

3

# Liberation

*September-December*

**1970**

VOL. 3 Nos 11-12

VOL. 4 Nos 1-2

# MARCH ONWARD, DAY OF VICTORY IS NEAR

—CHARU MAZUMDAR

*(This article is based on a report of a speech by Comrade Charu Mazumdar at a meeting of Party cadres held some time ago.—Ed. Liberation)*

The present era is the era of the total collapse of imperialism. Look at India and you will see every corner of it is just like a volcano about to erupt. The exploiting classes are battered in the dog-fight among themselves. Even if we look at the world at large, the same situation prevails everywhere: in Asia, Africa, Latin America, armed revolution is burning like wild fire. The 700 million people of Chairman's China, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have made the Socialist China a great fortress against imperialist war. Today, while trying to create Red areas during the revolutionary war, we must take note of these facts. During the Chingkang years, one could not think of creating extensive red areas except in mountainous and forest regions. That is why it was possible to mobilize an army of three hundred thousand men and carry out the "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the first red base of China in the Chingkang region. That is why the revolutionaries then took time to crush this "encirclement and suppression" campaign and to spread the struggle to different regions. But today, while every corner of India is like a volcano, the armed struggle of Srikakulam cannot remain confined within that region only. And this struggle is spreading and will spread very fast into different areas of our country. Today, it is

Look  
 know  
 ledge  
 of China  
 about  
 the

therefore impossible for the reactionary Indian government to carry out the "encirclement and suppression" campaign even by mobilizing five hundred thousand soldiers against the armed struggle of Srikakulam. If they mobilize more men in Srikakulam, the guerrilla war will instantly flare up with greater intensity and the enemy will be powerless to quell the struggle in Midnapur or that in Mushahari. If the revolutionaries of West Bengal declare today, "We are ready to sacrifice our blood, we are prepared to lay down our lives : put down, if you dare, our armed struggle", and if the reactionary government tries to put down this struggle with all its might, who is going to stop, who is going to extinguish, the red fire of Koraput ?

### Conditions for Establishing Red Areas :

The establishment of a red area means the establishment of the revolutionary authority through a revolutionary committee after the destruction of the feudal regime of the landlords and jotedars. The first condition for the establishment of a red area is to form guerrilla squads under the leadership of the Party, to carry on the battle of annihilation of the jotedars and usurers, to form revolutionary committees with common landless and poor peasants, and to unite the broad masses and mobilize them in the people's war with the help of this revolutionary authority. That the revolutionary peasant authority has been established after the destruction of the authority of the enemy is proved by the fact that the people mislead the enemy by various means. For example, when a big action is going to take place, the enemy is to be tied up through minor harassing raids far away from the place of action. The enemy should also be supplied with false information about the whereabouts of the guerrillas.

I do not indulge in day-dreaming when I say that by

1970-71, the People's Liberation Army will march across a vast area of West Bengal. By and by, the vast masses of people will be inspired with Mao Tsetung Thought. Remaining loyal to the revolutionary committees, they will take part in the struggle by supplying wrong information to the enemy, and, at a certain stage, they will feel the urge to snatch away rifles from the police and the military. [On October 26, six rifles were snatched away by a squad of landless and poor peasant guerrillas in Kishanganj, Purnea district (contiguous to Naxalbari area), after they had attacked a police camp and annihilated a policeman. This event is a significant pointer. —Ed. *Liberation*.] The formation of the People's Liberation Army will begin when a landless peasant will snatch away a rifle from the police or the military. The rifle in the hands of a landless peasant will roar like a thousand cannon. Can the E.F.R. and the C.R.P. fight that tremendous force ? A revolutionary tempest will rage over such a wide area in India that the reactionary government will not be able to supply more than a few rifles to each of the police stations. And it will be a very easy task for the peasant guerrillas to snatch away those few rifles. Once the landless peasants are armed with rifles, the panic-stricken reactionary police and military will come in batches and surrender their rifles to the guerrillas. There will be extensive defections from the enemy camp. It is only then that thousands of soldiers of the peasant stock will become class-conscious. Chairman Mao has said to us : "Carry on your struggle, you will never suffer from dearth of rifles." When I find that a landless peasant woman of Gopiballavpur is snatching away the rifle from a C.R.P. man after hacking him to death, I realize how correct are Chairman's words. The Chinese People's Liberation Army under the leadership of Chairman plunged into the revolutionary struggle with only 320 rifles. It may be we shall at first build our Liberation Army with 60 rifles and 200 pipe guns.



## Day Of Victory Is Near :

When I say "Make the 70's the Decade of Liberation", I cannot think beyond 1975. The idea of today's armed struggle was first born in the mind of one man. That idea has now filled the minds of ten million people. If the new revolutionary consciousness, born only in 1967, can permeate the minds of 10 million people in 1970, why is it impossible then for those 10 millions to rouse and mobilize the 500 million people of India in a surging people's war by 1975? We can realize the correctness of the assumption when we find that the People's war that started in Gopiballavpur in September, 1969, has already spread extensively to the whole of West Bengal barring only two districts. [When Comrade Charu Mazumdar said this, the peasants' armed struggle had not developed in two districts of West Bengal. But by this time it has spread to all the districts.—Ed. *Liberation*.]

Today, imperialism, faced with total collapse, is trying to strike its final blow against the revolutionary forces. There is, therefore, a genuine possibility today that Chairman's China may be attacked. And in this anti-China war the imperialists will try to use the Indian people as cannon-fodder. The armed struggle in India will certainly create such a mighty storm of revolution by 1971 that the imperialists and the social-imperialists will not dare attack China after that year, for they will then find this storm of revolution raging behind them. This is perfectly clear to the bandits, Nixon and the Kosygin clique, and so there is a strong possibility that Chairman's China may be attacked by 1971. Yet there is no reason for the revolutionary Indian masses to feel despair. Even if this fear comes true, India will surely be liberated by 1975. Indeed, the armed struggle in India will suffer a temporary set-back if Socialist China is attacked; because, the imperialist powers will then oppress and persecute the Indian people with extreme savagery and try, at the same

time, to divert them from the path of class struggle by creating an atmosphere of bourgeois chauvinism. But this is the era of Mao Tsetung Thought, the era of the rapid collapse of imperialism, the era of the victory of world revolution. So, in this era it is impossible to repeat the performances of Hitler and Mussolini, it is impossible to launch a savage attack on the revolutionaries, which Hitler and Mussolini did against the revolutionaries of Germany and Italy. And this also is not the year of the great famine of 1943. Today, famine-ravished landless peasants will not flock to the city to beg from door to door for the left-overs and to perish. If imperialist war lets loose very severe, frightful, terrible exploitation on the peasants, whose bodies are already lean and shrunken, the exploited landless peasants will need no rifle in their hands, they will tear off the throat of the war-monster with their teeth and nails. The mass upheaval that this fierce exploitation will create, will help overcome the temporary set-back and a new high tide of people's war will bring about a quicker end of the imperialist monster. This is why I believe that it is by the end of 1975 that the 500 million Indian people will complete writing the great epic of their liberation.

It is sure that the imperialists will not die like Jesus Christ. They may use atom or hydrogen bombs. But we know that the power of every weapon is limited. If it is known to us that the striking range of a gun is 30 yards, we can hit the enemy from beyond that range. The power of the nuclear weapon, likewise, has its limits. Man, who can make a nuclear weapon, can also devise means of escaping from its ravages. The destruction caused by a nuclear weapon that explodes on the ground remains confined to the surface of the earth. Therefore, if we can live in a tunnel underground, the explosion of the nuclear weapon will not affect us. Chairman Mao has given the call, "**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything**

for the people." So the 700 million people of China, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have dug trenches and tunnels throughout the country for a massive preparation against the imperialist war. When the imperialists will be ready to drop hydrogen bombs on the soil of India, the tens of millions of Indian people will follow the path of the Chinese and make extensive preparations to fight the nuclear war. Why should not the people of India, who can successfully resist the most ferocious bandits of the world—U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, be able to fight the nuclear menace by digging tunnels underground? Tunnels are not only necessary means of fighting the nuclear menace but they can also serve an important purpose as a cover for the revolutionary forces against the enemy. So, from this very day we should tell the peasant masses about the need for building tunnels. But at this moment they will not be able to realize the importance of the tunnels. Therefore, the long-term utility of the tunnels should be explained to them, that is, they should be told that the soil dug out of the tunnels may be used in making dams to solve the irrigation problem.

### National And International Tasks Are One :

Both the national and internationalist tasks of the Indian revolutionaries have become one. Today, the oppressed masses of every country of the world have their eyes turned towards our vast country; the liberation of the people of India and the liberation of the people of world—the two have become indistinguishable from each other. The revolutionaries of Burma have been fighting for long 22 years. They have been shedding much blood, yet decisive victory still eludes them; they feel afraid on looking at India—a vast imperialist base. Though fighting for long years, the revolutionaries of Malaya were finding themselves isolated. That is why when the single spark of people's war was

lighted in Naxalbari, before it had kindled a prairie-fire throughout India, the revolutionaries of Burma, Malaya and other countries sent their enthusiastic greetings: "Armed struggle has started in your country under the correct leadership of your correct Party. Carry on this struggle: the liberation of our countries is linked with the liberation of yours. The prairie-fire of India's armed struggle is shining like a beacon of liberation before the oppressed masses of all countries."

*At the time as he says that war only Naxalbari & no prairie-fire.*

The Indian revolution is not the revolution of the Indian people alone; it is the revolution of the oppressed people of all countries. When a group of French students tell revolutionary Indian students, "We will fight together with you, for France will not be liberated unless India is", we cannot but be inspired with the great feeling of internationalism. We deeply feel our close kinship with all the oppressed people in all the countries of the world. At the same time we feel conscious of our internationalist duty. It was when Chairman saw the possibility of a tremendous explosion among the 500 million people of India that he declared that the history of the human civilization will enter a new era by 2001.

## Greet Armed Peasant Struggle In East Pakistan

*Great news has come—the news that revolutionary armed peasant struggle has started in East Pakistan. East Pakistan has joined the camp of the peoples waging People's War to overthrow the imperialists and domestic reactionaries. On this occasion our beloved and respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar greets the Central Committee, Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist). Following is the full text of the message :*

**Central Committee,  
Communist Party Of East Pakistan  
(Marxist-Leninist).**

Dear Comrades,

We feel very much enthused on knowing that your Party has successfully initiated armed peasant struggle. We feel proud to convey our greetings to your revolutionary Party on this occasion. It is in the midst of very difficult conditions that you have started the struggle. You have started the struggle by fighting repression and narrow bourgeois chauvinism. This struggle of yours proves that it is by fighting and defeating revisionism that you have started the struggle. No reactionary force on earth will be able to crush this struggle of yours if you firmly rely on the poor and landless peasants. Chairman Mao has taught us that revolutionary war is an antitoxin. He has taught us : "Revolutionary war is an antitoxin which not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth." He has taught that it is this revolutionary war that can create new men—the

## AVENGE THE HEROIC MARTYRS

**Comrade Charu Mazumdar's call on behalf of  
the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) :**

d/ The police murdered eleven revolutionary youths and left their dead bodies on the roadside near Barasat [in 24 Parganas district, West Bengal]. For the last several months the police have been engaged in killing revolutionary youths in this manner. The police of our country, trained by foreigners, have always been used as an instrument for murdering and suppressing the people. Despite the end of the direct rule of the British, it is at the Scotland Yard that the police bosses still receive their training, that is, learn the tactics of how to preserve the colonial rule. It is not now only that they committed these murders : not even a year has passed when this police force did not shoot to death our unarmed countrymen. In 1959, when peasants came to

*(Continued from Page 8)*

new men who make little of dangers and are unafraid of death. Such men can fight and destroy any reactionary forces in the world. Under your correct leadership East Pakistan has now joined the world-wide People's War. Victory will certainly be yours.

With high regards,

**Charu Mazumdar**



Calcutta from villages to wait upon ministers, this police force beat to death eighty unarmed peasants in one single day. Even on playgrounds we see them in the role of assassins: they beat to death even spectators on a cricket-field. It is thus that they are trained to kill men. So, the police force of our country is a tool in the hands of the imperialists for maintaining the colonial rule. These are not Indians: these are not of India.

*ef* The incident at Barasat clearly shows how isolated from the people are these assassins and how panic-stricken and scared out of their wits are they. They had not the courage to face these youths even after getting their hands tied. That is why the assassins fired five or six shots at every one of these youths and killed them one by one. This gang of cowards knows that those whom they are murdering today are immortal sons of India—worthy of being respected by every country, every nation. That is why the cowards murdered these youths, who kn<sup>w</sup> no fear of death, in the darkness of the night and left their dead bodies on the roadside.

