses to be suppressed.”

Our lack of understanding of the political and military aspects of people's war stood in the way of the struggle.

Search For New Road : Soon the movement got stuck as if trapped in quicksand. Comrades began to look for a new road. At this time the work of building the Party on new lines and on the basis of new politics, and through a campaign of political propaganda was going on at Gopiballavpur. Its influence was felt in our area and heartened our cadres and leadership. As is natural, contact was established with the leadership of Gopiballavpur area, and our task was becoming clear through exchange of experience. The news of the glorious struggle in Srikakulam reached our comrades at this time. The call to develop the initiative of the masses by eliminating the class enemies, and to form and train guerrilla units through the annihilation of the class enemies, put a concrete and clear task before our comrades. The formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and its Political Resolution, the teachings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the advanced role played by the organization at Gopiballavpur—all this tremendously encouraged the organization at Debra to form guerrilla units by fighting against all kinds of opportunism and legalist illusions.

Comrades began to make progress through criticism and self-criticism. They themselves had fought and were symbols of struggle in the eyes of the poor people. They placed the experience of the people's struggle before the people and the ranks in the light of Chairman Mao's teachings and pointed out with modesty their own past weaknesses and the treachery of the Party leadership [CPM]. While doing this they put forward annihilation of class enemies by guerrilla method as the task. The effect was surprising. Work began to progress very rapidly, and the guerrilla unit was ready for action within one and a half months. Thus we were all ready for action as early as in Bhādra and Aswin [September-October], that is, long before the

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harvesting season. This was beyond the expectation of the leading comrades. The progress made in these one and a half months was like a big leap forward. Annihilation of class enemies became the touchstone to the peasant comrades. Without resorting to political or theoretical jargon, they could themselves easily expose the real face of factions like "Dakshin Desh" who were peddling their rotten wares by using the name of Naxalbari. There was no difficulty in liquidating them politically and organizationally in Debra area. The new success achieved in Srikakulam struggle and the Mushahari struggle enthused our comrades. The beginning of guerrilla struggle in Gopiballavpur area served as a tremendous fillip to them. Organizational links were strengthened and conviction became firmer. This struggle of the poor people in another part of the Midnapur district doubly enthused our organizers. We realized that "a single spark can start a prairie fire." The experience of these one and a half months helped us to realize how tremendous was the significance of Chairman Mao's teachings on mass line: "From the masses to the masses."

Two Methods : The central guerrilla unit was formed at Debra jointly by the leadership of Gopiballavpur-Baharagora-Debra. The local guerrilla units were also formed, and their bases were strengthened under the direction of the Party and the central guerrilla unit. We resolved to launch this struggle from October 1; our object was to annihilate the jotedars and confiscate all his belongings. How should we start our struggle? This was the question that now faced our comrades. We were considering two alternatives: either, to mobilize the armed people to raid the house of the jotedar and annihilate him; the guerrillas will finish their job when the raiding people will be busy with finding out and seizing the stocks of hoarded rice; or, the guerrilla unit is to make thorough investigation and annihilate

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the jotedar at an opportune moment. These two alternatives were discussed at length. We could rally the masses to support the guerrillas by putting forward the slogan of seizing the stocks of hoarded rice. The armed demonstration that raids the jotedar's house will provide the guerrillas with necessary cover to annihilate the class enemy, and it would never be possible for the police to isolate them from the masses, to arrest them or to single them out to strike blows at them. Moreover, the people who participate in the raid and seize the rice and annihilate the jotedar will themselves propagate the news of their action. That is, the people will take upon themselves the work of making propaganda for our struggle. The police will have to face not a handful of peasant revolutionaries but the united strength of the masses. We were, however, unanimous about one thing—that we might use armed mass demonstration to raid the jotedar's house perhaps for once only. Subsequently, we were to organize the raids through small guerrilla units, and rely mainly on guerrilla methods and agility rather than making frontal attacks. So, even as we decided in favour of the first method, we did not forget that subsequently we must emphasize the guerrilla method as the ideal one, convince the cadres accordingly and fight against the tendency among the peasant revolutionaries and the masses to launch open and frontal attacks. We did not forget that the Indian peasants have fought innumerable battles but open methods failed to carry forward their struggle and the lack of guerrilla principles and tactics invariably brought defeats on them. But considering the advantages mentioned above, we decided in favour of the first method.

Guerrilla Actions : As decided, on October 1 a demonstration of about one thousand armed peasants attacked the house of a notorious jotedar Kanai Kuiti. Though he managed to escape owing to our organizational weaknesses and lack of necessary vigilance, the revolutionary peasants

seized his gun and cartridges, confiscated his stock of hoarded rice, clothes and mortgaged articles, and burned all his documents relating to land. Moreover, we managed to move our combat force to safety without a scratch on them amidst intense patrolling by the police. So, we could use our entire strength in subsequent attacks. The seizure of the gun and the cartridges changed the mood of our cadres and struck fear in the hearts of our enemies. The police ran amuck and made large scale arrests from the villages and the *huts*, beat up the arrested persons and then handed them over to the jotedars, wild with anger, who in turn mercilessly beat them up and handed them back to the police again. Thus the reactionary slogan "save the United Front" merged with the slogan "save the jotedars" and patrolling by the police was stepped up. The second action took place within three days amidst the intensified police repression. It was like a slap in the face of the ruling classes who were now worried. On the other hand, it proved before the poor people that our struggle was no temporary phenomenon. "They seem to be serious about it"—this is how the panic-stricken rich people began to think. Two guerrilla actions within a week heralded the beginning of Red terror. Though we could not annihilate the jotedar in the second action also, we gained politically. The jotedars arranged to warn one another by blowing conch-shells. Many jotedars and their agents, and rich peasants fled to towns.

