

*Dissemination*  
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# Liberation

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LIBERATION GREETINGS

## The Historic Ninth Congress of the Great CPC

Together with the revolutionary people of India and of other countries, we warmly greet the Ninth Congress of the great Communist Party of China. The Congress guided by Chairman Mao Tse-tung will no doubt consolidate the historic gains of the world-shaking proletarian cultural revolution, strengthen proletarian dictatorship in all spheres of life, make China the impregnable base of world revolution and provide inspiration and strength to revolutionary struggles against imperialism and revisionism all the world over. The decisions of the Congress will surely contribute to the complete triumph of Marxism-Leninism, thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the rout of modern revisionism, unite the Marxist-Leninists of the various countries of the world more closely, and hasten the doom of the capitalist imperialist system.

Long Live the great CPC!

Long Live Chairman Mao Tse-tung! A Long, Long life to him!

Long live the solidarity of the Indian and Chinese peoples!

Workers and Oppressed Nations of the world, unite!

April 4, 1969

Editorial Board,  
*Liberation*

## Preface to "Rural Surveys"

—Mao Tse-tung

March 17, 1941

THE present rural policy of the Party is not one of Agrarian Revolution as during the ten years' civil war, but is a rural policy for the National United Front Against Japan. The whole Party should carry out the Central Committee's directives of July 7 and December 25, 1940,<sup>1</sup> and the directives of the forthcoming Seventh National Congress. The following material is being published to help comrades find a method for studying problems. Many of our comrades still have a crude and careless style of work, do not seek to understand things thoroughly and may even be completely ignorant of conditions at the lower levels, and yet they are responsible for directing work. This is an extremely dangerous state of affairs. Without a really concrete knowledge of the actual conditions of the classes in Chinese society there can be no really good leadership.

The only way to know conditions is to make social investigations, to investigate the conditions of each social class in real life. For those charged with directing work, the basic method for knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan, use the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, and make a number of thorough investigations. Only thus can we acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge of China's social problems.

1. The Central Committee's directive of July 7, 1940 is the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Present Situation and Party's Policy." The Central Committee's directive of December 25, 1940 is included in the **SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG**, Vol. II, as the article "On Policy."

To do this, first, direct your eyes downward, do not hold your head high and gaze at the sky. Unless a person is interested in turning his eyes downward and is determined to do so, he will never in his whole life really understand things in China.

Second, hold fact-finding meetings. Certainly, no all-round knowledge can be acquired merely by glancing this way and that and listening to hearsay. Of the data I obtained through fact-finding meetings, those on Hunan Province and on Ching kangshan have been lost. The materials published here consist mainly of the "Survey of Hsingkuo", the "Survey of Changkang Township" and the "Survey of Tsaihsi Township." Holding fact-finding meetings is the simplest, most practicable and most reliable method, from which I have derived much benefit; it is a better school than any university. Those attending such meetings should be really experienced cadres of middle and lower ranks, or ordinary people. In my investigations of five counties in Hunan Province and two counties in Ching kangshan, I approached responsible cadres of middle rank; in the Hsunwu investigation I approached cadres of the middle and lower ranks, a poor *hsiutsai*,<sup>2</sup> a bankrupt ex-president of the chamber of commerce and a petty official in charge of county revenue who had lost his job. All of these people gave me a great deal of information I had never even heard of. The man who for the first time gave me a complete picture of the rottenness of the Chinese jails was a petty jailor I met during my investigation in Hengshan County, Hunan. In my investigations of Hsingkuo County and Changkang and Tsaihsi townships, I approached comrades working at the township level and ordinary peasants. These cadres, the peasants, the *hsiutsai*, the jailor, the merchant and the revenue clerk were all my esteemed teachers, and as their pupil I had to

2. A HSIUTSAI was a holder of the lowest degree in the imperial examinations.

be respectful and diligent and comradely in my attitude; otherwise they would have paid no attention to me, and, though they knew, would not have spoken or, if they spoke, would not have told all they knew. A fact-finding meeting need not be large; from three to five or seven or eight people are enough. Ample time must be allowed and an outline for the investigation must be prepared; furthermore, one must personally ask questions, take notes and have discussions with those at the meeting. Therefore, one certainly cannot make an investigation, or do it well, without zeal, a determination to direct one's eyes downward and a thirst for knowledge, and without shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil. It has to be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

I should like to repeat that the main purpose of publishing this reference material is to indicate a method for finding out the conditions prevailing at the lower levels; it is not to have comrades memorize the specific material and the conclusions drawn from it. Speaking generally, the infant bourgeoisie of China has not been able, and never will be able, to provide relatively comprehensive or even rudimentary material on social conditions, as the bourgeoisie in Europe, America and Japan has done; we have therefore no alternative but to collect it ourselves. Speaking specifically, people engaged in practical work must at all times keep abreast of changing conditions, and this is something for which no Communist Party in any country can depend on others. Therefore, everyone engaged in practical work must investigate conditions at the lower levels. Such investigation is especially necessary for those who know theory but do not know the actual conditions, for otherwise they will not be able to link theory with practice. Although my assertion,

"No investigation, no right to speak", has been ridiculed as "narrow empiricism", to this day I do not regret having made it; what is more, I still insist that without investigation there cannot possibly be any right to speak. There are many people who "the moment they alight from the official carriage" make a hullabaloo, spout opinions, criticize this and condemn that; but, in fact, ten out of ten of them will meet with failure. For such views or criticisms, which are not based on thorough investigation, are nothing but ignorant twaddle. Countless times our Party suffered at the hands of these "imperial envoys", who rushed here, there and everywhere. Stalin rightly says that "theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice." And he rightly adds that "practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory."<sup>3</sup> Nobody should be labelled a "narrow empiricist" except the "practical man" who gropes in the dark and lacks perspective and foresight.

Today I still feel keenly the necessity for thorough research into Chinese and world affairs; this is related to the scantiness of my own knowledge of Chinese and world affairs and does not imply that I know everything and that others are ignorant. It is my wish to go on being a pupil, learning from the masses, together with all other Party comrades.

3. J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, Eng. ed., FLPH, MOSCOW, 1954, p. 31.

## To The Youth and The Students

—Charu Mazumdar

AFTER the death of the great Marxist-Leninist, Stalin, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the leadership of the state, party and the army and established a bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the land of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This revisionist renegade clique has become the leader and focal point of the revisionists of the world. Naturally, after the establishment of bourgeois dictatorship, they have become the No. 1 accomplice of the imperialists; particularly, they have advanced far along the road of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. This is because U.S. imperialism is today the leader of the imperialist camp, and is pursuing even more fiercely and widely the aggressive policies of the German, Italian and Japanese imperialists. The traitorous leaders of the Soviet Union are supporting these aggressive activities and even use Lenin's name to belittle them and are themselves carrying on colonial exploitation and indirect rule in different continents in co-operation with various imperialist powers and, in particular, with U.S. imperialism. By acting in this way, the leaders of the Soviet state and party have turned into enemies of all liberation struggles of the world; enemies of the great Socialist China, enemies of communism and even of the Soviet people. In India also they are acting as No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism and are directing the state power and exploiting the people of India. As in various other parts of the world, they are allies of the reactionaries in India and support them. That is why India's liberation struggle can win victory only by fighting against the guns of the Soviet revisionists and by hitting out at the Soviet revisionists' state power. This explains why the Dange clique

and the neo-revisionist leadership have, by their actions, joined the Indian reactionary clique and have turned into enemies of all democratic movements. They consciously and zealously support the bourgeois and imperialist propaganda.

It is because of these world developments that the thought of Chairman Mao has emerged as the only Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism which he has greatly developed and enriched through the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is why the world has entered today into the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Therefore, the thought of Chairman Mao can be called Marxism in the era of the total collapse of imperialism.

So, the political task of the student and youth workers is to study this new and developed Marxism, the thought of Chairman Mao, and put it into practice. He who shuns this task can never acquire the knowledge about the principles of Marxism. They must therefore, study the Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As Chairman Mao has said, there can only be one criterion by which we should judge whether a youth or a student is a revolutionary. This criterion is whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants, does so in practice and carries on mass work.

The "Quotations of People's War" published by the Central Committee of the great Communist Party of China is now available with us, a Bengali translation of which has also been published. This book is meant for revolutionary workers and peasants. We should make this our propaganda and agitation material. Whether a worker is revolutionary or not will be judged on the basis of the number of workers and peasants to whom he has read out and explained this book.

We have seen how good agitators in the student movement, how even students who fought in the barricade over

( Continued at the foot of the next page )

## NOTES

### LONG LIVE COMRADE THAKIN THAN TUN

Comrade Thakin Than Tun is dead. The Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma has been murdered by assassins planted within the Party and the Liberation forces by the Ne Win fascist clique in collusion with the modern revisionists. The enemies of the Burmese people—the Ne Win clique and the revisionists, all lackeys of the imperialists—cherish the fond hope that by assassinating individual leaders and carrying out sabotage activities they can stem the tide of Burmese revolution that threatens to sweep them away. It is a very vain hope, for the national liberation struggle of the Burmese people which Comrade Thakin Than Tun has led for more than two decades has already liberated large areas of the country. Guerrilla zones have spread to areas not far from Rangoon itself. Under the banner of the national democratic united front and

some student demand or political issue, subsequently sat for the I.A.S. examination and became administrators, that is, went over to the enemy camp. As Chairman Mao teaches us, only those students and youth who can integrate themselves with the masses of peasants and workers are revolutionaries; those who cannot are at first non-revolutionaries and may in some cases join the counter-revolutionary camp afterwards.

This is a lesson which we get not only from China but from every country in the world. From my own experience I can say that unless the revolutionaries in the towns and cities undertake this task, they will eventually become demoralised and degenerate.

The political organization of the youth and the students must necessarily be a Red Guard organization, and they should undertake the task of spreading the Quotations of Chairman Mao as widely as possible in different areas.

( From *Deshabrati* of May 2, 1968 )

guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, armed units of the liberation forces are marching from victory to victory. The people of the Shan, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon and Pa-o nationalities have co-ordinated their armed struggles against the Ne Win military government with the armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma. More than a year and a half ago bourgeois journalists admitted that although the Ne Win military government could control two-thirds of the country by day it could control only one-half at night. Since then the Burmese people's liberation forces have rained ceaseless devastating blows on this citadel of imperialism, revisionism and domestic reaction. It is only out of despair that the Burmese agents of imperialism and their revisionist accomplices stooped to such foul means as the assassination of Comrade Thakin Than Tun. We are confident that the revolutionary people of Burma will recover from the shock and redouble their efforts to erase the infamy known as the Ne Win military government.

Long live Comrade Thakin Than Tun, the heroic leader of the Burmese people.

#### BIRDS OF A FEATHER

In the last week of March, Indira Gandhi flew to Burma to have talks with the Ne Win clique "on all matters which are of interest to both of us", as Indira Gandhi put it. One can easily guess what these matters of common interest are. These lackeys of the imperialists, including the Soviet social-imperialists, are feverishly hatching their counter-revolutionary plots against Socialist China and against the national liberation struggles now being waged in their own countries. On April 1, *The Statesman* wrote editorially: "Even before the Prime Minister left for Rangoon, the Burmese armed forces had taken action against the hostile Nagas using the mountainous terrain of North Burma for their transactions with China. That

General Ne Win has left none in doubt about the continuance of this courageous policy is highly gratifying." *The Statesman's* Burmese counterpart, *The Rangoon Daily*, also felt gratified at the growing friendship between the Indian and the Burmese reactionaries and referred to "the common campaign currently mounted against Mizo and Naga rebels at the Indo-Burmese border." (See *Statesman*, April 1) This counter-revolutionary unity of the agents of imperialism will, no doubt, be opposed with the revolutionary unity among the peoples across the border, and the doom of both the Indian and Burmese reactionaries will be hastened.

Is it surprising that the Indian revisionists and neo-revisionists have kept quite silent over the murder of Comrade Thakin Than Tun? No, it is not surprising for they are trampling underfoot the cause for which Comrade Thakin Than Tun lived and died—the cause of violent revolution to overthrow imperialism and domestic reaction. For some years Khrushchov and his men and China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-Chi, succeeded in creating confusion among the revolutionary ranks in Burma and causing a set-back to the Burmese revolution. Now when the revolution in Burma, our close neighbour, inspired by China's great proletarian cultural revolution, is again sweeping forward irresistibly, even the neo-revisionists maintain discreet silence. This silence about the heroic struggle of the Burmese people is eloquent enough. It exposes the hypocrisy of these renegades' professed faith in revolution and of their support to national liberation struggles.

It is significant that Jyoti Basu met and had discussions with Indira Gandhi at the DumDum Airport when she was on her way to Burma and again when she was on her way back to New Delhi. The neo-revisionist Deputy Chief Minister and Police Minister of West Bengal offered her a bouquet of red roses in appreciation, perhaps, of her mission in Burma. Already a part of the reactionary state apparatus,

the Indian revisionists and neo-revisionists are fast ganging up with the domestic reactionaries and the imperialists not only against their own people but also against the revolutionary peoples of other countries. The murderers of the peasants and peasant women of Naxalbari and the murderers of Comrade Thakin Than Tun, the butchers of Indonesia and similar butchers elsewhere, are objectively playing the same role today—the role of the lackeys of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital. They are birds of the same feather.

### THEY UNMASK THEMSELVES

Harekrishna Konar, West Bengal's Land and Land Revenue Minister and member of the 'Marxist' Party's Central Committee, was in a confessional mood on April 1. Speaking to a group of thirty newly-appointed officers of the Indian Administrative Service, the top layer of the Indian bureaucracy, he said :

- “Land reform is one of the major issues before the people. On this issue revolutions broke out in France, Russia and China. So, if something is not done here in this matter, agitation over land will in future cause an explosion.”

Konar told the IAS officers that speedy work was necessary to carry out successfully the work of land reform. For this purpose, he held, co-operation between Settlement, Land Revenue and Home Departments was essential. (See *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, April 2, 1969)

- So, according to Konar the 'Marxist', the 'explosion', that is, the agrarian revolution like those in France, Russia and China, must be staved off. Konar believes that this is possible if land reform is carried out speedily by the different sections of the bureaucracy acting in close co-operation with the Home Department, that is, the police.

Harekrishna Konar and his clique are in very eminent company. We are not speaking of Vinoba Bhave and the lesser fry who, like the Konars, are using all their ingenuity

to prevent this 'explosion.' Konar the 'Marxist' is actually echoing very important personalities like Chester Bowles, one of the shrewdest U.S. ambassadors. In his book "Ambassador's Report", Chester Bowles wrote :

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

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

“Both Ladejinsky and Parsons concluded that progress in land reforms was much too slow to meet the rising discontent of the villagers.” (p.123) (Italics ours)

Is it surprising that both the desire to prevent the agrarian revolution from breaking out and the anxiety that unless something was done quickly to meet the rising discontent of the villagers the 'explosion' would be inevitable are shared by both the 'Marxist' minister and the U. S. imperialists' official representatives? After Naxalbari, which marks the beginning of that much-dreaded 'explosion', the 'Marxist' leaders are increasingly unmasking themselves and openly talking the language of the imperialists and other reactionaries like Bhave.

