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VOL. 2

OCTOBER, 1969

Liberation

**LONG LIVE THE HISTORIC
OCTOBER 1**

20th. ANNIVERSARY OF FOUNDING OF
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

DOWN WITH WARMONGERS !

**DEVELOP REVOLUTIONARY WAR
TO ELIMINATE WAR OF AGGRESSION**

POLITICS OF NAGI REDDY

CHINA'S PEOPLE'S ARMY IS INVINCIBLE

WEST BENGAL : NEW SPARKS

PEOPLE'S WAR IN SRIKAKULAM

MUSHAHARI AND ITS LESSONS

QUOTATION FROM
CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

"In general, armed struggle at the present time means guerrilla warfare. What is guerrilla warfare? It is the indispensable and therefore the best form of struggle for the people's armed forces to employ over a long period in a backward country, a large semi-colonial country, in order to inflict defeats on the armed enemy and build up their own bases. So far both our political line and our Party building have been closely linked with this form of struggle. It is impossible to have a good understanding of our political line and, consequently of our Party building in isolation from armed struggle, from guerrilla warfare. Armed struggle is an important component of our political line."

—Introducing *"The Communist"*

October 4, 1939

Slogans For Celebration of 20th Anniversary Of Founding Of People's Republic Of China

Slogans for the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China :

- 1 Hail the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China !
- 2 Hail the great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past twenty years !
- 3 Hail the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution !
- 4 Hail the great victory of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China !
- 5 Salute to the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of all nationalities throughout the country ! Salute to all those, including overseas Chinese, who love our socialist motherland !
- 6 Salute to the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army !
- 7 Carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously ! Further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat !
- 8 Firmly grasp revolutionary mass criticism ! Carry the socialist revolution through to the end !
- 9 Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism !
- 10 Grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war !

- 11 Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people !
- 12 Heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland ! Be ready at all times to destroy the enemy intruders !
- 13 We are determined to liberate Taiwan !
- 14 Workers of all countries, unite !
- 15 Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite !
- 16 Down with U.S. imperialism ! Down with Soviet revisionist social-imperialism ! Down with the reactionaries of all countries !
- 17 Firmly support the heroic Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism !
- 18 Firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end !
- 19 Firmly support the Palestine people and the people of all Arab countries in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism !
- 20 Firmly support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle for liberation ! Firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Western Europe, North America, Oceania and other parts of the world !
- 21 Salute to the genuine Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and organizations of various countries !
- 22 People of all countries, unite and oppose any war of aggression launched by imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons ! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now !

- 23 Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line !
- 24 Long live the great People's Republic of China !
- 25 Long live the great unity of all the nationalities of China !
- 26 Long live the great unity of the people of the world !
- 27 Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China !
- 28 Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought !
- 29 Long live our great leader Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to Chairman Mao !
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People of all countries, unite and oppose any war of aggression launched by imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons ! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now !

—(From the slogans issued for celebration of 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's of China.)

Develop Revolutionary War to Eliminate War of Aggression Against China

—Charu Mazumdar 21

(On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China)

FOR some time now U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism aided by all the reactionaries of the world, including the reactionary ruling clique of India and the Japanese militarists, have stepped up their preparations for launching a war of aggression against China, the land where the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has taken place. The reactionary Indian ruling clique as well as all the revisionist and reformist political parties of India have associated themselves with this sinister anti-China war-plans peddled by the U.S. imperialist warmonger Nixon and the Soviet revisionist chieftain Kosygin in various countries of Asia.

China, the centre of world revolution, has emerged from the victorious Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the immensely powerful bastion against world reaction. The revolutionary people of every country look upon the great China as a powerful base of their own revolution. For

them the existence of the powerful socialist China is the guarantee of winning victory in their own revolutions. China is, today, the source of inspiration for the revolutionary struggles throughout the world. That is why U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, faced as they both are with inevitable destruction, are frantically hatching plots for attacking China. This is so because, as Chairman Mao has taught us: **"all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces."**

U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are now hopelessly hedged in on all sides by the surging struggles of the people in their own countries and in other countries of the world. That is why they are frantically plotting for launching a war of aggression against China. If they succeed in launching a war of aggression against China, the tremendous resistance put up by the 700 million Chinese people will push the imperialists and social-imperialist aggressors to their graves at a vastly accelerated pace, and give great momentum and stimulation to the revolutionary struggle in every country of the world, thus creating a world-wide prairie-fire which will burn to ashes not only U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism but also the entire imperialist system of exploitation, and there will eventually emerge a world without exploitation.

World War I brought about destruction on a scale never seen before and ran its course in four years. World War II brought about destruction on a still larger scale and reached a new stage of intensity on June 22, 1941, and ended four years later in 1945. If the imperialists dare to kindle the flames of a world war for the third time with the great socialist China as their target and bring about destruction on an even greater scale, there is no doubt that that war will also end in four years or even sooner.

If the imperialist monsters insist on meeting their doom through such a war, the revolutionary people of the

world will not be afraid to face it. Because they know that such a war by the imperialists will provide the guarantee that the victorious red flag of liberation will fly still brighter in every country of the world and the victory in revolution will be won in a very short time. The certainty of winning victory will enormously enhance the confidence of the revolutionary people and the fierce hatred of the people against the imperialists that will burst forth in every country of the globe, will destroy both imperialism and the imperialist war. There will emerge a new world system without exploitation, without war, without destruction, where man's creative potentiality can develop freely, where man will build for himself a new glorious existence.

If the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists succeed in launching a war of aggression against China for which they are now frantically preparing, then India, a collaborator of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, will be an aggressor country. This will make the struggle of the Indian revolutionaries much more difficult and they will have to shoulder a great responsibility. However, for the Indian people the principal contradiction and the centre of gravity of our work will continue to be the same as at present. The class alliance will also be the same as at present. But the struggle will be more difficult and the tasks much heavier, and we shall be able to (then) carry out successfully only by spreading the class struggle, that is, the flames of agrarian revolution to every State, to the vast countryside and throughout India.

We can prevent the war from becoming fatally inevitable if we are able to consolidate all our forces and spread the sparks of this revolutionary armed struggle throughout India, here and now. No aggressor army will ever dare to attack another country with India—this land of 500 million people, as its rear, when the flames revolutionary armed struggle begin to rage furiously all over the land.

This tremendous prairie fire of revolutionary armed struggle in India will, on the one hand, shake the entire world imperialist system to its foundation while on the other, it will serve to increase greatly the confidence of the struggling forces in every country making them irrepressible. Further, the crisis and panic inflicted on imperialism will provide new strength and inspiration to the exploited millions in the imperialist countries to deal most telling blows against imperialism. The impact of the tremendous force that will emerge from the unity of the revolutionary people of the whole world, will make even the backward masses confident of victory. The dream that two young revolutionaries dreamt a hundred years ago and the great call they gave in *Communist Manifesto*—"Workers of the world unite!", will finally take shape in reality. People of the whole world, inspired with a new internationalism, will unite with the great China, and, led by Chairman Mao, will translate into reality the dream that man has dreamt for thousands of years, and a world without exploitation will be built.

We, the revolutionaries of India, must grasp the great call given by Chairman Mao: "seize the day, seize the hour" in order to be able to take a great part in carrying out the most sacred task of the people of the world. We know that the people of India have never lagged behind in making sacrifices in their struggle against exploitation and for the liberation of the country. Hundreds of thousands of people have fought and thousands have laid down their lives but were unable to win victory. India is no land of cowards. The people of my country are never afraid to lay down their life for a great cause. India's peasantry, which gave birth to countless martyrs, will spread the message of the greatest and the most sacred task facing the people of the world to the villages of India, will inexorably march forward on to the stage of history and prove themselves the makers of history. It is they,

who, led by the working class, will destroy the class enemies, smash the existing oppressor state machine and bury the imperialist warmongers in this soil of India.

Members and sympathisers of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—you have voluntarily taken upon yourselves the task of freeing and liberating India, inspiring the working class, carrying the agrarian revolution in the countryside through to victory, spreading the flames of armed struggle throughout India, building a revolutionary people's army by organizing peasants' guerrilla warfare, consolidating rural liberated areas in order to win victory in the revolution, freeing and liberating India and transforming her into a people's democratic state, and building an India without exploitation by ushering in socialism. You have indomitable courage to win victory and conquer death because you are carrying forward the cause for which countless martyrs laid down their lives.

Today, your struggle has merged with the dream that man has dreamt and endeavoured to realize for thousands of years. Today, your struggle is not merely the national struggle of India, you are a contingent in the front ranks of mankind in its march forward. Such a merging of national task with the international task has not perhaps been seen in the history of the world before. The revolutionary struggle of the world led by Chairman Mao has arrived at a point of great confluence. We are participants and comrades-in-arms in that great struggle. So, we cannot afford to lose even a single moment. Exert yourself to your utmost and move forward. Victory certainly belongs to us. A liberated India in a liberated world is looming large on the horizon. Comrades, let us march forward to usher in that great day.

(September 19, 1969)

Central Committee of Communist Party of China Sends Message of Condolence To Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers' Party On passing Away of President Ho Chi Minh

FOLLOWING is the message of condolence sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh :

The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party :

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all the members of the Party and the entire Chinese people, expresses in extreme grief condolences on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people.

President Ho Chi Minh was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary. He applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution. He dedicated his whole life to the national liberation struggle of Viet Nam and the cause of communism. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the heroic Vietnamese people waged protracted and unyielding struggles against the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists, won great victories, founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and embarked on the road of socialism. After U.S. imperialism unleashed its war of aggression against

Viet Nam, President Ho Chi Minh led the entire Vietnamese people in fighting the most ferocious U.S. imperialism, driving it into a tight corner, badly battering it and confronting it with imminent destruction, by giving full play to the might of people's war, thus making important contributions to the cause of anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed people and oppressed nations the world over.

Upholding proletarian internationalism, President Ho Chi Minh actively supported the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat of all countries and of all oppressed people and oppressed nations. In the years when the Chinese people were waging the national-democratic revolutionary struggle, he came to China several times ; he shared weal and woe with the Chinese people, fought shoulder to shoulder with them and established profound proletarian feelings with the Chinese Communist Party. After the victory of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, he worked untiringly for strengthening and developing the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. This friendship and solidarity between our two peoples forged through protracted fighting can stand any test.

President Ho Chi Minh unfortunately passed away at the crucial moment when the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is about to win final victory. This is a great loss for the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people and also a great loss for the cause of anti-U.S. struggle of the Chinese people and all peoples of the world. President Ho Chi Minh has died, but his noble revolutionary qualities and fighting spirit of defying brute force will live forever in the hearts of the Vietnamese people, in the hearts of the Chinese people and in the hearts of the revolutionary peoples of the world.

We profoundly understand and sympathize with the feeling of the broad masses of the Vietnamese people at this

moment. We sincerely hope that you will turn grief into strength and deal still heavier blows at U.S. imperialism. We are convinced that following President Ho Chi Minh's teaching on being "fearless of sacrifices and hardships,... determined to carry on and vigorously step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win", the Vietnamese people who have a tradition of heroic revolutionary struggle will certainly overcome every difficulty on their road of advance, smash all schemes undermining their war of liberation, drive all the U.S. imperialists out of the land of Viet Nam, liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to reunify the fatherland by persevering in protracted war, persevering in maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and persevering in self-reliance.

"The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." Following this teaching by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will, as always, resolutely support the Vietnamese people in carrying through to the end their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated!

Viet Nam is sure to win!

Eternal glory to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people!

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

September 4, 1969

NOTES

LONG LIVE THE HISTORIC OCTOBER 1

The victory of the Chinese Revolution twenty years ago tremendously inspired and enthused the people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries who were subjected to imperialist oppression and exploitation for centuries. They had repeatedly risen up in their millions and fought against imperialist exploitation. But they were invariably defeated by the powerful imperialist powers, and their striving for freedom and independence and their struggle for equal rights were drowned in blood. That is why the thunderous success of the Chinese Revolution is observed by the people of all colonial and semi-colonial countries as a great festival. The defeat inflicted on their bitterest enemy brought tremendous confidence in their mind about the path of mankind's victorious march forward. That is why they consider the victory of the Chinese Revolution as their own victory, as the victory of mankind.

The great Chinese Revolution carried forward the vast possibility that was opened up in world history by the October Revolution. It opened up before the hundreds of millions of the exploited people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries the possibility of uninterrupted progress of mankind. This is why the great Chinese Revolution is a most remarkable revolution, a giant step forward in the history of man's progress and a great landmark in man's striving to establish itself in full glory.

The great Chinese Revolution represents a tremendous success in Marxism-Leninism's victorious march to conquer the world. It was during the course of the Chinese Revolution that Chairman Mao enriched Marxism-Leninism both in theory and in practice, formulated and developed the strategy and tactics of people's war and equipped the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism with newest weapons. The

enrichment of Marxism-Leninism that Chairman Mao made both in theory and practice, developed Marxism-Leninism to the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought. This marked the beginning of a new era, the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The history of the past twenty years of the great land of China is one of a series of victories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. China, which was an economically backward country, was transformed into a socialist country in only 7 years. The Chinese people led by Chairman Mao were inspired and enthused by the great victories which followed one after another. But success did not divert them from adhering to the great cause of the liberation of mankind. The great teaching of Chairman Mao "serve the people wholeheartedly" weakened the all-pervading influence of private property, and the revolutionary people of the great China performed a miracle by establishing the People's Communes which opened up the possibility of limitless development in industry and agriculture. Thus it was that a backward China marched forward in giant strides towards building socialism and to add bright new chapters to history.

The great advance of the forces of production which the establishment of People's Communes heralded, inevitably met with strong opposition from the old ideas which grew out of the society based on exploitation of man by man. To unleash the new force which was born out of the Communes and to ensure uninterrupted progress of mankind it was essential to change thoroughly these old ideas and thinking which had reigned for thousands of years in the old society based on exploitation. Chairman Mao's great and daring call **fight self, criticize revisionism** served precisely this historic necessity and hit directly at private property which for thousands of years has served as the foundation of the enormous superstructure of the society based on

exploitation. The superstructure began to crumble at the impact of this terrific blow. The victorious onward march on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the 700 million Chinese people succeeded in putting the social man above the individual man. Like the first rays of a rising sun on the eastern horizon, the outline of the communist society has begun to take shape before the eyes of the people of the whole world.