But from the lesson of these two guerrilla actions we realized the necessity to drive still deeper the politics of "annihilation of class enemies" among the cadres. We helped them to realize that the essence of our politics lies in annihilating the class enemies and not in injuring them or hitting them in order to drive them out, that only annihilation can break the morale of the enemy. Unless the politics of annihilation of class enemies is firmly grasped it is natural that our plans would be faulty and

our comrades would not be determined enough to achieve their goal. After it was explained repeatedly we gradually learnt more about annihilation. The third action took place within ten days in which a unit of 12 guerrillas annihilated a notorious jotedar Jiban Das. Five days after this, the fourth guerrilla action took place on which a guerrilla unit of 12 members led by a squad of 4 members annihilated Dwija Ray, a despotic jotedar and *anchal pradhan* of zone no. 10. This daring attack on the night of *mahashtami* and in a house surrounded on three sides by police camps and a police station made the class enemies of the whole area more panicky. This successful action testifies to the faultless investigation made by the comrades as well as to their skill, and has placed before us the task of making good use of it by carrying on systematic propaganda. The next guerrilla action took place in another five days in which a 4-member guerrilla unit annihilated in broad daylight a jotedar and class enemy Satish Poray in zone no. 4. This man was most active in helping the police, and himself accompanied the police in patrolling the area with a gun in his hand. Only a few days before he was annihilated, Poray had boastfully said at a meeting of jotedars that his gun was enough to deal with the Red guerrillas and there was no need for anyone to worry about the guerrillas. All these actions could not be carried out so smoothly without the whole-hearted support of the local people. Two more agents were annihilated in zones no. 3 and no. 10. The local peasants themselves took this decision and carried out the same. The police were unable to arrest even a single guerrilla. One can feel how the class hatred of the peasants is gradually increasing.

About a hundred peasants are now in jail. The police of the United Front government together with the jotedars are carrying out inhuman torture on the peasants, including searing their bodies with hot iron. Even deaf-mutes and a boy of twelve were not spared. To create Red terror to fight

reaction's terror is our policy and it can be said that in this respect we have not been found wanting. So many actions within one month have helped to make the situation favourable for us. Only one guerrilla comrade has been arrested and that is our only loss. But our gains greatly outweigh our loss.

The Lesson : Why do we say that the situation is favourable for us? And what are the lessons of the guerrilla actions carried out in the last one month? It is very important to square up these things before the comrades. The peasant armed struggle in Midnapur has ripped open the deceitful mask of the 'progressive' United Front government. This is why the guerrilla actions in Gopiballavpur and Debra assume such significance. The peasant armed struggles in Andhra, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh did not directly affect the United Front government in West Bengal and so it could afford to remain indifferent to them. But the guerrilla actions in Debra and Gopiballavpur taking place in quick succession forced the United Front government to discard its mask of indifference. For the first time after the Naxalbari struggle these guerrilla actions sharply raised the question of armed struggle as directly opposed to the parliamentary path. It was impossible to ignore it any more. Harekrishna Konar has been forced to spout venom against these actions. 'These are not political struggles', he clamours, 'these are banditry pure and simple. Set up police camps to suppress them.' In short, the United Front government has now once more come forward openly to protect the jotedars. The jotedars of this area are all singing praise of the CPM and the Bangla Congress. As they step up police repression it becomes easier for us to expose their traitorous features before the peasants. Even middle and well-to-do middle peasants can no longer ignore their direct experience. This is our biggest political gain.

While some jotedars are fleeing as a result of the terror

created by so many guerrilla actions, some are seeking coexistence in the area. The 'relief' provided by the government has increased, and the jotedar who never cared to give even a handful of rice when the people were in dire straits is now begging the peasants to stop creating trouble in return for some paddy and land. Their lackeys are also using the term "red salute" in their letters. A situation is going to be created before long when the writ of the existing authority will cease to run over a certain area. We must come forward to fill in that gap, and establish the rule of the Krishak Samiti in that area. We must fight the jotedars' policy of co-existence through our propaganda and so try that the sympathy that the broad peasant masses have for us can find expression in words and actions. Every peasant now realizes that they are getting paddy and are treated with respect only because of the existence of the guerrilla units. But his warm sympathy must be turned into concrete action and unless this is done it is impossible for us to sustain our struggle in a plain area like Debra. We fully agree with what Comrade Satyanarain Singh has said in summing up the Mushahari struggle. In the plains where the masses serve as our jungles and hills we must carry on political propaganda along with guerrilla actions. Unless we do this it would be extremely difficult to solve the problems of food, shelter and communications, or to fight against police repression, and it would be impossible to keep the organization in tact. Already five police camps have been set up, high officials have visited the area and the para-military Eastern Frontier Rifles are stationed at Balichak ready at any moment to go into action. The Party comrades, the guerrilla units and the Krishak Samiti must, however, continue to live and thrive in spite of all this. It is unthinkable to do this unless we have the people's support. Both the leadership and the ranks have come to realize in good time that they must carry on political propaganda alongside guerrilla actions ;

otherwise, they would commit errors of militarism. So, we have decided never to underestimate the work of political propaganda, though it must be admitted that we have neglected and are still neglecting it.

Political Propaganda And Guerrilla Action : Guerrilla actions are results of political propaganda, but the latter in turn intensifies manifold the former. Underestimating the work of political propaganda gives rise to the tendency to leave the area of struggle. This reluctance to carry on political propaganda has its basis in fear and lack of confidence in the masses. The people may not respond to our call ; the masses are perhaps not eager to annihilate the class enemies ; may be, they would refuse to give us shelter—doubts like these help to strengthen escapist mentality. From our experience we find that wherever the comrades confined their attention to the execution of guerrilla action alone and did not take into account the situation that would follow it, the work of political propaganda suffered and our workers, unable to face up to the police repression that came after the action, fled from the area. On the other hand, wherever the comrades took into account the work that was to be done after the guerrilla action, such as moving our forces to safety, secret propaganda in the area, communication, and preserving our weapons, we successfully withstood police repression and our guerrilla actions continued, our shelters were safe and our propaganda continued unabated despite intense police patrolling.

Relying On The Masses : Relying on the masses is a thing that has to be learnt, and we must be prepared to pay a certain price in the beginning to learn it. The principle of "learning warfare through warfare" applies here also. The comrades must be careful about their movements but overdoing this may give rise to a Rightist deviation and to tendencies like avoiding going to the

masses, relying mainly on weapons, fleeing from the area or having recourse to desperate actions in the heat of the moment. We must defy all difficulties and fear and go among the masses—not once but repeatedly until we can learn to rely on the masses.

The rich people fight in their own way, that is, they rely on money with which they recruit lackeys from among the poor. Constant political propaganda among the poor people will deprive the rich people of the opportunity to recruit lackeys. Our principle is to unite with the overwhelming majority of the people and it applies especially to our relation with the middle peasants.

Lastly, the government is sending large numbers of policemen who are *adivasis*. This is a dirty trick of the reactionary UF government aimed at confusing the *adivasi* peasants who are the most active among the landless peasants in our area. This conspiracy of the ruling classes can be smashed only by making our political propaganda regular and more concrete. We can wage people's war in Debra only by carrying on political propaganda and guerrilla struggle simultaneously.