How does Konar the 'Marxist' propose to tackle this



problem of land reform and hope to succeed where the Congress reactionaries failed during the last twenty-two years? Does he propose to confiscate all the land of the big landlords and *jotedars*<sup>1</sup> and distribute it among the poor and landless peasants? Everybody knows that without giving land to the tiller, without smashing feudalism and changing the relations of production in the countryside, no land reform worth the name can be achieved. No, the 'Marxist' minister, who is also a very important office-bearer of the Kisan Sabha, does not propose anything of the kind. He has now discovered virtues in the land laws enacted by the Congress long ago, which the Konars have so long condemned as utterly reactionary. In a report on an interview with Konar the *Statesman's* special representative wrote on March 18: "He [Konar] felt that *with the present administrative machinery and the system of law 'much' could be done*, if proper procedures could be determined and the participation of the mass organizations in rural areas ensured." The *Statesman's* representative also reported: "*In a note prepared for the Cabinet, Mr. Konar has little to blame the existing land legislations (Estates Acquisition Act and Land Reforms Act)*. He says that the avowed objective of these is 'to do away with intermediary interests, to break concentration of land in a few hands, to get all the surplus lands (which will be considerable in amount) vested in the state, distribute these lands to the landless and landpoor tillers, and to give relief and security to bargadars'.

"The note says that pending necessary amendments of different land legislations, *'much can be done to retrieve the position if the whole administrative machinery is geared up and if proper and timely measures are taken at all levels to implement the existing provisions'*...Mr. Konar has also

1 Landowners who do not themselves take part in the work of cultivation and are the mainstay of feudalism in the country.

stressed the need for the importance of co-ordination between Land Revenue Department officers, administration and the police, particularly at the district, subdivisional and thana levels." The 'Marxist' does not depend for the implementation of the Congress land reform legislations solely on the police and the bureaucracy. He has asked the officers of his department to associate the organized peasantry and the association of mass organizations of peasants and agricultural labourers, wherever they exist, with the task of implementing land reform measures. Konar should be congratulated for devising this nice arrangement for liquidating "much" of feudalism in the countryside! This 'Marxist' hero and his friends will transform the police and the bureaucracy of this state into instruments of struggle for the realization of the demands of the landless and landpoor peasants!

These 'Marxists', as we have repeatedly said, are a crafty, two-faced lot. Before they became a part of the reactionary state apparatus and before Naxalbari, they had been singing a different tune. In "Tasks on the Kisan Front", their Central Committee declared about two and a half years ago:

"It has been proved from experience that the enactment of laws fixing the ceiling on land-holdings has totally failed to solve the problem of land distribution. These cunning landlords and their stooges know quite well how to keep most of the land for themselves by evading all these laws. So our Party, Peasant Association, and Association of Agricultural labourers must not deceive themselves by thinking that our basic slogan of 'Land to the tiller' can be realized through the enactment and implementation of these laws fixing the ceiling on land-holdings. The Party must strive tirelessly to educate the masses of peasants and agricultural workers that the basic slogan of "Abolition of landlordism without compensation and free distribution of land among the agricultural workers and poor peasants"

must be implemented through the mass struggle of the entire peasantry." (Translated from Bengali)

This is how they characterized the Congress land reform legislations in their 1967 Election Manifesto :

"The much-advertised Congress agrarian reforms like the abolition of the intermediary interests and the distribution of land among the peasants have proved to be a big hoax to the toiling peasants.

"The law for the protection of tenants has turned into a law for evicting lacs and lacs of peasants from land." (Translated from Bengali)

In his report as Secretary of the West Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha to its Eighteenth Conference held in October 1967, Konar said :

"This [genuine land reform] cannot be achieved by amending the existing laws or by carrying on a movement for correct implementation of those laws within the present set-up. ...That is why genuine, radical land reforms cannot be carried out by amending the existing laws or by relying on the bureaucracy for implementing them. It will be necessary for this purpose to create such an extraordinary situation that the legal deeds and documents of the landlords and money-lenders will then be of no value, that the toiling peasants will then meet and decide who are landlords and money-lenders and who own land—its size and its situation. It is they who will seize the land of the landlords and money-lenders and distribute it ; it is also they who will decide on the kind of relation that should exist with the non-peasant owners of land until the latter have an alternative source of income." (Our translation)

Today Konar has changed the tune. When such a situation as he speaks of is created by the peasants in Naxalbari, Konar and his 'comrades' hasten to discover that "much" can be done within the present set-up and

(Continued on page 78)

## Financial Crisis in Western World— Further Evidence of Decline of Imperialist System

THE imperialist bloc headed by the United States ran into particularly serious crises in 1968. With the U.S. dollar as the mainstay, its financial and monetary system has been battered by repeated storms and is rapidly heading for collapse. This is a striking manifestation of the further deepening of the general political and economic crisis of capitalism and of the approaching doom of imperialism headed by the United States.

### Worsening Financial Crisis

The financial crisis which has shaken the whole capitalist system in the past 14 months is the severest in 40 years. Three of the main currencies of the capitalist world—the U.S. dollar, the British pound and the French franc—have all been engulfed and may be submerged at any time.

The frantic rush for gold in Western financial markets in November 1967, while weakening the U.S. dollar, first brought about the collapse of the British pound which had to be devalued by 14.3 per cent. Then under the impact of the gold stampede last March, the U.S. dollar, the monetary symbol of U.S. imperialist strength in the eyes of the capitalist world, lost more ground. In the short span of about three weeks, the amount of gold flowing out of the United States, surpassed that in the whole of 1967. This reduced the shrinking U.S. gold stocks to the lowest level since the great economic crisis in the Western countries in 1933. In view of the precarious state of the U.S. dollar

and the Western financial and monetary system, the Johnson administration hurriedly announced the so-called two-tier price system for gold, allowing the price of gold to soar in the free market. Thus the U.S. dollar has been virtually devalued. As for the third great financial storm in November 1968, it not only dealt a heavy blow to the French franc, which bore the brunt, but also threatened the British pound directly and the U.S. dollar indirectly, thus once again pushing the Western financial and monetary system to the brink of collapse.

Without exception, in each of the storms the rush into gold was immediately followed by panic buying of other precious metals such as platinum and silver as well as of gold and silver jewelry, and by the buying up of commodities such as copper, cocoa and coffee—anything to get out of the major currencies. The financial storms thus frequently resulted in soaring prices in commodity markets. In addition, financial and stock market transactions in the capitalist world were directly affected. All this has spread panic far and wide among the ruling circles of the imperialist countries.

#### **An Important Sign of the Deepening of General Political and Economic Crisis of Capitalism**

The fact that the current financial and monetary crisis is marked by frequent and violent storms reveals that the present Western monetary system, with the U.S. dollar as its mainstay, is sick to the core and that the whole capitalist system is swiftly decaying. It is an important sign of the rapid deepening of the general political and economic crisis of capitalism.

Since the end of World War II the turbulent revolutionary movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America have dealt the imperialist bloc headed by the United States heavy blows. The sphere in which the imperialist countries can engage in exploitation and

plunder at will has become more and more limited; their strength has been constantly weakened and they have found the going tougher and tougher.

U.S. imperialism, which rose to economic supremacy in the capitalist world soon after World War II, is now like a rotten tree. Its gold reserves, which support the dollar, now stand at about 10,900 million dollars, or less than half their 1949 level of 24,500 million. In the meantime, short-term dollar claims in foreign hands have increased to more than 35,000 million dollars, or around three and a half times the level of the gold reserves. "Confidence" in the dollar is dropping steadily in the capitalist world in which U.S. imperialism is losing its dominant position.

British imperialism, which has been trailing U.S. imperialism as a junior partner since the end of World War II, is faring no better financially and economically. Its payments deficits have for years been depleting its gold and foreign exchange reserves and increased its foreign indebtedness to several thousand million pounds. The pound sterling has become the weakest link in the chain of the capitalist monetary system. What is more, there are stagnation in industrial production and a significant increase in unemployment in the country. Thus, British ruling circles find themselves confronted with the danger of the concurrence of a financial crisis and a crisis of "over-production."

The worsening financial and economic situation in the imperialist countries is closely related to the political crisis facing their ruling classes, and the two act on and promote each other. Since the beginning of 1968, the surging tide of the revolutionary mass movement in Western Europe and North America has not only dealt heavy political blows at the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class, but also intensified their financial and economic difficulties, thus aggravating the financial crisis throughout the Western world.

### Financial Crisis Sharpens Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

Bogged down in the morass of financial crisis, the imperialist countries headed by the United States are in a state of panic and confusion. Each of them is trying to push its rivals under in order to save its own skin. The naked or hidden struggle among them to turn the sharp edge of the crisis away on to others is far more intense than it has ever been since the end of World War II. At present, this struggle finds concentrated expression in the following fact. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, Britain, are doing their utmost to uphold the existing financial and monetary system with the dollar and the pound as the main reserve currencies, at the expense of the interests of the continental West European countries, so as to retain their own privileged monetary positions. On the other hand, certain West European countries, particularly France and West Germany, strongly oppose the U.S. and British attempt to benefit themselves at the others' expense. They want the United States and Britain also to make sacrifices in trying to head off the collapse of the monetary system. At the same time, these countries let no opportunity pass to hit out at the dollar and the pound so as to shore up their own currencies.

This inter-imperialist struggle has been especially acute and complex in the financial storms of the past year. Take the November storm for example. The French franc was then on the brink of collapse and its weakness rapidly affected the pound and indirectly the dollar. Central bank governors of ten major capitalist countries met in Basle on November 16 to discuss behind closed doors ways and means to deal with the critical situation. The meeting ended two days later without any positive result because the contradictions among these countries were too acute to be reconciled.

On November 20, the finance ministers and central bank governors of the same countries held in Bonn an emergency meeting which degenerated into a three-day wrangle. The United States, Britain and France all wanted West Germany to revalue its mark, which would have raised the prices of German exports on the world market and thus benefited West Germany's trade rivals. But the West German monopoly capitalists, whose financial bargaining position is now relatively strong, obstinately refused and at the same time favoured the devaluation of the French franc as the way out of the impasse most advantageous to them. The U.S. and British imperialists opposed any devaluation of the French franc exceeding 10 per cent, because it would mean cheaper French exports on the world market, which would immediately endanger the pound and therefore eventually endanger the dollar. West German Chancellor Kiesinger declared that there would be no revaluation of the mark as long as he was chancellor. French President de Gaulle categorically announced the day after the meeting that the franc would not be devalued. Thus the Bonn conference was a complete fiasco. This kind of fierce inter-imperialist in-fighting is still going on and the capitalist world monetary system is more shaky and fragile than ever.

### Financial Crisis Speeds Up Decay of Imperialism

In the past year, the financially hard-hit imperialist bloc led by the United States has adopted a series of emergency measures in its attempt to save the situation. But the crisis has become sharper and a bigger storm is brewing. The capitalist world monetary system is in the throes of disintegration. It is not only the pound, the dollar and the French franc which are in peril, because they are in the vortex of the crisis. Other currencies in the capitalist world, such as the Canadian dollar and the

Japanese yen, are also unstable because they are especially closely connected with the tottering U.S. dollar.

Financial crisis is the inevitable outcome of the development of the contradictions inherent in the imperialist system; it is an integral part of the chronic crisis which is gripping this system. All the measures so far taken by the imperialist countries led by the United States to cope with the financial crisis boil down to an attempt to further fleece the people at home and to shift the onslaught of the crisis on to rivals abroad. These measures will not relieve the crisis, but will arouse stronger resistance on the part of the people at home and intensify the inter-imperialist contradictions abroad.

The development of the Western financial and monetary crisis bear out what our great teacher Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "The epoch we are living in is an epoch in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse, the imperialists have fallen inextricably into crisis."

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### Giving Full Play to Courage in Battle

## African Patriotic Armed Forces Grow in Strength

**O**NLY by persevering in armed struggle at home can any nation overthrow hated, vicious colonial rule and win complete national independence and liberation. This is what the broad masses in the African countries, which have yet to achieve independence, have come to grasp profoundly in their protracted struggle against the enemy.

In 1968, the patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola, the Congo (Kinshasa) and Zimbabwe fought hundreds of battles with Portuguese colonial forces, Mobutu's puppet soldiers and the fascist troops of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia--all backed by imperialism headed by the United States. The patriotic armed forces enjoyed the support of the people and, by giving full play to courage in battle and surmounting one difficulty after another, wiped out several thousand enemy troops and extended their sphere of operations in a number of regions. This has greatly boosted the fighting will of the African people. As for the enemy troops battered incessantly by the patriotic armed forces, morale sank lower and lower and the colonialists found the going in Africa tougher and tougher.

### Freedom Fighters Create an Excellent Situation

**Guinea (Bissau): Freedom fighters expand areas under control.** In west Africa, the patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau), fighting guns in hand for more than seven years, pressed on with their victories after having valiantly repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese colonial

troops who tried to reoccupy the areas under their control. Beginning from June last year, they won a series of victories in repeated attacks on Portuguese colonial troops entrenched in a number of strongholds in the southern, northern and eastern parts of their country. By October, they had taken ten enemy encampments and strongholds, including Beli, capital city of the Boe region in the east.

The Guinean (Bissau) patriotic armed forces shelled the airport in Bissau, the military and political centre of the Portuguese colonialists in the region, with mortars and bazookas, blasting the control tower and three hangars. Two enemy aircraft were destroyed and many damaged. The patriotic forces steadily expanded the areas under their control in the fighting. Apart from Bissau, Bolamo, dos Bijagos and areas on the northern seaboard, reports say, the rest of Guinea (Bissau) has at present virtually come under the control of the patriotic armed forces.

**Angola : Over 1,000 colonial troops wiped out in 4 months.**

The Angolan patriotic armed forces were the first to embark on the road of armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. In 1968, they dealt telling blows to the Portuguese colonial troops in the vast eastern and northern areas. From July to October, they wiped out more than 1,000 enemy troops. Units active in the extensive rural areas of Moxico and Cuando Cubango Districts in the southeast and Lunda District in the northeast struck at the enemy incessantly. In the first four months of 1968, they put out of action 250 Portuguese colonial troops and captured one Portuguese officer.