Chairman Mao has created a new man of the new era—a man who has conquered self-interest, a man who tries to sacrifice his own life before others in serving the people, a man who has integrated himself with the fighting people of every country of the world and dreams of building a world without exploitation. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1962: "The next 50 to 100 years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."

With the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which he himself initiated and led, Chairman Mao has ushered in a new era, in which the revolution of every country of the world is part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution not only economically, politically and as a struggle for seizure of power. In this new era, the revolution in every country must necessarily fight revisionist ideas, i.e., bourgeois ideology, in order to be able to go forward. That is why the revolution of every country today, is not only part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution but also part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

This is the era in which imperialism is heading towards total collapse and socialism is marching forward to worldwide victory. This is the era of Mao Tsetung Thought. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has pointed out the targets of the struggle of every country

and has created a new high tide of struggle. The fight against revisionism has unshackled the creative abilities of the masses by awakening a sense of responsibility among them.

In India also, the people's war being waged under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought developed only by fighting against revisionism. The revolutionary peasant struggle can be carried forward only by intensifying the fight against revisionism, by defeating revisionist ideas in every sphere of life, by inspiring the fight against self-interest to develop so as to "serve the people wholeheartedly." This is the only way by which the peasant guerrillas can conquer death, can become transformed into men who fear neither hardship nor death, before whom all the armed forces of the reactionaries are reduced to paper tigers, and all the modern weapons in their hands become useless, can grow from small guerrilla forces into a large army and can establish, under the leadership of the proletariat, people's power by destroying the bastion of reaction.

"Serve the people wholeheartedly" and "fight against self-interest" are the two slogans which transform the vast peasant masses into a socialist force, thus making it possible for the new-democratic revolution to advance quickly towards the socialist revolution.

The Ninth National Congress of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, basing itself on the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has declared that a new era of world revolution has begun. The 20th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution marks the victorious beginning of that era. This anniversary—an occasion of great joy, is being observed at a time when a revolutionary party based on Mao Tsetung Thought—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—has been formed in India also. Mao Tsetung Thought is being applied concretely in the peasant's guerrilla struggle under

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Mushahari And Its Lessons

—Satyanarain Singh

WITH the announcement of the formation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, i. e., the CPI (M-L), the revolutionary peasant struggle in Bihar enters its second phase, the phase of armed guerrilla struggle. The Party members, the guerrillas and the revolutionary peasants fighting under the leadership of the Party—all were immensely enthused and hailed the formation of the Party with a series of powerful and successful assaults on the class enemy. All these attacks took place in the district of Muzaffarpur with the Mushahari region as its centre. As already reported in the columns of *Liberation*, three attacks took place in three areas—Paru, Baruraj and Mushahari during the last one and half months, and now another one has taken place in Paru P.S., thus bringing the total number of guerrilla attacks to four. The net result of these attacks have been 6 class enemies killed, 16 injured, property worth Rs. 20,000 confiscated, documents of land and hand-notes worth lakhs of rupees destroyed and ornaments of the people mortgaged to the landlords have been seized and returned to the owners. It should also be kept in mind that the government has not been able to arrest a single guerrilla fighter or a single comrade from the district leadership. The entire team remains safe and active. Recently, Mr T. P. Singh, the adviser of the Bihar Governor, who also happens to be the owner of a large landed estate himself, convened a conference of administrative officials at Muzaffarpur in which many high officials participated including the Commissioner of the Tirhut Division, the IG of police, the DIG of Northern Range and the Dy. Commissioners of all districts of the Tirhut Division. Serious concern was expressed at the failure of the administration in bringing the "main culprits" of the Narsinghpur case to book and severe measures were decided to be launched

against the CPI (M-L). The general secretary of the crises-ridden Congress party in Bihar issued alarming statements about Muzaffarpur and demanded stern steps for suppressing the "peasant rebellion instigated by the anti-national" elements.

As a result, just after the third week of June, a general offensive has been launched against the Party in the whole district of Muzaffarpur. The "encirclement and suppression" campaign has been launched against us. This campaign is a part of the general offensive that the reactionary state has launched against the revolutionary guerrillas in the whole of India. Although they have not yet employed military contingents, the intensity of the repression is indeed unprecedented. Having failed to get any guerrilla fighter or any comrade from the district leadership, the enemy has lost mental balance and is desperately attacking. In their frantic bid to wreak vengeance, they have not spared even those who have had no connection with us for quite a long time. The police has attacked the residential houses of over 600 persons, covering 7 thanas in Muzaffarpur. They have been harassing, interrogating, and inflicting all sorts of tortures on prisoners in custody with a view to obtain the addresses and the shelters of the leadership. Even the remote relatives of our Party members have been arrested. They have arrested the brother-in-law of Comrade Raj Kishore Singh, the beloved leader of the Mushahari peasantry, and charged him with all sorts of crimes, though he is a member of the Right CPI. They have so far arrested about 52 persons during the last three months. The property of many district committee members have been attached. The govt. has extended the area of its attack to the neighbouring Darbhanga district. Dozens of peasants and the hailers of a leader of Darbhanga district committee have been harassed and properties of several of them have been attached.

Rewards have been declared against many comrades for catching them dead or alive.

Mounted police and hundreds of armed police personnel are on intensive patrolling orders and the whole of Muzaffarpur district is being seriously combed. Torture, reminiscent of the fascist regime in Hitlerite Germany is being inflicted on the peasants under custody and hair-raising "confessional" tales are being concocted.

The enemy is desperate and hitting at us madly left and right.

The "encirclement and suppression" campaign has met with total failure in its first phase. It has failed to achieve any of its three objectives, i. e., in arresting or liquidating the Party leadership and the guerrilla squads, in breaking the fighting morale of the guerrillas and the enduring resistance of the peasantry and finally in preventing our expansion. The guerrillas under the leadership of the Party are certainly not lying low, as some might conclude. On the contrary, they are continuing their operations even in conditions of excessive police patrolling and combing operations. Recently, i. e., in the middle of August, a small squad led by a Party member of poor peasant origin made a successful attack on a group of notorious landlords. Kalika Singh, a notorious landlord of Bara Daud village in Paru P. S., who has been beating up peasants with police protection and has been helping the police in "encirclement and suppression" campaign, was killed and two other lackeys were seriously injured. This attack, coming as it does in conditions of a general police offensive, has tremendously boosted the morale of the guerrillas and the peasantry and has scared the enemies to death.

The landlords, the bad gentry and their paid hirelings have discovered it at last that no amount of police protection, no amount of repression and perhaps, nothing else under the sun will save them from the just wrath of the peasants. They are now keeping night vigil with the guns

that have been just given to them by the District Magistrate. They wonder if it was not the time for them to quit countryside and migrate to towns. It is indeed true that a severe repression inspires a powerful resistance!

How is it that in a plain area in the Gangetic-belt, the government has failed even to arrest any leading member of the Peoples' Guerrilla Force, leave alone curb the guerrilla activities? How is it that our expansion is becoming increasingly rapid and our political base is continuously getting consolidated despite the "encirclement and suppression" campaign? How is it that in an area where revisionist influence is very dominant, where a conservative feudal culture with a cast-based social set-up has been flourishing, the armed guerrilla struggle is making remarkable progress? How have we developed our struggle, what tactics we have followed, what mistakes have been committed and what tasks have to be taken up for developing this struggle to a still higher stage? These and others are some of the questions that have to be answered for a deeper analysis and an extensive review of the struggle. In the foregoing pages, let us reconstruct the whole course that the guerrilla struggle has traversed since the first mass upsurge in Mushahari, i.e., since 1968 June-August.

The First Phase of Mass-Upsurge

The first mass upsurge that overtook the Mushahari region had as its background continuous and all-round struggles between the landlords and the peasantry in about 12 villages with a population of about 10,000 people. The peasants had fought the landlords over the issue of occupancy right over land, they had fought on issues connected with social oppression. After the heroic struggle of the Naxalbari peasantry, a new consciousness dawned upon them, the consciousness of fighting for the state power, i.e., for taking to the path of political struggle.

The poor peasant youths began studying Mao Tsetung Thought and very soon grasped the essence of the agrarian revolution. Numerous meetings began to be held in which the landless and the poor peasants mainly attended. In these meetings the mass line of the agrarian revolution was explained by Party leaders. Peasants took live interest and asked questions for further clarification. In these meetings, the question: who are our enemies, who are our friends, attracted utmost interest and peasants concretely discussed this in relation to their own villages. In the beginning our activities were limited to only 2 or 3 villages with Gangapur as its centre. But as soon as peasants in Gangapur forcibly, i.e., with arms in hands, harvested the standing crops from the landlords' land in broad daylight and drove out landlords and their goondas, tremendous enthusiasm was generated in the peasantry of the whole Mushahari region. This incident ~~had taken~~ place in the month of April 1968. Let it be remembered that in this area the extent of share-cropping is very limited. The April struggle was not a struggle over share-cropping nor it was on the issue of eviction. The peasantry under the direct leadership of the Party took up arms and harvested the Arahari [a kind of pulse] crops from the land of the landlord in broad daylight. This struggle was qualitatively on a different plane than general seizure of crop from Batai lands. The peasants who joined the struggle were convinced that all land belonged to the tillers and the landlords' right over any land was not acceptable. Naturally, this was quite different from the traditional harvests.

Landlords immediately responded with instituting cases in court and they very soon got united. They had understood the real meaning of the struggle. The local leaders who had originally vacillated about fighting the court cases and surrendering to the authorities when warranted, overcame their vacillation and went underground.

Soon over the issue of cutting trees and occupying land, peasants—man and women, young and old, fought a 5 hour long battle with the armed forces of the most notorious landlord of the area, Bijli Singh, the landlord of Narsinghpur, and the landlord had to retreat with serious injuries to dozens of his men. The humbling of this very powerful landlord by the poor peasantry, mostly belonging to scheduled castes (Harijans) had a magic effect on the neighbouring villages. The landlords grew panicky and the peasants became further courageous and far more determined. Now they felt that the landlords could be beaten and driven out if peasants were united. In every village peasants sat and discussed these struggles and made their plans. The peasant youths, the militants, the Party members, and even any poor man from Gangapur village ^{were/} ~~was~~ most eagerly sought by the peasants and ~~was~~ respectfully heard. It was enough for one to belong to Gangapur to become a leader of any other village. Gangapur had ^{the} become a symbol of fighting peasantry. This was the period, when we organised the Kisan Sangram Samities in every village with all adults as members. An Area Kisan Sangram Samity was also organised to conduct the struggle in the Mushahari region. There, of course, was no district Kisan Sangram Samity. Then came 15th August 1968. ^{for/} The All India Co-ordination Committee had given the call of seizure of harvests ~~for~~ ^{is/} for the whole of India. The peasants of Mushahari under the leadership of the Party also decided to seize the whole of Bhadaï crop and began making all-out preparations for the same. The Party decided to arm the peasants with traditional weapons. And on the 15th August our armed procession of thousands of peasants, men and women, young and old, was organised with the slogans: Land to the tillers, Long live NAXALBARI, Naxalbaripath ^{is/} our path, Long live MAO TSETUNG, etc.

The local Party leaders from the very beginning told

the peasants that they ^{would} ~~have~~ to combat the police repression who would intervene on the side of the landlords. ^{not by the police}

The Party therefore decided that in case the police would intervene to prevent the peasants from harvesting the land, the struggle against them too must begin. Political preparations were already made and the technical preparations had to be made.

The seizure of crops began and along with it came the police repression. The peasants and the cadres clashed with police at various places and quite a number of police officials received serious injuries. There was an incident when thousands of peasants from several villages rushed in to rescue one peasant from police arrest. They rescued the peasant, beat up the police officials and occupied the land and seized the crops. They had armed themselves with spears, arrows and with other traditional weapons and had started frequently using them in fighting the class enemy and the police. Now the class solidarity had taken shape. People began treating landlords and the state alike. They also considered the entire toiling peasantry as one entity bound by blood relations. The upsurge had now overtaken the whole Mushahari region, with the sweep of an avalanche.

The Government replied by massive police repression. Thousands of armed police personnel were posted. The police behaved as if they were dealing with a foreign enemy. Arresting, assaulting, burning of peasants' huts, plundering of people's properties began on a massive scale.

In inflicting all these cruelties, the landlords under the leadership of Bijli Singh took extraordinary initiative and helped the police throughout. About 5000 peasants, who considered themselves communists broke through the encirclement and took shelter in the neighbouring areas. The leaders of the militants went underground. Though over 50 peasants were arrested, not a single leader fell into the enemy's clutches. The peasants returned to

5/ their villages after the police repression had slackened. In the meantime, the heroic peasant women had valiantly resisted the police and landlord with indigenous chilli powder and even with bare arms. Examples of daring resistance will be ever remembered.

However, dozens of militants and the local Party leadership which consisted of part-timers enrolled themselves as guerrillas (full time) and took up the task of taking the Mushahari struggle to the second stage, i.e., to the stage of armed guerrilla struggle.

It should be stated here that during the period of heavy police repression where our leadership and militants took shelter in the neighbouring areas, they organised the peasantry there. The saga of Mushahari struggle had polarised forces throughout the district. Every village was split. The reactionaries of all varieties (Janasanghis, Congressmen, PSPers) shouted for more repressions and the Dange renegades and neo-revisionists dubbed us as "terrorists" and "adventurists." Every landlord was alert but every poor peasant house was open to us. This is how we were able to save our leaders, cadres and militants in that period. Though our cadres retained links with the Mushahari region, they were actually building up the areas around the Mushahari region. We were able to preserve our strength, we were able to escape arrest and encirclement precisely because we divided our forces. The militants became the initiators of revolutionary organisation in the new areas. They preached and organised the nuclei of teams in Lalganj and Kanti P. S. in Paru and Baruraj P.S. in Dholi and in other areas. Our Mushahari militants divided themselves and posted themselves in 7 thanas.

✓ A tremendous expansion took place. Cadres of revisionist parties welcomed us and disowned their leadership.

The leaders and cadres of Mushahari were everywhere received with respect, not only among the peasantry but also among the cadres and militants of the revisionists and

reformist parties. Many of them have provided shelters for our underground cadres and helped us financially. It is no wonder that CPI (M) has lost the Muzaffarpur district in its entirety except a few places in Sahagunj.