The comrades are rapidly overcoming their shortcomings and the initiative and enthusiasm of the ranks are satisfactory though there are negative instances also. The basis of the guerrilla squads in the area where actions take place is being strengthened anew. Propaganda is being carried on on a wide scale and *baithaks* are being held according to plan even amidst patrolling by police. The work of building bases can be carried on uninterruptedly and the comrades will be safe if the local squads consistently carry on propaganda under the guidance of the cultural unit. Moreover, the local squads can execute guerrilla actions rapidly relying on their own strength and with the cooperation of the local people. So, our organizational task is to strengthen the local squads.

We have not forgotten the vow that we took in the

name of our martyred comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy when we formed our central squad.

Weaknesses of Our Guerrilla Actions and Lessons

First, some of our guerrilla actions are characterized by lack of correct and accurate investigation, as a result of which we had to make two or even three raids for a single annihilation. Lack of correct information about the movements of the enemy lay at its root. The resultant features in turn gave rise to desperation and frustration among the comrades, which run counter to the guerrilla spirit. Ours is a ^{protracted} ~~protected~~ people's war and the enemy is now much stronger than we. Our weapon is Mao Tsetung Thought and our method guerrilla struggle. To make a thorough investigation the comrades will have to depend on the local squad or the people of the village where action is to take place, because it is they who have the most detailed information about the movements of the class enemy. To investigate properly one is to do three things—first, one must depend on the people and the relatively advanced elements of the locality; secondly, one must be patient; and, thirdly, one must not unnecessarily underestimate the strength of the enemy.

In fact, the question of investigation is one of basic politics. It is the axis, the key to building peasant organization. One must know concretely how a jotedar is exploiting the people of a village in order to be able to rouse their class hatred. To put our politics before the peasants in a bookish manner fails to rouse them and even repels them. Through personal contacts and meetings, the peasants must be made to see the necessity of providing information, and all this requires our comrades to work hard. And on that depends the political propaganda that intensifies class hatred. Only when the people realize how supply of such information is necessary for their struggle to survive, their pent-up emotion will gush out like a flood.

Not
Secret
from
the
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Not
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Investigation requires of us this ability to "make the masses talk". It is a question of how to look at guerrilla warfare and political propaganda—in an abstract bookish manner, or as a living thing, as the living application of the ideology.

Our second lesson is that the peasant who suffers most from the exploitation of the class enemy can provide the most accurate and thorough information about the whereabouts of the enemy. We have experience of how the farm servants who have suffered terribly from the oppression of the jotedar have not only provided the guerrilla squads with information, but also guided them to their destination. They have even taken initiative in annihilating the jotedar and have annihilated him with their own hands. So, when planning the annihilation of a class enemy, we should rely on the person who has suffered most from his oppression, and if possible, on his house servant, to get information about the class enemy.

Our third lesson is that we can carry our struggle through to the end only if we have a correct strategic estimation of the enemy. We failed to achieve our goal in two actions as the commanders lacked this political evaluation about the enemies. In one case, the guerrillas broke a number of doors of the jotedar's house to get at him. When only two more doors were left to be broken the commander of the guerrilla unit ordered his comrades to retreat as the neighbouring jotedars blew their conch-shells to warn one another. The jotedars and rich peasants in a neighbouring village hid their utensils in their pond and were already thinking of fleeing from the village the same night. But the commander failing to understand that the enemy is a "paper tiger" and will flee in panic when attacked and will not think of counter-attacking the guerrillas, mistook the blowing of conch-shells for a signal of the jotedars to counter-attack. He was worried that the bows and arrows of the guerrillas would not be

effective in the darkness—it was past midnight—against the guns of the jotedars. This is how the fear about the class enemy gave rise to a wrong decision of the commander. In the other case, the guerrillas were unable to seize the money and ornaments of the jotedar as the commander asked them to retreat when they were only half-way through the action. Though the class enemy was annihilated the action could not be completed.

Fourthly, the guerrilla commander and the political instructor should deploy their forces during the action so as to acquire guerrilla skill. Sometimes the comrades tend to spend their strength to achieve objects that could be achieved otherwise through skill and swiftness. We are carrying on the campaign for the annihilation of class enemies in order to acquire skill so as to defeat the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign later and launch counter-attacks against him. Comrade Satyanarain Singh was right in saying that we should form small guerrilla units to carry on raids on the class enemies. It would be difficult for us to avoid trouble later if our planners do not view our present annihilation campaign as a school for acquiring skill.

Fifthly, we must have a correct understanding about weapons. Once we used a gun in an action. Though the jotedar was annihilated we found that it did not enhance the confidence of the peasant guerrillas to the extent we had expected. On the contrary, even a leading peasant guerrilla was heard saying during the preparation for the next action, "How can we go into action when we do not have a gun?" We sensed danger and realized how the question of using primitive or modern weapons was closely linked with the initiative of the masses and the peasant guerrillas. We have become more cautious since then.

Why do we use primitive weapons? We use them only to collect modern weapons. Why are the guerrilla units

armed with primitive weapons? They are so armed in order to build a people's army equipped with rifles and machine guns. From the standpoint of practice the primitive weapons constitute at present the principal aspect in the contradiction between the primitive and modern weapons, while the latter constitute the non-principal aspect. If we reject this non-principal aspect we may be led to think mechanically of building a force armed with rifles etc. and deny the process through which we are to develop from the stage of primitive weapons to that of modern weapons. But this process is connected with the initiative of the masses, and in particular, with that of the guerrillas. The guerrillas are used to bows and arrows and not guns, and so, their initiative and inventiveness develop in using the former. Our tactic, plan and choice of weapons should be such as can unleash the initiative of the masses. As they realize the limitations of their primitive weapons, in course of struggle they themselves, will take initiative to procure modern weapons, which will then not be a hindrance to releasing the initiative of the masses but will, on the contrary, become its complement.

Sixthly, failure in an action gives rise to frustration among the guerrillas who then give vent to their feelings on individual comrades, forgetting the principle "cure the disease and save the patient." Ours is a protracted people's war and our path has twists and turns. But our future is bright, and we dream of it. If we do not prepare ourselves mentally in this way we are sure to fall prey to defeatism and frustration. We must repeatedly stress inside our Party what our respected Comrade Charu Mazumdar, echoing Chairman Mao, said. He said: "Let us eliminate the defeatist mentality and be inspired with the inevitability of our victory." This point has to be stressed before the guerrillas especially in the beginning when we have just started to learn from our mistakes and confidence is not firm.

Seventhly, the local squads cannot be maintained unless the personal hatred of peasants against jotedars is turned into class hatred. Suppose a jotedar is annihilated by one who has suffered directly and most from his exploitation. But after the action the rich people will flee, and we shall have to seize political power and defend it against the attacks of the police and army, and our cadres will have to disperse in order to spread the struggle widely. The guerrillas are required always to be on the move and this habit must be acquired as a matter of principle by the Party members and the guerrillas alike. Unless personal hatred is turned into class hatred the guerrillas will be unable to do this; the struggle will stagnate in one place and so the encirclement and suppression campaigns of the police and army will achieve their goal.