**Congo (K) : Armed struggle heroically carried on.**

Subjected to ruthless suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackey Mobutu and shamelessly betrayed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Congolese (K) patriotic forces heroically carried on their armed struggle. They recently raided a Mobutu puppet military outpost in the Kwilu region, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy troops.

Their courageous struggle nailed the lie spread by Mobutu, running dog of U.S. imperialism, that the Congolese (K) people's armed struggle has been put down.

**Southern Rhodesia : Colonial regime gripped by fear.**

The frequent operations of the Zimbabwean armed patriots have kept the Smith colonial regime in a state of continuous fear and panic. Shots fired by freedom fighters against South African colonial rule were also heard in South West Africa which is under the tight control of the South African white colonialists. The freedom fighters in South West Africa, reports say, killed 20 of the South African colonial troops in a recent battle.

**Learn Warfare Through Warfare**

The African patriots learn warfare through warfare. Being constantly tempered in the crucible of fighting, their combat strength has increased and the level of their tactics raised steadily. In many areas, the patriotic armed forces have grown in strength, developing from small contingents of fighters carrying out hit-and-run harassment activities to the concentration of superior forces undertaking planned operations to wipe out enemy effectives. They often apply the tactics of inducing the enemy to go deep into their areas in order to attack and eliminate his troops.

The war has educated the people and the people support the revolutionary war. Our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant thought—the revolutionary war is a war of the masses—has taken firm root in the minds of the people. More and more African patriots now realize that in their confrontation with the enemy, who is armed to the teeth and enjoys temporary numerical superiority, it is impossible to carry on protracted war or to win victory in the revolutionary war unless attention is paid to mobilizing and relying on the broad masses, particularly the peasant masses who constitute the overwhelming majority of the

population in these countries. As it is, a number of African patriots have gone to the rural areas to rouse the masses.

In Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola and the Congo (K), the patriotic armed forces have set up administrative organs in a number of areas under their control, and in some places they have their own law courts as well. They have also extensively organized militia forces in the areas under their control. In some places, the militiamen participate in agricultural production and at the same time assume the duties of defending their villages. They are effective assistants of the guerrillas, serving as guides and messengers, furnishing information and transporting ammunition and supplies.

In some areas, the African patriotic armed forces have helped the people raise their political consciousness by organizing the masses to recall national humiliation at the hands of the alien invaders and denounce the crimes of colonial rule. In some areas, numbers of African women have actively participated in patriotic activities, not only persuading their near and dear ones to go to the front but asking for permission to bear arms in the armed struggle.

The African patriotic armed forces have also paid attention to increasing production, particularly that of grain, in the areas under their control, so that they can wage a protracted struggle by relying on their own resources. In some places, they have developed the educational and public health services. In the areas under their control, for instance, the Guinean (Bissau) patriots have abolished the exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies imposed on the people by the colonialists in the past and have opened up wasteland to develop production in a big way. As a result, rice and other grain output has increased and the handicraft industry has also developed. The guerrilla fighters in Mozambique make a point of working in the fields with the local peasants in

areas they control. In some places, the Mozambique army-men and people are able to ship part of their farm produce to neighbouring independent countries in exchange for clothing, medicine and other daily necessities. In the eastern part of Angola, the patriotic armed forces have set up peasants' mutual-aid and co-operative organizations and have trained a group of medical workers in areas under their control.

### **U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism—Mortal Enemies of the People**

In their protracted war against colonialism, an increasing number of African people have begun to see things more clearly from their own experience and greatly raised their political consciousness. It is now clear to them that U.S. imperialism is their No. 1 enemy. Facts have made it abundantly clear that it is U.S. imperialism which has directed the Mobutu puppet clique to wantonly suppress the patriotic armed forces and people of the Congo (K). It is the same U.S. imperialism which gives vigorous support to the Portuguese colonialists in waging a barbarous war in Africa and tries to prop up their tottering colonial rule. And again it is the same U.S. imperialism which back the white racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to slaughter the African people in cold blood. These facts have laid bare still further the fiendish features of U.S. imperialism as the most ferocious enemy of the African people.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, U.S. imperialism's No. 1 accomplice, has spread all kinds of revisionist fallacies far and wide in Africa, to cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism. It has tried to disintegrate the African patriotic armed forces by cajolery and bribery and to undermine the African people's patriotic armed struggle. It is common knowledge that over the years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been diabolically

engaged in selling out the interests of the Congolese (K) people and is guilty of numerous crimes. It supported U.S. imperialism in using the United Nations flag to carry out armed intervention in the Congo (K) and to murder Patrice Lumumba and strangle the legal Lumumba government. It advocated "reconciliation" between the Congolese (K) revolutionaries and the stooges of U.S. imperialism, trying in a thousand and one ways to sabotage the Congolese people's patriotic armed struggle and split the national-liberation movement in the Congo (K). Recently, this clique "restored diplomatic relations" with the Mobutu puppet regime, U.S. imperialism's running dog and Lumumba's murderer, thus once again ignominiously betraying the Congolese (K) people's revolutionary cause.

The lesson of the temporary reverses of the revolutionary cause in the Congo (K) is a characteristic illustration of the fact that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is another most dangerous enemy of the African people. Therefore, in addition to opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the African people must wage a resolute struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in order to carry the revolution through to the end.

It is precisely because the enemies confronting the revolutionary African people are not only the Portuguese, South African and Southern Rhodesian colonialists but also U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, enemies who are far more vicious and cunning, that the African revolutionary people's struggle is protracted, arduous and at times tortuous. But as Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, has wisely pointed out: **"A nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war."** We are convinced that the African people, who have a long tradition of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, will eventually crush imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionary

forces, heavily weighing them down and win national liberation and complete emancipation.

**Mozambique : Enemy Air Base Blasted :** With one blow, the Mozambique patriotic armed forces destroyed 12 enemy planes in a surprise attack on an important air base of the Portuguese colonial forces at Mueda in Cabo Delgado Province on August 10, 1968. It was a great victory.

Located in the northern part of Cabo Delgado, Mueda is a small town some 100 miles from the frontier. The airfield built near Mueda has U.S.-made bombers and reconnaissance planes of the Portuguese colonial air force which frequently wantonly bomb the villages and the areas controlled by the patriotic armed forces. Monstrous crimes have been committed against the African people.

Filled with hatred for the enemy that knows no bounds, the fighters in the Mozambique patriotic forces decided to blow up his air base and severely punish the Portuguese fascist gangsters.

The Cabo Delgado patriotic armed forces headquarters sent a scouting party to the Mueda airfield on a reconnaissance mission. This was to find out everything about enemy movements and to ensure that the attack to wipe out the Portuguese air marauders would be effective and completely successful.

On August 7, the valiant and resourceful scouts made their way right up to the edge of the airfield with the help of the local inhabitants and carried out reconnaissance under the enemy's nose.

Located on high ground, the airfield has most favourable terrain for its defenders. To the west, north and northeast are gentle slopes luxuriant in bushes. To the south and southeast, where the high ground ends, are sheer cliffs.

About two battalions of Portuguese colonial troops guarded the airfield. Northwest of it were barracks quartering two enemy companies, and in the west there is a highway running south to north between the airfield



and the barracks and then turning east. Two companies patrolled the western section of the highway and were supported by an artillery battery stationed there. Another company patrolled the northern section. In addition, there were several armoured cars to help defend the airfield.

After two days of careful reconnoitring, the scouting party obtained precise information about the terrain around the airfield, the enemy's defences and the parking layout of his planes. Three scouts were detailed to keep watch over enemy activities on the airfield and to spot in time possible sudden enemy moves before the rest of the scouting party returned to home base.

In the light of the scouts' information, the patriotic armed forces headquarters decided to take action on the night of August 10. The plan was to use the favourable terrain of the bushy slopes in the north to approach the airfield unobserved, spring a surprise raid on it with concentrated fire and then swiftly withdraw.

The combat order filled every guerrilla fighter with high spirits and confidence in victory and they all enthusiastically set out on the mission.

The three scouts, who had stayed behind to watch the airfield and had consumed all their rations, had been out of food and water for more than ten hours. But they remained at their posts without any thought to their thirst and hunger. They were determined to accomplish their mission and await their comrades. At 18:30 hours on August 10, the guerrilla detachment arrived at the outer perimeter of the airfield according to plan. Despite their fatigue, the three scouts joined their comrades in the battle to wipe out the Portuguese air bandits.

With their mortars and recoilless guns in position, the fighters in the artillery battery trained them on the enemy planes on the airfield and other targets. The fighters in the infantry company kept busy building earthworks on

both flanks of the artillery battery, making preparations to deal with the enemy patrols so as to provide cover for the artillery battery.

The sun had already set when the commander of the detachment gave the attack signal at 19:30 hours. All at once, the enemy airfield was shaken with deafening explosions. Enemy planes on the airfield were hit one after another. Warehouses and the petroleum depot on the airfield went up in flames. Thirsting for revenge, the wrathful guerrillas shelled the enemy without let-up.

The earth-shaking explosion threw the faint-hearted Portuguese colonial troops into confusion. Thinking that they were surrounded by the guerrillas, the enemy troops in the barracks ran for cover inside the fortifications. Those at the western and northern sections of the highway lost their heads and shot wildly in every direction to pluck up their spirits while moving towards their barrack. Mistaking each other for guerrillas in the darkness, the two enemy units fired at each other, adding to their own casualties.

The Mozambique guerrillas accomplished their mission victoriously after 50 minutes of fighting and withdrew swiftly. The 12 enemy aircraft parked on the airfield and the armoured cars were all destroyed.

On their triumphant march back to their base, the guerrillas could still see the raging fire at the airfield and were filled with the joy of a great victory.

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## Japanese People's Patriotic Anti-U.S. Struggle Forges Ahead

THE powerful patriotic struggle which the Japanese people unfolded against U.S. imperialism in 1968 dealt hammer blows to the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and the Miyamoto revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party. This reflects a rapid heightening of the Japanese people's political consciousness.

### Rising Waves in Anti-U.S. Campaign

The Japanese people's anti U.S. struggle got off to a good start in 1968. Flying in the face of strong popular opposition, the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries had the U.S. nuclear aircraft-carrier *Enterprise* call at Sasebo port in mid January. Workers, youth and students immediately came out against the move. This was the first salvo. From then on the campaign spread over the country like rolling waves. The staunch struggle of the peasants of Sanrizuka in Chiba Prefecture thwarted the reactionary Sato government's sinister plan to build a "new Tokyo international airport" there. There were also strikes by railway workers who refused to transport fuel for U.S. military aircraft. Moji dockers would not unload ammunition from U.S. ships. In Kyushu, workers and students fought shoulder to shoulder to prevent the U.S. military authorities from bringing more ammunition into the Yamada ordnance depot. Tokyo students launched a series of struggles against the construction of a U.S. army field hospital at Oji. Anti-U.S. struggles broke out time and again in Yokota, Itazuke, Atsugi, Iwakuni, Kitafuji, Sagamihara and other places. Struggles took place wherever U.S. military bases were located. The movements to smash the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and to demand

the return of Okinawa to Japan were on a still more powerful scale. All these struggles co-ordinated and combined to form a mighty irresistible tidal wave.

### Powerful Attacks Against the Enemy

In their struggles, the masses brought into full play their courageous, militant spirit. Fearless in the face of fascist police suppression, they set off fierce and sustained attacks against the enemy. By hitting the reactionary police hard, they struck fear into the hearts of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

Patriotic youth staged a powerful anti-U.S. struggle in front of the "defence agency," a crucial section of the Japanese bourgeois state apparatus. They fearlessly broke through a cordon of armed police and troops, stormed into the "defence agency" building, and wrecked the telephone exchange centre of the "central base telecommunication unit." They hoisted a red flag on top of the iron gate of the "defence agency" and painted on the walls "Smash the Japan-U.S. 'security treaty,'" "We are struggling for the people" and other slogans. All this greatly heightened the militancy of the Japanese revolutionary people and punctured the arrogance of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

In Sanrizuka, where the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries planned to build the "new Tokyo international airport," the local peasants, together with the workers, youth and students who came to support them, had repeated tests of strength with the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. Amply articulating the heroism of the Japanese people, the peasants in this area have carried on their struggle resolutely since the beginning of 1968.

Last year's October 21 struggle at Tokyo's Shinjuku Station, a pivotal point in fuel shipments for U.S. military aircraft, was a splendid display of militancy and heroism. To block the fuel from being transported, the worker and student demonstrators pulled down an iron-plated barrier

erected by the reactionary authorities, stormed into the station and, at the platform and railway tracks, bravely fought the fascist police sent to suppress them.

### Student Movement Grows Apace

It is worth noting that the rapid advances of the Japanese student movement have given new substance to the Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. In 1968, students in over 60 universities throughout Japan were engaged in a large-scale struggle against the reactionary, decadent bourgeois educational system and the rule of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. By now, Tokyo University students have been on strike for over 300 days and those of Nihon University for over 200 days, compelling the rector of Tokyo University and the president of Nihon University board to resign. This is something unheard of in the history of Japanese student movement.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement."** The great impact of the Japanese student movement on the people's movement against U.S. imperialism in Japan will certainly be felt in the days to come.

### Miyamoto Clique Repudiated by the People

In their heroic struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, the Japanese people have, by their militant actions, repudiated the Miyamoto revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party, which criminally tried to lead the people's struggle astray. All past "mass struggles" initiated by the Miyamoto clique were kept within the bounds of legalism. The revisionist clique stressed "orderliness" during demonstrations and even servilely allowed the reactionary police to shepherd demonstrations. If the police found the demonstrators were holding their

flags too high, they shouted orders for lowering them. Such "struggles" only served as decorations for bourgeois "democracy"; they did not in the least harm the fundamental interests of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. However, there was a sharp contrast between the 1968 anti-U.S. movement and the Miyamoto clique's practice. Breaking away from the conventions of legalism, the Japanese people used staves, stones and scythes to courageously battle the enemy. Through their struggle, they have come to realize more clearly that the "parliamentary road" propagated by the Miyamoto revisionist clique must be smashed and that the Marxist-Leninist road of revolution by violence must be upheld. The truth that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** has struck ever deeper roots in the hearts of the Japanese workers, peasants and other revolutionary masses.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has said: **"It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."** With more and more Japanese revolutionary people grasping and integrating Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution, the Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. movement will certainly take new strides forward. It can be predicted that 1969 will be a year of momentous progress in the Japanese people's movement.

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## Class Analysis of Three Villages In the South of 24 Parganas\*

—Biru Mandal

(This report was prepared in the middle of 1968)

THE great leader of world revolution, Chairman Mao, wrote in 1927 in his well-known "Report On An Investigation of the Peasant Movement In Hunan": "The present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly."

After making the class analysis and reviewing the work we have done, we felt it necessary to remember the above words of Chairman Mao, and to begin our report with this quotation.