Now, the peasant struggle had reached the stage when it could be developed only by guerrilla struggle. The organised counter-revolutionary violence could only be resisted by organised revolutionary violence; either the peasants and the Party would surrender arms and bow down to the feudal authority in the village and obey the orders of the reactionary state or they should carry forward the democratic revolution by launching armed struggle, the basic form of which is guerrilla struggle. Only guerrilla struggle could now sustain and develop the peasants' resistance.

The second stage had arrived and the Party had to make political, organisational and technical preparations appropriate to this stage.

Certain Mistaken Ideas And Their Rectification

The first stage of the Mushahari struggle itself had shattered many erroneous notions prevailing among our comrades at various levels. One of these notions, though not clearly expressed has been that without sufficient economic inducements the peasantry could not be organised for a political struggle. However, this wrong notion based upon the discredited theory of the "backwardness of the masses", has been completely shattered in Mushahari struggle. It is true that all sorts of small struggles were fought by the Mushahari peasants including struggles over issues connected with social oppression and they did help the comrades in rousing the peasants to some extent, it must however be said that the single issue which acted as the magic inspirer was to destroy the feudal authority in the village. The fact that at the call of a single peasant family, three thousand peasants gathered from about 6

villages to fight the landlords and the police in the last week of August 1968 and ultimately beat up the police and the landlord and rescued the peasant showed that class solidarity had started taking root among the peasantry as soon as they started grasping Mao Tsetung Thought and the mass line of agrarian revolution. Actually it was after this incident that the Party drew the conclusion that the peasantry was already fighting a political struggle and it was time to organise the guerrilla struggle. However, the entire hangover of economism was not over and it can be clearly seen in our decision to "synchronise guerrilla actions" with the arrival of harvesting season. The erroneous notion of "economic inducement" still lingered. The peasants were for the political struggle, for a struggle to destroy feudal authority in the village and build their own authority step by step, and we, the leaders still thought of the economic "carrot". We were soon to be shaken out of our slumber. As soon as the harvesting began, the police intervened and the clashes began. Peasants simply did not bother about the harvest. They just fought back. For three days, landlords went underground and the area was under the peasant's control. Patrol parties of armed police along with Magistrates were chased from one place to another by the peasants. The peasants and cadres fought heroically. The time for guerrilla action had matured but owing to our erroneous notion of "synchronising the guerrilla actions with harvesting campaign", necessary preparations could not be made. Behind this notion of an "economic stimulus" lies utter disbelief in the revolutionary capabilities of the masses, a disbelief usually found with the petty bourgeoisie.

Another manifestation of this petty bourgeois disbelief in the revolutionary capacities of the broad masses of the peasantry can be discovered in the fact that we took a long period of 9 months in launching the first guerrilla attack. One of the main causes, or, perhaps the main

cause has been that after severe repression in Mushahari, leading comrades feared that the peasantry would not respond in a favourable manner.

Repeated pressure of the State Co-ordination Committee, and later on, the pressure of the local comrades induced the district leadership to go back to the people.

And it proved an astonishing experience to them to find the peasants not only responsive but anxious to lend their support for guerrilla actions. The shelters, food, couriers were available in abundance. Suffering at the hands of police and landlords had, instead of demoralising the peasant, made him a more determined enemy of the state and had brought him nearer to the Party. All this proved tonic to the cadres and leadership. The lesson was, as Chairman Mao has put it: **"We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two principles. If we doubt these principles we shall accomplish nothing."**

The second erroneous notion that caused the delay, and which is still hampering our work is our excessive reliance on modern firearms. Many comrades do not consider themselves armed unless they have firearms with their team. This excessive infatuation with firearms makes them inactive. They forget the lessons of the historic Chinese Revolution and the teachings of Chairman Mao that traditional weapons must be used to the fullest extent to fight the enemy and procure from him the modern sophisticated weapons.

This contemptuous attitude to the traditional weapon paralyses the initiative of the people. The total strength of the people can not be applied against the enemy at a given time, if maximum use of traditional weapons is not made. This erroneous notion had to be liquidated to a considerable extent before we embarked on the second phase of our struggle. However, it must be admitted that this notion still prevails in the Party and is preventing the most rapid

development of our armed struggle. This notion runs counter to the concept of Peoples' War formulated by Chairman Mao and must therefore be liquidated forever.

The third erroneous notion that delayed our going over to the second phase of struggle was that only with the help of experts—i.e., those who have already done some fighting etc., or those who have had some training etc., can guerrilla actions be launched. As a result of this erroneous notion, some of our leading comrades sought allies even among pseudo-political criminals. This notion too had proved a powerful obstacle and we had to struggle hard to overcome it.

The Second Phase of Our Struggle

With the formation and arming of the guerrilla units, the first clash took place in Lakhanuari in the Paru P.S. The class enemy had made a surprise attack against one of our guerrilla squads. However, red guerrillas fought and killed one class enemy on the spot. The guerrillas chased the enemy for one mile. Later on, i.e., just after three hours, the peasants numbering two thousand and odd surrounded the house of the landlord and seized his properties.

The guerrillas and the Party cadres had now grown more confident as the masses had very actively supported the annihilation of the enemy. The landlords were scared to death. Soon after, a second attack was made in Paharchar village under Baruraj P.S. where a mahant was killed and three injured, properties were seized, hand-notes and documents of land deeds were burnt.

Then came the most impressive attack of our guerrillas on the landlord of Narsinghpur in Mushahari region. He was most actively associated with the police repression in the Mushahari region. He had sheltered the police and helped them in arresting the peasants, torturing them and

in burning huts and in looting their property. The peasants hated him and were pressing the Party for taking action against him. On 30th June, the red guerrillas made the attack. A good number of peasants of the locality also took part along with the guerrilla squad. Three class enemies were annihilated, property worth Rs. 20,000 was seized and land-documents were burnt, 14 family members of the landlord were seriously injured. The village lies at a very small distance from the office of the B. D. O. where armed guards were posted. The guards in panic and fear fired several shots but did not dare to advance. The guerrilla squad and the peasants carried out their operations for full three hours and dispersed without a scratch on them.

Now another attack has taken place and this time in conditions of massive police patrolling. Just when the police has been coming to the Paru area for arresting the peasants and the guerrillas, a squad of two guerrillas eliminated a notorious landlord who was helping the police. This landlord belonged to a village named Bara-Daud where about 15 guns have been issued by the government.

Lessons of Guerrilla Struggle in Muzaffarpur

Great success in launching guerrilla actions could be achieved as the Party and the guerrillas completely depend on the people. In all circumstances, whether gathering intelligence about the position of the enemy and the police or while moving in the areas or in taking shelter for rest or for food supplies or when conducting raids or when retreating and advancing, our guerrilla force depends on the active support of the people. In the Narsinghpur raid, the number of ordinary peasants participating was simply overwhelming. Actually we are now planning to reduce the extent of mass participation in guerrilla raids for reasons of security and safety, and also for reasons of efficiency in fighting and retreating. The second lesson is that when massive police patrolling is resorted to by the

enemy, i. e., in conditions of "encirclement and suppression" campaign launched by the enemy, smaller guerrilla units alone can effectively and efficiently operate. Larger units can be easily located by the enemy because of its size.

Moreover, the smaller units are more agile and can easily disappear among the people. In a plain area where people alone serve as the mountains and jungles smaller guerrilla units of 3 or 5 or 7 is more desirable.

The third lesson is that the art of continuing guerrilla actions and conducting political propaganda and building up of revolutionary organisation in **condition of "encirclement and suppression"** campaign launched by the enemy must be mastered. For the present, our tactics are that after the massive police mobilisation is effected, the main guerrilla force take to the neighbouring areas, i.e., the main force escapes encirclement. However, the areas where guerrilla struggles are taking place cannot be developed into a political base area until and unless revolutionary work is continued. The two political tasks (political propaganda and annihilation of class enemies) and the three organisational tasks (build up the Party, build up guerrilla units and build up Kisan Sangram Samities) must be continued even during heaviest concentration of police in the area. Otherwise, revolutionary base areas cannot be built up and in order to carry out sustained work, the Party committees and Kisan Sangram Committee must work secretly and must remain underground. It is therefore necessary that during the encircling operation by the enemy, while the main guerrilla force of the leadership should escape, there must remain local Party leadership, guerrilla units and Kisan Sangram Samities to continue the two political tasks and three organisational tasks. It means that a part of our force is mobile and another localised.

The fourth lesson is that we must place absolute faith in the landless and poor peasantry. In a plain area like the Gangetic belt, this is absolutely necessary. The Party ||

|| must also be built up from amidst these two classes. Our experience proves that it is they who stand undaunted in face of police repression, cadres coming from these classes show exemplary discipline, courage and initiative and are able to merge with the poorest sections of our people in a very natural manner. The petty bourgeois or urban cadre feels difficulties in merging with the people. The majority of our cadres in Mushahari belong to the landless and poor peasantry. It becomes very difficult for the police to spot them.

✓ However, one of the tasks facing us in this respect is educating our cadres so that he could himself read the revolutionary literature and develop his leading qualities. The urban and petty bourgeois cadre has to take up this responsibility. The main thing is to recruit the Party member and the guerrillas from the above two classes and equip them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is the main method of building the revolutionary Party and a people's army while conducting armed struggles.

The fifth lesson is that we must tirelessly work to rally the middle peasants around the banner of agrarian revolution. It must be pointed out that our work in this respect is very superficial. All sorts of wrong notions are prevalent among the middle peasants and serious political work to eradicate these notions and to win them over to revolution is necessary. It must be realised that without having the firm support of the middle peasant revolution cannot win. Sectarianism in this regard has to be combated and vigorous efforts to that end is absolutely necessary.

○ Apart from the above 5 lessons, we must pay attention to the appearance of a feeble trend among some fighters towards LOCALISM. These comrades often tend to place the local needs above the overall needs of the Party and revolution. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, localism can not be fought only by arguments and discussions. It

will need heavy repression by the enemy to bring people and cadres of various localities closer. Localism will be eliminated when comrades of various localities share the same fate at enemy's hands, i.e., when safety of one becomes the safety of another.

The Impact of Armed Guerrilla Struggle

Although armed guerrilla struggle has so far been taking place only in Muzaffarpur district its impact on the whole political situation in our state has been tremendous.

In areas contiguous to Muzaffarpur particularly in Darbhanga and Champaran the peasantry has been roused and our organisation is developing with a rapidity hardly witnessed before. In fact the entire North Bihar seems to be shaken out of its *samadhi* [trance] and it can be said with certainty that the approaching months would find many Naxalbaris there. The armed guerrilla struggle is a developing reality and our friends and foes are now convinced of it.

The impact of armed guerrilla struggle in those areas which are far and remote from Muzaffarpur has also been remarkable. Never before in our history the peasant masses resorted to forcible harvesting on such a scale as they are doing now. In Santhal Parganas, in Mongher, in Purnea and in several other districts, the forcible harvesting, i.e., seizure of crops by the peasantry is becoming a general feature. It means that the peasants are taking law in their own hands.

The impact of armed guerrilla struggle on the revisionist and reformist parties has also been great. The rank and file of these parties coming from the poorest sections of our peasantry has now discovered the utter bankruptcy of the politics of their leadership and has also found out the real road to their liberation. The renegade Dange clique is facing a massive revolt of rank and file—a revolt which threatens to be irrepressible. The leadership is trying its

the/ level best to stem this tide of rank revolt by resorting to all sorts of antics. They have instructed their district chieftains to tell the cadres that they too are wedded to the theory of armed struggle and are just waiting for correct opportunity. Volunteer corps (like seva dal) are being set up by the Dangeites to draw in the revolting youths back to the party fold. Important leaders like Pitambar Singh go to the extent of issuing statements in support of Naxalbari struggle to keep the militants in their fold and then again continue in their old game. The pressure of the cadres has been so tremendous, the rallying over of the militants to our Party has been so impressive, that a draft on the inevitability of armed struggle is being debated in State Secretariat. The renegade Dange clique in 5 district councils have been dissolved. A cleavage between militant ranks of the party and the treacherous leadership has appeared and a second split is in the offing.

The launching of these guerrilla actions have also caused a purge—I should say, a welcome purge in our Party. Careerists, opportunists and cowards are deserting us and going back to the old juicy trade. Some of them have gone back to the right and left CPI in a simple way, and some of them who are hypocrites and scoundrels are inventing all sorts of ideological, political and organisational excuses to cover up their desertion from the fighting ranks.

This is very good indeed for the good health of our Party and for the good health of our revolution. While hundreds of militant youths are joining our Party, it is just natural that a few rotten and good-for-nothings would leave us as class struggle develops.

Our Party on the other hand is being steeled and tempered in the fire of agrarian revolution, it is being Bolshevikised. The Party ranks and the masses have shown boundless faith in revolution and Mao Tse-tung Thought and are marching confidently for building up reliable revolutionary base areas in Bihar and liberate the entire Indian people from imperialism and its lackeys.

Indian Congress Party Performs Farce of Fight for Presidency

A fierce fight for power took place recently inside the reactionary ruling Congress Party of India around the presidential election, according to reports from New Delhi. It reflected the sharpening of the contradictions within this party and its further disintegration under the impact of the Indian people's revolutionary struggle. It also reflected the bickerings and rivalry between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism in their contention for control of India.

The struggle between the faction headed by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the faction headed by Congress president Nijalingappa on the presidential election issue is "merely a particularly interesting example of a fight between large and small dogs, between well-fed and ill-fed dogs". Pounded by the vigorous revolutionary struggle of the Indian people, the ruling position of the Indian Congress party which represents the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie is becoming increasingly shaky. The inner contradictions of this party have come to the surface. In the situation of intensified penetration into India by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, Indira Gandhi put up the signboard of "socialism" and advocated the "nationalization of banks" and the development of the "state-run economy" controlled by bureaucratic capital. All this was done to speed up the development of bureaucratic capitalism in India and deceive the people. She also stepped up her collusion with the Indian revisionists and the Dange renegade clique so as to stabilize her shaky ruling position. The faction with Nijalingappa and his ilk as its centre mainly represents the interests of the private comprador-monopoly capitalists of India. This

faction opposed the "nationalization of banks" and complained about the insufficient utilization and the constant loss of capital of the "state-run enterprises" managed by the Congress government with the aid of Soviet revisionism. They advocated the development of private enterprises, the road of "liberalization" and continued reliance on U.S. imperialism.