It is most important that our peasant comrades become conscious of these weaknesses. The day they realize this is a day of rejoicing for us, because it will show that the peasants have begun to shoulder that task which they alone can do. The question of political education that Comrade Satyanarain Singh has raised is one connected with the level of political consciousness and deviations of the guerrillas. Let us use theory to rectify the shortcomings and deviations of the comrades. The political instructors of the guerrillas should draw up their programme of political education accordingly. The peasants fight on their own. The members of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia should never think of doing things on behalf of the peasants.

We formulated "*pancha pradhan*"—five main principles—to conduct the peasant armed struggle. They are:

- (1) Class analysis; (2) Investigation; (3) Learning to work as part of the whole; (4) Living application of living ideology; (5) Criticism and self-criticism. Our leadership instructed us to adhere to Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line and apply these principles unconditionally.

Our one month-old guerrilla actions have demonstrated the correctness of these five principles. The leadership has to reiterate its previous instruction and urge the comrades to take these principles to the peasant masses.

- * *Inquilab zindabad !*
- * *Red salute to martyr Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy !*
- * *Long live the Communist Party of India*
(*Marxist-Leninist*) !
- * *The present armed struggle in Debra will continue !*
- * *Long live Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to him !*

Debra Thana Organizing Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

31-10-69

(*Slightly abridged*)

One Year of Revolutionary Struggle In Srikakulam

THE revolutionary peasant armed struggle of Srikakulam completed one year on November 25. It has been a year of great advance of the liberation struggle of the Indian people, a year of their relentless struggle against revisionism. During this one year the Indian people made great advance along the path of people's war, and Mao Tsetung Thought permeated deep through the experience and consciousness of the Indian people. It was during this year that the Party of the Indian revolution—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—was born, a Party that is at once the creator and creation of the Srikakulam struggle.

Like the peasant masses everywhere in India, the peasants of Srikakulam also have for ages been ground down under feudal exploitation and endless oppression and injustice, and were never allowed to live like human beings. But they have never submitted to this humbly and meekly. Only the imperialists and their lackeys have strenuously tried to slander the Indian peasants by falsely portraying them as a dumb herd of cattle who submit meekly to their exploiters. This is a most cynical falsification of history aimed at demoralizing the revolutionary masses. But no amount of slanders can cover up the fact that the Indian peasants have repeatedly risen up in glorious armed revolt against the feudal lords and imperialism. Time and again they have shed their blood and laid down their lives and displayed unparalleled heroism and unity in their attempts to throw off the shackles of exploitation. But all their revolts in the past failed as there was no communist movement, and they lacked a

scientific theory and the leadership of the working class which alone could lead them to victory. Even after the Communist Party was born many heroic peasant uprisings met with failure—the most notable among them was the Telangana struggle, owing to the treachery of the revisionist leadership of the Party.

It was the peasant masses of Naxalbari that, led by the genuine communists who had rejected the traitorous revisionist Party leadership, blazed the path for the liberation of the Indian people. They armed themselves with the most advanced revolutionary theory—Mao Tse-tung Thought, and took the path of overthrowing the feudal class by armed force, the path of seizing state power by force of arms, the path of establishing revolutionary people's political power.

The sparks of Naxalbari spread to Srikakulam in Andhra. The peasants of Srikakulam resolutely took the path pointed out by Naxalbari, and led by the Communist revolutionaries, began their struggle to eliminate their class enemies in the countryside. This is how they started guerrilla warfare—the higher stage of class struggle and the beginning of people's war—the peasant armed struggle inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought for seizing political power by armed force.

After Naxalbari, it was the peasant armed struggle of Srikakulam that aroused the revolutionary masses all over India. Assimilating the lessons of the Naxalbari struggle the revolutionary peasants of Srikakulam raised the Indian peasants' armed struggle to a higher stage and the flames of Srikakulam struggle swiftly spread to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Orissa, Punjab, and to West Bengal again. After Naxalbari, the revolutionary Indian people were inspired by the Srikakulam struggle to advance along the path of people's war. The Srikakulam struggle was greeted and upheld by China, the reliable base area of world revolution.

The revolutionary war exacted a heavy price from the revolutionary masses of Srikakulam and many heroic revolutionaries including Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy laid down their lives. But the revolutionary masses of Srikakulam, nay India, refused to be cowed by all this. The summing up of the experience of Srikakulam struggle provided the basis on which the genuine revolutionary party of India—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed.

On this day, the revolutionary peasant masses of Srikakulam and their undisputed leader, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) are celebrating with pride the first anniversary of their glorious revolutionary struggle, and are re-dedicating themselves to the cause of India's liberation. This is a great occasion not only for the people of Srikakulam or Andhra. The revolutionary masses all over India joyfully celebrate this occasion and heartily greet the Party, the guerrilla fighters and the revolutionary masses of Srikakulam.

Let the class enemies tremble before the victorious onward march of the revolutionary Indian people. They should remember the words that Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy said before his death: The armed revolution has already begun in India. You will never be able to stop its victorious march by killing the revolutionaries!

Long live the immortal martyr Comrade Panchadi Krishnamurthy! Long live the Srikakulam struggle!

New Successes of Srikakulam Struggle

For the first time a guerrilla action took place in Narasannapeta taluk in the coastal region on October 3, in which about 200 peasants participated. The guerrilla struggle has also spread to the Ganjam district bordering on the Sompeta taluk. On November 9, a notorious landlord and usurer, Sari Apanna, was annihilated by the guerrillas in Banjaru Yuvarajapuram village. Several

hundred peasants including many peasant women took part in this action, which has greatly influenced the areas adjacent to the Ganjam district. Apanna owned 350 acres of land. In November last year this man played tricks on the peasant guerrillas who went there for propaganda work and detained them. The guerrillas, however, managed to escape at midnight with the help of the local people. This incident increased the hatred of the poor peasants for this man. They were beside themselves with joy when they heard that this wretched despot had been annihilated by the guerrillas. They seized all his stocks of foodgrains and burnt promissory notes worth about 150 thousand rupees and documents relating to land mortgaged to him. After this, they severed his head and hung it in front of his house, and wrote with his blood slogans like "Long live Chairman Mao!", "Long live Panchadi Krishnamurthy!" and "Long live the agrarian revolution,!"