The people who live in these villages are what we call 'peasant masses.' They have suffered cruel exploitation for hundreds of years. Among them are the rural proletariat, whose number is quite large. They are the

\* A district in the south of West Bengal

staunchest ally of the city proletariat. On the one side, we have seen grinding poverty of the exploited and oppressed peasant masses who constitute 95 per cent of the population; on the other, there is an amazing mass of wealth, luxury and means of enjoyments. While the overwhelming majority of the village people are condemned to a life of direst poverty, starvation and oppression, the handful of rural exploiters has all the 'democracy' to carry on exploitation without limit, all the 'rights' and 'power' to suck the blood of the labouring people and enjoy all the good things of what is known as the 'free world'. Even a quack doctor is a rare find, and one has to roam from one village to another to find one. The darkness of ignorance and superstitions envelop the minds of the rural folk. The poor, rural proletariat live in places which are worse than even the cow-sheds of the landlords; because these cow-sheds are wider, firmer and more well-covered than the places where the poor and the down-trodden live. Like the peasants in other parts of Bengal, the peasants here have also forgotten their famous festival of 'Poush Sankranti'.<sup>1</sup>

The most oppressed class in the village is the agricultural labourer, i.e., the rural proletariat. Even during the month of Poush [when the year's main harvest is done, and the prices of agricultural produce are traditionally the lowest.—*Editor*] they are unable to provide full meals for themselves. Then there are the semi-proletariat, that is, the poor peasants and 'the overwhelming majority of the semi-owner peasants'. Together with the rural proletariat, they constitute 93 per cent of the total population of these three villages. They are faithful to the revolution. The rural proletariat are the most revolutionary among them. Large sections of them have not even received the most

1. A popular festival of Bengali peasants to celebrate the winter harvesting. The festival takes place on the last day (SANKRANTI) of the month of POUISH, (i.e. in the middle of January).

elementary education. They are forced to remain ignorant to keep the running dogs of the imperialist lords of the 'free world' free from anxiety. They can have a livelihood for 4 months only, during the harvesting of paddy. During this period they can manage to have one square meal or half a meal a day. For the rest of the year they feed on fish, snails or water plants.

The semi-proletariat manages to get a square meal or half a meal a day for 6 months in the year. For the remaining 6 months they live on like the rural proletariat. The semi-owner peasants have to borrow or mortgage their land to tide over the critical period of the year.

Like the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries who used opium to keep the great revolutionary peasantry of China quiet, the exploiters here are doing everything to keep the vast majority of the rural population—the oppressed and exploited peasants—quiet and to make them forget their inhuman poverty and cruel exploitation by encouraging wide-scale use of home-made wine, opium etc. In addition to this, the blood-sucking landlords and usurers uphold and maintain the reactionary literature and culture of age-old superstitions, ghosts, monsters etc. Through these things and the feudal set-up, the feudal landlords and usurers are controlling the culture of the villages and are keeping the minds of the exploited masses imprisoned in the centuries-old darkness and ignorance. This is the life of the oppressed masses today in the villages—a life weighed down under the burden of feudal exploitation and domination. The class analysis given below clearly proves this fact. There are however, some who pretend to be Marxists and shout that "India is a free and independent bourgeois state." Thus they merely show themselves up as counter-revolutionaries and agents of imperialism.

The three villages—let us call them X, Y and Z—under

three different but contiguous thanas,<sup>2</sup> are situated in the south of the 24 Parganas district. Of the three, one village is in the deficit area, while the other two are in the surplus area.

Take the village X. It is in the deficit area, and there is no irrigation. 89 families live in the village. The yield per bigha [ $\frac{1}{3}$  of an acre] is 6 maunds [225 kgs. approximately].

[A] 5 families in the village own 50 bighas or more land each. Of these, one family owns 250 bighas and another only 50 bighas while the other three own between 50 and 90 bighas each.

(i) The family which owns 250 bighas of land, has 6 members. The *anchal-pradhan* [head of the local self-government body] of the area is a member of this family, who, in addition to the 75 bighas which he owns legally, gets the rest of the land held in *benami* [illegally] worked through sharecroppers whom he can trust. This family has 10 ploughshares, 20 bullocks, 6 cows and 52 heads of poultry (ducks, hens etc.). One man is maintained to look after these animals and poultry. One guard armed with gun is also maintained for protecting the property.

The income of this family is like this: The 75 bighas of land held legally in his own name yield 450 maunds of paddy [1 maund = 37½ kg. approx.] calculated at 6 maunds per bigha. Taking the price of one maund of paddy as Rs. 80 [the present price is much lower-*Ed.*] the total value of the paddy comes to Rs. 36,000. The share of paddy appropriated from the sharecroppers who cultivate 175 bighas of *benami* land is 525 maunds, the value of which is Rs. 42,000. The income from hiring out 5 ploughs at Rs. 5 per day for each plough for 100 days in the year is Rs. 2,500. The annual income from the cattle and poultry is Rs. 24,000. The total investment in the money-lending business, both 'legal' and 'illegal' is Rs. 15,000; this

2. An administrative unit comprising several villages.

amount, with the monthly interest rate at Rs. 25 per 100 rupees, fetches interest to the tune of Rs. 45,000 per year. The total hay obtained at the rate of 4 kahans [a measure used in villages] per bigha from the 75 bighas held legally is 300 kahans. Another 350 kahans are obtained from the 175 bighas of benami land. The sale of this 650 kahans of hay fetches Rs. 16,250 at the rate of Rs. 25 per kahan. The annual income from leasing out tanks is Rs. 2,000. So, the total annual income adds up to Rs. 167,750.

Now, let us consider the annual expenditure of this family. The 75 bighas of land requires, at the rate of 10 kgs. per bigha, 19 maunds of seeds, which cost Rs. 1,520 at Rs. 80 per maund. Annual expenses for the 6 members of the family work up to Rs. 5,760 at Rs. 80 per head per month. The guard is paid Rs. 60 and the man who looks after the cattle etc. Rs. 30 per month. The annual expenditure under this head comes to Rs. 1,080. The fodder etc. for the cattle and the poultry costs Rs. 15,000 a year. The wages of 15 labourers for 2 months at Rs. 50 each per month are Rs. 1,500. Allowing another Rs. 1,000 for other miscellaneous expenses during the year, the family's annual expenditure adds up to Rs. 28,860.

So, this family has an annual surplus of Rs. 1,38,890. The members of this family have close links with the government officials. No wonder they have always managed to escape the levies imposed by the government. Moreover, a member of this family is the *anchal-pradhan* and is at present a supporter of Bangla Congress. They always have a large quantity of paddy in stock. They have also intimate connections with the big sharks of the blackmarket who live in the town. They are the diehard reactionaries of this village. Beginning from the rural proletariat to the rich peasants, they exploit, though in varying degrees, the overwhelming majority of the village population.

(ii) Now take the case of the family which has 50

bighas of land. There are 8 members in the family. Apart from agriculture, this family engages in a far-flung and flourishing money-lending business, and also runs a few other small businesses.

The income of this family is like this: The 50 bighas of land yield 300 maunds of paddy valued at Rs. 24,000 (calculated as in the previous case). The amount of Rs. 10,000 invested in the money-lending business yields an annual return of Rs. 30,000. The family possesses two rickshaws and earns Rs. 900 every year from this source. The annual income from the sale of hay (calculated as in the previous case) is Rs. 5,000. So the total annual income of the family is Rs. 59,900.

The annual expenditure of the family is: 10 labourers are employed at the daily rate of Rs. 3 per head for 2 months to cultivate and harvest the crops of the 50 bighas of land. The annual expenditure for this comes to Rs. 1,800. Cost of the 500 kgs. or 12½ maunds of seed for 50 bighas is Rs. 1,000. The annual expenses for the maintenance of the 8 members of the family worked out at Rs. 70 per month for every member are Rs. 6,720. Allowing another Rs. 1,000 for other expenses during the year, the total annual expenditure of the family is Rs. 10,520.

So, this family has an annual surplus of Rs. 49,380.

These five families of this village, each of which owns 50 or more bighas of land and whom we have placed under the section [A], have been controlling the economic life, and, till now, the political life also, of this and a few other neighbouring villages. Not even a naya paisa [the smallest Indian coin] of their huge surplus is deposited in banks. All this amount is invested in land or things related to land. They constitute the diehard reactionaries in these villages, and vigorously oppose measures to reform agriculture. One of them is a supporter of Bangla Congress while three others support the Congress Party. It is the people of this class who enjoy benefits in matters of rent,

levy etc. The police, the BDO, the JLRO are their cronies. All the benefits of government agricultural co-operatives are monopolised by these people.

[B] Eight families in the village own 8 to 14 bighas of land each. They till the land themselves, and have no time to work as sharecroppers in other people's land.

One of these families having 8 members, possesses 13 bighas of land. The income of this family is as follows :

Calculated as in the previous cases, the 13 bighas of land yield 78 maunds of paddy valued at Rs. 6,240. This is the only income of this family during the year.

The annual expenditure of the family is as follows :

The man, himself working on his own land, is equivalent to a labourer. The cost of engaging such a labourer for 4 months at Rs. 3 per day is Rs. 360. One additional labourer has to be engaged during the harvesting for about 25 days. The wage of this labourer is Rs. 75 at Rs. 3 per day. The cost of seed for the 13 bighas of land is Rs. 300 (calculated as before). The expenses for the maintenance of the eight members of the family for one year come to Rs. 4,800 assuming the monthly maintenance cost of each member to be Rs. 50. Allowing another Rs. 65 for expenses like construction, repairs etc. of the dwelling place, the annual expenditure of the family is Rs. 5,600. So, the family has an annual surplus of Rs. 640. (As the income from the sale of hay and the expenses for hiring ploughs cancel each other out, these have not been taken into account.)

But the man had to borrow a sum of Rs. 500 in the month of *Asharh* owing to a bad harvest in the previous year. This amount has by this time increased to Rs. 1,250 (including interest). With his entire surplus of Rs. 640 the man can partly pay up his debt, and yet will be left with a debt burden of Rs. 610. By the time the next crop is harvested, this debt will treble. The process will continue unrelentingly and the growing debt becomes a permanent

burden on this middle peasant family. Weighed down under the increasing and crushing burden of debt this family is forced to part with some more portion of the land it now possesses. In this way, the landlords and money-lenders of the village will push them down from the 'owner peasant' to the 'semi-owner peasant' category.

That is why this class, though at first apprehensive of revolution and the leading role of the rural proletariat, is now in the process of overcoming their illusions. Their attitude is like that of the urban petty bourgeoisie. They are always vacillating. Crushed by grinding exploitation, they are trying to rally behind the poor and landless peasants. But, on the other hand, they suffer from blind fear of revolution. They think like this—'Nothing can possibly be done to get rid of the clutches of this exploitation'—and become frustrated. When the broad peasant masses rally under the leadership of the rural proletariat to overthrow the exploiters, they will rally behind the revolutionary forces.

[C] Seventeen families of this village possess from 1 to 5 bighas of land each. Of these, 14 families also work as sharecroppers in some land of the rich peasants. The other three families are deprived of even this.

(i) A family with 7 members works on 4 bighas of land owned by it and on another 8 bighas of rented land (sharecropping). The 4 bighas of land yield 24 maunds of paddy and they obtain another 24 maunds from the 8 bighas of rented land (as the sharecropper's share on 50-50 basis). So, the quantity of paddy obtained from their own land and from the rented land taken together amounts to 48 maunds, the value of which is Rs. 3,840. 32 kahans of hay is obtained from this paddy the value of which is Rs. 800. So, the family has an annual income of Rs. 4,640.

The annual expenditure of that family is like this :

The cost of seed for the 12 bighas of land is Rs. 280.

The wage of the man working on his own land and on the rented land for 6 months is Rs. 540. The maintenance expenses of the 7 members of the family is Rs. 4,200 per year (taking the monthly expense per head as Rs. 50). The total hire charge for ploughs is Rs. 240. The family's total annual expenditure is, therefore, Rs. 5,260.

From the above it becomes clear that even in a year of good harvest the family has an annual deficit of Rs. 620. But this family already has a burden of old debt amounting to Rs. 1,100 on its shoulder. Now, the current deficit of Rs. 620, which must be met by fresh borrowing, pushes the amount of debt to Rs. 1,720. This amount, in two years' time, will assume enormous proportions, thanks to the exorbitant rates of interest. Paddy is borrowed from the usurers at a very high rate by mortgaging the land. As a result, this class is rapidly becoming landless. Due to the exploitation and oppression of the jotedars, money-lenders and government officials, these 'semi-owner' peasants are being rapidly reduced to sharecroppers. This section of the peasants is a far more firmly of the rural proletariat than the peasants in [B]. These peasants feel the necessity of making revolution and support every struggle of the peasants against exploitation.

(ii) Of the 3 families which have to depend on their own land (1 to 5 bighas) alone and do not have the opportunity of working as sharecroppers, one family of 6 members possesses 5 bighas of land. A brother of the head of this family is unmarried and is a day-labourer. He has been included as a member of this family. The family has no other source of income. The income of this family is like this: The 5 bighas of land yield 30 maunds of paddy valued at Rs. 2,400. The sale of hay brings in another Rs. 500. The day-labourer (mentioned above), who has work for 6 months, earns Rs. 540. So, the total annual income of the family is Rs. 3,340.

The annual expenditure of the family is: Cost of seed Rs. 100, hire charge for ploughs Rs. 100. The wage of the member of the family who works on the land for 70 days is Rs. 210. Annual maintenance expenses for the 6 members of the family amount to Rs. 3,600. So, the total annual expenditure of the family is Rs. 4,000. This results in an annual deficit of Rs. 670.

Even in a year of good harvest this 'semi-owner' peasant family has a deficit to meet which it has to borrow from the usurers at a very high rate of interest and by mortgaging land. The outstanding loan of this family is Rs. 2,000. They are gradually being reduced to day-labourers and are even more militant than those in (i) above. Economically they are close to the poor sharecroppers of the village. They invariably and actively support the struggle of the rural proletariat.

[D] **Sharecroppers:** They have no land whatsoever of their own, but work as sharecroppers in other people's land. There are at present 14 such families in the village. Of these, one family of 8 members which had been working for three years on a jotedar's land was evicted last year after the harvest by the jotedar. So, he has obtained permission from a jotedar to work on 10 bighas of his land after paying Rs. 1,000 as *salami* [feudal tribute, a kind of bribe]. On top of this he has the burden of an old debt of Rs. 1,500 on his shoulder. No matter whether there is a good harvest or not he must pay up that debt immediately after the harvest.

This family's share of the harvest of the 10 bighas of land (50-50 basis) is 30 maunds of paddy valued at Rs. 2,400; the hay obtained from this is worth Rs. 500. The husband and the wife, who work as day-labourers for one month in the year, together earn Rs. 150 (the rates being Rs. 3 per day for men, and Rs. 2 for women). So, the family has a total annual income of Rs. 3,050.