The struggle for power between the two factions inside the Congress party sharpened last April and became more acute during the presidential election. The Nijalingappa faction in mid-July manipulated the parliamentary board of the Congress party into nominating Sanjiva Reddy as Congress candidate for the presidency. They attempted to push Reddy to power so as to make use of presidential powers to oust Indira Gandhi and collaborate with the Swatantra and other reactionary parties to carry out so-called "liberalization". Before the presidential election, U.S. Secretary of State Rogers visited India and held secret talks with finance minister Desai who belongs to the Nijalingappa faction. When she faced the threat of losing the premiership, Indira Gandhi counter-attacked with a series of measures. Two days after the nomination of Reddy as the Congress party candidate, Indira Gandhi by means of a surprise attack dismissed Desai from his post and became finance minister herself. Two days later, she called an emergency cabinet meeting and decided to "nationalize" 14 big banks.

Ignoring the decision of the Congress party parliamentary board to name Sanjiva Reddy as the presidential candidate, Indira Gandhi, together with the Indian revisionists, the Dange renegade clique and other reactionary parties, supported acting president V. V. Giri to run for the presidency as an independent. She also called on Congress members of parliament to "vote freely" instead of voting for Reddy the Congress candidate.

The steps taken by Indira Gandhi won the support of

Soviet revisionism. The mouthpiece of Soviet revisionism Tass openly extolled candidate Giri supported by Gandhi. The Indian revisionists and the Dange renegade clique also gave vigorous support to Giri and expressed their willingness to join the "coalition government" headed by Indira Gandhi.

During the presidential election on August 20, Giri defeated Reddy by a slim majority and was elected president. Chieftain of Soviet revisionism Podgorny sent a message of greetings to Giri on August 23.

After the defeat on the presidential election, the Nijalingappa faction accused Indira Gandhi of "violating the discipline of the Congress party" and declared that a resolution would be adopted at the working committee—the supreme executive of the Congress party—to take "disciplinary action" against Gandhi and even expel her from the party. Thus a fierce fight took place between the two factions in and outside the Congress party working committee. Finally, the two factions came to a temporary compromise and adopted a resolution calling for "unity" among Congress party members.

Although the ugly dog-fight within the Congress party has ended for the time being, the contradictions between the two factions will become sharper and sharper and will not be pacified by "unity" on paper. Even western news agency reports said that this is merely a temporary papering over of the deep rift between the two factions and the Congress "crisis will continue to linger on".

(Hsinhua, August 31, 1969)

The Politics Of Nagi Reddy

—A Journalist

It should not be difficult for one who has gone through the so-called "Immediate Programme" of Nagi Reddy and company adopted at a conference held on April 10, 11 & 12 this year, to know them in their true colours.

A major weakness of the "programme" is that it has entirely ignored the question of **destroying the class enemy**. Quite understandably Nagi Reddy and company chose not to say anything about annihilating the main class enemies in the villages without which it is impossible to create a liberated area. On the contrary, they advocate measures aimed at protecting the class enemies. For example they say:

—Do not hurt the usurer if he is agreeable to accept "reasonable" rates of interest. By hurting him you merely deprive the helpless peasants of the source of obtaining usurious loans.

—Build 'revolutionary' *panchayats* in the villages, if you must, but do it with a view to **competing** with the official *panchayat* dominated by the landlords.

—It is not practicable now to launch struggles in the irrigated areas in the plains.

To cover up this weakness in their "programme" they had to cook up a new 'theory' for waging people's war. According to this 'theory' **hills and jungles constitute the "key" to and the main area** for waging people's war. And what does this mean? It means that struggles cannot develop at present in vast areas of India. According to this 'theory' therefore, it would be a sheer waste of energy to try to develop struggles in the plains of West Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

It is on basis of this 'new' and demoralising 'theory' of theirs that Nagi Reddy and company have directed their ranks and cadres to—

- go to jungles [not to villages] ;
- carry out and take lessons from "limited guerrilla resistance" in the non-irrigated areas in the plains and then go to jungles.

The "programme" is silent over the police repression on the people that would invariably follow every such "limited guerrilla resistance."

- the fighters in the irrigated areas of the plains are required to go straight to jungles after undergoing some "training". This is because there are to be no struggles in those areas.

And these people, the authors of this most absurd 'jungle theory' dare decry our Party for allegedly getting "isolated from the masses" !

We ask our ranks and cadres to go to the people—the peasants and workers, and not to the jungles. We ask them to stay on among the people after guerrilla actions, and continue revolutionary propaganda among them. We say that only the masses, and the masses alone, can help us get rid of our fears, can provide us with shelters and give advice and information for carrying out further actions, and can increase our confidence and strength. We can be "fish" only when we remain among the people—the "sea". This is what Chairman Mao teaches. This is what has been borne out by the experience of struggle in Srikakulam. The tragic results that invariably follow by pursuing the line so zealously advocated by Nagi Reddy and company can be clearly seen from the pages of Guevara's "Bolivian Diary". And yet—according to these wiseacres it is we who are the "followers of Guevara line" !

This 'jungle theory', this theory of keeping away from the masses spring from petty bourgeois ideology. The

petty bourgeois impotency characteristic of Nagi Reddy and company is clearly evident from their **11 basic principles**, which, as they claim, will remain valid till socialism is achieved. These principles include :

- Distribution of the land owned by **big landlords** among the poor and landless peasants. (What about the land owned by non-cultivators, i.e., the usurers and jotedars ? Should that land be left alone ? In that case, how can feudalism be overthrown ?)

- Taking over the foreign capital in industry and banks. (Does it mean that foreign capital in trading etc. would not be touched ? As far as we know, "loans" constitute 80 per cent of foreign investments in our country, and only 20 per cent as 'capital'. The "programme" is silent over these foreign loans.)

Working class: The "programme" states : "The increase in the wages and facilities regarding working hours and other conveniences to the working class will be **implemented**." (How generous of Nagi Reddy and company ! They promise to make available to the workers after revolution **those** "facilities" and "conveniences" which the British imperialists and their successors, the Congress rulers allowed them to have but did not 'implement'. What a bright prospect, indeed, they hold out before the workers !)

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." This stirring call given out by Marx-Lenin-Mao Tsetung aroused the proletariat who made revolutions and shed their own blood to lead the revolution of the oppressed people. In contrast to this, Nagi Reddy and company have now advanced their new slogan : 'all the facilities and concessions hitherto approved by wage-boards, pay commissions etc. will be **implemented** after the revolution' !

All in all, the Reddys seem quite firm about promising things to the petty bourgeoisie. Section 5 of their

"programme" promises the petty bourgeoisie guarantee of service. Further, section 10 promises to **annihilate completely** unemployment among the petty bourgeoisie. Naturally, all these assurances are meant for the **urban petty bourgeoisie**.

We do not run down Nagi Reddy and company simply because they are so solicitous of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The revolutionary united front definitely includes urban petty bourgeoisie. But the great importance which they attach to the petty bourgeoisie raises one question in our mind: Have they forgotten that unemployment among the petty bourgeoisie can be 'annihilated completely' **only when** the rural poor gets land and the city worker gets jobs, political power is wielded by the workers and peasants, and production is increased?

Such guarantees, biased in favour of the petty bourgeoisie, as Nagi Reddy and company have given, tend to perpetuate the contradiction between the people and the bureaucracy, and between the intelligentsia and the labouring people. To do such things means to reject the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. It springs from such utterly un-Marxist ideas as: 'Let us not bother about contradictions now. Contradictions can be tackled later, after the revolution.' As we know, learning from the experience of the proletariat of one's own country and of other countries, is a major requirement of proletarian internationalism. It is our duty to learn well Mao Tsetung Thought in order to be able to resolve gradually the contradictions among the people **in course of revolution**.

We do not propose to hold out before the urban petty bourgeoisie any false promise of so-called "guarantee of service" to induce them to remain in the cities—which would continue to be the stronghold of reactionary forces till they are finally defeated. On the contrary, we ask them to go to the villages among the people, to live, work and

integrate with them. We ask them to learn from the people in order to be able to teach them. This is how the urban petty bourgeoisie can take part in the revolution and transform themselves. Nagi Reddy and company do not, however, want to change the urban petty bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they try to lull the urban petty bourgeoisie into complacency with false promises like "guarantee of service" and "complete annihilation of unemployment."

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a science. And like all sciences it does not admit of any ambivalence in the use of words or terms. Every word here carries a definite meaning. However, true to their petty bourgeois line of thinking, Nagi Reddy and company do not mind turning Soviet social-imperialism into "Soviet revisionist neo-colonialism," and declaring that a "new people's democratic government," will be established in India after the "new democratic revolution." India's biggest imperialist exploiters are U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. To this their "programme" adds a third name—British imperialism. They have added things to accepted formulations without caring to justify the same. No, we have no desire to make small things look big. But the question is: Are they trying to push a new analysis **different from** that of the CPC? They are free to do that, but should say so openly. [We cannot forget that decrying the CPC comes easy to Nagi and company. One of their leading lights, C. Pulla Reddy, in a letter dated August 8, 1967, addressed to the C.C. of the CPI (M) openly stated that the CPC was 'mistaken' in its analysis of the character of the Indian government, of the Indian situation etc., that the CPC's statements on Naxalbari struggle were "tactless" and accused it of adopting "pressure tactics to browbeat the Party [CPI (M)] into acceptance of their line on the Indian situation." In true revisionist style he stated: "We must demarcate ourselves, and demarcate sharply, from the CPC on this question," meaning the Indian situation. This

letter was published in CPI (M)'s organ *People's Democracy*.]

Nagi and company do not propagate the necessity of creating liberated areas in the countryside by annihilating the class enemy, by depriving the police of their 'eyes' and 'ears,' and by getting rid of the local tyrants. Their programme for the village includes works like : (1) studying land relations ; (2) propagating the importance of the distribution of land ; (3) getting prepared for seizing land next year, making lists of lands to be seized, organizing meetings and demonstrations of the rural poor, and preparing them for the coming seizure of land ; (4) collecting information about and making lists of the property belonging to temples ; (5) getting ready for launching struggle for acquiring plots of land to build dwelling houses. This is how Nagi and company are trying to divert the peasant masses from the path of revolutionary armed struggle : on the one hand they keep silent over the great political role the peasants are to play in the Indian revolution, while on the other, they try their hardest to keep the peasant masses bogged in the mire of economism. (Sri Reddy would have been saved all this labour if he could become the Minister for Land and Land Revenue of Andhra. He could then have this "lists" prepared by JLRO's and use the police force as the "volunteer force" of his party. That would be right in the tradition of the CPI (M) bosses of West Bengal !)

If the class enemy survives and has the power to come back, how long can the peasants retain the land distributed to him ? He would be dispossessed of the land in no time by the usurer-jotedar. It has happened in West Bengal. Large tracts of land which were seized by the peasants are now found lying fallow.

Nagi and company propose to seize the land, animals and farm implements of "big" landlords (their "programme" does not say how this 'bigness' is to be judged) and

distribute the same among the poor people. Do they expect these landlords not to call in the police ? And when the police comes these landlords and other reactionaries would help in every way to get the fighters arrested. How then is it possible to seize and distribute land when the landlords and other reactionaries are allowed to move about freely doing mischief ? Moreover, setbacks are likely to demoralise a section of the peasantry, or, as is happening in West Bengal, one group of land-hungry peasants is set against another by the revisionist and reformist parties of the UF and while party funds continue to swell the poor people are made to shed their blood in fratricidal strife. 37

Nagi and company's "programme" talks of liberated areas, land distribution etc., but carefully avoids mentioning the overriding importance of annihilating the class enemy. It is evident, therefore, that they are using these words only to deceive the people. Their "programme" may be able to bring peasants to attend meetings or take part in demonstrations, but is absolutely incapable of unleashing the revolutionary initiative of the masses.

This weakness in their "programme" forces them to say ridiculous things like :

—The Girijans should be given the right to **sell freely** and the government purchasing-bodies should be abolished. (They seem to forget that after 1898 no one was able to sell "freely". To give that right now to the Girijans is to force them into the arms of the rapacious traders.)

—The people should, **on their own**, begin **revolutionary work** to abolish the *muthabhari* system (a tyrannical feudal system.) [Comment is unnecessary.]

Nagi Reddy leads those who are deeply concerned about mass organizations and bitterly curse Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the CPI (M-L) for being 'indifferent to mass organizations'. Nagi and company propose in their "programme" to build mass organizations on a 'new line'. The old method of subscriptions and receipt books is given

up. They would now admit only those **who raise their hands**. Where people are afraid to do so owing to repression, they would recruit members by making a **door to door approach** (see p. 11 of their "programme"). Those who have read Comrade Charu Mazumdar's article "On Some Current Political and Organizational Problems" (*Liberation*, July 1969) will at once realize how correct CPI (M-L)'s standpoint is and how mistaken the Reddys are.

Nagi and company have also criticized our Party in respect of 'work in the cities'. And what is their "active and revolutionary" programme for 'work in the cities'? They say :

- the cities are also important ;
- the help of the workers ~~are~~ needed ;
- attention must be given to the students ;
- the city people should be prepared to run their affairs when the time comes for finally seizing the cities from the countryside though it is only a distant perspective now...etc.

These are only empty talks and nothing else.

Nagi and company's "revolutionary programme" was prepared in Andhra but does not mention the historic Telangana peasant struggle, nor even the current militant nationalist struggle going on there. Their whole energy is consumed in preparing an outline for the struggle of the toddy-tappers of Telangana—a struggle that is yet to be launched! They refer to the Srikakulam struggle saying that it had reached the stage of armed struggle. But who led this struggle to this stage, which Party has been giving leadership to this struggle? Nagi and company say nothing about this.

The "programme" produced so hastily by Nagi and company is a revisionist, confusing and cowardly document. More, it is cunning and deceptive. The Dange clique and the CPI (M) revisionists have almost completely lost their hold on the masses in Andhra, while the Srikakulam

struggle has spread to 7 districts of the State. Large contingents of troops have been deployed to stamp out this raging fire of revolutionary struggle. But now-a-days, revolutionary struggles cannot be suppressed by White terror alone. Counter-revolution desperately needs disruption within the revolutionary ranks without which it cannot succeed. That is why counter-revolutionaries relied so heavily on the Dange clique and the CPI (M) revisionists, and now, when these renegades have been reduced to virtual impotency, counter-revolutionaries are relying on the Nagi Reddy and company.