The guerrillas and armed peasants also raided the house of a jotedar in Bhumilada village of this taluk, burnt his promissory notes worth Rs. 50,000 and seized his property of the same value. This area is now hit by famine as a result of which the anger of the poor and landless peasants against the hoarders has increased tremendously.

On September 8, the guerrillas ambushed a big police party in broad daylight in Parvatipuram Agency, killing eight reactionary policemen who all belonged to the CRP. They were killed on the spot in this attack. This incident has spread panic among the CRP force here.

Upto the first week of November this year 84 reactionary policemen were killed in the Agency area by the peasant guerrillas

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peasant youths raised their hands for enlisting themselves as guerrillas the Party leader enlisted in the squad only those who were connected with the Party organization and did not admit the poor and landless peasants who were not connected with the Party organization, because he thought that the latter were not revolutionary enough. This incident clearly proves that this sectarian tendency exists in our struggle against revisionism. It has been seen on many occasions that we form the guerrilla squads only with those who are connected with the Party and do not enlist those revolutionary poor and landless peasants who happen to be outside the Party. Even in places where we are forming such guerrilla squads, the Party leaders have been found to be not enthusiastic in enhancing the initiative or raising the political consciousness of those new squads. As a result of this, these squads remain inactive in many cases. These are sectarian tendencies.

Many revolutionaries are breaking away from different groups and parties to join us. There may be hesitation on the part of our comrades to work in co-operation with them, because they were opposing us until recently. But this hesitation is a sectarian tendency. We must get accustomed to working in co-operation with all others. But this does not mean that we should take those who are coming from other groups or parties directly into the folds of our Party; no, we are certainly not going to do that. This is because as a result of working in those groups or parties they have acquired many wrong and revisionist ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's thought and these ideas cannot be rectified overnight. That requires experience, education and time, and in order to enable them to have experience and education we must work in co-operation with them. Only in this way

can we educate them with new experience and transform them. So, in order to ensure that our main struggle against revisionism will continue to be firm and vigorous, we must also wage struggle against these sectarian tendencies.

Under cover of revolutionary phrase-mongering quite a few people are raising the question: Well, the Central Organizing Committee is all right and we obey it, but as for the other committees, we don't recognize them. Though garbed in Left phrases this is a bourgeois individualist tendency, pure and simple, and as such, a revisionist tendency. Any attempt whatsoever to undermine the democratic centralism of the Party that is led by a revolutionary leadership strengthens only the reactionaries and harms the revolutionary struggle. We must keep in mind the fact that in this era of revolutionary struggles faith in the Party and faith in the masses are the only weapons with which we can overcome the severest trials in course of the struggle. Lack of faith in the authority of the Party breaks the backbone of the struggle. This is why the reactionaries always spread slanders against the Party in an attempt to destroy that faith of the Party members. The history of the October Revolution has proved it; this has also been proved in the course of the Chinese Revolution. The imperialists tried to weaken the authority of the Bolshevik Party by depicting Lenin in a most vile manner; they tried to weaken the faith of the Chinese people in the Communist Party of China by "killing" Chairman Mao time and again. The Soviet revisionists destroyed the authority of the Soviet Party by depicting Stalin in a most vile manner and succeeded even in usurping its leadership.

We must always remember that the revolutionary people of India repeatedly participated in the communist movement, fought, made untold sacrifice and laid down their lives. We are the heirs to the glorious tradition which the heroic martyrs of Punnapra-Vayalur, the

heroic fighters of Telangana and the fighting peasants and workers of every province of India established by sacrificing innumerable lives, we must be true to them and carry forward their tradition. The heroes of Kayur went to the gallows with the name of the Communist Party on their lips: it is that Communist Party which we represent. This Party has become today's Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). In order precisely to carry forward that tradition it is necessary for us to sum up their great experience and create the most intense class hatred against wrong ideas.

Comrades, let us not forget that India, our motherland, is a country of countless martyrs and that the peasant masses of India have repeatedly fought and made enormous sacrifices. Therefore, we can possess a vast power and carry our revolution to victory if we rely on the fighting peasants and march forward resolutely. Repudiate all ideas that weaken the revolution and learn to recognize them as wrong ideas. Every tendency that overestimates the strength of the enemy is a revisionist tendency; learn to recognize it as such and fight against it. Learn to respect the revolutionary peasants of India, the poor and landless peasants of India. We can never be led into a wrong path if we have reliance on them.

Long live the Indian revolution!

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

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tionary peasants and the cadres of the CPI (M-L) of the border regions of the three States. No ideological pretensions prevent the "Marxists" and other revisionists of West Bengal from joining hands with the Swatantraites and big feudal lords of Orissa and with Bihar bureaucrats directed by the Congress government at the Centre in order to stifle the revolution with all counter-revolutionary violence. In this civil war they are all united—united against the people and revolution. They are merely different contingents of the political forces loyal to imperialism and domestic reaction: to deceive and divide the people they only voice different slogans and flaunt different labels.

The "Marxist" impostors have adopted counter-revolutionary dual tactics. On the one hand, as a ruling party in a State like West Bengal they are adopting all violent means to suppress the armed struggles the heroic peasants are waging to smash their feudal shackles. West Bengal's countryside is today dotted with police camps which number more than five hundred. To crush the revolutionary peasants of Debra and Gopiballavpur in the Midnapur district of West Bengal, who have started the campaign for annihilating the class enemy in right earnest and for liquidating the feudal authority and replacing it by red political power in the countryside, the sham Marxist Police Minister, Jyoti Basu, has sent several companies of Eastern Frontier Rifles, besides the usual contingents of the police force. An Additional District Magistrate, who is an ex-Army man, has been appointed to conduct operations against the members of the CPI (M-L) and the revolutionary peasants. The *Statesman's* staff correspondent reported on December 2: "The West Bengal Government is understood to have decided to launch an 'all-out attack' on Naxalites in Debra

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along with police action now being carried out in Gopiballavpur. According to authoritative sources, the police this time have been asked to 'shoot to kill' if necessary." On December 4, the *Statesman's* correspondent wrote: "The District Magistrate, Mr. B. R. Chakraborty, said in an interview today that the plan was now to round up supporters and sympathizers of Naxalites and seize paddy from those who cannot explain its source." On December 9, *Statesman* reported that three more companies of armed police, including one company of the Eastern Frontier Rifles, were moving into Debra and Gopiballavpur areas. The same report added: "The EFR forces, it is learnt have been authorized to use light machineguns and hand grenades besides rifles." The sham Marxists and their partners have launched a full-scale war against the awakened peasantry. They are following in the footsteps of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists; like the Chiang reactionaries and the U. S. imperialists in Vietnam they too have started 'burn all, destroy all, kill all' operations. But their paper tiger nature is already apparent.