The first thing he is obliged to do is to pay up the loan



of Rs. 2,500 (the amount of Rs. 1,000 paid as *salami* is added to the old loan of Rs. 1,500). His own wage is Rs. 450, hire charge for ploughs Rs. 200. The total annual expenditure thus comes to Rs. 3,350. So, the family's annual deficit, excluding the maintenance expenses of its members, comes to Rs. 300. Taking the monthly maintenance expenses for each member as Rs. 40, the total annual expenditure on this account for the 8 members of the family is Rs. 3,840. This increases the deficit to Rs. 4,140.

And they must borrow this entire sum. But as they do not possess any land they hardly manage to get Rs. 1,500 or so as loan. With this borrowed sum they can procure some food to have one meal a day or even less for 5 to 6 months in the year. During the remaining months of the year they borrow food from relatives, eat all sorts of things edible and inedible and starve.

They are the poor peasants, the semi-proletariat of the village. They do not know for certain whether they would be engaged as sharecroppers for the next year. So, they live in constant anxiety.

A look at the system of sharecropping will reveal its nature of feudal exploitation. Unlike the owner and semi-owner peasants, the sharecroppers possess no land. The rent for one bigha of land is Rs. 12 ; but under the system of sharecropping this rent increases 20 times, and in some places 25 times this amount. As a result of this intense exploitation, the sharecroppers rally firmly under the leadership of the proletariat for overthrowing the exploiters and build a society without exploitation. After the rural proletariat, they are the most revolutionary class in the village.

[E] There are 45 families of agricultural labourers in the village constituting 40% of the total number of families in the village. They possess no land and must labour to live. They have work for 5 or 6 months in the year, that is, only during the period when there is work to be done

in the field. For the rest of the year they have no jobs and do all sorts of odd jobs they can find in towns or elsewhere, e.g., construction of roads. For most of the year they have to starve or live on meagre food. As they have no property, movable or immovable, the money-lenders do not, in general, give them loans. Whatever loans they manage to get are received by mortgaging their labour-power. They live in shanties built on small pieces of land measuring about 1 to 2 cottahs [1 cottah =  $\frac{1}{20}$  of a bigha], which are either government land or belong to other people who have kindly allowed them to dwell there. They have not even any poultry. They are the rural proletariat.

One such family has 7 members. Both the husband and the wife work. Their income is as follows :

The man earns Rs. 185 in three months (working to pay off the loan obtained by mortgaging labour-power) and Rs. 270 in another three months at current wage-rates. So, his total income in 6 months is Rs. 405. The woman also works in the same way and earns in the 6 months Rs. 270 only. Together they earn Rs. 775. This is their total annual income.

Their expenses are : Maintenance of the 7 members of the family for the year Rs. 2,520 (monthly expense Rs. 30 per head). So, the family has an annual deficit of Rs. 1,745.

They are the most impoverished class in the village. That is why they play the most important role in the peasants' revolutionary war led by the working class to overthrow feudalism in the rural areas.

(To be concluded)

## Indonesian People's Armed Forces Stand Firm Against Counter- Revolutionary "Encirclement and Suppression"

ACTIVE in the vast rural areas and the mountains of West Kalimantan, the Indonesian people's revolutionary armed forces, have fought repeatedly and heroically against the reactionary Indonesian government troops since starting their revolutionary armed struggle one and a half years ago. They stand firm against heavy enemy encirclement. The red flag of armed revolution is flying high over the mountains of West Kalimantan, bringing enormous encouragement to all Indonesian people under the white terror of the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed." As a result of the protracted and tortuous path they have travelled and their bitter experience, the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia have come to realize this great revolutionary truth pointed out by Chairman Mao. In mid July, 1967, they fired the first shot of the armed revolution in West Kalimantan and have since developed the great revolutionary armed struggle to overthrow Suharto-Nasution fascist rule by relying on the peasants and building up revolutionary base areas in the countryside.

With the support of the broad masses of peasants and by applying flexible strategy and tactics in the past one and a half years, the West Kalimantan people's revolutionary armed forces have fought continuously against the

reactionary government troops. They have mounted surprise attacks on enemy ammunition depots, repeatedly raided police stations of the reactionary regime and ambushed enemy military vehicles and seized large quantities of arms from enemy troops. They have waged a resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" operations of the reactionary government troops. In November 1967, a detachment of the people's armed forces ambushed a unit of the reactionary troops in a mountainous area east of Bengkayang. By concentrating a superior force and encircling part of the reactionary troops, they were highly successful.

In the latter part of last March, the same detachment ambushed a part of the troops of the Siliwangi Division, the main armed force of the reactionary Indonesian government, at Sebakak in the Sungkung region. In five consecutive days of fighting, they inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. The reactionary Djakarta press had to admit that in this fierce fighting the people's revolutionary armed forces encircled and attacked the reactionary troops "from all sides" and withdrew "in an orderly manner" after the battle ended.

Last August and September, this detachment of the people's revolutionary armed forces dealt repeated, severe blows at the Siliwangi Division, the Indonesian reactionaries' "crack" troops, in Sungkung and Sanggauledo and in the vicinity of Singkawang.

The people's revolutionary armed forces in West Kalimantan have attached great importance to rousing and relying on the masses. Even when intense fighting takes place, they send many mass movement work brigades or armed squads deep into the villages to carry out propaganda among the peasants, calling on them to rise and overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. These work brigades and armed squads help the peasants in political study and military training and in establishing local people's armed forces and local revolutionary political power. They also guide the peasants in production campaigns.

As a result of the development of mass work the struggle of the West Kalimantan people's revolutionary armed forces has won widespread support from the local people.

The Suharto-Nasution fascist regime has resorted to all kinds of counter-revolutionary tactics in the past year or more in an attempt to put down the raging flames of the people's armed revolution in West Kalimantan. It moved large numbers of reactionary troops from Java, Sumatra and other islands to West Kalimantan and collaborated with the "Malaysian" puppet regime in carrying out counter-revolutionary "joint encirclement and suppression" operations against the West Kalimantan people's revolutionary armed forces. It blockaded the regions where this detachment of the people's revolutionary armed forces was active, and carried out the most inhuman policy of "burn all, loot all and kill all." This fascist regime blatantly boasted that by adopting these counter-revolutionary measures it could quickly "eliminate" the people's revolutionary armed forces. However, facts ran contrary to the Indonesian reactionaries' wishes. The new-born revolutionary armed forces in West Kalimantan which rely on the local revolutionary people—a true bastion of iron—have been tempered and have grown stronger in the struggle against the blockade and the "encirclement and suppression" operations of the reactionary troops. The heroic struggle of the West Kalimantan people's armed forces has inspired the people throughout Indonesia and dealt a heavy blow to the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime.

Referring to the situation in the world and in China, Chairman Mao pointed out more than 20 years ago: "While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns. There are still many difficulties ahead which we must not overlook. By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory." Tempered and growing stronger in battle, the West Kalimantan people's revolutionary armed forces will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and win fresh victories step by step.

## Armed Peasant Struggle In The Palia Area of Lakhimpur

(Report of an interview with the revolutionaries of the Palia area)

What we call Palia area is a part of Lakhimpur district in U.P. and is situated in its northern *Terai* region. When we began our Kisan struggle in this area, we had influence only in 11 villages. These 11 villages stretch in a line to the south of Nepal and a left of forest.

Viewed from the angle of topography and life of the people, this area is a very long belt stretching from Nainital district and covering all the *Terai* region of Pilibhit, Lakhimpur, Behraich and Gonda, and extends south from Behraich to Sitapur district along the banks of the river Sarjoo.

The whole of this area was previously covered with forests and was inhabited by the tribal people, the Tharus, and other very poor peasants of the district.

The Congress Government invited the landless people from the Eastern districts of U.P., namely, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Ballia, Azamgarh and Gazipur, to plough the land. Promises of 10 to 20 acres of land to each peasant and offers of aid and loan were made. Lakhs and lakhs of landless and poor people, oppressed and exploited by landlords and money-lenders, migrated to these areas in quest of land.

But very few got the promised land. Landlords, Congress and Jana Sangh leaders and even some capitalists got huge plots of land ranging from 500 acres to 2000 acres and more. Besides, thousands of acres were forcibly occupied by them illegally with the help of *goonda* gangs. They had most of these legalised afterwards by fraudulent means. The Tharus were driven out to Nepal; other poor peasants were also driven out.

The land actually belonged to the poor peasants who had

cut down the forests and ploughed the land. But the rich landlords tried to drive them out of it and to grab it. The poor peasants who had had to fight against the beasts of the forest when they first came here, had now to fight against human beasts.

But the fight of these poor people had been mostly defensive for the last ten years. Different parties invariably came to this area, especially before elections, shed crocodile tears at the fate of the landlords, preached "peaceful" occupation of the land, used the landless as their election cadre and vanished when the elections were over. The peasants remained in occupation till they were strong and lost the land the moment their vigilance slackened or their organisation grew weak. Then they worked either as sharecroppers or as agricultural labourers or as debt slaves.

After the last general election the people of this area had a new experience. The non-Congress parties, which had been shedding tears previously, themselves began to drive the peasants out of their lands as soon as a non-Congress Government came to power. Pratap Singh, a P.S.P. Minister, who himself had established a colony of "illegal" occupants (in Nainital district) just before the elections and had named it Pratapnagar after his own name, used 'liquor-drunk' elephants to smash the colony at the behest of his own ministry almost immediately after becoming a minister.

All the peaceful methods have failed. People have seen the result of peaceful *satyagraha* in Sampurnanagar in our Palia Area. All legal measures go against the peasants.

The above *satyagraha* was much disliked by the revisionist leaders of the State. Even the neo-revisionist leaders opposed developing the area as a base 'lest the battle there might turn into armed struggle'. Every party knows that the land problem cannot be solved by peaceful means. It is only a long, protracted guerrilla struggle that can resolve it, so no political party thinks of a sustained

movement for land. The revisionists and neo-revisionists do not like to develop even a Party unit for fear of armed struggle by the peasants.

Just after Naxalbari, the whole of this Terai region resounded with the call of the peasants' struggle for land. The renegade Dange clique and the socialists at once rushed into the area to administer their "sweet" dose of "peaceful" struggle with impotent calls from their non-existent "peaceful Bhoomi and Hal Senas." But the medicine did not serve the purpose. The renegades ran away and vanished as soon as they saw approximately 600 guns in the hands of the landlords' and rich farmers' *goonda* gangs in Naupara (Behraich) area alone.

The unit of Palia then consisted of only 12 regular members, only three of whom were ready to take up arms, and the rest were at best sympathisers.

The art of warfare can be learnt only through warfare. We could not fully assimilate the teachings of Comrade Mao and thought that the 'rural base area of peasant struggle' could be built up only by a handful of revolutionaries sitting in the forest. Several months passed before we again cared to study the "Mass Line" of Chairman Mao and began to go to the people. This Mass Line is being assimilated by us only gradually during the course of our struggle.

Though we mainly popularised the *Quotations* from Chairman Mao and could not properly link the thought of Mao Tse-tung with the revolutionary practice of our own area or the country, yet the little work that we did in popularising the thought has proved that once the thought of Mao Tse-tung is grasped by the people, it will become a material force for the furtherance of the revolution. Our people could not have become so firm and persistent but for the little work that we did in the beginning.

The peasants began their struggle for land in the months of January and February 1968 and the area witnessed a great upheaval in the months of May and June

when there were big peasant fights in a Pilibhit Terai farm and Patian, Gholia and Ibrahimपुरi farms in our area against the goonda gangs of the big farmers and lands were occupied. It was during these months that the people saw the police force trembling and the S.D.O. pale at the sight of the armed people. The Gholia farm struggle in which the goondas got a good thrashing at the hands of the people, turned the whole course of events. 15 of the goondas fell down on the field wounded; in three big farms the rich farmers were deprived of their properties and their arms captured.

All the 11 villages remained just a P.A.C. camp for about 2 weeks. Then 3 of these police camps were maintained for about three more months. Now in the last two months, the police organised sudden raids on the villages five times. However almost all our fighters are safe. The people hide them in their midst. Only a few have gone to the forest.

Since then, we have also been trying to organise guerrilla activity, specially against the farmers, to seize their guns. In some of the cases we failed. Failures could not be avoided in the beginning. After all, we were neither thieves nor dacoits nor trained in military affairs. Military knowledge and courage come only after some experience. Now in some cases we have succeeded. Our failures have taught us important lessons, our successes have enthused us. We hope to gain more successes in the future.

But there are many failings and shortcomings, which we have discussed in our meetings. They are of a very general character. But they are there.

—Just after the police raids we went into passive defence. For some time defence was necessary as "a means of supplementing attack or preparing to go over to the attack." But now the time has come to proceed further towards attack. We find that our preparations are not yet thorough.

This failing of ours arose because of certain difficulties, which we are trying hard to overcome.

Our second failing arises out of our wrong understanding, our underestimation of the role of people's organisation. We have neither a Party, nor any mass organisation but some units. We tried to set up revolutionary peasant committees in 8 of our villages, but the manner in which they were constituted appears to be faulty, they could not function.

It is only now that we have begun to discuss the programme of our area. Previously we declared that our intention was to drive out all the big farmers of our area. Now we have formulated our policy. Big farmers, goondas, corrupt political leaders and money-lenders are our enemies. The area has to be cleared of these elements. The big farmers are the landlords of this area, but those farmers who do not engage in feudal forms of exploitation and oppression and side with the revolution will get lenient treatment at the hands of the revolutionary power. The landless and poor peasants, who constitute about 70% of the people of this area, are our own force. It is on them that we mainly rely. Whether they are Tharus, Raisikhs, original residents of the district, people from the eastern districts or Punjabis, all the poor people are our friends. The settlers, who have got legal rights over their plots of land ranging from 10 to 20 acres are also our allies. They are also being oppressed by the big farmers, landlords and money-lenders. We will maintain firm alliance with them and fight for their interests.

Till now our struggle was confined to the problem of land. This issue is no doubt the most important issue.

The struggle for land will be carried on. One of the biggest farmers, who was most notorious for his anti-people crimes, has fled away giving his land to another fellow on sharecropping basis. Others are also trying to do the same. We are declaring that no such sharecropping will be

permitted by the people's revolutionary force. All the land of such landlords belongs to the people. Only the revolutionary committee can make a settlement of such vacant lands. We will allow only landless poor and even ordinary peasants to plough such lands, but if one gives any share of the produce to the landlord, one would be liable to punishment and forfeiture of all the grains.

Now we have decided to take up other issues also. We are going to appeal to the peasants to stop all payment of a share of the produce to the landlords and big farmers.