*80/* None of those political parties which are today carrying on a dog-fight among themselves for ministerial offices, shedding crocodile tears for the martyrs, and trying to utilize these murders in the fight for votes, can escape responsibility for the murders. The hands of each of them are dyed in the blood of the martyrs. They all are providing political arguments in justification of the murder of the revolutionaries and are secretly supplying the police with information about the whereabouts of the revolutionaries.

Today the most sacred task of every Indian is to rouse the intensest hatred for all these cowards, imperialism's running-dogs and assassins. This is today the demand of our countrymen—the demand of patriotism.

## NOTES

### *LONG LIVE THE CHINESE REVOLUTION*

October 1 returned, and the great Chinese people and the revolutionary people all over the world, including the Indian people, hailed the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China amidst songs of victory.

The last twenty-one years have been years of great struggle for the Chinese people as well as the world's people. Chairman Mao said: "Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression." Driven by lust for power and profit and dreaming dreams of dominating the entire world, the U.S. imperialist murderers have sent more than one million troops marching across Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa, built military bases all around the world, tried to destroy the People's Republic of China and stifle the armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation in various countries, and have threatened the world's people with a nuclear holocaust. During this time modern revisionism triumphed in the Soviet

*(Continued from Page 10)*

Every revolutionary cadre should take the resolve to avenge the heroic martyrs. These butchers are enemies of the Indian people, enemies of progress and lackeys of foreigners. The Indian people will not be liberated until these butchers are liquidated.

Union, usurped the leadership of the Communist Party and state power in the first socialist state of the world, and has degenerated into social fascism and social imperialism. The leadership of the Communist Parties in most other countries of the world was also usurped by the Khrushchev revisionists. In the name of defending world peace, Khrushchev and his followers have openly pursued the policy of coming to terms with the U.S. imperialists, the most aggressive imperialists in history, and of deciding jointly with them the destiny of the world's people.

That is one side of the picture. On the other side, people's resistance to U.S. imperialism and the communist ranks' resistance to modern revisionism have mounted at a pace amazingly swift, blasting the hopes, shattering the dreams, of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and all other reactionaries. Revolutionary wars to defeat the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys have surged forward in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. During these years the 700 million Chinese people led by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the era, Chairman Mao, have marched from strength to strength. The new democratic revolution was soon followed by the Socialist revolution, the people's democratic dictatorship yielded to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world proletariat, launched the smashing counter-attack against modern revisionism, and the rout of revisionism started all over the world. Out of this great struggle have arisen Marxist-Leninist Parties based on Mao Tsetung Thought in India and various other countries of the world. In China the struggle between the two classes, the two world outlooks and the two lines grew even fiercer after the establishment of socialism. With the triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the renegades, hidden traitors and scabs led by Liu Shao-chi, who had been working for the restoration of capitalism in China and advising

compromise with, that is, surrender to the Soviet social-imperialists, were overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat was consolidated. Socialist China became the impregnable bastion of world revolution.

In the past year arose a new high tide in socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. As Vice-Chairman Lin Piao said at the rally in Peking celebrating the 21st anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, "Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and guided by the line of unity and victory laid down at the Party's Ninth National Congress, the people of the whole country have in the past year taken great strides forward and continuously won new victories on all fronts. The revolution continues to deepen on the political and ideological front, the cultural and educational front, the economic front and in all spheres of the superstructure." A great movement involving hundreds of millions of people—the unique mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought—has been sweeping China. The great Chinese people led by the great Communist Party of China have continued to grasp firmly revolutionary mass criticism, to sweep away the remnant, pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and to carry the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation through to the end.

Inspired by the great directive "**Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war**", the Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers, technicians, scientists and other cultural workers won great victories in the spheres of industry, agriculture, education, science, technology, etc. and greatly strengthened the defence of the country in the past year. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, the people's militia and the people of the entire country have enhanced their preparedness against war and are ready



to inflict a crushing defeat on the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists in case they dare to attack China.

Battered in the war in Vietnam, unable to subjugate the Vietnamese people either by force or by the fraud of 'peace talks' and driven into an impasse, the U. S. imperialists launched this year a naked aggression against Cambodia and once more demonstrated that "imperialism means war". But this unashamed aggression provoked on the one hand heroic resistance of the Cambodian people and on the other, laid the foundations of the revolutionary united front of the peoples of China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Korea. A new turning-point in the history of the world was reached.

Chairman Mao said: "A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. .... The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." Today when U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are hatching plans of a global war in collusion with the Japanese militarists, the German revanchists and other reactionaries, revolutionary armed struggles are forging ahead in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even in the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries there is an upsurge of revolutionary struggles. The revolutionary forces have grown vastly more powerful than the imperialist and other reactionary forces. "In the world of today, who actually fears whom?" It is not the people of any country, however small, who fear U.S. imperialism; "it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind." It is the era of Mao Tsetung, an earth-shaking era without equal in the world's history. It is an era when "the people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle,

take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country."

Imbued with this revolutionary optimism, trying to make a living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of India, and led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, India's revolutionary people have during the last one year spread the flames of peasant armed struggle to different states and created bases of armed struggle in some areas. It is during this year that the historic Congress of the CPI (M-L) was successfully held and the Party was unified on the basis of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line, and the revolutionary armed struggle surged forward. The Indian reactionaries supported by their masters—the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists—have launched a vicious campaign to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Indian people with fire and sword. And the revisionist knaves of all hues have joined hands with them and are trying various means to sabotage the Indian revolution. They are attacking Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line more and more bitterly, trying to divert the revolutionary people from the path of struggle and preaching cowardice openly. But today Mao Tsetung Thought is no longer the possession of a few individuals; it has become the possession of large masses of landless and poor peasants, workers and revolutionary petty bourgeois youths. No force on earth can crush or sabotage the Indian revolution which is today guided by Mao Tsetung Thought. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the Indian revolutionaries will certainly triumph over all their enemies—open as well as masked—and will make Chairman Mao's prediction come true:

"Like free China, a free India will one day emerge as a member of the Socialist and People's Democratic family: that day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind."

*A PERIOD OF GREAT UPHEAVAL,  
GREAT DIVISION AND  
GREAT RECONSTRUCTION*

In his historic statement of May 20, Chairman Mao said :

**“A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world.....The danger of a new world war still exists and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.”**

As in the world outside so in India, **revolution is the main trend.** A revolutionary upsurge is sweeping parts of India today and is sure to engulf the whole of India tomorrow. Indeed, we are in period of great upheaval—an upheaval that has been and is being created by Naxalbari and by the years of struggle since then to make a living application of Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of India. This is a period without equal in the history of this country because Naxalbari was the first attempt by Indian revolutionaries to integrate Mao Tsetung Thought with revolutionary practice in India. That is why within the space of so short a period the single spark of Naxalbari has kindled a prairie-fire of armed peasant struggle in several parts of India and red

*(Continued from Page 15)*

The great and glorious Chinese Revolution has illumined the Indian people's path of advance, the path that leads to a wonderful, radiant future—the liberation of India and the liberation of mankind.

—

political power has been established in some areas. That is why the onward march of the armed peasant struggle in India's countryside has inspired and is inspiring the working class and the petty bourgeois students and youths to rise in heroic revolts in towns and cities. That is why the camp of the Indian reactionaries and their revisionist agents, who together have dominated the Indian political scene for so long a time, is in disarray today : they actually become panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. The gloom that enveloped this ancient land of ours for centuries is being chased away by the bright radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought and the flames of the revolutionary armed peasant struggle guided by it. Both in theory and in practice the Indian revolution led by our beloved and respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has grown vastly richer since Naxalbari.

A period of great upheaval is sure to be a period of great division. It was no surprise that the modern revisionists of various hues wildly attacked Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line as “left”-opportunism and as ‘a threat to the revolutionary movement in our country.’ The following is an extract from the Political-Organizational Report of that bunch of revisionists self-styled as CPI (M), adopted in December 1968 : “It would be extremely wrong to think that the ‘left’ line has been defeated and no more represents a serious danger to the Indian Communist movement. ‘Left’-opportunism has not ceased to be a serious threat to our Party and the revolutionary movement in our country.” This is no doubt an under-estimate, for Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line is actually a very, very serious danger—a mortal threat—to the kind of ‘Communist’ and ‘revolutionary’ movement that is led by these running dogs of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and domestic reaction.

But, as the revolutionary armed peasant struggle spread tearing open the mask of the modern revisionists of various

hues and isolating them from the revolutionary people—particularly after the very successful Congress of the CPI (M-L), which has created a new wave of revolutionary struggle—Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line began to be assailed more and more bitterly by the revisionists of a new, interesting species who claim to be loyal followers of Chairman Mao and who too are loud—rather comically—in hailing Naxalbari. Like the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Jyoti Basu clique, these revisionists of a somewhat strange breed characterize Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line as 'left'-opportunism. We may be pardoned for the following lengthy quotation from the organ of a group of these wretched new-type revisionists :

✓ "This is also a time when some of the best revolutionary elements in the country are being wilfully led astray by the bureaucratic 'leadership' of CPI (M-L) headed by Charu Mazumdar. Completely abandoning the teachings of Comrade Mao Tsetung, Charu Mazumdar has set himself up as an oracle of Indian revolution and his 'thoughts' have driven a section of our valiant revolutionary youth to desperate adventurism which has nothing in common with a people's guerrilla war. He has openly announced that the 'conspirators' must go to the villages and 'whisper' that so-and-so should be killed. Thus abandoning Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, Charu Mazumdar has provoked a section of our heroic youth into petty-bourgeois individual terrorism..... Consequent white terror has physically eliminated or maimed revolutionary cadres who could have been valuable soldiers in a genuine people's army. The ardent youths who mistake the thoughts of Charu Mazumdar for those of Mao Tsetung have now been ordered to attack schools and hospitals and burn books on the plea of a 'cultural revolution'. Cultural revolution before capture of power: Change super-structure before basis. It is impossible that they (the revolutionary youth) should long be hoodwinked by the

leadership of the CPI (M-L) by its careful avoidance of any reference to imperialism, to mass organizations, to economic struggles, to democratic struggles, to concrete steps towards the formation of a people's army."

There is a family resemblance between this denunciation of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line and the denunciation by the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Jyoti Basu counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line, which they sarcastically call his "thoughts", is said to be opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. What are the main charges contained in this venomous outpouring ?

✓ First, the guerrilla war he advocates, has nothing in common with "a people's guerrilla war" and is mere "petty bourgeois individual terrorism". For, the horror of all horror is that Comrade Mazumdar says that guerrilla squads should be formed in a *conspiratorial* manner. It is overlooked that the need for maintaining the utmost secrecy in respect of organizational matters cannot be too much stressed in the present conditions in India. For long years, especially after 1951, the CPI led by the revisionist lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction renounced the path of revolution and took to the parliamentary path. Armed struggle was an anathema to them. Their path was the path of class collaboration, the path of the betrayal of the Indian revolution. Naturally, all party work was carried on in the open, the entire party organization was fully exposed to the enemy. Even the proceedings of the meetings of the leading committees of the party were no secrets to the enemy. Without getting rid of this long revisionist practice, this revisionist habit, which would place the fighters at the tender mercy of the enemy, revolutionary armed struggle cannot be developed. There is perhaps no colony or semi-colony in the world where revisionism had such a strangle-hold on the revolutionary



movement for such a length of time. Secondly, the new Party has grown out of the old party dominated by the revisionist outlook. Within the new Party itself revolutionary forces are opposed by the counter-revolutionary forces. So, in the concrete conditions of India today it is necessary to lay the greatest emphasis on the need for secrecy in organizational matters—a need that is obvious and may not require emphasizing in other countries and, at a later phase, in this country.

The emphasis today is on secrecy in respect of the building of Party units and guerrilla squads (which are the Party's armed forces) and not in respect of the Party's political line, which is propagated as widely as possible. Comrade Charu Mazumdar has instructed Party cadres to organize guerrilla squads in the utmost secrecy at the *initial* stage in order to stave off the enemy's attacks, but every attempt is made to rouse the revolutionary classes, chiefly the poor and landless peasants, ideologically and politically, and to base the organizations on them. As the armed struggle develops, vacillating and alien elements are weeded out of the Party units and guerrilla squads, and the line of demarcation between real friends and real enemies becomes increasingly clear. It is the Party committees that actually lead the armed guerrilla struggle, and the Party, the guerrilla squads and the people become closely, indissolubly linked, together. What started in secrecy does no longer remain secret from the people; the political consciousness of the people is heightened and the guerrilla struggle becomes a genuine people's war led by the Party.