This bunch of despicable counter-revolutionaries who call themselves Marxists hope that by arresting, torturing and shooting even supporters and sympathizers they will be able to break the morale of the fighting peasantry. But the *Statesman* report, datelined December 2, added: "There are seven police camps in Debra but during my visit to the area a police spokesman stated that the villagers are reluctant to cooperate with the police. Resistance parties, formed earlier, are also now almost derelict. Village people who have guns have become more scared, the spokesman added." The reign of terror—mass arrest, torture, confiscation of property, destruction of peasants' huts, etc—has failed to demoralize the revolutionary peasants: on the other hand, it is the class enemy who feels scared despite all the terror let loose by the state machinery to protect him and safeguard his interests.

The Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu clique is not content merely with employing violence and terror against the peasantry. Their local agents have rushed to the help of the jotedars and are carrying on vile propaganda against the revolutionary peasants. They and the Dangeites are desperately trying to organize class enemies and their agents in the areas of struggle and are acting as spies and informers. Recently, a leaflet has been issued appealing to the peasants to maintain peace during the harvesting season and to respect the laws that are in force and decisions of the court, if any. In case of dispute with the jotedars the peasants have been asked to refer to the local government officials for decision. Among the signatories to this appeal are the District Magistrate, the Additional District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, the representatives of the Congress, P.S.P., S.S.P., Bangla Congress, Forward Bloc, R.S.P., S.U.C, and of course, the so-called CPI and CPI(M). Today the bitter class struggle has forced the revisionists of different hues to range themselves openly, shamelessly, on the side of the class enemies. They are preaching peace between the exploiting feudal class and the exploited peasantry, and the sanctity of the laws that are meant to preserve the present regime of exploitation and oppression: they are upholding the authority of the feudal class in the rural areas and the bureaucracy created to serve this class and are fighting desperately to prevent the establishment of red political power.

In this era of the total collapse of imperialism the doom of these counter-revolutionaries will be much swifter than that of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries.

THE HOAX OF LAND REFORM

There seems to be a new awakening among India's ruling classes and their faithful lackeys—the revisionists of all hues. All on a sudden they have waked up to the

necessity of carrying out land reforms: the U.S. imperialists, their masters, seem no less—rather more—interested in land reforms in this country. Immediately after the Bangalore session of the All India Congress Committee Mrs Gandhi wrote to the State Chief Ministers impressing upon them the urgency of implementing such reforms. In July this year Jagjivan Ram, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, also sent letters to the Chief Ministers urging speedy implementation of land reforms. The so-called United Fronts in West Bengal and Kerala led by different factions of revisionists have been making abundant promises of bringing about land reforms. Recently, on November 28 and 29, State Chief Ministers met at a Conference on land reforms in New Delhi, at which Mrs Gandhi warned: "*We must act now, when there is still time and hope. We dare not fail because the consequences of failure will be beyond our control.*" Addressing this conference Y. B. Chavan, Union Home Minister, said: "Unless the green revolution (sic!) is based on social justice. I am afraid, the green revolution may not remain green." Hailing the victory of V. V. Giri as President of India, the *New York Times*, an organ of the U. S. imperialists had sounded a similar note of warning: Mrs Gandhi has now "*a unique opportunity to serve her country and remake her party by welding it to a clear-cut, realistic programme of desperately needed social and economic reforms. It is a chance that may not come again in a free India.*"

Let us now listen to what West Bengal's Land and Land Revenue Minister Harekrishna Konar, one of the "Marxist" chieftains, who attended the Chief Ministers' Conference, said at a press conference in New Delhi on November 29, 1969. PTI report that "*Mr. Konar said, if land reforms were not implemented soon and fully in the country, green revolution would not remain green, and might become red. There would be upheaval in the rural areas.*" (*Economic Times*, November 30) Is not Konar

just his masters' voice? Like their masters—the U.S. imperialists and Indian reactionaries—these treacherous revisionists feel worried and take upon themselves the task of hoodwinking the people with the hoax of land reforms and preventing the “green revolution” from turning red. All their propaganda, all their deeds, are aimed at fighting the revolutionary peasantry.

How terribly worried are the Indian reactionaries and their U.S. masters will be evident from the fact that Wolf Ladejinsky, World Bank expert and formerly MacArthur's adviser on land reforms in Japan, has come to this country on the invitation of the Government of India and visited North Bihar where revolutionary peasants are waging armed struggle to smash their feudal shackles. In the report he has submitted after making a detailed study, he has observed that in Bihar, as elsewhere in India, all facets of land reforms are in the “deepest of doldrums” and that *if the condition of the landless, the share-croppers and small farmers “undergoes no change, they could just possibly turn to raising hell as easily as raising crops.”* (Quoted by Inder Malhotra in *Statesman*, Oct. 27, '69)

In its issue of November 30, 1969, *Link* reported, “It is significant that the Home Ministry, after a study of the causes of agrarian agitation, both violent and non-violent, came to the conclusion that *the situation would go out of hand if the conditions of poor peasants and landless labourers were not improved by introducing radical land reforms.*”

So, echoing many other more ‘eminent’ persons, Inder Malhotra recommended: “Firm punitive measures against the Naxalites must be accompanied by imaginative and speedy implementation of the land reforms to which the country is already committed.”

This interest in land reforms, this concern for India's poor and landless peasantry, this advocacy for combining punitive measures with implementation of land reforms,

are not entirely new. The same things were witnessed during and immediately after the heroic Telangana struggle. Though the Indian reactionaries led by Nehru had been able to suppress it with the assistance of the treacherous leaders of the Indian Communist Party, the spectre of Telangana haunted them for quite some time after. So, to forestall revolution, they employed that Gandhite stooge Vinoba Bhave to practise his fraud of *bhoodan* (land-gift) on the impoverished peasantry and, at the same time, sought the advice of U. S. expert Wolf Ladejinsky about how to befool the peasantry with fake land reforms. To quote Chester Bowles who was then U.S. ambassador to India:

“In 1952, I arranged to have two of America's foremost experts in land policy, Wolf Ladejinsky, the architect of the reforms in Japan, and Kenneth Parsons, Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin, come to India to review the land ownership situation and to prepare recommendations for the government. After intensive studies of several states, including Madras and the Tanjore district, Ladejinsky reported that the bitter complaints of the peasants reminded him of similar complaints he heard in pre-Communist China in 1946. The land inequalities in parts of India, he said, were as bad or even worse than he had seen anywhere else in Asia.” (Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, p. 123)