Here, in this area the rent a peasant has to pay is Rs. 5.60 per acre, whereas for a farmer it is only Rs. 1 or a maximum of Rs. 1.50. We will ask the people to stop all payment of land rent. Payment of dues on production basis will be charged by the revolutionary committee.

We will also ask the peasants to stop all payments of old debts to the money-lenders.

The armed struggle for land will become a mighty torrent when it is combined with these mass struggles.

Till now, our area of influence has extended from 11 to 30 villages. The sparks of armed struggle have begun to shine in Nainital also. We expect that our slogans will give a new impetus to the movement there. Of course, the Party, mass organisations and more organised batches of fighters are required to lead the struggles of the people. The thought of Mao Tse-tung will be our guide.

Nine members of our first squad have taken a vow with the red book in their hands to work as a disciplined party and lead the revolution through to the end.

We are very glad that the Indian revolutionaries are organising a genuine Communist Party.

The necessity for such a Party was being felt by us for a long time.

Under the leadership of such a Party we will be able to overcome all the difficulties and to lead the revolution in our region.

## Draft Political Programme For The Revolutionary Student and Youth Movement

*This Draft, prepared by the West Bengal State Students' Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, has been circulated among the revolutionary students and youth workers of West Bengal for discussion and necessary improvement. We reproduce this Draft in Liberation so that it may serve as a basis for discussion among revolutionary student and youth workers throughout India and a strong all-India organisation may be built up to guide the revolutionary movement of the students and the youth.*

—Editorial Board, Liberation

1. In colonial India our people carried on a glorious struggle against imperialism for national freedom and independence. The aim of this struggle was to transform the colonial and semi-feudal social system, education and culture into an independent and democratic social system, education and culture. The main force of this anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle was workers, peasants and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie the major section of which was the youth and students. Our youth and students played a glorious fighting role in this struggle for national freedom and independence.

2. After the Great October Revolution in Russia and at a critical time when, after the Second World War, a vast mass-awakening took place in the national freedom struggle, the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India—their principal political mouth-piece was the Indian National Congress—betrayed the national freedom struggle to serve their own narrow reactionary class interests. Afraid of being overthrown, which seemed imminent, by the high tide of the death-defying national freedom struggle, the

imperialists and the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India entered into an agreement.

As a result of imperialism's manoeuvre, imperialist exploitation was preserved intact and the imperialists chose to move away behind the scene allowing their two social bases in this country—the feudal landlords and the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India—to take up the reins for carrying on direct rule and oppression. In this way the Congress leadership became imperialism's agent for ruling the country. The aim of this notorious agreement was to blunt and disrupt Indian people's anti-imperialist struggle and to continue imperialist exploitation and rule in a new way. In a desperate attempt to cover up this fact, a so-called 'Republic' and a 'Constitution' with universal adult franchise were proclaimed under instructions from and under the guidance of the imperialists. If the rulers and exploiters so desire, this 'Republic' can, at any moment, be transformed into a monarchical dictatorship of the President.

3. In fact, there has not been any qualitative change in India's social development until now. British imperialist exploitation has not only continued uninterrupted, but even increased. Moreover, other imperialists, and specially, U.S. imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of the world's people and Soviet social-imperialism, the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, who are jointly working for world domination and for re-dividing the world among themselves, have penetrated into India at an increasingly rapid rate. In the name of giving economic 'aid', U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have reduced India into a neo-colony and are carrying on their cruel neo-colonial exploitation and rule. Indeed, they lead all other imperialists in carrying out imperialist rule and exploitation in India. The relation between the foreign imperialists on the one hand and the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords of India, the reactionary Indian

government and the Indian bureaucracy on the other, is that of a master and his lackeys. Today India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country and has been reduced into a neo-colony.

4. The cruel rule and exploitation of India by her four enemies—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their two lackeys, the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords—have stalled the all-round progress of the country. In the interest of carrying on their exploitation, the foreign imperialists are preserving the decadent and rotten feudal system in our country. In this way they are cruelly exploiting the peasantry, brought about disaster in the country's agriculture and have barred the road to a free capitalist development of industry in the country.

Robbed of their land, driven out of their homes, the peasants have been reduced to the position of paupers and starving beggars. The rate of food production having gradually decreased, a food crisis has set in, resulting in starvation and semi-starvation all over the country. Both the national and the international markets are controlled by the imperialists as a result of which the purchasing power of the peasants, who constitute eighty per cent of the country's population, has continuously fallen. This, in turn, has thrown the development of the country's industry into an alarming crisis. In a vain bid to get rid of this crisis the exploiters are passing the burden of this crisis on to the workers and other toiling people by resorting to retrenchment, lay-off, closure and by introducing automation. The pauperisation of peasants and the retrenchment of workers and employees are daily making the crisis more intense. The unemployment situation has become explosive. While the entire system of production in the country is in such an appalling state, the education system is being restricted and the number of educated persons are sought to be reduced by various tricks. This is inevitable in a society based on exploitation.

The ruling classes and the exploiters have always been using a two-faced reactionary policy to prevent the exploited and oppressed masses from advancing unitedly along the correct revolutionary path to liberate themselves from the monstrous and reactionary exploitation and oppression.

On the one hand, people are being corrupted morally and spiritually and disruption and weakness are sought to be sown among the fighting masses by all sorts of poisonous propaganda defending the present system of exploitation and oppression, by encouraging the spread of sex-biased vulgarity, rabid chauvinism, provincialism and religious communalism; by spreading all sorts of lies and slanders against the great Socialist China—the source of inspiration and hope of the toiling people of the whole world; and by turning India into a base for imperialist aggression against China and whipping up a vicious anti-China war hysteria. The exploiting classes have skilfully managed to send their agents, who wear various garbs, into the ranks of the fighting masses. Posing as revolutionaries, these agents are holding back the people's struggle from behind, and are trying to preserve the existing system of exploitation and oppression by leading the people astray. The revisionists and the neo-revisionists—the bootlickers of the ruling classes—are such agents. But as soon as the people begin to overcome all these obstacles, sweep forward along the road of struggle and start hitting at the exploiters and oppressors, the ruling classes reveal the other aspect of their policy and rush out with naked ferocity to attack the fighting masses with the police, the military and various draconic laws and try to destroy the people's struggle with unrestrained violence and brutality. Thus, they reveal their true fascist features hidden behind the mask of 'democracy.'

5. Thus, the basic reason for all the problems now facing the workers, peasants, employees and other toiling people including the youth and the students, the problems

of food, education, unemployment, culture, freedom, democracy etc., lies in the fact that the Indian society is today semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character. The crisis has now entered a stage when it is impossible for the existing social system even to make the smallest progress, not to speak of ushering in the new. Every single problem is worsening daily and is assuming enormous proportions bringing the people's normal life almost to a standstill. The contradictions between the Indian people and imperialism, between the peasantry and the feudal lords and between the working class and the comprador-bourgeoisie have become very sharp. Of all these, the contradiction between the peasantry and the feudal exploiting class is the principal contradiction. The peasant problem is a national problem, because it affects the peasants, who constitute eighty per cent of the country's population. By people we mean, in the main, the peasants. In this sense, the contradiction between the overwhelming majority of the people, the peasants, and the feudal exploiting class is the principal contradiction.

6. The only way to achieve liberation from the existing reactionary system based on exploitation and oppression and to attain independence and democracy is resolutely to overthrow by armed force the four enemies—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys in this country, the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, and thus to complete the People's Democratic Revolution. There is no other way. We can carry this revolution through to victory and establish a people's democratic state only by successfully applying the all-conquering thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era and the great leader of the world communist movement. Only after this can we advance towards socialism.

We must reject the hoax of parliamentarism and accomplish the People's Democratic Revolution through



revolutionary people's war by uniting the fighting masses in a revolutionary way under the leadership of the Communist Party and the working class and on the firm basis of worker-peasant alliance. Today the basic task is to liberate the rural areas through revolutionary armed agrarian revolution and encircle the cities and, finally, to liberate the cities and thus complete the revolution throughout the country. Our main stress must be on fulfilling this task. The peasant struggles in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and other places which have developed along <sup>line</sup> this ~~time~~ are the vigorous path-makers of India's liberation struggle.

While such agrarian revolution is being developed in the rural areas it is of great importance to inspire the factory workers and other toiling people, the broad masses of fighting people, in the cities with revolutionary politics, to make them active and to build up class struggle among them to support the agrarian revolution and to organise democratic movements there. To ignore this task will be disastrous for the revolution.

7. The primary condition for the success of the People's Democratic revolution is to establish the leadership of the Communist Party and the working class over the revolution and to lead the people and revolution along the correct road mentioned above. The so-called communists and the other political parties in India have refused to undertake this revolutionary task. In spite of enormous courageous sacrifices it was possible for the comprador-bureaucrat big bourgeoisie of India and their chief political representative, the National Congress, to betray the people in 1947 because there was no correct revolutionary leadership. As a result of this, the aims of India's struggle for national freedom and independence remained unfulfilled.

During the Congress regime and till now, all movements have been led by the so-called Leftist political parties. These parties pay only lip service to Marxism-Leninism

but, in practice, have never cared to educate the workers, peasants, youth, students and the broad masses in Marxism-Leninism nor directed their struggles along the Marxist-Leninist line. On the contrary, they have kept the movements strictly within the bounds of laws which are based on exploitation and dragged them down into the mire of economism, reformism and parliamentarism. This explains why in spite of enormous glorious sacrifices and bloodshed, these struggles have not solved problems nor brought liberation. These revisionist and neo-revisionist parties are trying, as the reactionary Congress Party has been doing, to preserve by various means the existing social system based on exploitation and to destroy the revolutionary people and their struggle. In this way, all these parties are serving the reactionary classes and have proved themselves counter-revolutionaries.

The experience of our freedom struggle, which is more than a hundred years old, and the experience of the revolutionary struggles for people's democracy and of other revolutionary struggle, the world over teach us that, in order to win victory in the revolution, we must courageously and resolutely advance along the revolutionary road under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. To attain victory by persisting in the revolutionary road we must not only resolutely oppose the exploiting and ruling classes by adopting correct Marxist-Leninist method, but must also fight determinedly against revisionism and neo-revisionism.

8. We must build up revolutionary struggles of the youth and the students on the lines of the struggle of the workers, the peasants and other toiling people to support the agrarian revolution, which is the principal task of the people's democratic revolution, under the banner of the thought of Chairman Mao.

The basic orientation of the youth and student movement in our country at the present time, must be to attain

the immediate object of establishing a people's democratic state through agrarian revolution, that is, people's democratic revolution; and on its basis, to attain the long-term object of building a socialist India. The youth and student masses in our country must, without delay, be united and rallied in the anti-imperialist anti-feudal national democratic struggle under the leadership of the working class, that is, the agrarian revolution, to achieve national freedom, independence and democracy. The student movement must be integrated with the struggle of workers, peasants and other toiling people, with the struggle for people's liberation and a united struggle to support the armed agrarian revolution must be built up.

9. Only a few advanced elements cannot carry this struggle through to a victorious end. The broad masses of the youth and the students are the main force in this struggle. The mere propagation of the politics of agrarian revolution can induce only a small section of the advanced and conscious elements among the youth and the students to come forward and participate in the struggle. But it will take quite a long time for the broad sections of the youth and students who are backward, to grasp the revolutionary politics and participate consciously in political work if we rely on propaganda alone. So, the advanced section will get isolated from the overwhelming majority of the youth and students who are backward, if it tries to advance into the struggle by itself without caring to inspire the backward sections in order to make them participate actively in the struggle. Taking the opportunity provided by this isolation of the advanced section, the reactionaries organise the broad sections of backward masses and utilise them to serve the needs of counter-revolution.

The advanced section must, therefore, lay special emphasis on building up struggles on the basis of the general political programme of agrarian revolution against

the various problems and difficulties affecting the life of the broad masses of the youth and students with a view to uniting the backward sections and inspiring them to participate actively in the national democratic struggle. The discontent, indignation, revolt and struggle of the youth and the students against any problem they face, including the problems of food, education, unemployment, culture, must be supported and these must be organised into powerful struggles on correct lines and directed to attain the revolutionary objective. At every stage of struggle the methods and tactics which we adopt in our propaganda, programme of action and movement must be such as ensure mass participation by broad sections of the youth and students, enhance their political consciousness and activate them.

10. While the conscious and advanced elements, guided by the thought of Chairman Mao, work in their respective spheres to build, in theory and in practice, an anti-imperialist anti-feudal fighting unity among the broad sections of the youth and students through political propaganda and struggle, they must, at the same time, establish contacts with people who live in places close to the areas in which they work, with workers and the illiterate people who live in slums in towns and cities, and with the peasants in the villages, and become one with them. In this way they can become pupils of the people and take a leading role in organising revolutionary peasant struggle. Those youth and students who are more advanced in theory and practice must go to the villages, unless circumstances make it impracticable for them, to work there among the peasants as wholtime workers under the guidance of the revolutionary party.

Political mobilisation and initiative of the youth and students must be organised on revolutionary political slogans in support of the other revolutionary masses, and they must be mobilised to carry on revolutionary political propaganda. Joint initiative and joint mobilisation,

meeting, demonstration, discussion with the other fighting masses have to be organised. Whenever any repression is let loose on any section of the revolutionary masses or against their struggle, the youth and the students must be rallied to resist it and express their indignation against it, and to give full support to the struggle.

The youth and the students must come forward in support of liberation struggle, whether in our own country or anywhere else in the world. Popular opinion must be organised in support of these struggles and the masses must be inspired with the idea of proletarian internationalism.

Political classes must be organised for the youth and the students and political literature and leaflets widely spread among them. Every medium for carrying on propaganda among the masses should be made use of.

In this way, the youth among the intelligentsia, the youth and student masses, must not only become an advanced section, an important detachment, in the anti-imperialist anti-feudal democratic revolution in our country but must become one with workers and peasants.

11. No struggle, be it economic or political, can be sustained if it is isolated and relies on its own strength alone. Only a united and fighting organisation can carry on struggle through to the end in a disciplined manner, along correct lines and according to a definite programme. If the youth and the students are to fulfil their important and historic political task in our anti-imperialist anti-feudal national democratic struggle in the context of the existing national and international situation, they must have their own mass political organisation. This is indispensable. Without this, they cannot fulfil their task and will be defeated by the blows of counter-revolution. Such a mass political organisation of the youth and students will have as its leading body the State organisation. Those revolutionary youth and students who, inspired with the thought

of Chairman Mao, have come forward to implement the revolutionary politics of agrarian revolution, that is, the Naxalbari politics, in an organised manner and those new elements who are coming forward now to work for this purpose will have to be organised in their respective spheres of work and on the basis of the programme mentioned above. The mass political organisation of the youth and students should comprise of such elements.