Will *open* mass organizations like *kisan samitis* (peasant associations) and trade unions and mass movements help in initiating the revolutionary armed struggle? Our experience in India is that *open* mass organizations and mass movements for the realization of economic demands, which the revisionists

have always relied upon to divert the people from the path of revolutionary struggle, never gave and could never give revolutionary politics to the workers and peasants. On the other hand, *open* mass organizations, permitted by the reactionary ruling classes, confine all mass movements within the four walls of their laws and, thus, help to preserve illusions about the existing regime, blunt the people's revolutionary consciousness and spread demoralization among them. When these mass movements prove inconvenient to the enemy, they are invariably smashed, and the best and most militant peasants and workers and party cadres prove easy victims of police repression. Such *open* mass organizations and mass movements hinder, instead of helping, the growth of the revolutionary armed struggle:

Today, the Party has a dual task: one, to lead armed struggles of the peasantry and to create as many bases of armed struggle as possible in the countryside; two, to establish revolutionary political power. Today, after Naxalbari, when armed revolution faces armed counter-revolution, guerrilla war aims not at seizing land and crops but at seizing political power. It is the organs of the revolutionary political power, the revolutionary people's committees, that are to carry out the economic tasks. By distributing the land of the feudal class among the poor and landless peasants and calling upon them to defend the land and crops, they will enlist the support of the masses of the peasantry and draw them into powerful mass movements. And *underground* mass organizations are likely to be built up in the process. Thus, militant mass movements for land and crops follow in the wake of the revolutionary armed struggle and are closely linked with it. It will be like putting the cart before the horse if mass movements for seizure of land and crops are expected to create conditions for initiating the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry.

It is preposterous to describe the battle of annihilation of class enemies waged by the Party as "petty bourgeois individual terrorism". The annihilation of class enemies aims not merely at the physical liquidation of a few most hated landlords and usurers but at the overthrow of the feudal class in an area economically, politically and militarily. After the annihilation of a few hated class enemies, the others flee away from the area in utter panic and the area becomes free of class enemies and their agents. The armed struggle rises to a higher plane when the armed forces of the reactionary state rush in. The people learn warfare through warfare. At the same time a revolutionary transformation takes place within them. Their class hatred grows intense and, tempered in the struggle, they become more bold and resolute, more selfless and self-sacrificing. They dare to snatch away rifles from the police and the military and, thus, out of the guerrilla squads emerges the People's Liberation Army.

Which class wages the battle for annihilation of class enemies? It is not the petty bourgeois youth but poor and landless peasants who are relied upon to carry on this battle. It is the squads of poor and landless peasants who, imbued with the politics of seizure of political power by armed force and burning with class hatred, annihilate the worst feudal oppressors with a view to smashing the rule of the reactionaries in the countryside. These squads of poor and landless peasants can never act if they are not sure of the support of their class behind their actions. Far from being "petty bourgeois individual terrorism", the battle for annihilation of class enemies is, as Comrade Charu Mazumdar described it, the higher form of class struggle and the starting-point of guerrilla war.

Chairman Mao has said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing

the masses and relying on them." The guerrilla war, which has started as the battle for annihilation of class enemies in various areas and which is developing into a people's war, is today rousing the landless and poor peasants, unleashing their initiative and making them leaders of the revolution, mobilizing the people as nothing else has ever done before, challenging the rule of the reactionaries and establishing people's political power in the countryside. t/

At the end of his Report to the Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China, Comrade Lin Piao quoted Chairman Mao as saying in 1962:

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

Comrade Lin Piao then added:

"This magnificent prospect far-sightedly envisioned by Chairman Mao illuminates our future path of advance and inspires all genuine Marxist-Leninists to fight valiantly for the realization of the grand ideal of communism."

But, according to the wretched revisionists who try to don the cloak of Mao Tsetung Thought to hide their vile treachery, this *magnificent prospect* does not hold good for India and must not illuminate our future path of advance. In the name of the "uneven character of our revolution", some of them are even in favour of participating in parliamentary elections in places where the revolutionary struggle has not yet broken out. There are others, who too talk of "the uneven character of our revolution" and would impose a ban on the heroic revolts of the youths, students and workers in cities

and towns—heroic revolts inspired by the valiant armed peasant struggle in the countryside. They distinguish between “offensive” and “defensive” actions and say what in essence is: “It is not right for the workers, students and youths in towns and cities to rebel against oppression and tyranny until the agrarian revolution has triumphed.” Are these revolts futile and to be banned because they do not lead to immediate seizure of power in the cities and towns? The revolutionary struggles of the workers, students and youths, inspired by and complementary to the armed agrarian revolution in the countryside, are actually rousing and mobilizing millions of people in the urban areas—in Calcutta, Durgapur, Krishnanagar, Santipur and various other towns—on the side of the revolutionary peasants, are ceaselessly lashing at the rotten regime of the reactionaries and causing panic among the reactionaries, revisionists and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters, and are also creating a wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary peasants and helping the armed peasant struggle to surge forward. And Comrade Charu Mazumdar’s line, that would not deny the right of the workers, students and youths to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that acclaims—instead of joining all reactionaries, revisionists and the police in denouncing or putting down—their valiant struggles is, according to the new-type revisionists, the same as that of Ranadive in 1948-49!

Next, Comrade Charu Mazumdar’s line is ‘left’-opportunism because it has provoked ‘white terror’ that has physically eliminated or maimed revolutionary cadres’, because it has “wilfully and consciously” neglected “all possibilities that was blowing through the great and glorious arms struggle in Sreekakulam.”

Referring to the historic May 20 statement of Chairman Mao, Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote :

“Indian Comrades, cast off all weakness, spread your struggle to every village, give up all ideas of self-defence. This is the era of self-sacrifice, the era of the liberation of the world. The exploited and oppressed masses of the different countries will liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression. Take upon yourselves that sacred task, forget all ideas of self-defence, attack and destroy the enemy.” This is fresh proof to the wretched scabs that Comrade Charu Mazumdar is leading the Party to the path of “left”-adventurism. Is he not counterposing self-sacrifice against self-defence and self-preservation? Even a revisionist ‘prize idiot’ ought to know that revolution will take its toll of many precious lives. The road of revolution is the road crimson with the blood of many martyrs. This is what Chairman Mao teaches us: **“Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence.”** Modern revisionists were loud in blaming Chairman Mao as a war-monger bent upon driving the world towards a nuclear conflagration because he stood up to the blackmail of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists and refused to betray the cause of the world proletariat. To revisionists of all hues, surrender is sweeter than struggle, the path of treachery is more alluring than the road to revolution. That is why; to discourage and demoralize the fighting people, the revisionists always paint gruesome pictures of suffering, hardship and death, the price every revolution demands; but they never extol the death-defying valour, utter selflessness and heroic self-sacrifice which the revolutionaries alone are capable of. The flames of the great and glorious armed struggle in Srikakulam were personally kindled by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, as *Peking Review* once put it. Whatever may be the difficulties or set-backs, this struggle can never be crushed by any power on earth. It is the revisionists who scamper about in fear whenever there is the least difficulty or set-back. They who preach cowardice can hardly understand that the blood of martyrs never



flows in vain.

What is the decisive factor in winning a war? Chairman Mao has said:

**"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people."**

And Comrade Lin Piao said: "What is the greatest fighting power? It is people who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is courage, it is fearlessness in the face of death." What can give rise to this fearlessness, if not the spirit of self-sacrifice?

Even a blundering revisionist prize-idiot should know that the cost of making a revolution with all the self-sacrifice that it demands is much less than the cost of not making one. Chairman Mao said: **"Partial and temporary sacrifice (non-preservation) is incurred for the sake of general and permanent preservation."** Guerrilla war has two aspects—attack on the enemy and self-defence. But to preach the theory of self-defence and self-preservation except tactically—except in relation to particular battles and campaigns—is to preach cowardice, as all revisionists do.

In his historic statement of May 20 Chairman Mao said:

**"The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country."**

It is a pity that the new-type revisionists have not the courage to say openly that Chairman Mao is the greatest "left"-opportunist of this era for he is telling all peoples all

the world over that victory will *certainly* be theirs *"if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country"*. Again and again, Chairman Mao has been calling upon the people of the world: **"Dare to struggle and dare to win"**, for the day of the total collapse of imperialism and all other reaction, the day of the liberation of mankind, is at hand. In this earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period, Chairman Mao has been telling the revolutionary people of the world: **"Fear neither hardship nor death."** Comrade Lin Piao concluded his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China with the ringing call of Chairman Mao: **"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."** The call of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, overflowing with revolutionary passion and revolutionary optimism, conveys the same spirit, the spirit that Chairman Mao wants to rouse among the people of the world, the spirit that every revisionist dreads.

In truth, a struggle is going on within the Party and outside—a struggle between two classes, two world outlooks and two roads. In brief, it is a struggle between the two lines: **"Fight self and combat revisionism"** and **"Fight for self and combat (and betray) revolution"**—between Chairman Mao's line, the line of all revolutionaries on the one hand, and Liu Shao-chi's line, the line of all renegades, hidden traitors and scabs on the other.

One of the richest aspects of Mao Tsetung Thought is the importance it attaches to the human element, to the revolutionary transformation within the individual, to the birth of the new man—the socialist man—the man who has rid himself of all selfish thoughts, is imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice and has conquered the fear of death. The new man emerges out of the fire of the revolutionary struggle and

carries the revolutionary struggle through to victory. How can this revolutionary transformation take place, if the Party and the people are not imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice?

Preaching the theories of 'self-defence' and 'self preservation' and 'the uneven character of our revolution' and advocating open methods as opposed to secret methods of functioning at this phase of the struggle, new-type revisionists are actually trying to sabotage the peasant guerrilla war in the countryside and to disrupt and suppress the revolutionary struggles in urban areas. If one searches through all their writings, one will nowhere find any mention of Chairman Mao's warning to the world's people: "**The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared.**" This deliberate omission is meant only to keep the people disarmed and complacent—easy victims of imperialist aggression.

To hoodwink the revolutionary people the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique known as the CPI (M) declared in 1964 that revisionism was the principal deviation within the Communist movement. It took this clique two years to revise its view and hold that 'left'-opportunism had become the principal deviation. But it has taken the revisionists of the new species less than five months after the historic Party Congress to come to the conclusion that 'left'-opportunism is now the principal deviation. It is the swift advance of the revolutionary struggle that is forcing ghosts and monsters to come out into the open.

When revisionism seemed triumphant in India, it was Comrade Charu Mazumdar who raised the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought in this country and who correctly analysed the character of the Indian society and of the Indian state, the stage of the Indian revolution and the role of the peasantry in it and firmly asserted that China's path is our path. It

was Comrade Charu Mazumdar, under whose leadership the Indian people joined the ranks of the world's people waging people's war for the overthrow of imperialism and domestic reaction, whose revolutionary line created a historic turning-point in the Indian revolution and started the rout of imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction and revisionism in India. It was Comrade Charu Mazumdar who declared that the Indian revolution is a part not only of the October Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution, but also of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, who said that without fighting revisionism, without combating its concrete manifestations within us and without, the Indian revolution cannot advance to victory. It is Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line, his directives at every step, that have guided our comrades to unfold and spread the revolutionary armed struggle to large areas in so short a time. In brief, it is Comrade Charu Mazumdar's creative application of Mao Tsetung Thought to the actual conditions in India that is bringing about a revolutionary transformation in the Indian political situation. It is not unexpected that it will be under vicious attacks by all kinds of revisionists—open as well as hidden—sworn enemies of the working people and revolution.

In his article "Why must we form the Party now?" (*Liberation*, March, 1966), Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote: 69/

"Refusal to recognize the inevitability of struggle within the Party will give rise to idealist deviations." In this age revisionism is counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the inner-party struggle—the struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary ideology—will continue. 'Unity, struggle, unity'—this means that counter-revolutionary revisionism must be fought and defeated. Only then unity is possible but that unity is not lasting. New contradictions will arise, revisionism will try to appear in new forms. That is why struggle has to be waged at a new level ..... The Party will develop through constant struggles—both against

the enemy outside and against alien trends within. Through these struggles the Party will grow in strength, act as the vanguard of the revolution in order to serve the people, transform itself and transform the whole society."

This period of great upheaval, this period of great division, will also be a period of great reconstruction. Revisionism that dons different cloaks at different phases of the revolution—the Leninist and even the Maoist cloak—never tires of directing its attacks against Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line—the Party's line. It is in the course of this struggle against revisionism that the Party will **"get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour"**. Comrade Lin Piao said: "If there were no contradictions in the Party and no struggles to resolve them and if the Party did not get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the Party's life would come to an end." Through its struggle with revisionism of all hues, new forces will be unleashed; weak and alien elements will be weeded out and innumerable young fighters who dare to make a new sun and a new moon shine in the sky will join and strengthen the Party. Thus will the Party be consolidated and built: thus will class consciousness be enhanced and class struggle, especially armed peasant struggle, advance like an avalanche under the leadership of the Party purged of its filth, remoulded and strengthened. So, it is a period of great upheaval, great division and great reconstruction. The rout of revisionism, whatever may be its guise, is certain: great victory is near.