The swift advance of revolution quickly unmasks the hidden traitors. Nagi Reddy and company will also be exposed fully before long. They hope to mislead and confuse the revolutionary and fighting cadres with their so-called "immediate programme". But their hopes will be dashed and their counter-revolutionary tricks will be exposed.

For them time is running out. And they seem apprehensive about it. The announcement of the formation of the CPI (M-L) would have cost them many, if not most, of their cadres and followers. So, in their desperate anxiety to forestall this, they came out with this wretched document on April 25, that is, six days before the announcement was made on May 1, of the formation of the CPI(M-L). How anxious they were, becomes evident from the fact that in their document published on April 25, they instruct their cadres to step up the struggle against contractors by "the end of April"! And yet you dare call us "adventurists"!

Flames of Guerrilla Struggle Burn Brightly In Srikakulam

THE valiant peasant masses of Srikakulam led by the party of the proletariat CPI (M-L) are carrying on their armed guerrilla struggle. As time passes they grow in strength and their influence spreads to newer areas, casting deeper shadows of gloom in the camp of India's reactionary rulers and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The reactionary Indian rulers have stepped up their repressive measures in an attempt to drown the heroic peasants' revolutionary struggle in blood. They have declared three more taluks of Srikakulam district—Sompeta, Ichhapuram and Tekkali, as "disturbed areas." The Parvatipuram, Pathapatnam and Palakonda taluks were declared "disturbed areas" long before. A conference of senior police officials of Orissa and Andhra was held on September 13 in Srikakulam for "intensifying combing operations" and "combined intelligence work" by the police forces of both the States. The DIGs of Berhampore and Waltair, the DIG (CID), Hyderabad, and the commandant of 17th battalion of CRP were among those who attended the conference.

However, the intensified repressive measures of the reactionary Indian government have totally failed to stop the advance of the armed guerrilla struggle led by the CPI (M-L), as can be seen from the following facts:

July 15: Nearly 60 CRP men with the circle inspector of police who murdered P.K. raided the villages near Kalinganagar in Sompeta. The guerrillas who were only four in number attacked the police party killing one policeman. This is the first action against the police in Sompeta area.

August 5: Ten guerrillas attacked the big police camp (having about 100 CRP men) at Tompalapadu in Parvatipuram Agency, from three sides with bombs and muzzle-loaders, seriously injuring one policeman. The policemen were so frightened that they did not dare to come out of their camp but kept on firing their machine-guns and rifles all through the night. The guerrillas returned the fire from time to time.

August 5: The guerrillas annihilated a notorious landlord and money-lender Maddikamesham in Garudabhadra village in Tekkali taluk. This man brought the police into Tekkali and Sompeta taluks and harassed the peasants. He was protected by the police who were camping at a distance of one mile from his house. The annihilation of this class enemy greatly enthused the people. Hundreds of peasants who were working in the fields at the time of the guerrilla action, raised slogans like: "Chairman Mao zindabad!" "Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) zindabad!" "Victory to the Agrarian Revolution!" This annihilation enthused the surrounding villages and a festive mood prevailed in those places.

This guerrilla action was carried out at a time when five Andhra Ministers accompanied with the IG of Andhra police and chief secretary of Andhra government were touring the district and a heavy mobilization of CRP was made in order to restore the confidence of the landlords.

August 11: The guerrillas ambushed a police party of 30 men near Pedagottila in Parvatipuram Agency injuring some policemen.

August 13: A notorious landlord and big money-lender was annihilated by guerrillas in Pedamulaga village in Ramanagoda area (adjacent to Parvatipuram) in Koraput district of Orissa. About 200 people took part in this action along with the guerrillas. The hatred of the peasants was so intense that they cut the landlord's body into pieces. The landlord's property was confiscated.

After this action a meeting was held and revolutionary politics explained to the people. All this enthused the people.

August 24 : A sabukar named Ramamurthy was seriously injured by the peasants with the help of a guerrilla squad. He harassed peasants. He had been warned last November when his property was confiscated.

August 26 : The guerrillas and the peasants annihilated a notorious local tyrant and police agent Sriramulu, a *sarpanch*, in the village of Kondabaridi in Parvatipuram Agency. He harassed the peasants, extorted money from them and visited villages with policemen to oppress the peasants.

August 28 : A guerrilla squad attacked a large police party with bows and arrows, seriously injuring one policeman. Some bullets dropped by the panic-stricken policemen were seized by the guerrillas.

Landlords and the police are panicky as the annihilation campaign goes on despite all vicious attempts at suppression. The police, unable to cope with the guerrillas are indiscriminately killing people. In Tulsi hills (in Pathapatnam) the police arrested 12 persons and shot dead 10 of them (two persons managed to escape) in cold blood. In their attempt to cover up this dastardly crime they circulated the story that they were killed in an encounter.

The people of Sompeta area (Sompeta, Tekkali and Ichhapuram) long subjected to fierce feudal exploitation are now roused by the revolutionary armed struggle. A sense of freedom is felt by the people in this area after the armed struggle started there. Money-lenders and landlords are fleeing to other areas in the face of the rising tide of peasants' revolutionary struggle. In the coastal area of Sompeta, 16 money-lenders from 10 villages have fled away in panic. Debts worth about Rs. 650,000 have been cancelled. A notorious landlord of Srirampuram (Ichhapuram taluk), who had a hand in the murder of P.K., has

also fled to a town. His cocconut plantation (7 acres) was seized by the peasants; similar plantations in 6 other neighbouring villages were also seized by the peasants.

The struggle is now spreading to new areas in Ganjam and Koraput districts. All the efforts of the Orissa government to stop it have failed.

The government is now coming forward to distribute waste land which was already occupied through armed struggle. When revenue officials offered to give *pattas* for 50 acres of land in 5 villages, the peasants retorted, "Who are you to give the land? The land is already ours." The revenue officials had asked for bribes. The people rebuffed them by saying, "We don't give bribes. We are building up the People's Army. Our People's Army has asked us not to offer bribes. You too are poor. We should unite to overthrow this regime." Now the revenue officials do not enter the coastal belt of Sompeta out of fear. Everywhere the peasants are asking to be allowed to join the People's Army. Students of the towns and villages of Srikakulam are enthused and want to join the struggle.

West Bengal : New Sparks of Peasants' Armed Struggle

THE flames of Naxalbari have begun to rage with renewed vigour in West Bengal. The heroic death of Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar signified the development of Naxalbari struggle to a new higher stage—the stage of guerrilla warfare. Now, that struggle—the guerrilla struggle has begun on a much wider scale, dashing all the wild hopes of the revisionists and reactionaries of stamping out the sparks of Naxalbari.

The formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the political party of the Indian proletariat generated a tremendous new wave of enthusiasm and initiative among the revolutionaries and revolutionary peasants in West Bengal as much as in other States. The present new spurt in the revolutionary peasants' armed struggle is directly related to this. News of successful guerrilla actions by revolutionary peasants under the leadership of the Party are coming from different parts of the State. The work of annihilating the class enemy in the countryside, confiscating his property and establishing peasants' political power there has already begun. The flames of Naxalbari, of guerrilla warfare, of people's war are now spreading from the mountains and forests of Terai in the North through to the coastal regions in the South. West Bengal is today a powder keg, and the revolutionary guerrilla warfare has fired it. All the Jyoti Basus and Konars and Indira Gandhis are powerless to prevent the inevitable revolutionary explosion.

WEST DINAJPUR: After a prolonged silence the peasants' armed struggle of Darjeeling district has violently shaken the West Dinajpur district. The leadership of poor and landless peasant guerrillas has created a new high-tide

in revolutionary struggle. On September 7, the guerrillas attacked the house of an oppressor jotedar in Kazigach in West Dinajpur district adjacent to the Phansidewa P.S. of Darjeeling district, annihilated him and seized a gun, some gold and silver, 300 documents of pawned goods and some cash.

There is a police outpost only half a mile away from the jotedar's house. But the active co-operation and help of the local people enabled the guerrillas to move away safely after carrying out this action. This incident enabled the guerrillas to grasp more firmly the truth of Chairman Mao's famous thesis: "All reactionaries are paper tigers."

The staunch leadership given by the poor and landless peasant guerrillas has proved in practice the truth of what our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has taught: "There is nothing against the members of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia going to the villages. But they must go there for becoming good communists and revolutionaries, and to learn from the poor and landless peasants. They must not go there to lead the poor and landless peasants because only the poor and landless peasants themselves, and none else, can be the leaders of their struggle." A characteristic feature of the present guerrilla action is that all the work, from investigation to annihilation was done by the poor and landless peasants. The petty bourgeois comrades merely followed them. These comrades failed to develop the struggle as long as they were unable to respect the initiative shown by the poor and landless peasants, because only the poor and landless peasants. Above all, this guerrilla action, carried out under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants, has fully confirmed through practice what our respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has taught us, namely that in the present era guerrilla struggles can be organized without mass organizations. Through this action they have forcefully repudiated both the petty bourgeois

vacillation in respect of 'actions' and the revisionist idea of building mass organization divorced from the guerrilla struggle.

Lastly, another feature that characterised this guerrilla action is that half-an-hour before starting out for the action the members of guerrilla unit discussed among themselves the crimes committed by this jotedar against the local peasant masses. This tremendously heightened the class hatred in each of them and in this way this unit grasped Chairman Mao's teaching: **"The correct unfolding of the movement for pouring out grievances (the wrongs done to the labouring people by the old society and by the reactionaries..."** The profound significance of this teaching becomes evident when this fearless guerrilla unit inspired with Mao Tsetung Thought just before their departure raised full-throated slogans: "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!" "Long live the peasants' armed guerrilla struggle!" "Good health to our beloved and respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar!" "Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of world revolution. A long, long life to him!"

The man who was annihilated by the peasant guerrillas in West Dinajpur district was a notorious jotedar of Kazigach in Chapra P.S. He owned thousands of bighas of land much of which was in Purnea district of Bihar. He had long earned notoriety for oppressing the local peasants viciously and recently stepped it up beyond endurance. Only a few days before he was annihilated, this man chased a peasant woman of the village with gun to kill her. He had beaten an Adivasi peasant severely as a result of which the peasant became lame. The local police was completely at his beck and call. Brandishing his gun he had forcibly grabbed the land of all the neighbouring poor peasants. His tyranny had reached such proportions that all the poor peasants of the locality who are mostly poor and landless, were already thinking of killing him.

They are Adivasis and Rajbanshis. Being peasants of North Bengal they had heard of Naxalbari struggle and also heard stories of this struggle. They were greatly enthused when Communist revolutionaries went to work among them and began to get organized on the basis of the politics of overthrowing feudal rule in the countryside. Intense and widescale political propaganda was carried on and peasant guerrilla squad formed culminating in the annihilation of the formidable class enemy and seizure of his gun, all with the support and co-operation of the peasant masses.

This successful guerrilla action by the peasant guerrillas has brought great enthusiasm and sensation among the peasant masses of the whole area and the poor peasants of the neighbouring places are getting organized to eliminate likewise other oppressor jotedars and to establish their own political power in the villages. All the jotedars are panic-stricken while some of them are fleeing to towns.

CPI (M) was the only political party in this area having some influence among the peasants, but it began to wane during the UF regime and the peasants were fed up with the conventional forms of struggle like gheraoing the BDO etc. They were already seeking a new path when the Communist revolutionaries went there. The flames of Naxalbari is rapidly spreading in this area after the guerrilla action in Kazigach.

Gopiballavpur : (Midnapur district) :—The revolutionary peasant guerrillas annihilated a notorious usurer-landlord in Dharampur village under Gopiballavpur P.S. on September 2. He carried on usurious exploitation throughout the locality and cheated the Adivasi peasant masses in various ways. He was the biggest wholesaler in rice trade of that area. He was also a big black marketeer and engaged in operating black-markets in the area bordering Orissa. He was the right-hand man of local police and officials, and was very active in getting the revolutionaries arrested.

The guerrillas annihilated the class enemy in front of the villagers and won their full support. After the annihilation the guerrillas propagated revolutionary politics before them. This has greatly enthused the peasant masses while all the class enemies and the police are panic-stricken. The reactionary UF government and its police minister Jyoti Basu are sending increasing members of armed police to that area to protect the jotedars and their lackeys. By making house to house raids they are trying to terrorize the revolutionaries and the revolutionary peasants. They are planning to launch an "encirclement and suppression" campaign. But this does not frighten the local peasant guerrillas in the least, and they have resolved not to let a single class enemy escape punishment.

Namkhana (24 Parganas district):—A peasant guerrilla squad raided the house of a notorious usurer-jotedar in Namkhana P.S. area on August 28. The guerrillas seriously injured the man, confiscated his property and distributed some bags of paddy and rice among the poor and landless peasants. This guerrilla action has greatly enthused the poor and landless peasants of the area while the revisionists and neo-revisionists have been thrown into a panic.

Namkhana P.S. in the south Sundarbans lies 70 miles to the south of Calcutta. A heroic peasant struggle took place here in 1948-49. Starvation is the common lot of about 70 per cent of the peasants of this area. The CPI (M) revisionists regard this P.S. as a stronghold of theirs. But the poor peasants saw through their own experience the anti-struggle and opportunist nature of the CPI (M) revisionists. When the peasants insisted on launching a food movement these revisionists bluntly told them that time for such a movement had not come. As a result the the labouring poor people of the villages, and the poor peasants in particular, were drawn to the revolutionary

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The People's Army Is Invincible

In Commemoration of the 42nd Anniversary of the Founding of The Chinese People's Liberation Army

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army has triumphantly advanced for 42 years along the glorious road of the Chinese people's revolution.

The People's Liberation Army personally founded and led by our great leader Chairman Mao and directly commanded by Vice-Chairman Lin is an invincible heroic army.

Fighting closely together with the people of the whole country, this army defeated the Japanese aggressors, wiped out 8 million Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops and founded the People's Republic of China. After nationwide liberation, it triumphantly waged the war of resisting U.S.

(Continued from previous page)

politics of the CPI (M-L) and began to organize themselves accordingly.