12. We are now living in the era of the thought of Chairman Mao when imperialism is rapidly heading towards total collapse. Imperialism and its lackeys in various countries are on the brink of their total destruction. In many countries of the world, including Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia, armed struggles are raging and the flames of people's war are burning world reaction into ashes. The flames of agrarian revolution have spread from Naxalbari to Srikakulam, Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri. The revolt of the peasant revolutionaries in Kerala shook the whole country. Just now the Adibasis in the Chotanagpur area are relentlessly marching forward in their liberation struggle and the national liberation struggles of the Nagas, the Mizos and the Kukis have reached a new stage. So, we must correctly apply the thought of Chairman Mao and respect and rely wholly and completely on the heroic 500 million Indian people. Once we are able to do this there is no doubt that we can march forward resolutely, liberate our country from the imperialists and their Indian lackeys, and build an independent, people's democratic India.

## Chenpao Island Has Always Been Chinese Territory

Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry

ON March 2, 1969, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent out large numbers of armed soldiers who intruded flagrantly into Chenpao Island on the Ussuri River in Hulin County, Heilungkiang Province, China, and launched a sudden attack on our frontier guards on patrol duty, killing and wounding many of them. It has thus committed a new grave crime against the Chinese people and incurred another debt in blood. The army men and civilians of our country in their hundreds of millions have expressed the deepest indignation at this.

However, after the incident, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, calling black white and confusing right and wrong, described China's Chenpao Island as part of Soviet territory and the Soviet revisionist armed troops' intrusion into Chinese territory and their attack on Chinese frontier guards as Chinese frontier guards crossing Soviet state frontier to attack Soviet frontier troops. This is sheer nonsense!

Chenpao Island has always been Chinese territory. The "Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu" of September 8, 1689 stipulated that the Erhkuna River, the Gorbitza River and the Outer Khingan Mountains form the eastern sector of the Sino-Russian boundary and that the vast areas north of the Heilungkiang River, south of the Outer Khingan Mountains and east of the Ussuri River are all Chinese territory. The Ussuri River where Chenpao Island is situated was then an inland river of China. While the allied British-French imperialist troops were attacking Tientsin and threatening Peking in their aggression against China, tsarist Russian imperialism seized the opportunity to compel the authorities of the Ching Dynasty by armed force to sign the unequal "Sino-

Russian Treaty of Aigun" on May 28, 1858, by which it annexed more than 600,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory north of the Heilungkiang River and placed some 400,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River under the joint possession of China and Russia. Again taking advantage of the military pressure brought about by the British-French imperialist war of aggression against China and after the occupation of Peking by the British and French aggressor troops, tsarist Russian imperialism forced the government of the Ching Dynasty to sign another unequal treaty, the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking", on November 14, 1860, by which it forcibly incorporated all the Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River into Russia.

As Marx pointed out in 1857 and 1858, the Opium War of 1840 was followed by **"the successful encroachment of Russia from the north"** on China, and Russia **"took possession of the banks of the River Amur [the Heilungkiang River—translator], the native country of the present ruling race (the Manchu—editor) in China."** Furthermore, after the signing of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun," Engels penetratingly pointed out: **"When at last England resolved to carry the war to Peking, and when France joined her in the hope of picking up something to her advantage,"** Russia despoiled **"China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube."** Lenin also pointed out that the task of the Russian imperialist policy in Asia was **"to seize the whole of Persia, complete the partition of China."** By these brilliant conclusions, Marx, Engels and Lenin fully exposed the aggressive and unequal nature of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun" and the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" tsarist Russian imperialism had imposed on China.

Even according to the unequal "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking," Chenpao Island is indisputable Chinese territory. The "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" stipulated:

"From the estuary of the Ussuri River southward to the Hsingkai Lake, the boundary line runs along the Ussuri and Sungacha Rivers. The land lying east of these rivers belongs to Russia and the land west of these rivers belongs to China." According to established principles of international law, in the case of navigable boundary rivers, the central line of the main channel should form the boundary line which determines the ownership of islands. Chenpao Island and the nearby Kapotzu and Chilichin Islands are all situated on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Ussuri River and have always been under China's jurisdiction. Chinese frontier guards have always been patrolling these islands and Chinese inhabitants have always been carrying on production on these islands. During the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations in 1964, the Soviet side itself could not but admit that these islands are Chinese territory.

On September 27, 1920, the Soviet Government led by Lenin declared that "all the treaties concluded by the previous Russian Government with China are null and void, and it renounces all the seized Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and returns to China gratis and for ever everything the tsarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie seized rapaciously from her." This great testament of Lenin's failed to come true because China was then ruled by a reactionary government.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the boundary question between China and the Soviet Union could have been reasonably settled. The Chinese Government consistently holds that boundary questions left over by history should be settled through negotiations and that, pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained. The Government of China has, in succession, satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions left over by history with her neighbouring countries Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of

Mongolia and Afghanistan. But the boundary questions between China and the Soviet Union and between China and India have remained unsettled. The Chinese Government repeatedly held negotiations with the Indian Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question, but they were disrupted by the Indian reactionaries. In 1964, the Chinese Government held boundary negotiations with the Soviet Government, during which the Chinese side made it clear that the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun," the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and other treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties tsarist Russian imperialism imposed on China when power was not in the hands of the peoples of China and Russia. But, prompted by the desire to strengthen the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the Chinese side was willing to take these treaties as the basis for determining the entire alignment of the boundary line between the two countries and for settling all existing questions relating to the boundary; any side which occupies the territory of the other side in violation of the treaties must, in principle, return it wholly and unconditionally to the other side, but this does not preclude necessary readjustments at individual places on the boundary by both sides on the basis of the treaties and in accordance with the principles of consultation on an equal footing and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. However, the Soviet side refused to accept the above-mentioned reasonable proposals of the Chinese side. It refused to recognize the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary as unequal treaties and obstinately refused to take these treaties as the basis for settling the boundary question between the two countries in its vain attempt to force China to accept a new unequal treaty and thus to perpetuate in legal form its occupation of the Chinese territory which it seized by crossing the boundary line defined by the unequal treaties. This great-power chauvinist and

territorial expansionist stand of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was severely condemned by the Chinese side. The Chinese side clearly pointed out that if the Soviet side should obdurately insist on such a stand and inexorably refuse to mend its ways, the Chinese side will have to reconsider its position as regards the Sino-Soviet boundary question as a whole.

Not only has the Soviet revisionist renegade clique refused to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question through negotiations, but it has incessantly disrupted the status quo of the boundary and created border incidents. After the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations were sabotaged by the Soviet revisionists, and particularly since Brezhnev and Kosygin assumed power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, motivated by its counter-revolutionary needs for allying with U.S. imperialism against China and diverting the attention of the people at home, has sent large reinforcements to the Sino-Soviet border, stepped up its disruption of the status quo of the boundary, occupied still more Chinese territories, carried out armed provocations and created incidents of bloodshed. Take Chenpao Island for instance, during the ice-bound seasons in the two years and more between January 23, 1967 and March 2 of this year alone, Soviet frontier troops intruded into the Chenpao Island area of China on 16 occasions, and during several of these intrusions they wounded Chinese frontier guards on normal patrol duty and looted Chinese arms and ammunition.

The latest incident in which Soviet revisionist troops intruded into Chinese territory Chenpao Island to carry out armed provocations has further revealed the ugly features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has taken over the mantle of tsarist Russian imperialism and is pursuing its social-imperialist policy of aggression. They regard as theirs those places which tsarist Russian

*(Continued at the foot of page 73)*

## Soviet Revisionists Step Up Counter-Revolutionary Collusion With Chiang Kai-shek Bandit Gang

**T**HE Soviet revisionist renegade clique is stepping up its counter-revolutionary collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, public enemy of the 700 million Chinese people. This clique not long ago sent a "journalist" to China's territory Taiwan Province, where the Chiang bandit gang is entrenched, to pay respect to the gang and engage in criminal plots against the great People's Republic of China. This is a barefaced provocation by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism against the Chinese people.

The Western press and news agencies disclosed that, under instructions from the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, a Soviet citizen going by the name of Victor Louis (his real name is Vitaly Yevgeniyevich) went to Taiwan Province to carry out secret activities in the capacity of a journalist in the latter part of last October. During his stay in Taipei, Louis "met" with Chiang Ching-kuo, "defence minister" of the Chiang bandit gang, with whom he had an "exchange of views" on plots against the great

*(Continued from page 72)*

imperialism occupied and have made further claims for places which tsarist Russian imperialism failed to occupy. They are the new tsars of today.

It is absolutely impermissible for anyone to violate China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** Should the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cling to its reckless course and continue to provoke armed conflicts on the border, the Chinese people, following the teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao, will certainly wipe out the invading enemy **resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.**

People's Republic of China. On behalf of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Louis extended an "unofficial invitation" to the Chiang gang to send "newsmen" to "visit" the Soviet Union. An AP report from Moscow disclosed that Louis had, in a statement after his return to Moscow, shamelessly lauded what he called the "positive features" of the Chiang gang and done his best to prettify its criminal rule on Taiwan Province.

At the same time, Western and Japanese bourgeois news agencies reported that "unofficial contacts" between the diplomatic personnel and journalists of the Soviet revisionist clique and the "diplomatic personnel" and journalists of the Chiang bandit gang in Washington, Tokyo, Ottawa and other places "have increased remarkably." The Chiang gang has also "encouraged" its "diplomats" and journalists to "mingle with" Soviet revisionist diplomats and journalists abroad. These facts show to what depths the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, collaborating with U.S. imperialism, has sunk in its criminal collusion with the Chiang gang in viciously opposing the great People's Republic of China.

The current counter-revolutionary collusion between the the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Chiang bandit gang is by no means an isolated incident. For a long time this clique has hobnobbed with the Chiang gang and actively served the U.S. imperialist plot of creating "two Chinas." In 1963, the Soviet revisionists flagrantly allowed the Chiang gang to sign the notorious "partial nuclear test ban treaty" as a "sovereign state." In their press and periodicals, they have time and again described China's territory Taiwan Province, where the Chiang gang is entrenched, as a "country" and called Chiang Kai-shek, public enemy of the Chinese people, "president." On many occasions, they have carried the flag of the Chiang gang in their periodicals. On numerous occasions they sat together with "representatives" of the Chiang gang at

international conferences. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has now gone so far as to send Victor Louis to Taiwan Province to collaborate with the Chiang gang. This is new evidence of its sinister activities against China.

The Soviet revisionist renegade [clique's intensified collusion with the Chiang bandit gang in rabidly opposing China fully shows its feeble nature. Socialist China, which has become ever stronger through the tempering of the great proletarian cultural revolution, is the greatest obstacle to the clique's collaboration with U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt by both to redivide the world. The gangsterism of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in carrying out aggression and expansion abroad has met with strong condemnation and opposition from the people throughout the world. The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia is a noose the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has put round its own neck and the noose is now becoming tighter and tighter. In the Soviet Union, the people's struggle against the Soviet revisionists' fascist rule is gathering momentum. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is finding the going tougher and tougher. It is in these circumstances that Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has been trying in every possible way to oppose China by colluding with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, even sinking so low as to set store by and make use of the stinking political corpse—the Chiang gang. This is an indication that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and that it is in an impasse and vainly trying to put up a last-ditch struggle.

But, no matter what rubbish Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism may have collected to form an anti-China and counter-revolutionary "holy alliance," they are inevitably "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" and their efforts can only hasten their own doom.

## Srikakulam Marches On

THE heroic armed struggle of the revolutionary peasants led by the Communist revolutionaries has continued its advance in Srikakulam in Andhra. Reports of new exploits of the peasant revolutionaries there received from our correspondent are given below.

On February 13 the peasant revolutionaries carried out an attack on Gangannadoravalasa. Four policemen were killed in the action. Comrade Rengim died in the course of the encounter.

On February 19 the peasant revolutionaries killed an agent of the landlords at Killada.

In early March two hundred Girijan revolutionaries carried out an attack on Bottili near Elvinpeta, and seized foodgrains. Similar action took place in Gotivada in which one hundred Girijan revolutionaries participated.

On March 6, in another action, the peasant revolutionaries annihilated a notorious landlord, Gumpaswamy, and confiscated his stock of foodgrains. In a guerrilla action on March 12, at Champaraiguda, two policemen were killed and one was seriously injured.

On March 17, in a fierce encounter with a huge police force the peasant guerrillas killed one policeman and seriously injured a police officer with a spear. Comrade Reddy Appalaswamy Naidu died a hero's death in this encounter. Four comrades got arrested in this connection.

The armed peasant struggle in Srikakulam has extended from the hilly regions to the plains. On March 10 more than one hundred revolutionary peasants armed with guns, spears and hand bombs went to the village Bondevalasa in Bobbili taluk and explained to the villagers the need of seizing forcibly the property of the feudal exploiters and

propagated the politics of revolutionary armed struggle. The poor peasants of the village were roused by this and enthusiastically participated in raiding and seizing the property of a notorious landlord and money-lender, Laxmi Naidu. Among the things seized were promissory notes worth Rs. 60,000. They also raided the house of another landlord, Appala Naidu.

The militant peasant revolutionaries of Bobbili taluk formed guerrilla squads and began to resist the reactionary police which came in aid of the feudal landlords and other reactionaries. The poor and the middle peasants of the villages enthusiastically and whole-heartedly welcomed the guerrillas.

On March 24, about 100 peasant revolutionaries led by Communist revolutionaries raided the house of a big landlord and money-lender Varanasi Nityananda of Bathupuram in Sompeta taluk, on the border of Ganjam and Srikakulam districts adjacent to Mahendra Giri hills. Nityananda owns about 300 acres of land. The revolutionaries seized his property worth more than forty thousand rupees, including promissory notes valued at about ten thousand rupees, many bags of paddy and petty gold ornaments which the poverty-stricken peasants had pawned to the landlords. While the promissory notes were torn to pieces in front of the peasants, the Communist revolutionaries are taking measures to give the ornaments back to the indebted peasants. The peasant masses are also planning measures to take firm possession of the landlord's land.

After the raid, the Communist revolutionaries held meetings in the three surrounding villages. The peasants there were overjoyed and jubilant. As soon as the revolutionaries entered a village, they were greeted with slogans like "Mao Tse-tung Zindabad!", "Communist revolutionaries Zindabad!", "Down with the landlords!" etc. It is being explained to the people that only by this method

the first  
raid  
of  
annihilation  
of a  
landlord.



can the power of the landlords be broken in the villages. Other landlords in the region are panic-stricken.

The peasant masses in the Agency area led by Communist revolutionaries are setting up their own revolutionary organisation Ryotanga Sangrama Samithi which is in embryo the organ of the people's political power in the villages.