*Continued on Page 71*

## Give Priority to the Task of Establishing the Peasants' Political Power in the Countryside

—Charu Mazumdar

Today the peasants' armed struggle has spread to every district of West Bengal and is gaining in strength every day. The peasants of Naxalbari have seized rifles from the police and have thus raised the struggle to a new stage. <sup>at</sup> <sup>Magur</sup> <sup>jan</sup> What has taken place today in Naxalbari will happen tomorrow throughout West Bengal. No force on earth can stop this onward march of history. That is why it can be said emphatically today that the peasants' armed struggle has struck firm roots in the soil of West Bengal: no force is today strong enough to uproot it. The guerrilla war waged by West Bengal's peasantry is today causing panic not only among the rulers in Delhi but also among the imperialists of the world. It is by snatching rifles at Magurjan that the People's Liberation Army of West Bengal's peasantry has emerged. All the guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants in West Bengal are today contingents of this People's Liberation Army led by the Party. So, we announce today that the People's Liberation Army has been formed in West Bengal. For every region and area, commanders should be elected. The commanders should be attached to the respective Party Committees and should implement the decisions of the Party. Everyone should obey the commanders in respect of the Party's military affairs. In electing the Commanders every preference should be given to poor and landless peasants. electd from among

Guerrilla war loses its purpose if people's political power is not established while guerrilla war is waged. The peasant's guerrilla struggle is the peasant's political struggle, the peasants' struggle for establishing political power. Today when the People's Liberation Army of the peasantry has been formed in West Bengal, the task of establishing the peasants'

② *Rev Lib, January - March 1971, p. 96.*



political power has assumed the greatest importance. The poor and landless peasants' Revolutionary Committee under the leadership of the Party will be the first stage of that new revolutionary government. Without the formation of this Revolutionary Committee, the revolutionary power of the masses cannot develop in the course of the advance of the revolutionary struggle and its set-back.

The tasks of the Revolutionary Committee are : to seize the lands of the landlords who have fled away and to redistribute them with the active help and co-operation of the broadest peasant masses ; to try to improve the system of production ; and to make such arrangements that production is not hampered even during the severest repression. The Revolutionary Committee should also assume the responsibility of defending the peasant masses from the hands of the gangsters belonging to different political parties who enter the area on the plea of restoring peace ; that is why the village militia should be formed. Efforts should be made to settle the disputes among the peasantry by means of arbitration. The enemy spies should be found out and proper punishment should be meted out to them. All these tasks are to be carried out with the active help and co-operation of landless, poor and middle peasants. Every member and unit of this Party must obey the directions of this Revolutionary Committee. The work of the Revolutionary Committee must not be interfered with except in the case of a serious deviation. Only thus will the Revolutionary Committee acquire its prestige.

The People's Liberation Army has been formed in West Bengal : Establish the revolutionary political power. Only then shall we be able to reduce the laws of this reactionary government into waste paper, to establish the people's political power, to lay the foundations of a New Democratic India. That is why this task is the most sacred task—the most important task—before the Party cadres today.

December 7, 1970

## REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE SURGES FORWARD IN WEST BENGAL

Reports on the peasants' armed struggle from different districts of West Bengal point to one fact—the fact that a period of great upheaval is beginning. The battle of annihilation of class enemies is winning fresh victories, and more and more points of armed peasant struggle are appearing every day in West Bengal's countryside. To suppress this truth, so unpleasant, so alarming to them, the reactionary classes and all their revisionist agents are busy creating a fiction that West Bengal's countryside is quiet, and that in desperation the C. P. I. (M-L) is inciting a handful of youths and students to stage futile, left-adventurist, Ranadive-brand of actions in cities and towns, especially Calcutta. Every day the poor and landless peasants are giving a befitting answer to this loud, lying propaganda by dipping their hands in the warm blood of class enemies.

No doubt, the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle <sup>Students</sup> now sweeping the countryside is inspiring the workers, youths and <sup>even kids</sup> students of towns and cities to take to the path of violent struggle which is complementary to the peasants' armed struggle. They too have formed guerrilla squads which are annihilating class enemies, reactionary policemen and spies and are dealing powerful blows to the citadel of the reactionary ruling classes. This heroic struggle of the revolutionary workers, students and youths waged in the guerrilla way is causing panic among the reactionary classes, demoralizing the police force and foiling all their plans to isolate and suppress the peasants' armed struggle. Far from showing signs of ebbing away, as the spokesmen of the reactionary government claim, this heroic struggle is developing both in breadth and in depth—a fact which screaming reports and editorials in the reactionary press

( 1 )

will confirm. And far from disrupting the Party or bringing it to the verge of collapse, as new-style revisionists complain, this revolutionary struggle, closely linked with and complementary to the peasant guerrilla struggle, is rousing and mobilizing the workers and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and cities. Only a blundering revisionist 'prize idiot' will fail to see that in the course of this heroic struggle the Party is going deep among the working people of urban areas and Party cadres are moving among them as fish do in water.

Reports from different districts of West Bengal point also to another fact—the fact that the peasants' armed struggle threatens to become a prairie-fire only in those districts and regions where comrades have adhered to our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line *scrupulously and without reservations*. Wherever comrades have integrated themselves with landless and poor peasants, have successfully propagated the politics of seizure of political power by armed force and have abhorred economism and open functioning, wherever guerrilla war has been adopted as the *only* way at this stage of rousing and mobilizing the masses in the war against the enemy and the guerrilla comrades have depended only on home-made weapons, wherever the landless and poor peasants have been fully relied upon and made leaders of the struggle and their initiative has been unchained, the peasants' armed struggle has surged forward. But in the areas where revisionism still dominates, where comrades are still enamoured of *other forms* of struggle, open functioning and the use of fire-arms at the initial stage, where comrades base themselves on middle peasants in order to win over poor and landless peasants and seek to unite with rich peasants, where, as a consequence, poor and landless peasants are employed as the *main volunteer force*, the advance of the peasants' armed struggle is arrested and losses are great. How swiftly the peasants' armed struggle will engulf the whole country will depend on how quickly this conflict between the two lines is resolved, how quickly Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line defeats and triumphs over the revisionist line. The experience of the last one year unmistakably shows that

unless the concrete manifestations of revisionism within and outside the Party which, while swearing by Mao Tsetung Thought, is opposing the application of Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India, are not fought and conquered, the development of the peasants' armed struggle will be hampered. Revisionism is the closest ally of reaction and the sworn enemy of revolution. Today, the revisionist elements who have cunningly wormed their way into the revolutionary movement and pay lip service to Naxalbari and Mao Tsetung Thought, but who at the same time set themselves up as theoreticians opposing Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line and preach the revisionist philosophy of 'self-defence' and 'self-preservation', must be thoroughly exposed and isolated. This is what the interests of the revolution demand. This is what the last one year of peasants' guerrilla struggle in West Bengal teaches us.

The following account is based on reports received from different districts since the publication of the August issue of Liberation. This should not be treated as exhaustive.

#### MIDNAPUR

Led by the Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Region Committee of the CPI (M-L) the heroic peasant guerrillas of the area are avenging the murder of the three great martyrs—Comrades Gurudas Murmu, Sashi Mridha and Sudeb Chakravarty—by annihilating notorious class enemies one by one.

On August 23, at 10 o'clock in the morning, a squad of four landless and poor peasants annihilated Kanai Nandy, a hated jotedar, extortionate usurer and dealer in opium of Debra police station area near a village market. The attempt of the reactionaries to encircle and capture the guerrillas failed. The poor men who, armed with bows and arrows, surrounded the guerrilla comrades, helped these friends of the people to go away on hearing from them that they had been returning after annihilating Kanai Nandy in the interest of the people.

In the first week of September a squad of heroic peasant guerrillas annihilated Sumadhur Pal of village Bhola within

Gopiballavpur police station area. Son of a rich peasant, he was notorious for his many crimes including crimes against women.

Hatia Rana, the despotic jotedar and usurer of village Ashui in Gopiballavpur police station area, met his doom at the hands of brave peasant guerrillas.

Jati Rana, another notorious jotedar of the same village in Gopiballavpur, was also annihilated by peasant guerrillas. All these actions took place in the first week of September.

A guerrilla squad of five landless and poor peasants meted out death to Sadashiva Mahapatra, a notorious jotedar of village Ekdal in Gopiballavpur police station area, for his crimes against the people.

On September 14, a squad of four peasant guerrillas annihilated Narayan Paira, a big jotedar, merchant and usurer of the village Alampur in Jambani police station area.

Ajoy Choudhuri, son of the hated jotedar Kunja Choudhuri of Nayagram police station area, was meted out death by a squad of peasant guerrillas.

A guerrilla squad of two heroic landless peasants annihilated Kedar Ghosh, the notorious jotedar of Barasal-Surmubi village in Baharagora police station area (Singbhum district) at 5.30 in the evening. This devil of a man helped the police to perpetrate savage oppression on the people during the last struggle in Surmubi. His crimes against the people including women were legion. This action was led by a brave landless peasant woman. The police, though near, were too scared to come to the spot.

On September 11, a guerrilla squad of three workers chopped to death with tangis (polc-axes) Prafulla Maity, a big jotedar and usurer of Tamluk police station area, by the side of a highway, one mile from Tamluk town, at 4.30 in the afternoon. This hated, lecherous class enemy, who grabbed the entire property of a widow and murdered her a few years ago, was also an assistant revenue officer under the reactionary government.

On September 17, Santosh De, a despotic jotedar of village Dhorchita in Gopiballavpur police station area, met his doom at the hands of a guerrilla squad of five landless and poor peasants.

Inspired by the armed peasant struggle, the revolutionary workers and youths of Midnapur have launched bold, resolute counter-attacks on the police and class enemies in urban areas. In Tamluk town, a guerrilla squad annihilated a policeman. On October 24, a guerrilla squad of youths and students annihilated Binod Pandit, the most extortionate usurer and hated oppressor of the workers and other poor people of Kharagpur.

## NADIA

Under the leadership of the Nadia District Committee of the CPI (M-L) and responding to the call of their respected and beloved leader, Comrade Charu Majumdar—"Make the 1970's the decade of liberation", the brave peasant guerrillas of Nadia are spreading the guerrilla struggle in waves to different parts of the district. The swift march of the peasant guerrilla struggle in Nadia district is proof of the fact that wonders will be created if the politics of the seizure of political power by armed force is carried unhesitatingly to the landless and poor peasants.

On August 15, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Biswanath Malakar, a notorious jotedar, usurer and rich merchant of village Anandapur in Haringhata police station area.

With the rapid development of the revolutionary armed struggle, the revisionist traitors are being forced to come out more and more into the open as the last reserve of the reactionary ruling classes and to work as fascist gangsters and spies. The bunch of revisionist agents of the ruling classes, led by Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, Promode Dasgupta and co, more unashamedly aggressive than the other revisionists, has for some time been perpetrating cowardly attacks on the cadres of the C.P.I. (M-L) and peasant revolutionaries. On August 28, a guerrilla squad of five peasants annihilated at 5.30 in the afternoon Sukumar Bhowmik and Sachin Biswas, two C.P.I. (M) gangsters of Aranghata within Ranaghat police station area.

When these lecherous, hated agents of the ruling classes, guilty of many crimes against the peasant masses, were meted out



the punishment they deserved, a wave of joy and enthusiasm swept the area.

When the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry is advancing rapidly in the countryside, the revolutionary youths, students and workers have started a heroic struggle in the urban areas and are annihilating class enemies and reactionary oppressor police officers and men.

On the morning of 21. 10. 70, a squad of guerrilla comrades annihilated Amulya Sshanabis, assistant sub-inspector of police, at Ranaghat town. At Krishnagar town 4 police officers and men and one C.P.I (M) agent of the police, Bhasan Singh (I.B. constable), Kalipada Das (sub-inspector), Nibaran Mukhrjee (constable), Indu Ghosh (I.B. man in the guise of a press worker) and Prasanta Sarker (C P I (M) agent of the police) were annihilated, and 2 police officers and one Border Security Force soldier were seriously injured by our guerrilla comrades till 28. 10. 70.

On October 1, Panchu Bhagat, a big trader and black-marketeer, who was the most hated class enemy and pillar of reaction at Santipur, was annihilated by a squad of guerrilla comrades in his own shop in the crowded market-place of Santipur. This devil of a man, who minted millions out of the blood and tears of the peasant masses of the surrounding villages, had his hands dyed in the blood of many of his victims. His annihilation sent a thrill of joy through the hearts of the people, both of the town and of the neighbouring villages.

#### JALPAIGURI

On August 12, a guerrilla squad of four landless and poor peasants annihilated a despotic jotedar, usurer and trader named Naren Pandit of village Bholar Dabri within Alipur Duar police station area.

The peasants' armed struggle is rousing the youths and students of the towns. On the very day Naren Pandit was annihilated, a squad of four Red guards annihilated Sailesh Dutt, a police agent

and leader of a P.S.P-controlled trade union in the Alipur Duar Railway junction within Alipur Duar police station area.

The number of class enemies, police agents etc. annihilated in the district of Jalpaiguri till October 31 was 14.