Finding that the peasant masses are breaking away from their revisionist hold, the revisionists and the neo-revisionists have become furious and are leading the police in raiding the houses of the peasants of this area. Unable to find a single guerrilla, they began to arrest innocent peasants and went so far as to torture some of them physically and then handed them over to the police. To give a fitting rebuff to this reactionary onslaught the peasant guerrilla squad has resolved to deal still more determined and effective blows against the class enemies.

aggression and aiding Korea, smashed the harassing activities of the U.S.-Chiang bandit gang, repulsed the armed invasion by the Indian reactionaries and defended the socialist motherland. Recently, it dealt Soviet revisionist social-imperialism well-deserved blows for its repeated armed provocations in China's frontier areas and courageously safeguarded the sacred territory of the country.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the army has stood the test of the fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. It has shouldered the glorious task of "three supports and two militaries" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control and political and military training). Fighting shoulder to shoulder, the army and the revolutionary masses have shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed and smashed its plot to restore capitalism, beat off the repeated counter-attacks by the handful of class enemies, and resolutely defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In this way, the army has performed new historic feats in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao taught recently: **"I am for the slogan 'fear neither hardship nor death.'"** With its record of most arduous struggle over the past few decades, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has set a splendid example of fearing neither hardship nor death. Just as Chairman Mao points out, **this army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield.**

The reason why the Chinese People's Liberation Army displays such dauntless revolutionary heroism and why it is invincible in all circumstances is that it has all along been nurtured by Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on army building and has always maintained close relations with the masses, relations like those of fish to water. It is the army

of the proletariat, the army of the workers and peasants. It has completely discarded the old tradition of the armed forces of the exploiting classes and has established an entirely new proletarian system and style of work. It is imbued with noble proletarian internationalism. Vice-Chairman Lin has made this scientific generalization: "The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a force armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, a force that serves the people wholeheartedly, and therefore a force that is invincible."

With such a great army, the Chinese people can assuredly carry the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end and carry the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction through to the end.

Chairman Mao has always taught us that the People's Liberation Army is a fighting force and at the same time a working force and a production force. In the period of the socialist revolution, the P.L.A. must adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian thinking on army building which he further developed in his "May 7 Directive" and carry forward its glorious tradition of fulfilling the three tasks of fighting battles, doing mass work and engaging in production. Only in this way can our army always maintain the quality of the army of the workers and peasants and give full play to its role as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in frustrating subversion carried out by the internal and external class enemies, crushing aggression from abroad and smashing the enemy scheme to restore capitalism through "peaceful evolution."

The "three supports and two militaries" forms an important component part of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes our army's most important mass work in the new situation. Experience shows that success in this work is of great strategic significance to the building and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the same time, it further strengthens the army's close ties with the masses, helps temper and remould the army and heightens its consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, thus raising its fighting capacity in a fundamental way. This is the best way of building the army and of getting prepared against war.

Now, as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution continues to develop in depth, much work remains to be done. The P.L.A. commanders and fighters must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's great trust in our army, never forget class struggle and never forget to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must bring into play the indomitable spirit of fearing no difficulty, hardship or hazard. They must go on carrying out the proletarian policies of the Party and conscientiously implement this latest instruction of Chairman Mao's: "Work meticulously. Meticulous care is necessary; to be careless will not do for that often leads to errors." It is necessary to work in a responsible, down-to-earth, thoroughgoing and painstaking way and do a good job at every stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in every single unit. The Party committees at all levels should conscientiously sum up experience in the work of "three supports and two militaries" and in building the army amid mass struggles in the period of socialist revolution. They should raise their consciousness and integrate the fulfilment of the task of "three supports and two militaries" with the revolutionization of our army in a still better way so that there will be constant creation and progress in our work.

In order to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line still more effectively in fulfilling the arduous and complex tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation, those taking part in the work of "three supports and two militaries" must firmly rely on the revolutionary masses. Once divorced from the masses, they will

accomplish nothing. This is true at all times—in the past, at present or in the future. They should be modest and prudent, go deep among the masses, listen to their views and use Mao Tsetung Thought to unify their thinking. They should firmly adhere to the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.* They should take a correct attitude towards mass organizations and make consistent efforts to consolidate and promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination. They should energetically support and help consolidate the revolutionary committees at all levels. They should help the committees strengthen themselves ideologically and organizationally, guard against and expose the sabotage by the handful of class enemies, and unite to win still greater victories.

Chairman Mao says: "The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force. Even after countrywide victory, our army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished in our country and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering." Hit hard by the torrents of worldwide people's revolution, U.S. imperialism and its accomplice Soviet modern revisionism, beset with difficulties at home and abroad, are

*The Three Main Rules of Discipline are as follows:

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention are as follows:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

both desperately stepping up arms expansion and war preparations. They collude and at the same time contend with each other in a vain attempt to dominate and redivide the world. U.S. imperialism has consistently been hostile to the Chinese people; it has forcibly occupied China's territory Taiwan for a long time and has made energetic efforts to set up military bases around China. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is colluding with U.S. imperialism in opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people. After receiving due punishment for its armed intrusions into China's territory Chenpao Island, it has intensified its threat of aggression against China, gone in for anti-China war mobilization, stepped up its anti-China military deployment, unceasingly aggravated its armed provocations along the Sino-Soviet border and vainly attempted to rig up an "anti-China ring of encirclement." We must never for a moment slacken our vigilance against the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique headed by Brezhnev pursues an expansionist policy of aggression abroad. This is the corollary of its all-round restoration of capitalism at home and a big exposure of its reactionary nature. Taking over the mantle of the tsar, it has placed Czechoslovakia under its fascist armed occupation, turned some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia into its colonies, carried out military and economic expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and indulged in ambitious dreams of establishing a social-colonial empire far bigger than the tsarist Russian empire. The despicable crimes of aggression committed by the Soviet revisionist new tsars have met with strong opposition from the people of the world including the Soviet people. We are convinced that the proletariat and the masses of the people of the Soviet Union, the homeland of great Leninism, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition,

will rise up to overthrow the reactionary rule of the tiny clique of the Soviet revisionist renegades, dethrone the new tsars and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army must not underestimate the aggressive ambition of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Chairman Mao said long ago: "**We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.**" This principle of ours is a firm and consistent proletarian principle. As far as we are concerned, we do not wish to fight even for a single day. However, if U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism insist on imposing war on us, compelling us to fight, we will certainly keep them company and fight to the finish. We are prepared against the enemies, against their launching a big war, against their launching a war at an early date, against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. The revolutionary people all over the world have come to see that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are two paper tigers that can be punctured with a mere stroke. Ours is a just cause and all genuine Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary people in the world are on our side. We have friends all over the globe. The great Chinese people and People's Liberation Army, who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and have emerged stronger from the flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have the determination, confidence and ability to wipe out all the aggressors who dare to invade, and defend our great motherland and her sacred frontiers by people's war.

We have won great victories. We are confronted with glorious but arduous tasks. To meet the need of class struggle in the country and abroad and to constantly increase the fighting strength of our army, all commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army must respond to the call issued by Vice-Chairman Lin, carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building in a still better way, unswervingly give prominence to proletarian politics, develop the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, continue to carry out revolutionary mass criticism in a vigorous and

deep-going way, and arm themselves with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must fight self, criticize revisionism. They must modestly learn from comrades outside the army, from the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is necessary to use Mao Tsetung Thought to command our ranks and promote good political and ideological work, good "three-eight" working style,* good military training and good arrangement in everyday life, bringing the "four-good" company movement to a new level. In this way, we shall make still greater achievements in making our army a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Let us hold the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought still higher and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, continue to carry out the fighting tasks set by the Ninth Party Congress, fully implement the great principles "grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," do a still better job in supporting the government and cherishing the people, and supporting the army and cherishing the people, strengthen the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people, and build our great socialist motherland into a still more powerful state.

Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with Soviet revisionism! Down with all reaction!

We definitely will liberate Taiwan!

Long live the great Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live invincible Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great supreme commander Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao.

(August 1, 1969)

*The "three-eight" working style means: a firm and correct political orientation; an industrious and simple style of work; flexible strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

Yang Shui-tsai—Communist Fighter Who Feared Neither Hardship Nor Death

Comrade Yang Shui-tsai, deputy secretary of the Party branch of the Shuitaoyang Production Brigade in the Kueitsun People's Commune, Hsuehchang County, Honan Province, had held high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, persisted in advancing along the socialist road and unfalteringly wielded power for the poor and lower-middle peasants for more than ten years. Defying grave illness, he led the masses in hard struggle to transform the backwardness and poverty of his home village until his last breath. His spirit of making thoroughgoing revolution, fearing neither hardship nor death, will always be an encouragement to the people in their march forward.

Relentless in Fighting Class Enemy, Firm in Taking Socialist Road

Comrade Yang Shui-tsai had grown up amid sufferings ever since he was a child.

Before liberation, his nine-member family had only seven mu of land. Though toiling from dawn till dusk, the family could hardly get enough bran and wild herbs to eat. His father became sick and bed-ridden as a result of prolonged oppression by the landlord. The exorbitant taxes levied by the Kuomintang reactionaries forced the Yangs to sell the few mu of land they had. Later, they lost their house to the landlord.

The cruel old society took the life of his grandmother. His younger brother died of hunger. Two of his younger sisters were sold. When he was only twelve, Yang Shui-tsai was forced to join his father in working for the landlord like beasts of burden. They suffered greatly from the landlord's ruthless oppression and exploitation.

In 1949, Yang Shui-tsai joined the Chinese People's Liberation Army, determined to fight for the liberation of the people of the whole country. In the battles to wipe out the Chiang bandits when the P.L.A. marched south, he was always in the van, fighting against the enemy with class hatred. In his year and more of army service, he performed many deeds of merit and was awarded the honoured title of "meritorious armyman of the people."

Early in 1951, Comrade Yang Shui-tsai was demobilized and returned home with the glorious task of building his native village.

"After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns." "Under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance." Not long after his return, Yang Shui-tsai found that some class enemies in the village were still swaggering around. He set to work energetically in rallying the poor peasants and farm labourers to take the initiative in attacking the class enemies. Soon afterwards, he was elected a committee member of the peasants' association and was put in charge of public security work.

The sly enemies resorted to the tricks of using sugar-coated bullets to pull him to their side. They sought to introduce a "girl friend" for him and sent him gifts. But he saw through them all.

At a mass meeting called by the peasants' association to hit hard at the enemies and simultaneously educate the people, Yang Shui-tsai exposed all the vile trickery of the class enemies. He said: "These scoundrels tried to give me eggs and fruit, saying that it was out of concern for my health. What monsters! When there were famines before liberation, we poor people had nothing to eat, and many died or fled. But the grain in these scoundrels' granaries went mouldy with age. Why didn't they give us some of their grain? Have they now changed their nature and become kind-hearted? Never! They don't mean well by giving gifts. They didn't send me eggs or

fruit, but poison. These vicious scoundrels must be given a harsh blow."

Comrade Yang Shui-tsai was firm in the struggle against the handful of class enemies. He followed Chairman Mao's teachings closely in taking the socialist road.

In 1953 when the Party issued the call to organize farming mutual-aid teams, he went into action without delay and actively spread the word about the superiority of mutual-aid teams. He got together ten peasant households to organize a farming mutual-aid team. Not long after several households of well-to-do middle peasants wavered and withdrew from the team. The seven poor-peasant households stayed in. Yang Shui-tsai encouraged these poor peasants, saying: "Come what may, we will continue to take the road indicated by Chairman Mao." In order to buy fodder for the team's animals, he offered his demobilization pay. Reluctant to take the money, the peasants said: "Shui-tsai, since you are suffering seriously from tuberculosis of the lung, you'd better keep the money for medical treatment." But he replied: "No! Fine steel should be used for a blade. It's better to spend the money on consolidating the mutual-aid team. In this way the money will be put to the greatest use." Greatly moved, the peasants stated: "Shui-tsai, we know what's upper-most in your mind. We'll stick to the bright road indicated by Chairman Mao and never change our mind, no matter what happens."

In 1956, Yang Shui-tsai gloriously joined the Communist Party of China. Thereafter, he worked harder than ever in taking the bright socialist road. He was again with others in the van when agricultural producers' co-operatives and later people's communes were set up all over the country. But when Liu Shao-chi stirred up the sinister wind of *san si yi bao* (the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises

with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household), Yang Shui-tsai resolutely stood up against it. For more than ten years, he consistently took a clear-cut stand, never yielded an inch to the capitalist forces and firmly took the socialist road. All the poor and lower-middle peasants in the brigade praised him as a fine Communist.

Heroes Vow to Break New Ground in Transforming Nature

Shuitaoyang is located in a hilly area where water is scarce.

In 1956, inspired by the upsurge in the socialist revolution, Yang Shui-tsai made up his mind to work together with the poor and lower-middle peasants to transform Shuitaoyang. He proposed to the Party branch: "If we want to end the backwardness and poverty of our native village once and for all, we must go in for water conservancy and afforestation."

In line with Chairman Mao's teachings "the masses are the real heroes" and "no investigation, no right to speak," Yang Shui-tsai surveyed every hill and gully in the district and widely consulted the old peasants. From the experience and lessons gained by the masses in fighting drought over long years, he eventually summed up the natural characteristics of the locality. In the light of his investigation, he proposed to the production brigade that a pond covering five mu be dug at the mouth of a gully at the southern end of the village, and that electric pumps be used to raise the water up the two hills lying east and west of the village, so as to irrigate the dry land and end the threat of drought.

His proposal was immediately supported by the Party branch and the broad masses of the commune members. In the winter of 1963, he led the masses to take on the job, braving the severe cold and breaking through layer after layer of ice and snow.

The work proceeded. Digging of the pond went deeper and deeper and a layer of rock was reached. At this point, some of the peasants were frustrated because they had failed so far to find any water and found it difficult to dig still further. Undaunted, Yang Shui-tsai led them in repeatedly studying the great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant article *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, and encouraged them to learn from his spirit. He spoke about "the Foolish Old Man," but in fact he himself was a living "foolish old man." In spite of his tuberculosis, he always worked with the masses. When people urged him to take a rest, he said: "The Foolish Old Man' was very old but he went on digging every day. But I am much younger."