### NOTES

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"with the present administrative machinery and the system of law"! Far from welcoming such a situation they have come out as vicious enemies of the agrarian revolution, as lackeys of imperialism and feudalism. Like all other counter-revolutionaries, this bunch of miserable scabs is doomed by history.

#### REPLY TO NANDA'S HEIRS

The communist revolutionaries of Kerala who are reported to have raided Tellicherry and Pulpalli police stations and led the oppressed peasants of Wynad against the landlords are being prosecuted by 'Marxist' Namboodiripad's government in Kerala. Many of these revolutionaries, Comrade Ajitha, Comrade Philip M. Prasad and other comrades, were brutally tortured by Namboodiripad's police after their arrest. What are the charges that the 'Marxist'-led government of Kerala have brought against these 149 communist revolutionaries?

A UNI report dated March 22, 1969 says:

"AIR [All India Radio], in a report from its Trivandrum correspondent, said the police had seized and produced in court several letters alleged to have been written by a Chinese embassy official to some of the 141 accused in this case. Some of the documents provided proof that the accused drew inspiration from the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.

"The charge-sheet presented to the Kozhikode District Magistrate by the State police said that the accused were guided by Mao's violent ideology and had propagated it. They had translated into Malayalam Mao's writings and similar material published by the Naxalbari extremists in West Bengal. The accused had also declared their intention to capture rural bases first so that they could surround the cities and towns later.

"The charge-sheet said they convened secret meetings and promoted study classes in tactics and techniques of violent revolution, established units in various parts of the State and tried to take advantage of the discontent among workers and kisans." [How faithfully do Namboodiripads echo their masters!] (*Amrita Bazar Patrika* March 23, 1969)

The above charge-sheet has embarrassed Dange whose party is a constituent of the 'Marxist'-led 'United Front' government in Kerala. In a telegram to 'Marxist' Namboodiripad Dange wrote:

"I am extremely shocked to read in the press that your government has made the alleged political platform, views and opinions, including the thought of Mao Tse-tung, as held by the Naxalites, as the main ground for prosecution in the criminal conspiracy case launched against some of them.

"Please permit me to remind you that in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case of 1924 and Meerut Conspiracy Case of 1929, the British government had made an almost identical charge of international communist conspiracy based on the teachings of Marx, Lenin and the Communist International against the Communist Party and against me and other communists of those days."

Dange also reminds Namboodiripad that similar charges were made by the Congress government against Namboodiripad and his colleagues after the reactionary Nehru government had provoked border clashes with the Chinese in 1962.

What is Dange's advice to Namboodiripad? "Hence I would request you," he says, "to drop the political platform from your prosecution case and only deal with that part which alleges overt criminal acts."

The clumsy manner in which Namboodiripad gives himself away shocked Dange. To their eternal shame, the Namboodiripads, by accusing the communist revolutionaries of aiming at "capturing political power by means of violence", openly range themselves against Marxism-Leninism and expose themselves as the tools of imperialism and domestic reaction. By indicting the communist revolutionaries for drawing inspiration from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought and propagating it, they echo the imperialists and their stooges, trample underfoot proletarian internationalism and reveal themselves as the basest type of social-chauvinists. So Dange wants to get the same thing done with more finesse. He advises Namboodiripad to prosecute the communist revolutionaries as ordinary criminals and not as communists who, first of all, are believers in proletarian internationalism.

Unlike the wretched counter-revolutionaries who call themselves Marxists, the communist revolutionaries are a contingent of the world communist movement the leader of which today is the great Communist Party of China and their guide to action is the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the acme of Marxism-Leninism of this era. Despite all the persecution to which the ruling classes and their 'Marxist' and 'communist' lackeys may resort, the communist revolutionaries disdain to conceal their views and aims. They will remain loyal to the working class and the peasantry, rouse them and organize them for the violent overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital. They have repeatedly declared that it is only under the banner of Chairman Mao's thought that the Indian revolution can be carried through to victory.

### DOOMED BY HISTORY

In West Bengal, the 'Marxists' and their allies, especially the 'Marxists', dressed in sham authority for a brief while, are organizing fascist bands of hoodlums to attack revolutionary political workers and students. They know quite well that the ruling classes will permit them to adorn ministerial offices so long as they can delude the working people with their glib social-democratic phrases. But the situation in this country is an explosive one. How long can these defenders of the status quo, these neo-Congressites, carry out that tall order from their reactionary masters? How long can they dupe the working people when the sharp class contradictions are already exposing the true character of their professed policy of protecting the 'legitimate' demands of the working people? So in a desperate bid to silence the revolutionary political workers and students, 'to isolate and crush them,' as the sham Marxists put it, they are organizing physical attacks on the revolutionaries. The most vicious of such attacks was made on the revolutionary students in the Calcutta University area on March 13 and 14.

First on March 5 and then on March 13, the students of the Calcutta University *gheraoed* the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Satyen Sen, who had refused to concede certain very reasonable demands of theirs, the justness of which he himself acknowledged. On the evening of March 13, there was a scuffle between the student revolutionaries and a group of students belonging to the student wings of the revisionist and neo-revisionist parties. During the scuffle the Vice-Chancellor managed to escape. After it was known that he had left, the student revolutionaries went away from the University campus. Then entered on the scene a wild rabble consisting of at least one thousand non-students, including members of the 'Democratic Youth Federation,' which is being carefully organized as a fascist band by the neo-revisionists. Armed with sticks, crackers

and bombs, they entered the University campus with the ostensible purpose of 'rescuing' Dr Sen, who had already left. They had really been sent by the neo-revisionist bosses to 'crush the Naxalites'. They announced their entry into the University campus by hurling bombs and smashing doors and windows of University buildings. Then they made raids on the Eden Hindu Hostel and cruelly beat up several students. While these hoodlums were indiscriminately hurling bombs and crackers, one of these 'volunteers', a non-student—one Krishna Roy—who had been sent from Beliaghata, quite far from the University area, was killed. Next day the fascist hoodlums went on a rampage. They beat up several students near the University campus and handed them over to the obliging police; gangs of them raided the Eden Hindu Hostel several times and even raided and smashed the Coffee House where they went in search of student revolutionaries.

Describing the raids on the Eden Hindu Hostel, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote on March 16:

"On Thursday night [March 13], according to eye-witnesses, nearly 1,000 persons launched a violent attack with bombs, daggers and petrol cans and stones. They repeatedly hurled bombs at the building, broke open the massive gate and let loose a veritable hell within the hostel for about two hours from about 8 P.M.

"The raiders in their frantic bid to ferret out an unknown number of Naxals ransacked almost every room on each of the three floors on the building and smashed and looted almost everything they could lay their hands on.

"Radios, watches, clothings were looted by the yelling mob and valuable text-books (some of them costing about Rs. 75 a piece) were either torn to shreds or destroyed completely during the two-hour rampage.

"They came with petrol cans which they proposed to use to set ablaze the wooden cubicles to force out the hidden enemy but gave up the idea when some of the

boarders actually came out of their covers and surrendered. Meanwhile, the frenzied raiders had beaten up severely the Assistant Superintendent, Prof. Prafulla Chandra Karmakar, the Superintendent, Dr. Amal Kumar Mukherji together with a member of the Class IV staff and some of the 'innocent boarders'...

"Perhaps this was not enough. The same set of people carried out three more raids successively between 12 noon and 3 P.M. on Friday in a desperate bid to mob the Naxals. But this time most of the boarders were out to attend classes in their respective colleges and so none was assaulted. But the armed men, according to some of the eye-witnesses, broke open the door (or opened with false keys), pulled out the beddings, papers and books from some of the rooms and made a bonfire with them on the quadrangle."

According to a statement of the Secretary of the Hindu Hostel Boarders Union, raiders were shouting slogans like "UF Zindabad—Murder Naxalites." Highly explosive bombs were also hurled inside the hostel compound [on the evening of March 13], the statement added. (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, March 16)

Referring to the raids on the College Street Coffee House, *Statesman* wrote on March 15:

"The College Street area, Calcutta, was the scene of violence and vandalism again on Friday [March 14], a man was stabbed and another was injured by a lathi when the Coffee House there was ransacked by a group of young men in search of Naxalites and broke everything they could lay their hands on." The Secretary of the Coffee House, which is run as a co-operative society, said in a statement that the cash, about Rs. 500, was looted from the counter.

On the night of March 13, the office of a Bengali fortnightly which supports the cause of Naxalbari was also raided by the fascist gangsters who beat up some comrades there and tore off a portrait of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The neo-revisionists and their UF partners tried to utilize the death of Krishna Roy to whip up the frenzy of their supporters. They held a meeting on March 14 at the College Square and incited the hoodlums to attack the 'Naxalites.' A lackey of a lackey said that "the U.F. will place rifles at the hands of responsible students to crush the Naxalites." When these running dogs of the ruling classes were giving repeated calls to their followers, the hoodlums, to 'crush the Naxalites', the hoodlums were raiding the Eden Hindu Hostel, the Presidency College and the Coffee House, stealing cash, valuables, smashing furniture and other things and stabbing and beating up people. Both on March 13 and 14, when these fascist gangsters were carrying out the tasks allotted to them, Jyoti Basu's police stood by, trying rather to protect the gangsters.

Who killed Krishna Roy? This non-student 'volunteer,' who was a member of the armed gang which raided the Eden Hindu Hostel and created a veritable hell, was killed when the raid was in progress. The murder seems to have been no accident but part of a well-laid, diabolical conspiracy hatched by sinister men who today are aspiring after Hitler's notoriety. As we have said, one thousand armed men were sent to the University area with the ostensible purpose of rescuing Dr Satyen Sen from the *gherao* by revolutionary students. A few months ago when Mac-Namara came to this city, the same Satyen Sen was *gheraoed* by the revisionists and the neo-revisionists within the University premises and was called a CIA agent. Today the counter-revolutionaries masquerading as Marxists are employing their private army of hoodlums to attack the movements of revolutionary students; tomorrow their hoodlums, at the behest of the exploiting classes, will attack workers and toiling peasants to break up their movements.

The Vice-Chancellor had already left when the hoodlums came. They directed their fury towards the boarders of

the Eden Hindu Hostel, which shows that the 'rescue' business was just a screen for making murderous attacks on the revolutionary students. To their depraved leaders any weapon was handy—even the calculated murder of one of their followers. The raids on the Hostel, the manner in which the funeral meeting and the funeral procession were announced in next morning's newspapers, the kind of speeches delivered by the puny Hitlerites and the organized hunt for the revolutionary students—all these remind one of the Reichstag fire. The tone had actually been set by the speeches of the neo-revisionist renegades at their victory rally on March 9. Krishna Roy was no doubt a sacrifice made by the puny Hitlerites for serving their counter-revolutionary ends.

But in West Bengal or India, fascism shall not pass. The very next day (March 15) a large procession of revolutionary students organized by the Students Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, which went to the Soviet Consulate at Calcutta to denounce Soviet aggression on the Chinese border, came to the College Square area and held demonstrations for more than an hour. The fascist hoodlums were nowhere to be seen.

The fascist outrage on the revolutionary students has already recoiled on those who perpetrated it. It also exposed their weakness, their political bankruptcy. Already acute class contradictions are revealing the true character of the 'United Front' and of the neo-revisionists. Instead of isolating and crushing the 'Naxalites,' the puny Hitlerites are themselves being isolated from the toiling people. The process has started. It will become quicker and quicker as days pass. No, fascism shall not pass.

#### HOMAGE TO A FALLEN COMRADE

On March 17, Comrade Reddy Appalaswamy Naidu, a peasant revolutionary, was killed in an encounter with the

reactionary police force at Kalamrajupeta in Bobbili taluq of Srikakulam district. He, along with five other comrades was encircled by the police in the small hours of the morning. Scornfully rejecting the police officer's call to surrender, he attacked the officer with a spear but missed the target. Then he suddenly jumped at the officer with a view to finishing him off. It was at this time that the police riddled him with bullets.

Comrade Naidu, aged 40, was a poor peasant (share-cropper) of Narayanapuram in Bobbili taluq where the Party's influence is quite strong. Ever since Party's activities began in that area in the early fifties, he has been an active worker. He came forward to be included in a guerrilla squad. His death is a great loss to us. The District Committee of the Communist Party has deeply mourned the death of this revolutionary and pledged its firm determination to carry forward the struggle for which Comrade Naidu gave his life.

The Editorial Board of *Liberation* deeply mourns Comrade Naidu's death. The revolutionary qualities displayed by Comrade Naidu—the spirit of self-sacrifice, the burning hatred for the class enemy and absolute fearlessness—will forever inspire all revolutionaries in India. Comrade Naidu's revolutionary qualities and the way he accepted death will serve as a model for the entire revolutionary Indian people.

### RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Jyoti Basu and Co., that bunch of counter-revolutionaries masquerading as Marxists, are a pathetic lot. They want to make political capital out of the decision to release all political prisoners; yet they are afraid of releasing them.

We know that at this time when the crisis is so acute, the ruling classes cannot keep them behind prison bars for a long time, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar said on the morrow of Comrade Kanu Sanyal's arrest. But these reactionaries will try to make trouble as long as they can, because it is their nature to do so. More than a month ago we were told that the Jyoti Basus had decided in principle to release all political prisoners. But even today the Naxalbari heroes—both convicted and under-trial prisoners—are languishing in jail. Even many P.D. Act prisoners are yet to be freed.

A letter from a comrade, now lodged in the Berhampur Central Jail, published in *Deshabrati* of March 27, informs us that he and another comrade are still detained in that jail under the P.D. Act. The ground for his detention, mentioned in the chargesheet, is that he had raided the CPI (M) office at Krishnagar last year. The fact is, this comrade together with other comrades had gone to that office in a procession to submit resignation from the party of the neo-revisionists. This was indeed a crime and the police clapped him in prison under the P.D. Act and he has been deprived of even the status of a political prisoner!

It is also learnt from that letter that twelve comrades from the Naxalbari area lodged in the Berhampur Central Jail have been neither released nor treated as political prisoners despite the protestations of the Jyoti Basus. Hypocrisy is said to be the tribute that vice pays to virtue. Lies and falsehood are today the political stock-in-trade of these counter-revolutionaries.

It is these counter-revolutionaries who issued warrants for the arrest of Comrade Kanu Sanyal and others during their previous spell in office. We are sure they will

have to bow to the will of the people and release the Naxalbari comrades and others however reluctant they may be.

—April 3, 1969

Comrades in Haryana, representing several districts, have set up the Haryana State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries.

A Convention of West Bengal's revolutionary youth and students is going to be held in Calcutta on April 13 and 14. This convention, we hope, will be able to unite all revolutionary youth and students, rally them behind the programme of democratic revolution and scotch the fascist menace.

*Anusose*

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