#### COOCHBEHAR

On October 19, Sheodal Singh yadav, an assistant Battalion Commander of the Central Reserve police, was annihilated by guerrilla comrades at Coochbehar.

#### PURULIA

On September 25, Jugal Kishore Sharma, the biggest usurer, merchant and jotedar of the Raghunathpur police station area, met his doom at the hands of a squad of peasant guerrillas near Madhutatl village. This hated class enemy, who was also guilty of crimes against worker and peasant women, was annihilated with tangis (pole-axes) and daggers.

It is significant that under the impact of the peasant armed struggle revolutionary youths and students, especially of areas close to the villages where the peasants' armed struggle is developing, are organizing Red Guard squads, and Red Guard actions are frequent in such areas.

#### BANKURA

On September 25, a squad of five guerrillas of whom three were landless peasants, annihilated the notorious jotedar Rabi De of Sonamukhi near Kalyanpur village.

On September 28, a squad of four guerrillas led by a worker, inflicted very serious injuries on Satyanarayan joriaBa, President of the Bankura Chamber of Commerce and a big shark, and his close associate Deokinandan Goenka of Bankura. These black-marketeers

were universally hated by workers and the petty bourgeoisie of the district. At the time when the report was sent from the district, these class-enemies were hovering between life and death.

#### HOWRAH

On October 5, a squad of four peasant guerrillas annihilated Bishnu De, a hated jotedar and usurer of Polguste village within Jagatballavpur police station area. This notorious class enemy, who sucked the blood of the people of the area, also worked as a teacher in a primary school.

On October 21, Kashinath Chowdhury, an A.S.I. of W.B. police, was annihilated at Bantra. Another policeman was also annihilated and several injured at Lilloah and other places.

#### HOOGHLY

On September 24, a guerrilla squad of two landless peasants annihilated Durgapada Bhattacharyya, a lecherous class enemy who was anchal pradhan, jotedar and black-marketeer of village Kunjapur in Indas police station area near the Hooghly-Burdwan-Bankura border.

On October 25, a squad of peasant guerrillas annihilated Narayan Chandra, a hated jotedar of Mogra police station area.

#### BURDWAN

On September 30 a hated usurer of a village within Chittaranjan police station area was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of three landless peasants. It is the worker comrades of Chittaranjan town who had carried the politics of seizure of power by armed force to the landless and poor peasants of the village, and helped them to form the guerrilla squad. The landless peasants themselves fixed the target of attack and annihilated him.

( 8 )

On August 30, a guerrilla squad of students and youths expressed their solidarity with the militant workers of Durgapur by attacking a party of policemen who were being sent regularly by the reactionary government to intimidate the workers of the Durgapur Chemical Factory colony. Two policemen were annihilated and three others were injured.

On August 31, the very next day, our comrades attacked a CRP ( Central Reserve Police ) van, annihilated one policeman and injured many others.

On September 18, Kanai Hazra, a hated jotedar of Bharat police station area, was annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas.

On August 13, a hated usurer was annihilated by a brave worker woman in Jamuria police station area.

On September 22, a police spy met his doom at the hands of guerrilla comrades at Burnpur. Surajit Chowdhury, a revisionist leader and police agent, was annihilated by guerrilla comrades in Chinakuri police station area.

#### 24 PARGANAS

On October 12, Upen Joardar, a notorious jotedar of village Harispur within Gosaba police station area, was annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas.

On October 5, Lakshman Patra, a hated jotedar of Bachra Kalibari village in Minakha police station area, was annihilated by a squad of peasant guerrillas.

On August 24, at about midnight, a squad of guerrilla comrades tried to smash the statue of Gandhi the arch-traitor in Kanchrapara.

When the police guarding the statue tried to attack our comrades they counter-attacked the police and fatally injured one policeman who died next morning. The death of another was almost certain.

To retaliate against the oppression perpetrated by the police on the people, a squad of brave guerrillas attacked at about 1. 30 A.M.

( 9 )

on August 27 a CRP van, annihilated five CRP men and injured eight or nine others including an officer.

On October 24, Pranballav Poddar, a notorious class enemy, was seriously injured by our guerrilla comrades at Barasat.

### MURSHIDABAD

That counter-revolutionary clique which calls itself CPI (M) is energetically pursuing a policy of assisting the reactionary police to arrest our comrades and oppress the revolutionary people. These lackeys of the reactionary ruling classes organized sometime ago a demonstration at Berhampur slandering our great Party and its respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar. But the revolutionary students and youths refused to take this affront lying down and gave the running dogs of reaction a sound thrashing. Soon after, a squad of guerrilla comrades inflicted serious injuries on Santosh Bhattacharyya, M. L. C., ring-leader of the CPI(M) gangsters and spies at Berhampur. He somehow managed to escape annihilation. On September 7, a squad of guerrilla comrades annihilated another such C P I (M) agent of the ruling classes and a policeman at Berhampur.

On September 9, at about mid night, a squad of six guerrilla comrades, **fearing neither handship nor death**, carried out an attack on the police at Saidabad at Berhampur with home-made weapons like iron rods, spears, and daggers and annihilated one policeman on the spot and fatally injured another who died later in hospital. The brave guerrilla comrades captured two rifles and some ammunition. On the same night, another guerrilla squad severely injured two other armed policemen.

While resisting in the guerrilla way the oppression by the reactionary rulers and their revisionist henchmen, the revolutionary youths and students never forget that their struggle is complementary to the peasant armed struggle and that their main task is to forge closer unity with the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry.

### CALCUTTA

The revolutionary struggle waged by workers, students and youths, complementary to the heroic peasants' revolutionary armed struggle, is sweeping on in this city of many revolts. Today, like the other towns in West Bengal, Calcutta is changing—from a captive city, that has so long drained the blood of the peasantry, minted gold out of it and enriched the imperialists and their Indian compradors with it, to a city that is looking up to the much-oppressed, much-exploited peasantry as her and the country's liberator and that is valiantly fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against her and her own hated oppressors. Revolutionary Calcutta is firmly resolved to wipe out the shame of the past, to continually harass, wear out and demoralize the enemy within his own citadel, until the armed agrarian revolution triumphs and her own victory is achieved. Inspired by Chairman Mao's great call "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory", and the call of their beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar "Make the 1970's the decade of liberation", the brave guerrilla squads of revolutionary youths, students and workers are attacking class enemies and reactionary policemen every day with death-defying valour and causing alarm to them—an alarm reflected in the daily statements issued by the reactionary government and its high police officials and in the frantic screams of the hired scribes of the reactionary press and reactionary and revisionist politicians. This brave struggle itself is bringing about a transformation among the vast masses of workers and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie. It is rousing and mobilizing them on the side of the armed revolutionary peasantry and quickly liquidating reactionary and revisionist influences on them.

At Chetla, on October 2, at about 8 o'clock in the morning, a squad of four heroic comrades attacked and inflicted fatal injury on Adhir Mukherjee, a sub-inspector of the Second Bengal Battalion of the armed police, the leader of the armed bandits who had murdered



Babulal Biswakarmakar, one of the valiant heroes of the historic Naxalbari armed struggle. Adhir Mukherjee died of his wounds on October 6. He had been transferred from Siliguri to Krishnagar in Nadia district some time ago and came to Calcutta only for two days. Thus, by avenging with exemplary courage the murder of the great peasant hero, the youths and students expressed their warmest solidarity with the revolutionary peasants—in brave deeds, not in mere glib words. This is a warning to the entire tribe of oppressor police officers and men that they shall not escape just punishment for their foul acts of oppression on the revolutionaries and other people. The policy of the CPI (M-L) is the policy that Chairman Mao has taught—the policy of waging a tit-for-tat struggle against all oppressors and counter-revolutionaries.

On August 16, at 9-30 in the night, a guerrilla squad of worker comrades annihilated Tejen Dutta, an assistant sub-inspector of police, in front of his own house at Behala. This hated police officer was guilty of many crimes against the revolutionaries. The hunter who had been hunting after the revolutionaries at the behests of his reactionary masters was himself hunted down. White terror in the cities is now being fought with red terror.

So, on September 9, a guerrilla squad of workers and revolutionary youths annihilated Suniti Chatterjee, a hated assistant sub-inspector of the intelligence branch of the police, at Behala.

The very next day, on September 10, a guerrilla squad of five workers and revolutionary youths annihilated Santil Banerjee, A.S.I. of the special branch of Calcutta police, at Rabindranagar, Behala. It is understood that this notorious police officer was one of those responsible for beating to death Samir Bhattacharyya, a young revolutionary, in Shyampukur police lock-up.

Next day, on September 11, from very early hours of the morning, 12,000 armed bandits—combined forces of the CRP, BSF and state police—led by the biggest police officials of the state encircled an area of about 10 square miles at Behala, declared curfew and carried out wild raids on 1500 houses. But this "encirclement and suppression" campaign failed. Our guerrilla comrades and the entire Party went deep among the people who gave them

shelter and protection. Together with the people they also counter-attacked the armed magistrates in the guerrilla way. The people realized how true are Chairman Mao's words. "All reactionaries are paper tigers."

While this heroic struggle thrilled the hearts of the people and rallied them on the side of the revolutionaries, on the side of the Party, it shattered the morale of the reactionary police. The government openly declared their policy of removing families of policemen from certain areas of the city and building housing estates for them in selected areas.

On September 19, at 7-30 in the evening, a guerrilla squad of six workers and revolutionary youths attempted to annihilate Durga Agarwala a big trader and mill-owner, in the Sahapur area of Behala. The hated class enemy was removed to hospital with serious injuries.

Today all the reactionary and revisionist parties—Bangla Congress, CPI (M), CPI etc.—are vying with one another to help the reactionary government suppress the valiant struggle of the people. Not only are they carrying on deceitful propaganda to foster people's illusions about the parliamentary system when the hard realities of life as well as the people's struggle are shattering them, they are also serving as the meanest spies submitting lists of revolutionary cadres to the police, informing the police of their whereabouts and murdering and maiming our comrades in collusion with the police whenever they can. Their leaders are hand in glove with high officials of the reactionary government and fume and fret against the CPI (M-L) while enjoying special security arrangements provided by the reactionary government. They are earning the undying hatred of the people.

Out of wrath and hatred, guerrilla squads of workers and youths have annihilated some of these detestable creatures. On October 13 and on October 21, two leaders of a band of CPI (M) gangsters who had been persecuting the people in collusion with the police, were annihilated by squads of guerrilla comrades in Behala. On September 22, a guerrilla squad annihilated Chitta Mazumdar, a hated police agent and CPI (M) leader, at Bidhangarh colony.

Metiaburuz ( southwest Calcutta ). Similar actions have taken place in different areas of Calcutta and many CPI (M) gangsters have been annihilated or put to flight. A Congressite gangster, hated by the people, was annihilated at Ariadaha in 24 Parganas.

Many of the police officers and men, who have so long murdered and maimed revolutionary workers and other working people, have been annihilated during this period in different parts of Calcutta. On September 26, Sergeant Major Monoranjan Mukherjee of the Calcutta armed police was annihilated by a guerrilla squad in north Calcutta. Besides him, a Special Branch officer and a Special Branch man were annihilated during this period in this area.

In north-east Calcutta, 3 policemen have been annihilated and 3 others, including an S. B. officer, seriously injured.

At Beliaghata and Entally ( east Calcutta ), squads of revolutionary workers and youths annihilated several policemen and injured some others in order to avenge the brutal persecution of the people and the murder of some of our valiant comrades.

At central Calcutta, a police picket on Surendranath Banerjee Road was attacked by a squad of guerrilla comrades. One policeman was annihilated and another injured. A few days after, our brave comrades attacked on the same spot a CRP van and annihilated several CRP men and wounded some others. In some other daring actions, the revolutionary youths and students annihilated and injured some other armed bandits including plain clothes policemen.

At Ballygunje, one policeman was annihilated on October 19. At Dhakuria and Jadavpur several CRP men and police spies have been annihilated.

Vicious class enemies have been punished with death in different areas of Calcutta. Tarak Dutt, one of the biggest watch dealers of Calcutta and a big landlord, who was a patron of the CPI (M) and helped the police to perpetrate oppression on the revolutionary people, was annihilated in north Calcutta by guerrilla comrades. Harish Chandra Kejriwal, a big shark, who was managing director of four jute mills, proprietor of an oil mill and president of the Indian oil Mills Association, was annihilated in north Calcutta.