The broad masses got tremendous spiritual strength from Chairman Mao's works and they were also moved by the spirit of Comrade Yang Shui-tsai who feared no sacrifice because he was armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. They said: "If the 'Foolish Old Man' was bold enough to dig up the two big mountains standing beyond his doorway, why can't we dig a pond to serve socialist construction now that we have Chairman Mao's leadership? If we can't finish it this year, we can go on to the next year and, if need be, the year after next. We will never stop until we find water!"

Everybody girded up his loins and launched a battle against the layer of rock. At this juncture, Yang Shui-tsai managed to get some drills for well-boring. Finally they broke through the rock and water gushed out. The whole construction site was aglow with happiness. Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live Mao Tsetung Thought!" rose everywhere. With tears of joy in their eyes, the peasants flocked to the site from all directions.

While building the pond and bringing the water up the hills, Yang Shui-tsai directed the commune members in afforestation in a determined bid to turn the barren hills into a big orchard.

As grafted saplings thrive best in hot weather, Yang Shui-tsai and the peasants did the graftings in good time under the blazing sun in the nursery garden. During that period he often had attacks of illness, but he displayed an amazing tenacity and went on working. On one occasion, an attack of acute pain caused him to see stars and he almost dropped the grafting knife in his hand. But he composed himself and wiped off his sweat. What a temptation to rest! However, aware of the remaining work, he thought to himself: Now is the best season for grafting. Can I sit down and rest? No, never. I must carry on. Bearing heavily on his arms, he rose to his feet and continued his grafting. Thus, while struggling adamantly against illness, he and the peasants completed the grafting of tens of thousands of saplings.

In the winter of 1965, the Shuitaoyang brigade started its comprehensive afforestation campaign, and Yang Shui-tsai personally mapped out the plan for the planting of various kinds of saplings. It was then that he was seized by another attack of his chronic disease, and this time it was worse than ever.

During his illness the commune cadres sent for doctors to treat him and often visited him at home. The poor and lower-middle peasants in the village also came to see and encourage him. But whenever his fever receded, he insisted on getting up and returning to work. "You are still ill," the comrades advised him. "You shouldn't get up." Yang Shui-tsai replied: "I fear neither disease nor hardship. I will defeat my disease with Mao Tsetung Thought. I will crush this hardship with Mao Tsetung Thought. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, I fear nothing. Unless I help build this area up, I will not have fulfilled my life-long hope."

He left his bed in spite of his condition. Supporting himself along the wall, he managed to walk outside to see how the trees were being planted. Defying biting cold

wind, he continued with his plan to mark out the spots in which to plant new trees. As he worked, he repeated Chairman Mao's teaching: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death."

Comrade Yang Shui-tsai worked in this way for more than a decade to transform the state of poverty and blankness in Shuitaoyang. With an iron will, he endured suffering from serious illnesses—tuberculosis of the lung, stomach ulcers and kidney stones. Fighting with an unyielding spirit and dauntless in the face of hardship and death, he said: "As long as I breathe, I will make revolution!"

Defending Chairman Mao's Line on Education and Training Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants' Worthy Successors

In the struggle to build up the socialist countryside, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Shuitaoyang brigade keenly felt the importance of culture. They said: "We want to build communism, but how can we do it without culture? Shui-tsai, help us set up a school to train reliable successors to the revolutionary cause." He replied: "Certainly! So long as we are guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and supported by the poor and lower-middle peasants, we can surely set up our own school."

An agricultural middle school, run jointly by the poor and lower-middle peasants of Shuitaoyang, Kueitung, Kueihsi and four other brigades, was set up in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education on September 1, 1963. Yang Shui-tsai was chosen principal of the school by its management committee composed of poor and lower-middle peasants. On the day school opened, he said to the students: "This middle school run by us

poor and lower-middle peasants is not meant to help the students become officials or get rich. It is to train worthy successors to the revolutionary cause who hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, adhere to the socialist road, love physical labour and serve the poor and lower-middle peasants. All of you are children of poor and lower-middle peasants. You should live up to the expectations of your parents."

Yang Shui-tsai led the revolutionary teachers and students of the school in carrying on their studies alongside productive labour, and building the school by self-reliance. In discussing the question of building the school, some maintained that simple thatched cottages would be quite adequate, while others thought that tile-roofed buildings should be put up. Yang Shui-tsai said: "Let's have thatched cottages! The poor and lower-middle peasants live in them perfectly well, so why not teachers and students? *Kangta** (the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College) could train revolutionary cadres in their tens of thousands in hillside caves because the red lantern of Mao Tsetung Thought lit them. If our thatched cottages are illuminated by Mao Tsetung Thought, we can train worthy successors for the poor and lower-middle peasants."

Six thatched cottages were quickly built with the generous help of the poor and lower-middle peasants. The teachers and students said happily: "The meals one cooks for oneself are delicious; the rooms one builds for oneself seem brighter."

In the autumn of 1965, the school which had expanded was moved to where an iron works used to be. Displaying

* This was a school of a new type founded in 1936 under the direct leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. It was called "*Kangta*" for short. It trained and brought up large numbers of revolutionaries for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. Chairman Mao was himself chairman of its educational committee, and gave lectures and delivered reports there. He also appointed Comrade Lin Piao as its president and political commissar.

the spirit of *Kangta*, Yang Shui-tsai led the teachers and students in working hard for more than 40 days to make some 50,000 mud bricks and put up 21 rooms. They also reclaimed over 20 *mu* of land. Now the school had large classrooms as well as land for experiments in farming and forestry.

Chairman Mao said: "For military school, the most important question is the selection of a director and instructors and the adoption of an educational policy." Keeping this teaching of Chairman Mao's firmly in mind, Yang Shui-tsai paid close attention to the ideological education of the teachers and often studied with them the "three constantly read articles." He set the pace in revealing and fighting selfish ideas, and fostering the idea of wholehearted service to the people by learning from the exemplary deeds of outstanding people. He bought copies of Chairman Mao's works and gave them as gifts to the teachers. One young teacher said with deep emotion: "Principal Yang, I pledge myself to follow Chairman Mao closely in making revolution and serve the poor and lower-middle peasants all my life!"

Yang Shui-tsai encouraged the teachers and students to act in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "intellectuals should integrate themselves with the working people" and take part in farm work regularly, so that they might maintain the fine quality of the labouring people for ever.

The Kueitsun Agricultural Middle School, as it was called, won high praise from the masses because it was being run better and better. However, a handful of class enemies, not reconciled to their defeat, tried every means to divert the school from the socialist road.

A "big shot" from the former Honan provincial cultural committee came to the school by car in the winter of 1965. The moment she arrived, she raised a hullabaloo about economic value and putting technique in the first

place, alleging that "an agricultural middle school should give prominence to agronomy."

Yang Shui-tsai never was a man to blindly follow whatever a superior said. He was one of those Communists who **"always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded."** He resolutely followed whatever corresponded with Mao Tsetung Thought and firmly resisted whatever ran against Mao Tsetung Thought. Relying on his grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought and his firm proletarian stand, he perceived that the instruction from this "provincial leader" was absolutely wrong. He opined: "If an agricultural school gives prominence to 'agronomy', an industrial school to 'industry' and a commercial school to 'commerce', then who gives prominence to proletarian politics and who gives prominence to Mao Tsetung Thought? What she said was wrong and ran counter to Mao Tsetung Thought." So Yang Shui-tsai decided: "No matter where she comes from, if what she says doesn't conform to Mao Tsetung Thought, we must reject it!

The poor and lower-middle peasants' management committee, headed by Yang Shui-tsai, never lost its bearings in the storms. It always kept advancing victoriously along Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education.

"Three Constantly Read Articles" Forge a Revolutionary Who Wholeheartedly Serves the People

To Yang, studying Chairman Mao's works and following his teachings were the greatest happiness and the fundamental thing in life. Diligently, in freezing winter or sweltering summer, he studied Chairman Mao's brilliant works every day. Over the past few years, he read all the four volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*,

memorized the "three constantly read articles" and repeatedly studied more than 20 important articles from Chairman Mao's works.

He always kept in mind Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's instruction: "We must study the 'three constantly read articles' as maxims. These must be studied at all levels. We must apply what we study so as to revolutionize our thinking." The first thing he did every morning was to study these articles and then went about the day's work using Chang Szu-teh, Norman Bethune and the "Foolish Old Man" as his brilliant examples. Before going to bed, he read the articles again and checked his day's practice against the principle of **"wholly"** and **"entirely"** serving the people.

These articles forged Yang Shui-tsai into a revolutionary boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, and fostered in him the communist spirit of **"utter devotion to others without any thought of self."**

Although he had been tormented by sickness for more than ten years, he never thought about himself. His only concern was our great socialist motherland and the people.

He showed great concern for the poor and lower-middle peasants, especially those who were advanced in age and needed care. He often went to their homes to ask after their needs. On windy days or when snow fell, he made his rounds more frequently than ever to check whether there was any roof leakage or temporary shortage of food and warm clothing. The grateful poor and lower-middle peasants said: "Shui-tsai really does all he can for us!"

December 4, 1966, is an unforgettable day for the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Shuitaoyang Production Brigade.

Because there were so many things to be done, Yang Shui-tsai got up at dawn. His visit to Linhsien County had excited his great admiration. When he returned, he was determined to follow Linhsien County's advanced

experience and turn his brigade into a great red school of Mao Tsetung Thought. He had a high fever before going and the fortnight's journey to Linhsien and back had aggravated his illness. But when he thought of the day's work, he pushed aside any consideration of his health.

Early in the morning, he gave a lecture on Chairman Mao's article *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* to the brigade's instructors in the study of Chairman Mao's works. His vivid and profound explanations were a great education to them.

Later, he described to members of the local Party branch committee the heroic feats of the Linhsien County people. He told them how the people there, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and displaying the spirit of the "Foolish Old Man," had cut through the Taihang Mountains to build irrigation canals to water their farmland on the mountains.

That afternoon, he led the members of the Party branch committee in conscientiously studying Comrade Lin-Piao's instruction on pushing the mass movement for the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage. He pointed out that to build the brigade into a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought, the Party branch committee should take the lead in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

That evening, after supper, he called a meeting at the school of Party members, Communist Youth League members and cadres. He gave his views on behalf of the Party branch committee on the questions of pushing the mass movement of the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage and of going a step further in the building of socialism in the brigade. He then asked the comrades to discuss them fully.

Late in the night, despite his pain, he stayed behind to exchange experiences with the teachers in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

It was after midnight that he returned to his tiny room after 18 solid hours of work.

As was his habit, he lit the kerosene lamp and studied Chairman Mao's works, without the least sign of fatigue.

The next morning when no one saw Yang Shui-tsai, though it was his practice to rise early, they thought that he was still asleep, exhausted from the last few busy days and his recent trip to Linhsien. No one wanted to disturb him. Let him sleep a little longer.

But when after breakfast there was still no sight of him, they began to feel worried. Pushing open the small door of his room, the crowd was shocked.

The kerosene lamp was still burning.

On the table were Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" and *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*.

On the table were also several sheets of paper on which was written a plan for further efforts to build up Shuitaoyang based on the living study and application of Chairman Mao's work.

A fine son of the poor and lower-middle peasants in Shuitaoyang, Yang Shui-tsai died while sitting at the table.

Viewing the scene, the people understood: Till the last moment of his life he kept to his rule of studying before going to sleep the "three constantly read articles," using "wholly" and "entirely" and "the spirit of absolute selflessness" as the criterion to examine his daily words and actions.

Viewing the scene, the people understood: In the last moment of his life he was still painting the freshest and most beautiful picture in the transformation of nature, seeing in his mind's eye the bright prospects of Shuitaoyang.

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Soviet Revisionist New Tsars Use "Aid" to Stretch Their Claws Into Asia, Africa and Latin America

g [TAKING the cunning schemes of U.S. imperialism as its example, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has in recent years made heavy inroads in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the name of providing economic and military "aid." In this way it has carried out expansion and aggression in a number of countries in these continents. Such "aid" is an important component part of the Soviet revisionists' plot to collude and contend with U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt to redivide the world; it is one of the important ways they ruthlessly enslave and exploit Asian, African and Latin American people.]

g Like U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism is a wolf in sheep's clothing. While doling out some cranky machines and arms to Asian, African and Latin American countries, it plunders fabulous wealth from them, inflicting untold misery on the people of these countries. The larger the "aid," the more wretched their plight. [The chieftains of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique recently spread all sorts of fallacies, trying to make the people of these countries believe that without Soviet "aid" it would be utterly impossible for their countries to develop. This is extremely absurd gangster logic. Now let us tear the wrappings off Soviet revisionism's so-called "aid" and see what dirty stuff it contains.]

"Aid" in Name, Domination in Fact

In providing "aid," Soviet revisionism aims not only at fleecing Asian, African and Latin American people; what is more important, it wants to dominate the recipient

countries politically so as to establish a colonial rule of the new tsars. Its "aid" is adapted to and closely co-ordinated with its counter-revolutionary global strategy. Since it regards Southeast Asia and the Middle East as important strategic areas for its expansion abroad, it gives priority to these regions in its "aid" programme in order to tighten its grip as much as possible.

Through its military "aid," Soviet revisionism controls the armed forces and key military departments of the recipient countries, takes their military training and operation plans into its own hands, enjoys various military privileges and establishes military bases there. In some of the recipient countries, military personnel and "advisers" from the Soviet Union have deeply penetrated army battalions and companies, air force squadrons and navy warships. Soviet economic "aid" is tied to all kinds of harsh political conditions. Soviet revisionism has also overtly and covertly built ports and strategic highways in a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries and opened air lines to them. All this is done to open up land, air and sea routes in order to realize its fond dream of building a colonial empire.

India is one of the countries that receive the biggest amount of Soviet revisionist "aid". Reality vividly shows that the reactionary Indian Government, in the shackles of this "aid," has sold out national interests and become a lackey of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Soviet revisionism is India's biggest supplier of arms and its second biggest creditor after U.S. imperialism. It controls many vital economic sectors in India, including one-fourth of the latter's iron and steel industry, half of its oil refining industry, and one-fifth of its electric power industry.

Soviet revisionism not only controls India's arms production under the pretext of supplying it with aircraft and building aircraft plants and other military industries, but has seized India's naval bases through helping expand

its navy, thus seriously encroaching upon India's sovereignty.