Their bitter experience in China had made the U.S. imperialists sadder and wiser. They realized only too well that all their guns and bombs would be powerless to subdue an awakened peasantry fighting resolutely under the leadership of a Communist Party to overthrow feudalism and imperialism. So, Chester Bowles wrote:

“There is another pressing reason for land reform. *In the coldest terms of stopping communism, as a strategy in the Cold War, the democratic (sic!) world simply must carry out these reforms before the Communists can use the lack of them as an excuse to overthrow democracy (sic!).*” (Ibid p. 114)

The U.S. imperialists had pinned their hopes on India but the fear of a democratic revolution breaking out in India troubled them. To quote Chester Bowles again :

"If, after Gandhi, the democratic (sic !) way cannot succeed in India, where can it succeed in any of the revolutionary continents ? As Gandhi said shortly before his death, 'If India fails, Asia dies'." (Ibid, p. 111)

Today, the fears and misgivings of men like Gandhi and Chester Bowles are coming true. There is just cause for alarm of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, and the Indian reactionaries. India is failing the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries. And with the victory of the revolution in India, which has served as imperialism's base for a long time, the old Asia of incredible filth and misery—the happy hunting-ground of the imperialists—will surely die. The spark of Naxalbari has already kindled flames of guerrilla struggle in different parts of India. In *Ambassador's Report*, that shrewd diplomat observed : "No one can be certain, but I believe that if the Communist Parties in India and other free Asian nations shifted their primary allegiance from Moscow to Peking, their prospects would improve dangerously." (p. 89) The meaning is clear. If the Indian revolution follows the Chinese path, the path pointed out by Chairman Mao, no power on earth can suppress it. Today, that is exactly what is happening. The Communist ranks in India have overthrown the treacherous leaders and formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Under the leadership of the Party, revolutionary armed peasant struggles that spell the doom of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital are advancing rapidly. So the present situation fills the ruling classes with disquiet. They are vainly trying to stave off the inevitable fate of theirs. That is why, among the alarmed leaders of the ruling political parties including the revisionist ones, there is a revival of interest in land reforms

and anxious concern for the 'welfare' of poor and landless peasants. There is almost a deluge of reports, statements and articles in the bourgeois press describing the 'mounting tensions' in the countryside and emphasizing the necessity of land reforms to overcome them.

But what does all this renewed interest in land reforms amount to ? At the inaugural session of the State Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi on November 28, Mrs Gandhi said : "It is not our intention to force a very radical redistribution of land. Our aim is more modest. We wish to ensure that the tenants and the sharecroppers are not driven to the wall." Listing the order of priorities for land reforms, she gave the first place to tenancy records, the second to security of tenure and the third to regulation of rents. Next, land ceiling should be enforced more honestly and holdings consolidated within a specified period. (*Statesman*, November 29, '69) That is, the feudal system of exploitation under which about 90 per cent of the crops grown by peasants is appropriated by landlords as rent and as interest on loans will continue as before : attempts may be made only to provide some relief, if possible, within the framework of this monstrous system. So the Chief Minister's Conference came to the very wise conclusion that "legislation in regard to land reforms was more or less complete in almost all the States. But the main gap had been in regard to implementation." (*Hindusthan Standard*, November 30, '69) So a Central Committee presided over by the Food and Agriculture Minister and State Committees headed by respective Chief Ministers were proposed to be set up "to keep a watch on the implementation." Even the *Statesman* was disappointed. In an editorial article "Lands Unreformed" on December 2, it wrote : "Neither Mrs Gandhi's declaration that failure to make land reforms effective would have consequences 'beyond our control' nor Mr Chavan's warning that the green revolution might soon cease to be green seems to have goaded the Chief

Ministers into taking realistic decisions, leave alone decisive action.... Those who have always maintained that the political power and influence of the landlords and rich peasants are far too great to be trifled with by Chief Ministers in need of electoral support may not be wide of the mark. The decision to tighten the law on resumption of land by landlords for personal cultivation, *if implemented more effectively than most land reform legislation has been so far*, might benefit the tenants a little. But the Chief Ministers' deliberations have left untouched the vast army of the landless farm labour as well as the sharecroppers [who together constitute at least 75 per cent of the peasantry] often deprived of their statutory due".

Do the sham Marxists propose anything basically different? Harekrishna Konar, declared that he would pilot a Bill the chief features of which, according to him, are: (1) Land ceiling of 25 acres on the basis of a family, (2) hereditary rights to new owners of land, (3) setting up peasant committees which would be associated with officials and (4) land tribunals at district and state levels to hear appeals. It is obvious that the proposed Bill will hardly touch the fringe of the problem—the problem of complete liquidation of the feudal system of exploitation.

In a recent letter to West Bengal's Chief Minister, Jagjivan Ram, Union Food and Agriculture Minister, recommended that the *barga* system (sharecropping) in farming in West Bengal be abolished immediately and that all *bargadars* (sharecroppers) should be described as 'tenants' and brought in direct contact with the state. Reporting this, the *Statesman's* special representative writes: "A spokesman of the West Bengal Government said that the *barga* system, even if it is part of the feudal structure, would have to stay for some more time because of social and economic reasons. Its immediate abolition was not feasible or desirable," he said. (*Statesman*, November 28, '69) The "Marxist"-led U.F. government,

which has a "Marxist" leader as its Land and Revenue Minister, considers it neither feasible nor desirable to abolish the *barga* system, the system on which feudalism rests in West Bengal's countryside.

It is quite significant that the Congress staged demonstrations in Kerala demanding immediate land reforms by the Nambudiripad-led U. F. government. It is even more significant that Harekrishna Konar recently met U.S. expert Ladejinsky, sought his advice and invited him to West Bengal. A correspondent writing in a Calcutta weekly commented: "Nevertheless it is a good sign that Mr Konar is at least alive to the Naxalite challenge to the point of enlisting the services of a World Bank expert. Marxism-Leninism does not provide the know-how on land reforms. The World Bank knows it better." On being elevated to the position of a ruling party and faced with the advancing tide of revolution, the "Marxist" impostors are openly relying for guidance on the U.S. imperialists, the masters and mentors of the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries all over the world. All this loud propaganda about 'land reform' is a part of the counter-offensive against the revolutionary forces in which the 'Marxist' revisionists have joined the imperialists and reactionaries.

It is not surprising that all these 'anxious' talks about land reform yield very little concrete result. Who has ever heard that the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and the feudal lords and their imperialist masters are capable of leading a democratic revolution, a revolution that will overthrow feudalism, without which the lot of the poor and landless peasantry cannot be improved? How can the targets of the revolution become its leaders and motive forces? These classes have reached such a state of rotteness that they are incapable of introducing even any reforms. They see the writing on the wall: all their guns

and deceitful talks will be unable to save them from the inevitable fate that awaits them.