Another hated class enemy, proprietor of an oil mill, was punished with death by guerrilla comrades at Matisburuj ( in southwest Calcutta ). Jaiswal, a big hardware merchant of central Calcutta and Dana, another big hardware merchant of Entally ( in east Calcutta ), were annihilated by guerrilla comrades for their crimes against the people. Lalta Singh, proprietor of a big transport firm and landlord and several other class enemies received serious injuries at the hands of the guerrillas. Guerrilla squads of workers carried out bold actions against their oppressor bosses at Beliaghata. Worker guerrillas inflicted serious injuries on the managers of the Bengal Potteries and Lily Biscuit Co. and in Belgachia Central Dairy, a West Bengal government undertaking, a guerrilla squad of workers attacked within the Dairy Jhaleswar Pal, additional milk commissioner of the West Bengal government, notorious for his oppression on the workers. This man was also a big landlord. Another high official of the reactionary government—Rajaram Biswas, Secretary to the West Bengal Government's Legislative Department—was punished with death for his crimes against the revolutionary people. The annihilation of the policemen, class enemies and top bureaucrats of the reactionary government has created a wave of enthusiasm among the people.

#### NAXALBARI AND ADJACENT AREAS

On October 26, a guerrilla squad of landless and poor peasants attacked a camp of the Railway emergency force at Magurjal in Patna police station area ( close to Phansidewa ) in Purnea district, annihilated one armed policeman, wounded another and seized 6 rifles and 60 rounds of ammunition. The entire action was planned and carried out by the landless and poor peasants. The reactionary police of West Bengal and Bihar jointly carried out combing operations over a wide area but they failed to trace the rifles, and guerrilla comrades are quite safe under the protection of the people. Snatching of rifles and guns has already started—in Midnapur, Murshidabad and Purnea. This is a turning-point in the Indian revolution.

On November 13, Amilal Singh, a notorious jotedar of Kharibari police station area, was annihilated by a guerrilla squad of landless and poor peasants. The action was carried out entirely on the initiative of landless and poor peasants.



## ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE BREAKS OUT IN EAST PAKISTAN

An event of great historic significance, an event that marks the turning-point in the history of East Pakistan, has taken place in that country. The brave people of East Pakistan have joined the revolutionary people of almost the entire world in waging a people's war against the domestic reactionaries and their imperialist masters. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and led by the Communist Party of East Pakistan ( Marxist-Leninist ), the people of East Pakistan have dared to rise in struggle, taken up arms and grasped in their own hands the destiny of their country. Chairman Mao said : "It was the class struggles of the peasants, the peasant uprisings and peasant wars that constituted the real motive force of historical development in Chinese feudal society". The history of the land that now constitutes East Pakistan is also the history of innumerable peasant uprisings and peasant wars against the hated oppressors. Today, armed peasant struggle is being guided by Mao Tsetung Thought which is a sure guarantee of the victory of the agrarian revolution. The Party cadres have gone to the rural areas, integrated themselves with landless and poor peasants, propagated Mao Tsetung Thought and helped them to organize themselves. They have realized the correctness of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's thesis : "Guerilla war is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy." Guerrilla squads of landless and poor peasants, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and inspired by the politics of seizure of power by armed force, have started the battle of annihilation of class enemies in the countryside. This is the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla war in East Pakistan. They are resolved to create as many points of armed struggle in the rural areas as possible, to spread the armed peasant struggle wave after wave to engulf the vast countryside, to build in the course of the struggle the People's Liberation Army and

liberated bases and, finally, to encircle the cities and seize power in the country as a whole. This is the path along which Chairman Mao led the world-shaking Chinese Revolution to victory. Today, armed revolution faces armed counter-revolution in East Pakistan.

Following is a report received from a young comrade in East Pakistan :

The sound of the gun at Naxalbari pointed out to us the correct path. The spring thunder reminded us anew that the only path to the liberation of the great working people of this semi-feudal country, who have been exploited and oppressed for thousands of years, is the path of armed struggle—the path of People's war—the Chinese path.

The poor and oppressed peasantry of this country can advance towards liberation only by initiating and developing guerrilla war. The correct directives of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, leader of the CPI (M-L), taught us that we can make a living application of Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of this country only by initiating guerrilla war through the battle of annihilation of class enemies, which is the higher form of class struggle. We resolved to apply in practice the lessons of India's revolutionary peasant struggle that has been hailed by the leadership of the world communist movement.

But revolutionary armed struggle cannot be developed without fighting revisionism. Revisionist trends like relying on fire-arms, conducting aimless political propaganda instead of concentrating on the work necessary to carry out guerrilla actions, annihilating the class enemy in a distant place instead of in one's own place, getting frightened for failure to take into account the higher political consciousness of the people of the area after an action and attaching too much importance to the question of shelters—all these and various expressions of the theory that 'it is not yet time to make revolution' stand in the way of developing the revolutionary armed struggle. We fought successfully and overcame these trends and concentrated all our work on carrying out guerrilla actions.

We grasped this task—this task of annihilating the class enemy, yet there was no action. Despite repeated attempts, we could not



Initiate guerrilla war by annihilating the class enemy. The attempts by our squads proved unsuccessful. We then realized that revisionism must have been lying concealed among us somewhere. For, Chairman Mao has taught us that it is the internal factor that is the cause of the development of a thing. We ourselves were responsible for our failure.

On analysis, we understood that though we had grasped the task, we had not grasped it firmly—that is, we had not grasped it at all. But Chairman Mao has taught that to grasp means to grasp firmly. If something is to be grasped, it should be grasped firmly. Our work was full of defects because we failed to grasp it firmly. For instance, (1) the squads were not formed with advanced elements among poor and landless peasants after correct class analysis and on the basis of Chairman Mao's principle of three check-ups; (2) the squads were not formed in a secret manner; (3) we failed to distinguish between political and military work; we did not realize at first that it is the task of intellectual comrades to convey revolutionary politics to poor and landless peasants and prepare them politically so that the independent initiative of poor and landless peasants is unleashed, so that they change into new men in the course of the armed struggle and become leaders of the struggle; (4) Chairman Mao's "three constantly-read articles" must be studied by poor and landless peasants: self-interest or personal hatred will not inspire them to fight; they should be taught to assume the great responsibility of liberating their own class and to understand the significance of the death that is as heavy as Mount Tai; when class hatred is combined with Mao Tsetung Thought, they will be inspired with the spirit of self-sacrifice and will come forward to annihilate the class enemy: we did not realize this in the beginning; (5) the leadership must be firm and must not waver; (6) the politics of seizure of power should always be put in command; any deviation from this will inevitably lead to revisionism.

We corrected all these mistakes and formed a new squad. It was formed with three poor and landless peasants on the afternoon of October 5. The same evening they went out with two ordinary choppers and a shovel to annihilate a class enemy. The class enemy

was returning from the village market with two companions. At the instruction of the commander the guerrillas pounced upon him and finished him off within seconds. The two men who were accompanying this beast of a man felt bewildered at the suddenness of the attack. When the guerrillas hit one of them with the shovel, they ran away for fear of their lives.

This hated class enemy was a *jotedar* of a villainous and despotic type. He owned several hundred *bighas* (1 *bigha* =  $\frac{1}{3}$  acre) of land, practised usury and exploited the peasantry as a quack doctor. He was so lecherous that peasants had thrashed him twice. He had ruined many men and committed many murders. He had threatened to murder one of our comrades.

At the annihilation of this hated beast a wave of joy and enthusiasm has swept this area while the reactionaries have become panicky. They dare not come out of their homes after dusk. The police have started oppressing the people and arrested several men indiscriminately. But they have failed to arrest any leader or guerrilla comrade. The guerrillas are quite safe. Their morale is very high. They are saying: "We can annihilate a class enemy in the presence of a hundred men with bare hands."

This annihilation took place in Dumuria police station area in Khulna district. At the same time another class enemy has been annihilated in Mymensingh district. Reports of more annihilations of class enemies are coming from other places.

The sparks of armed peasant struggle have been lighted in East Pakistan. Armed revolution is fighting armed counter-revolution. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary people of the world, especially the 500 million revolutionary people of India, we will make the 1970's the decade of liberation. Victory will certainly be ours. Chairman Mao himself is guiding us.

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

*Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!*

*Long live the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-*

*Leninist)!*

*Long live the armed peasant struggle!*

## PEASANT GUERRILLA STRUGGLE SPREADS TO KERALA

After the formation of the C. P. I. ( M-L ) the peasant guerrillas and revolutionaries were actively organizing themselves to wage the battle of annihilation of the class enemies. The first peasant guerrilla action in Kerala was done in February 1970 in Cannanore district and now it is spreading to other districts.

### CANNANORE DISTRICT

Cannanore is one of the districts where acute class contradiction between the peasant masses and the landlords prevails. On 9th February, 1970, at about 9 o' clock in the night, a squad of peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the brave fighter Varghese annihilated a notorious big landlord and money-lender named Vasudeva Adiga. Next, the same squad annihilated on the same night a cruel reactionary agent of both the landlords and the police, named Checku. Both these annihilations were done in Trissilery Thirunelly areas in Wynad ( Cannanore district ). This squad had two wings one of which had the task of annihilating the class enemies while the other resisted successfully the police force. But on 17th February Comrade Varghese was accidentally captured by the police and died the death of a martyr.

On April 10th at 1 a. m., another squad of 13 peasant guerrillas, led by the CPI ( M-L ), annihilated in Cherukunnu in Cannanore district a hated landlord called Krishnan Nambiar, who was notorious for his crimes against the peasants including peasant women. His house was just like a fortress, very well protected, having huge walls and steel gates on four sides. But the brave and determined guerrilla comrades cut open the steel gate and stabbed the wretched class enemy to death. This daring action roused the enthusiasm of the peasants in that area and they hailed this action of the guerrillas.

### KOTTAYAM DISTRICT

On July 23rd, at about 9-30 p.m. a squad of 6 peasant guerrillas annihilated a wretched landlord and money-lender, K. C. Joseph, and confiscated his money and some other valuables. This guerrilla action took place at Iruthukanam, near Vellathural in the High Ranges ( Kottayam district ). Comrades shouted "Long live Chairman Mao" and other slogans. In this area the poor and landless peasants are subjected to bitter oppression and exploitation by the big landlords.

Next day, on July 24, the same squad attacked the house of another reactionary landlord. But as the landlord was absent from the house, the guerrillas could not annihilate him, but they seized some fire-arms and money from that house.

### PALGHAT DISTRICT

Palghat is a district where numerous big landlords thrive on the blood, sweat and tears of poor and landless peasants. So the class contradiction here is very acute. On July 28, at about 9 p.m., a squad of peasant guerrillas beheaded a notorious landlord called Narayanamkutty Menon at Kongad ( Palghat district ). This hated class enemy was also notorious among the local people for his treachery. That is why all the people in that area rejoiced at this daring action of the brave guerrillas.

Thus, these guerilla actions created alarm among the ruling class. The police let loose white terror all over the state. But it has only strengthened the position of the revolutionaries. The revolutionary peasant masses have already been roused. In the near future, under the leadership of the CPI ( M-L ), they are firmly resolved to create Naxalbaris and Sreekakulams in various districts of Kerala.

—August 20, 1970



## JAPANESE MILITARISM WILL INEVITABLY END UP IN DEFEAT AS BEFORE

Japanese militarism has been revived under the aegis of U. S. imperialism. It has become a dangerous force of aggression in Asia and has embarked again on the road which led it to defeat during World War II.

The revival of Japanese militarism is a product of the policies of aggression and war stubbornly pursued by U. S. imperialism in Asia and the inevitable result of the vicious development of Japanese monopoly capital under the wing of U. S. imperialism.

At the beginning of the 1950s, after it was driven out of the mainland of China, U.S. imperialism started the war of aggression against Korea and occupied China's territory Taiwan. At the same time, it began to rearm Japan and concluded the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" with the Japanese reactionaries. In the 1960s, it further strengthened its military collusion with the Japanese reactionaries when it was bogged down deeper and deeper in the quagmire of its war of aggression in Viet Nam. In 1960, it revised the Japan-U.S. "security treaty", and supported the Japanese reactionaries' large-scale infiltration into south Korea and Taiwan. Since taking power in 1969, U. S. imperialist new boss Nixon went a step further to assign Japanese militarism the role of the gendarme in Asia and pursued the so-called "new Asia policy" of "using Asians to fight Asians" in an attempt to save U. S. imperialism from its defeat in Asia. At present, U. S. imperialist chieftain Nixon is planning to rig up a new counter-revolutionary military alliance with U. S. imperialism as the wire-puller and Japan as its ring-leader. The Japanese reactionaries are busy running hither and thither for the realization of this criminal scheme and trying to tie together the reactionary organizations such as the "Asian and Pacific Council" to facilitate their expansion and aggression in Asia. Since U. S.

Imperialism invaded Cambodia and expanded its war of aggression in Indo-China, the Japanese reactionaries, on orders from their U. S. masters, have schemed to muster other U. S. imperialist lackeys to carry out military intervention in Indo-China. This move of Japanese militarism warrants close attention of all Asian peoples.

## Pro-U. S. Monopoly Capitalist Class is the Foundation of Militarism

A handful of pro-U. S. Japanese monopoly capitalists are the foundation of Japanese militarism.