The more the reactionary Indian Government depends on Soviet revisionism's "aid," the more tightly it is controlled politically by the latter. Internationally, the reactionary Indian Government follows Soviet revisionism, serving as a bell-wether in opposing China. On such important international issues as Viet Nam and the Middle East, it has gone all out to serve as an accomplice of Soviet revisionism in its intrigues, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, to betray and suppress the Asian, African and Latin American people's liberation struggle. When Soviet revisionists' armed invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia met with unanimous condemnation from the world's people, the reactionary Indian Government tried to absolve Soviet revisionism of its crime. Even a Western bourgeois paper said: "India under the rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has sunken deeply into the Soviet bloc" and has "lost its independence."

In Southeast Asia, Soviet revisionism uses its military and economic "aid" directly to serve its vile motive of opposing China and to form, in league with U.S. imperialism, an encirclement of China. Besides supplying large quantities of arms to the reactionary Indian Government for attacking China, Soviet revisionism also does everything possible to utilize its "aid" to surreptitiously plot its anti-China actions in Southeast Asia.

In the Middle East, in order to extinguish the flames of the armed struggle of the Palestinian people, Soviet revisionism uses large amounts of military and economic "aid" to put pressure on the recipient countries, trying to coerce them into accepting the "political solution" fraud it has cooked up with U.S. imperialism to betray the Palestinian and other Arab people's interests.

These barbarous and sinister undertakings of Soviet revisionism in controlling and intervening in Asian, African

and Latin American countries, violating their independence and trampling upon their sovereignty, differ in no way from those of U.S. imperialism and all other new and old colonialism. Its allegations such as "helping Asian, African and Latin American countries safeguard their national independence" and "developing national economy" are all lies to fool the people.

"Aid" in Name, Suppression in Fact

The Soviet revisionists hobnob with some of the most reactionary ruling groups, the puppet regimes of the U.S. and British imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, providing them with military aid and directly supporting them in suppressing the local people's revolutionary movements. Thus their hands are stained with the blood of the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The lesson learnt in blood has enabled the Asian, African and Latin American people to understand still more profoundly the great truth that to oppose imperialism it is imperative to oppose revisionism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has flagrantly provided large quantities of weapons to the Suharto fascist military regime of Indonesia, a loyal lackey of U.S. imperialism. Ninety per cent of the warships of the navy and half of the aircraft of the air force of the reactionary Indonesian regime were supplied by Soviet revisionism which has sunk so low as to train the extremely reactionary Suharto regime's "anti-guerrilla troops" to slaughter more frenziedly the revolutionary Indonesian people. High-ranking officers of Soviet revisionism and the military attache of the Soviet Embassy in Indonesia went to East Java to plot with the fascist officers of the Suharto regime to suppress the armed forces of the Indonesian people.

Ganging up with the U.S. and British imperialists, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique supports the Nigerian federal military government in its large-scale slaughter of

the Biafran people who have announced their secession from the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Since the outbreak of the war in August 1968, Soviet revisionism, openly providing the federal military government with large numbers of military aircraft, warships, bombs, rockets and other military equipment and dispatching large numbers of military personnel, has helped it massacre the Biafran people. By providing the federal military government with generous "aid," Soviet revisionism is attempting to infiltrate this country with the largest population in Africa and pave the way for establishing a bridgehead for aggression and expansion in West Africa. The shocking crimes committed by Soviet revisionism against the Biafran people have been strongly condemned by the African people.

In Latin America, the counter-revolutionary undertaking of the Soviet revisionists find striking expression in their collaboration with the notorious Brazilian pro-U.S. dictatorial regime and the reactionary government of Colombia. The loans provided by the Soviet revisionists for the reactionary Brazilian regime and Soviet investments in Brazil totalled nearly 200 million U.S. dollars by 1968. At a time when the reactionary Lleras regime of Colombia instituted a reign of terror to suppress the revolutionary forces, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent a "government trade delegation" as an expression of support for that regime. By agreement, the Soviet revisionists are to supply that reactionary regime with 8,000 jeeps, of which 200 arrived in Colombia in June last year. The Colombian authorities immediately equipped them with U.S.-made radios and turned them over to the Bogota police for use in suppressing the revolutionary mass struggle.

In supporting the reactionaries of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in wantonly suppressing the people's revolutionary movement, Soviet revisionism

has fully revealed itself as the sworn enemy of the people of these continents. Soviet revisionism, U.S. imperialism and all new and old colonialism are birds of a feather.

"Aid" in Name, Plunder in Fact

Through its "aid," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique ruthlessly exploits the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and plunders the rich resources of those regions.

By pressing for payments of loans and interest, by selling dear and buying cheap and other contemptible means, the Soviet revisionists have seized large amounts of important materials and natural resources from Asian, African and Latin American countries. Ninety-five per cent of their imported rubber and 92 per cent of imported cotton are carried off from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Soviet revisionism covets petroleum in the Middle East, copper in Chile, tin in Bolivia, fruit and wine in North Africa and meat in East Africa. It has provided "aid" for an Asian country to exploit natural gas with the harsh condition that three quarters of the gas produced be supplied to the Soviet Union. Its military "aid" to the Nigerian federal military government is to be repaid, by stipulation, with cocoa.

The Soviet revisionists dump old machines and equipment in Asia, Africa and Latin America, usually at prices 20 or 30 per cent higher than those on the world market. Many of the machines and equipment supplied by the Soviet revisionists are long out-of-date. Although the Soviet revisionists only ask a nominal 2.5 per cent rate of interest on their loans, the actual high rate of interest is felt in the high prices for the goods they supply. This is in essence disguised usury. Moreover, the interest is to be paid a year after delivery of the equipment. The Soviet revisionists who use "aid" as a means of dumping also make it a rule that their loans must be spent on Soviet

goods. They really leave no stone unturned in bleeding the people white.

The Soviet revisionists plunder by hook or by crook immense wealth created by the labouring people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are the biggest and more ruthless exploiters of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

New Tsars Will Suffer for Their Misdeeds

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's expansion in Asian, African and Latin American regions reveals its social-imperialist nature of aggression as well as its feebleness which is characteristic of a paper tiger. Its "aid" to Asian, African and Latin American countries consists mostly of items for heavy industry, such as mining, metallurgy and power plants. This is because the lopsided development of its economy has resulted in large stockpiles of machines and equipment—products of heavy industry—and it is anxiously looking for markets abroad to dump these outdated machines in an effort to extricate itself from the difficulties in production at the expense of the Asian, African and Latin American people. Besides, owing to the all-round capitalist restoration by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, industrial and agricultural production has been seriously disrupted. Finding the going tougher and tougher, the Soviet revisionists are trying to stretch their sinister claws farther and farther. But actually they are overreaching themselves. The Soviet revisionist clique is meeting fierce competition from the United States and other imperialist countries in its expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Therefore, it is confronted with many difficulties in carrying out neo-colonialist expansion in these regions.

However, the most fundamental difficulty the Soviet revisionist clique has to face in its colonial expansion

is the strong resistance of the Asian, African and Latin American people. They have been taught by the Soviet revisionists by negative example. They have seen through the crimes of the Soviet revisionists who use their so-called "aid" to control Asian, African and Latin American countries, to suppress the people's liberation struggle in these countries and to plunder their wealth.

[The people in these regions have risen to expose the imperialist nature of Soviet "aid" and have unfolded various forms of struggle against the Soviet revisionist new tsars. For instance, in India, one of the countries receiving the largest amount of Soviet "aid," many progressive papers and periodicals have strongly condemned the Soviet revisionists for ruthlessly exploiting the Indian people. In Soviet "aid" plants, the Indian workers have risen up against the suppression and exploitation by the Soviet revisionists and the domestic reactionaries.]

Just like the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionist new tsars put a new noose round their own neck whenever they carry out plunder and aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America and hand the other end of the rope to the local people. The farther their sinister claws of aggression stretch out, the more difficulties and stronger resistance they will meet, and the tighter the noose round their own neck will become.

The great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." The national liberation movement of the people in Asian, African and Latin American countries is surging forward and gaining momentum, and the people's revolutionary armed struggle there is in the ascendant, spreading like a prairie fire. The day is not far off when Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism will be buried.]

NOTES

(Continued from page 16)

the leadership (this Party). The prospect of a revolution is real and bright before the Indian people.

Today, the Indian revolutionaries must take up the task of strengthening the mass basis of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), making the fight against revisionism more concrete, inspiring and educating the workers and the poor and landless peasants with Mao Tsetung Thought, and spreading the flames of guerrilla warfare to every State of India.

Today, the 20th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution is being observed at a time when U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are hatching plots for launching a war of aggression against the great Socialist China and plunging the world into a holocaust of nuclear war. So, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao has called upon the revolutionary people of the world to organize revolution to oppose war of aggression, to be prepared against conventional war and be prepared against a nuclear war, to burn imperialism, social-imperialism and reactionaries to ashes in the flames of revolution.

So, we must resolve on this historic day of October 1, to spread the flames of guerrilla warfare to every corner in the countryside. The peasants' revolutionary armed struggle will destroy all the forces of reaction, both foreign and domestic. Make use of every day, every hour and every minute to attain this objective. The great leader of world revolution Chairman Mao is leading us; so, victory certainly belongs to us.

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

30.9.69

DOWN WITH THE WARMONGERS!

The Soviet revisionist chieftain Kosygin went to Hanoi to attend the funeral of President Ho Chi Minh. On his way back, he had eagerly conferred with the United Front Ministers of West Bengal at the Dum Dum airport. Immediately after this he rushed to Peking after a very brief stop-over in his own country, and talked with Premier Chou En-lai at the Peking airport and from there flew back to Moscow. On his return from Hanoi, Dinesh Singh, India's Minister for Foreign Affairs had several meetings with Jyoti Basu and then rushed to Moscow. The Japanese Foreign Minister also happened to be in Moscow for a 'friendly talk'.

What explains this sudden spurt of activity on the part of Kosygin? The U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon has recently agreed to hold talks with Kosygin if certain conditions are fulfilled. The first and the main condition is that Kosygin must get the Paris peace treaty accepted by Viet Nam. This is why Kosygin had been hopping about after his return from Hanoi.

What he saw in Hanoi was enough to unnerve him. In the streets of Hanoi he found the determined faces of the fighting Vietnamese people who have turned into anger their grief at the death of President Ho Chi Minh. Determined to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors the Viet Nam people have come to realize that the Viet Nam question cannot be solved through peace talks. U.S. imperialism is holding out the bait of 'peace treaty' in order to perpetuate its presence in Viet Nam. The fighting Vietnamese people have firmly stood up in response to the call that President Ho Chi Minh gave before his death. They are determined to drive out every single U.S. aggressor from the soil of Viet Nam, and to wipe out the puppet regime and the puppet troops. It is this determination of the fighting Vietnamese people that has struck fear in the heart of the social-imperialist chieftain Kosygin.

The Soviet revisionist renegades are desperately trying to hide their ugly counter-revolutionary plots behind the facade of pseudo-anti-imperialism. They are trying to cover up the fact of Kossygin kissing the hands of the fascist murderers Suharto and Nasution—hands that are stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian people. The resolute onward march of the fighting Vietnamese people will smash the treacherous plots of the Brezhnev-Kossygin revisionist renegade clique. The flames of worldwide anti-imperialist struggle will burn U.S. imperialism and its No. 1 accomplice the Soviet revisionist renegade clique into ashes. In Hanoi Kossygin saw the doom of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism writ large on the face of the Vietnamese people and trembled before their just anger against the U.S. aggressors. It was indeed a nightmare for Kossygin, and he rushed out to seek the help of his lackeys, big and small.

During his visit to India only four months ago Kossygin had impudently refused to hold talks with the renegade Dange clique and the CPI(M) revisionist clique unless they got united. At that time he could do without their help. But after his recent trip to Hanoi, Kossygin found that he could no longer do without the help of these revisionists. So, he had to hold talks with the United Front leaders of West Bengal, with the chief minister of the U.F. government, who belongs to Bangla Congress that represents the jotedars of West Bengal. And Kossygin eagerly discussed with them topics like the so-called "Asian collective security". The master was in panic, so the trusted lackey Dinesh Singh began hopping about anxiously. He met U.F. chieftain Jyoti Baau, then hurried away to Moscow and from there to Belgrade.

Indira Gandhi, the puppet of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, has spoken the truth when she says that "socialism" means different things in different

countries. Certainly so. In China, "socialism" signifies the dictatorship of the proletariat, while for the Soviet revisionist ruling clique it means imperialist dictatorship, and for the Indian reactionaries, imposing heavier burdens on the people. Like "socialism", "peace" and "security" are also words which have one meaning for the revolutionaries and another for the reactionaries. For the reactionaries "peace" and "security" mean war preparations and forming war alliances. When men like Kossygin talk of "Asian security", the revolutionary people correctly understand that the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are trying to rig up an aggressive military bloc with the Asian reactionaries against the great socialist China. When Kossygin discusses this so-called "Asian security" in earnest it means that faced with severe crisis at home and abroad the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are seeking a way out by launching a war of aggression. Kossygin showed deep interest in discussing it. This means they are hatching plots to spread very soon the flames of a war of aggression against China and against the revolutionary national liberation struggle in Asia. The militarist Japanese Foreign Minister's trip to Moscow and the anxious hopping about by Dinesh Singh are parts of that war preparations.

Today, the revolutionary people of India utter this warning to U. S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the Indian reactionaries: Look out, you warmongers! If you dare to raise your ugly hands against the great socialist China, the flames of anger and fierce hatred and the mighty resistance of the 700 million Chinese people tempered in the fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will burn you all to ashes!

Today, the revolutionary people of India warn the warmongers: If you dare to launch a war of aggression against China we shall destroy imperialism, social-imperialism and other reactionaries by the flames of armed

struggle and bury you here, in the soil of India! We are determined to spread the flames of the armed struggle now raging from Naxalbari to Srikakulam, and from Assam to Punjab, all over India until a raging prairie fire is started! Peasant guerrilla forces will be organized in every State and in every village of India and a revolutionary peasant army will come into being. And a people's democratic India, a new, bright India—the India of future, will emerge from the flames of revolution.

Make war if you dare, but don't say we didn't warn you!

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