Since Naxalbari, the initiative has passed from their hands and they and their revisionist agents can never wrest it back. It is now in the hands of the revolutionary people, the brave guerrilla fighters and their leader—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Only fools and high-brow snobs fail to see this.

'MARXIST' IMPOSTORS EXPOSE THESELVES

That the kind of 'democracy' that prevails in India is a sham, that the 'Sovereign Democratic Republic of India' is just a grandiose name for a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, becomes clear if one only thinks of the laws with which the bureaucracy and the police serving the ruling classes are armed here. There are quite a number of them here—the Preventive Detention Act, the Unlawful Activities Act, several clauses of the Criminal Procedure Code etc. which deny every basic right to a citizen, which have given the bureaucracy and the police unrestricted power over the lives of the ruled. Under the Preventive Detention Act thousands of political cadres, militant workers and peasants have been arrested and detained in prison without trial for months and years. The different clauses of the ordinary criminal laws empower the government of the exploiting classes to put under arrest any number of people, frame any false charges against them, and make them rot in prison for years during the so-called trial. During the colonial days the Congress lackeys of the British imperialists roared against such laws to convince the people of their anti-imperialism. When the direct rule of the imperialists was replaced by their indirect rule, the Congress lackeys took over all these laws and even improved upon them just as they took over the army, the

police, the bureaucracy and the judiciary in tact from their British masters. Today, the revisionist lackeys—both the Dange and Sundarayya-Namboodiripad factions—who lead governments in Kerala and West Bengal, unashamedly depend on the same laws to serve their masters well, shoot and imprison peasants and workers whenever the latter put up resistance against the attacks of the oppressor classes. They too rely on the same army, the same police, the same bureaucracy and the same judiciary because they serve the same classes, the same interests as the Congress does. They indeed wage a class struggle as the 'Marxists' claim: a vicious struggle on behalf of the imperialists, comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and landlords against the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. So, in season and out of season, they preach the virtues of the existing law and order that are meant to safeguard the interests of the exploiting classes.

But the 'Marxist' impostors are a pack of wily crafty double-dealers. In public they rail against the Preventive Detention Act but in private they are enamoured of it and seek to retain it. The Act which first came into force twenty-two years ago is to lapse after December 31 this year, if not extended by Parliament. The Government of India sought the views of the State governments on its proposal to extend it for another two years. All the State governments, including the revisionist-led governments of West Bengal and Kerala, were in favour of extension—West Bengal for three years. On November 26, 1969, the *Statesman* reported: "In September, Mr. Basu had informed the Centre that his Government applied the Act for three specific purposes and as such, it had no objection to its extension." Jyoti Basu claimed that the United Front's policy was to use the Act to check anti-social, communal and food offences and the U.F. Government had applied the Act against such offenders. Sundarayya too

was in favour of extension of the P. D. Act provided it was limited to anti-social activities and elements. The largest number of people detained under the P.D. Act are in West Bengal—940 persons out of a total number of about 2000 in the whole of India. Of those 940 people, 913 are "anti-social" elements, 26 are "food offenders" and one is a Pakistani national (*Statesman*, Nov. 28, '69)

Who are these "anti-social" elements? One may recall that Jyoti Basu has repeatedly dubbed the members and supporters of the Communist Party of India (M-L) as "anti-social." Recently, that fire-eating 'revolutionary' Konar described the struggle of the peasantry in Debra and Gopiballavpur as 'banditry.' Dange exposed this fiction of 'anti-social' elements when, criticizing Sundarayya's support to the P.D. Act, he said that the CPI(M) first declared "anti-social" any one who disagreed with them and then beheaded them as they did in the case of their erstwhile Naxalite members and as they were doing, now in the case of CPI members.' (*Statesman*, Nov. 20, '69) Jyoti Basu's police have not only arrested and thrown into prison hundreds of cadres and peasant supporters of the CPI (M-L) under false charges and inflicted inhuman torture on them, they have also detained in prison hundreds of such political workers after dubbing them "anti-social" elements.

When this bunch of revisionists, both crafty and cowardly, was lending its support to the P.D. Act, the Nijalingappa Congress and men like M.C. Chagla, former member of the Central Cabinet, openly declared their opposition to it. Even the Jana Sangh would not support its extension. "In fact," *Patriot's* special correspondent wrote in its issue of Nov. 27, '69, "*opinion at the Centre was that with the coming into force of the Unlawful Activities Act there was no need for the P.D. Act.*" So the Government of India decided to withdraw the Bill seeking extension of the P.D. Act: even without it, the bureaucracy

and the police enjoy almost unrestricted powers to deal with the struggles of the people.

When the Government of India had already decided to drop the Bill (the decision itself was *formally* communicated to the State governments on Nov. 26, '69—*Patriot*, Nov. 27, '69), the Polit Bureau of the Sundarayya-Namboodiripad-Jyoti Basu faction of the revisionists struck a virtuous pose. Their organ *People's Democracy* of Nov. 30, '69 published a resolution adopted by this Polit Bureau at its meeting on Nov. 25-27, '69 (note the dates), in which it declared: "The CPI (M), therefore, will firmly oppose any attempt on the part of the Central Government to extend the life of this Act." What a pathetic and ridiculous attempt to practise deception on the people!

In that virtuous resolution the treacherous revisionists said:

"It is only the United Front Government of West Bengal and the former U.F. Government of Kerala that utilized the Act only for detaining blackmarketeers and inciters of communal classes. Never was the Act utilized against the democratic movements of workers, peasants and the toiling masses or against political opponents by these Governments." The sham Marxists cast away all shame while telling lies. Lies are today their main stock-in-trade.

GUERRILLA STRUGGLE SPREADS TO ASSAM

The peasant guerrilla struggle has now spread to Assam. On the night of November 26, a small guerrilla squad of the central guerrilla unit of Abhayapuri P. S. in Goalpara district of Assam raided the house of a despotic landlord and usurer Tekla in the village of Katasbari,

annihilated him and burnt his house, his stock of paddy and almost all of his property. The guerrillas were armed only with lathis, spears and choppers. This successful guerrilla action has greatly enhanced the political consciousness of the poor peasants of this area.

GUERRILLA STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN BAHARAGORA AMIDST REPRESSION

The peasant guerrillas have annihilated another notorious jotedar in Baharagora in broad daylight on November 22. This guerrilla action took place within only half a mile of an armed police camp, and amidst intense police repression. The guerrillas carried out this successful action with the weapons they themselves made. Detailed report is awaited.

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