To meet its need for aggression in Asia, U. S. imperialism has energetically fostered Japanese monopoly capital since World War II. The Japanese monopoly capitalist class which hires itself out to U. S. imperialism has swollen up malignantly by relying on U. S. capital, technical know-how and raw material and by looting the people of Asian, African and Latin American countries abroad and squeezing the Japanese people at home, and particularly as a result of the big fortunes it made by helping U. S. imperialism conduct its wars of aggression against Korea and Viet Nam.

Today, Japanese monopoly capital is much more concentrated than before the war. After the amalgamation in post-war years, the 10 zaibatsu in pre-war days were regrouped into six zaibatsu with Mitsubishi and Mitsui financial capital as their core. Working hand in glove with U. S. imperialism, this handful of financial oligarchs control Japan's industrial and mining production, communications and transport, internal and external trade, etc., and rule the country through the reactionary Japanese Government under their control.

During the period from 1950 to 1969, the total value of Japan's national production witnessed an increase of over 14.2 folds, that is, from 10,900 million to 166,400 million U. S. dollars. Now, a few monopoly enterprises own almost the entire industrial production capacity of Japan. For instance, 90 per cent of Japan's blister steel,



100 per cent of truck, 100 per cent of aluminium metal, 92 per cent of generator and 100 per cent of nylon production are monopolized by three to five big enterprises.

This swelling of Japanese monopoly capital has sharpened the contradictions inherent in capitalist production. The capital on which the Japanese monopoly capitalist class relies to carry out exploitation and plunder comes mainly from raising loans at home and abroad. Its foundation is very weak. The more it swells the graver its crisis. Although it possesses enormous capacity in production and equipment, its markets at home and abroad are narrow, and it relies heavily on overseas raw material. To extricate itself from its difficulties and to grab still bigger profits, the voracious Japanese monopoly capitalist class has embarked again on the criminal road of militarizing the national economy and carrying out aggression and expansion abroad.

Japan's munition production now accounts for 12 per cent of the entire machine-building industry production and is highly concentrated. Eighty per cent of the munition production is in the hands of some 20 big monopoly enterprises. Japan has produced abundant munitions for the U. S. aggressors and their accomplice troops and has become the U. S. arsenal in the Far East. The Japanese monopoly capitalist class intends to further militarize the national economy on this basis. Every monopoly group is building and strengthening its nuclear energy, aircraft and rocket industrial branches. At the same time, merger of giant enterprises has been carried out in recent years in the basic sectors of the munitions industry, such as iron and steel, heavy machinery, motor vehicles and chemicals.

#### Taking an Active Part in the Imperialist Scramble for Re-division of the World

Japanese monopoly capital is taking an active part in the overt and covert strife for re-dividing the world among the imperialists. It is looking everywhere on the five continents for markets, raw

material bases and outlets for investment. It has far greater aggressive ambition than that of restoring its sphere of influence before and during the war.

The Japanese reactionaries have never since the end of the war given up their aggressive plan of re-establishing a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". From Nobusuke Kishi's Southeast Asia development plan to the Sato cabinet's "Asia and Pacific sphere" and "the new era of Asia and the Pacific", everything shows that the Japanese reactionaries are vainly trying to dominate Asia again by including in their sphere of influence the vast Asian and Pacific area from Korea in the north to Australia in the south.

At a meeting of international monopoly oligarchs held in Japan's Hakone at the end of last year, a representative of the Japanese monopoly capitalist class brazenly claimed that the Suez should form the demarcation line for spheres of influence and the area east of Suez should belong to Japan. Japanese newspapers revealed that at the beginning of this year, the Japanese Government studied time and again a plan for dividing the raw material resources in the world, for it considered that the time has come to redistribute the world's raw material resources.

The Japanese reactionaries have redoubled their efforts to carry out expansion in the Southeast Asian region since Sato assumed power. The region has now become a market for dumping Japanese goods, an important area for Japan to export its capital and a raw material supply base. Japan not only plunders this area economically but is trying hard to control it politically.

Through "aid", trade, direct investments and other means, the Japanese reactionaries have imposed a stranglehold on certain Asian countries and regions and obtained from them colonial privileges. In south Korea, Japan has secured concessions in disguise. It has set up so-called "free trade zones" there in which Japanese monopoly capital is at liberty to build factories, ship in raw materials and ship out products and has a free hand in exploiting the local people. In Malaya, Japan has occupied an island on which ship-building yards were set up. Japanese monopoly capital has turned the Philippine mines into its mineral products supply base. In Indonesia, it has

seized large tracts of land and tried hard to grab the rights to exploit the country's mineral and forest resources. The Japanese reactionaries kept on clamouring that the vast area from Korea, Taiwan, Indo-China down to the Strait of Malacca is Japan's "life-line", and raved about dispatching troops there to protect their so-called "rights and interests".

#### Speeding up arms expansion for war, plotting to send troops abroad

The Japan-U.S. joint communique issued last November marked a new stage in Japan-U. S. military collaboration. The Japanese militarists represented by Eisaku Sato cried out time and again that Japan would prevent the Chinese people from liberating their sacred territory Taiwan, obstruct the Korean people from reunifying their fatherland, meddle with the affairs of Indo-China and even expand the scope of the Japan-U. S. "Security treaty" to areas in which the Japanese and U. S. reactionaries are "interested". The Japanese militarists also raved that they had "belligerent rights", intending to send armed forces to the high seas for attacks and even plotting to dispatch troops abroad under the U. N. flag.

To carry out expansion abroad and suppress the people of Asian countries in league with U. S. imperialism Japan under the wing of U. S. imperialism has built up a so-called "self-defence force" which includes the army, the navy and the air force. It has 13 army divisions, warships with a total tonnage of some 150,000 tons and more than 1,200 aircraft, and a total of more than 280,000 men. The Japanese reactionaries owned that in degree of modernization, fire power and mobility this force is far superior to Japan's "imperial army" of the old days or the other puppet troops of U. S. imperialism in Asia.

On the basis of Japan's manpower and industrial capacity, this force is capable of being expanded in a short period into a huge military machine. Last year the Japanese reactionaries raised the cry about instituting a conscription system and forming "territorial guards" of one million men.

At present the reactionary Japanese Government is stepping up arms expansion and war preparations at unprecedented speed. It was disclosed that the expenditure for the fourth arms expansion plan now being drafted is more than double that of the third, with stress on building the navy and the air force, equipping the army with nuclear missiles and at the same time reinforcing and expanding the military bases including Okinawa.

To solve the problem of cannon-fodder shortage, the Sato Government has adopted measures aimed at ruining agriculture and driving peasants from their land, so as to provide cheap labour power for monopoly capital and supply manpower for the expansion of the aggressor army. Besides, the Japanese reactionaries have lured young people into the armed forces to die for monopoly capital by giving them the promise of promotion and material incentives.

The reactionary Sato Government has done its utmost to promote militarist education at home. Through books, the press, movies, television, radio and school education, it indoctrinates the Japanese people, especially the youth, with the reactionary ideas of "being loyal to the emperor and patriotic to the country", stirs up chauvinism and lavishes praise on the "Mikado system" and aggressive wars. All this is aimed at creating counter-revolutionary public opinion for launching wars of aggression. Recently, Japan produced many movies advocating wars of aggression such as Isoroku Yamamoto and Ah, Navy! The Sato Government has approved the reproduction, publication and distribution of World War II primary school text books by the printing presses. It has also revived Japanese swordsmanship training with the aim of cultivating the "Bushido" spirit. A Diet member of the Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party in a speech to the "self-defence force" shouted wildly that it "should" make killing its profession.

The Japanese reactionaries in the past few years have continuously strengthened the counter-revolutionary ruling organs of violence, enacted reactionary laws and frequently called out tens of thousands of reactionary police to make mass arrests of the people who took part in the patriotic struggle against U. S. imperialism. During the past seven or eight years, the number of police was increased by 5,000 men every year. Special agents and detectives



are to be seen almost everywhere in the country. Japan has again become a police state. The Sato Government also intensifies the so-called security training of the "self-defence force" with the sinister purpose of sending troops to suppress the people's revolutionary struggle.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out, "The imperialist wolves must remember that gone for ever are the days when they could rule the fate of mankind at will and could do whatever they liked with the Asia and African countries." The 1970s is a decade when the storm of the people's revolution will rise still more vigorously in the world and when crisis-ridden imperialism is heading for its own destruction at an accelerated speed. The strength of the people of Asian countries has become many times stronger than that during World War II. A world-shaking change has taken place in Asia today. Three socialist countries—the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam—are standing firm in the East. The three Indo-Chinese peoples have badly battered U.S. imperialism and driven it into a quandary. The armed struggle of the people in Southeast Asia is developing vigorously. The political consciousness of the Japanese people in the postwar period has been greatly raised and they have persevered for a long time in the struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The people of various countries in Asia have formed a united front against the U. S. and Japanese reactionaries. In these circumstances, neither the "new Asia policy" of U.S. imperialism nor the fond dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" of Japanese militarism can be realized. Japanese militarism, which has re-embarked on the dangerous path of aggression and expansion under the protection of U.S. imperialism, will only take the old path to ruin and is bound to suffer a more crushing defeat than before.

—From *Peking Review*

## REVOLUTIONARY ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE FORGES AHEAD IN PUNJAB

The armed struggle of the poor and landless peasants of Punjab is forging ahead under the leadership of the CPI (M-L). The movement has already assumed huge proportions in many districts—viz. Bhatinda, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Sangrur, Jullundur, Ropar and Patiala. Armed struggle in the remaining four districts is also spreading like wild-fire.

After the historic event of the Naxalbari peasant revolt, armed struggle started in Punjab in 1968. The first centres of this peasant struggle were two villages—Bhikhi and Samaon of district Bhatinda. After this, the flames of revolutionary peasant struggle were carried to the districts of Ropar, Sangrur and Hoshiarpur.

After Bhikhi-Samaon, a militant peasant struggle was launched in April 1969 by the agricultural labourers and poor peasants of the Birla farm near Ropar. It is a 5,000 acre farm on the bank of the river Sutlej. This farm includes the land of poor peasants and also 'shamlats' (village common land) of nearby villages. Before this, the leadership of these workers and poor peasants was in the hands of revisionists and neo-revisionists who always adopted the politics of compromise.

Horrified by the peasant upsurge, the landlord-led government has now cancelled the Birla farm lease.

On 18th June, 1969, the poor and landless peasants of village Quila Hakima in Sangrur district with swords and spears in their hands took forcible possession of the farm of a big landlord, a retired military general Balwant Singh. All the fodder and machinery were ransacked and the tyrant class-enemy was annihilated on 24th July, 1969 by a guerrilla squad.

On 5th June, a landlord was attacked in his house but the enemy escaped on that day. The same guerrilla squad made a successful attack by annihilating three landlords on 24th June, 1969.

After this, the next guerrilla attack was made on a notorious *lambardar* (village headman) and noted police tout of village Bhaini.



on 4th September and this hated man was shot dead. On 15th September, a successful attack was made on a police tout in Jullundur district. The guerrillas annihilated the enemy on the spot and confiscated his double-barrelled gun. On 10th October, a notorious factory manager of Phagwara, Sehgal, who was responsible for the murder of five workers, was attacked but the enemy escaped.

In March 1970, five comrades including Comrade Daya Singh, Secretary of the Punjab State CPI (M-L), and Baba Hari Singh Margind, aged 80, a staunch revolutionary and veteran freedom fighter, were shot dead by the reactionary police in so-called encounters. A red poster calling for 'blood for blood' was put up all over Punjab. In order to avenge the murder of the comrades, the class-enemy annihilation struggle was intensified.

A police tout, usurer, notorious, bandit and *lambardar*, Atma Singh, who was responsible for the arrest of two comrades, was annihilated in district Jullundur. A notorious landlord Ravinder Singh of district Sangrur was also annihilated with traditional weapons by a peasant guerrilla squad. One more police tout, Baghera Singh, of this very district, met with the same fate. A notorious police tout Pashora Singh of Ropar district, who gave false evidence against our comrades, was shot dead by a guerrilla squad. These actions demoralized the police touts and big landlords and many of them fled away from the villages to the cities for shelter. On 2nd July, 1970, a hated *sarpanch*, landlord and police tout, Pritam Singh, of Ropar district was annihilated by landless peasant guerrillas at a distance of only two furlongs from a police station. He was returning after giving false evidence against our comrades. On 6th July, 1970, a big landlord of Punjab, leader of the one-time Unionist Party fostered by the Britishers, big usurer and ex-MLA, Rai Hari Chand Bhalan, was annihilated and his head chopped off by a guerrilla squad. The poor peasants of that area felt greatly enthused at the annihilation of this hated class enemy. He was a big police tout in the days of Babar Akali movement, employed forced labour and raped innocent poor peasant women.

On 12th July, a notorious ASI, Ajit Singh, was annihilated in Model town, a posh locality of Ludhiana. His .455 bore pistol was

also confiscated. The police tout, who was responsible for the death of Comrade Gulzara Singh, was annihilated before a peasant gathering and the reason for his punishment was explained to the peasants on the spot.

On 28th July, the veteran freedom-fighter and staunch revolutionary Baba Bujha Singh, aged 78, was arrested by the reactionary police and murdered brutally. The reactionary police gloated over his death calling him the brain behind the 'Naxalite' movement. When he was in Argentina, he left his everything to join the Gadar party to liberate the country from British imperialism. His murder had a great emotional impact on the general public. When Punjab Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal visited London a few weeks ago, he was denounced as the 'murderer of Baba Bujha Singh' by the Indian workers living there. Rotten eggs and tomatoes were thrown at him in an angry demonstration.

On the advice of the British police this reactionary chieftain was forced to cancel his engagements in different places in Britain; the murderer had not the courage to face the Indians now living in England.

The martyrdom of Baba Bujha Singh gave a great impetus to the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry.

On 8th August 1970, a strunch anti-communist and anti-people big landlord, general secretary and the only MLA of the State Swatantra Party was annihilated by a guerrilla squad at his farm in Patiala district in broad day-light. The whole state machinery was perplexed and disrupted. Inhuman police torture was let loose on many peasant families, students and teachers but the police failed to get any clue of the guerrillas.

The revolutionary armed struggle has a great impact on students and teachers, particularly school teachers. Many brilliant students and teachers joined the movement even at the initial stage. Under the banner of the Punjab Students Union, which was indirectly under the influence of revolutionary students, a militant student struggle was fought throughout Punjab in the year 1968-1969, in which one student was shot dead and many injured by the reactionary police.

But, later, under the directive of the CPI (M-L) they gave up union-politics and went to work among the basic masses. CPI and CPME have almost no influence among the students.

The revolutionary struggle has great influence on Punjabi literature. A new Punjabi poetry breathing revolutionary fervour has emerged. The struggle has produced many guerrilla poets. Two monthlies of militant literature viz. *Dastavez* (the Document) and *Bagavat* (the Revolt) are being published clandestinely. A literary pamphlet "Bombard the bourgeois headquarters" has been issued by young Punjabi writers denouncing the reactionary and revisionist writers as 'cultural renegades'.

CPI'S land-grab movement has proved a fiasco. Avtar Singh Malhotra, the CPI leader, got himself arrested 'honourably' but afterwards a severe police repression was let loose in the village adjoining the Bedi farm in Ferozepur district. The treachery of the leadership has again exposed its revisionist nature. CPI (M) boss, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, played a leading role in the 'Chandigarh drama' and formed an alliance with the reactionary Akalis. But their activity on any mass front is practically nil.

The reactionary and fascist police of Punjab have killed 15 comrades in so-called encounters. About 150 comrades are being tortured in jails. Twenty-five comrades have been declared 'proclaimed offenders'. More than 3000 peasant families have been put to inhuman, severe police repression. Warrants have been issued against more than 200 poor peasants, teachers and students.

In spite of this brutal police repression the revolutionary peasants of Punjab are waging their just war against feudalism and imperialism. From Punjab, the flames of peasant struggle have spread to the border areas of Himachal Pradesh. In Himachal Pradesh guerrilla comrades led by the CPI (M-L) have annihilated two big landlords and the government is seriously thinking of taking the help of the CRP to try vainly to check the spread of the revolutionary armed struggle.

## ADVANCE OF ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE IN BIHAR

Armed peasant struggle under the leadership of the CPI (M-L) has spread to new areas of Chotanagpur in South Bihar —to new areas in Ranchi, Palamau and Singhbhum districts. The brave peasantry inspired by Mao Tsetung Thought are dealing hard blows at the rule of the landlords and the compradors in the countryside. Led by the CPI (M-L) they are carrying forward the battle for annihilation of class enemies.

### RANCHI :

Srinath Singh and his son, Joginder Singh, of village Oskoo under Mander police station were ruthless exploiters and oppressors of the peasants of that area. For their many crimes against the people these landlords and usurers had earned the bitter hatred of the peasantry. A guerrilla squad of eight peasants, armed with traditional weapons, attacked both Srinath Singh and Joginder Singh on September 24, 1970, at about 7 a.m. and annihilated them. Before the Party Congress, one class enemy had been annihilated in this area. On July 17, 1970, another class enemy, Dakshan Lal Dubey, met with his doom in the hands of the peasant guerrillas. Many landless and poor peasants have joined guerrilla squads, the number of which has increased. The guerrilla fighters are quite safe among the masses of the peasantry.

On August 16, a guerrilla squad of seven poor peasants attacked Dharam Singh of village Manha under Kankey police station with traditional weapons and annihilated him.

As manager of the estate of the biggest landlord of the area, he used to oppress the peasants brutally. The annihilation of this hated enemy raised a wave of enthusiasm among the people.

### PALAMAU :

Biswambhan Mahato, a landlord of village Paurka under



Latehar thana, had forcibly occupied 130 acres of land of the local peasants during his service as a forester. He cheated and oppressed the peasants in various other ways. The peasant masses hated him bitterly and sentenced him to death for his various crimes. A guerrilla squad of seven poor peasants attacked him at his house on September 15, 1970 at 7 a.m. and annihilated him with traditional weapons. This guerrilla action has tremendously roused the peasant masses of the area. All the guerrillas are safe.

#### SINGHBHUM :

Mohan, a hated landlord, who exploited and oppressed the peasants, lived at Chakradharpur town. When he went to the village on July 25, he was annihilated in broad day-light by a squad of six guerrilla comrades with traditional weapons.

Again, on September 27, another despotic landlord named Sabadev Pradhan of village Hatima in the same area was attacked by a guerrilla squad of four peasants at noon and annihilated with traditional weapons. All the guerrillas are living among the peasant masses and are quite safe.

The peasant masses of the area and the guerrilla comrades inspired with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought are determined to develop armed struggle.

— x —

## Communist Party of East Pakistan (M-L) GREETS C. P. I. (M-L)

*The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist), which met in July 1970 to discuss and adopt a new tactical line, offered its greetings to the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Following is the full text of the resolution:*

### GREETINGS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (Marxist-Leninist)

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar has truly raised for the first time the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India : it has successfully applied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of India and unfurled the banner of armed agrarian revolution. The line of action the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has developed—that of building the Party's own army and creating liberated bases by uniting the landless and poor peasants on the basis of the politics of seizure of political power and Chairman's politics, by forming guerrilla squads of landless and poor peasants and by waging the battle of annihilation of class enemies—has raised on the soil of India a new high tide of armed struggle. And the blood of martyrs has endowed this great struggle with a new prestige and glory.

This revolutionary programme of action of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has showed us the road of armed agrarian revolution in this country. It has given to us great help and inspiration. At the same time, we also recall Comrade Charu Mazumdar's words : "In this era of the total collapse of imperialism, world imperialism and Soviet social-imperia-



individual selves and bring the people together, the broad masses are inspired with the same revolutionary ideal, and no power on earth can stop that tide of people's revolution.

Today with the snatching of rifles from the police at Magurjan by the Naxalbari peasants, the People's Liberation Army has been formed in West Bengal. That is why the agents of imperialism have become still more desperate and ferocious. Avenge this massacre perpetrated by them by spreading people's war and establishing people's political power in the countryside. Today, it is the task of the revolutionary workers and youths to unite with these fighters for liberation and to advance towards the establishment of people's political power in the rural areas by fighting shoulder to shoulder with them and avenging every murder. It is the establishment of people's political power that should be today's programme of action against these traitors,

—December 21, 1970

On December 15, a trap was laid by the reactionary government to murder several comrades after releasing them from the Midnapur Central Jail. Our comrades refused to oblige the reactionary authorities and a great battle was fought within the jail walls. About two hundred and fifty comrades, now imprisoned there, and several hundred ordinary prisoners fought with uncommon heroism against battalions of armed bandits with pieces of stones, iron railings, and rifles seized from the attackers, drove the troops out of the prison, hoisted the Red flag atop the prison central tower and burnt down the ration and other stores within it. The enemy mounted guns from the outside and opened fire. In this almost incredibly heroic fight nine peasant comrades, according to reports received by us, died the death of martyrs and many more were injured. ~~Two of the enemy attackers were annihilated.~~ *Ed. Liberation*

*See Lib, January - March 1971, p. 96.*

## NOTES

( Continued from page 30 )

### ANOTHER TURNING-POINT OF HISTORY

Deathless is the glory of our Ngyuen Van Trois. Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Gopiballavpur and Dabra shook them out of their former purposeless existence. They saw visions of a liberated India within a liberated world. Mao Tse Tung Thought gave them the faith, the confidence, that by relying on their god—the masses—they could remove the mountains which have for long ages shut out the sunlight from the lives of our great people. So they chose to serve the people whole-heartedly and dared to fight for them and to die for them when the need arose.

Which poet can sing of the epic heroism of the nine peasant comrades who, together with several hundred brave prisoners, would not allow the Midnapur Central Jail to become another Jallianwalla Bagh, fought the Eastern Frontier Rifles and Central Reserve Police battalions within the prison walls, hoisted the Red Flag over the Central tower of the prison, snatched rifles from the enemy, ~~annihilated two of the attackers~~, drove the enemy out of the prison for a few hours and courted martyrdom? *of next issue h. 96*

Asoke Basu and three other young comrades were captured late in the night in a sudden swoop by more than one thousand armed bandits of the reactionary government. As they faced the bullets of their assassins, they shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!", "Red Salute to Naxalbari!" Our Van Trois—peasants, workers and petty bourgeois youths—Sanatan Mondal, Amal, Subrata, Sashi, Gurudas, Sudeb, Kajal, Bidhu, Anup, Ajoy, Sanku, Alo, Biren, Murari, Rabi and many others remained true to their vision, loyal sons of the people, to the end of their lives despite all the sadistic torture that the enemy could inflict. One cannot recapture in words that indomitable spirit, that fervour of faith in the coming triumph of the revolution—that fervour with which

they conquered death.

Faced with the advancing tide of armed struggle and beset with insoluble crises, India's reactionary ruling classes have mounted a fierce offensive against the people. Enormous expenditure is being made to improve the efficiency of the police in killing people.

Armed bands of assassins who move in plain-clothes have been formed to shoot at sight C P I (M-L) workers. Local gangsters have been recruited to assassinate C P I (M-L) cadres and sympathizers. The reactionary government has armed itself with two black acts called West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Act and West Bengal Prevention of Violent Activities Act to give 'legal' sanction to their policy of ruthless suppression of the people. They can now shoot people at sight "legally." Apart from these "legal" measures, they have organized armed gangs of police assassins in plain-clothes to murder secretly C P I (M-L) cadres and sympathizers. The Barasat incident and the murders at Bhowani Dutta Lane, Central Calcutta, clearly show the pattern of work of these murderers.

These gangs of murderers are working in collusion with the different reactionary and revisionist parties—Congress, Bangla Congress, C P I, Forwrd Bloc, S U C and above all, C P I (M). These parties are not only engaged in carrying on a slanderous propaganda against the C P I (M-L) but are jealously furnishing the police with information about our comrades. Statesman of October 28 reported that at a conference of district magistrates, held in Calcutta on October 26 and 27, it was pointed out by some district magistrates that if political leaders, with the help of their followers in different areas, carried on a campaign against the C P I (M-L), better results would be obtained than the one made by the Publicity Department of the Government. And on October 27, Ananda Bazar Patrika reported that it was stated at the above conference that the C P I (M) was foremost among the political parties that had come out to fight the C P I (M-L).

According to a Hindusthan Standard report of October 22, Promode Dasgupta stated at a press conference on October 21 that the C P I (M) proposed to organize very soon mass resistance

against the "Naxalites and anti-social elements in Calcutta and elsewhere". The leaders of the C P I (M), who live and move under the special police protection provided by the reactionary government, are the most shameless stooges of the reactionary ruling classes.

Sometime ago, one of the West Bengal policemen's associations appealed to the people to condemn attacks on policemen by the revolutionary youth. It stated that policemen only carried out the orders of their superiors while they prosecuted the people and that all policemen should not be held responsible for the crimes a few commit.

What is the experience of our people? The police, like the army, was the tool of the British imperialists during the days of their direct rule for enslaving, exploiting and oppressing the people. An anti-people, thoroughly corrupt and degenerate force, trained by the British imperialists, it considered itself above the people and always served the native exploiters, besides their imperialist masters. They faithfully carried out their job—the job of intimidating, torturing and killing workers, peasants and other working people. They were most hated by the people.

Was there any change after the direct rule by the imperialists had been replaced by their indirect rule? Both under the Congress governments and the so-called United Front government, the police retained its former character and served as an instrument of the reactionary ruling classes for intimidating and torturing the working people into submission or murdering them whenever the exploiting classes so willed.

Who can forget the massacre of peasants in Calcutta in 1959? Who can forget the orgy of police savagery at Basirhat, Krishnagar and other places in 1966? Who can forget the almost daily shootings of unarmed people during the last few years? And who can forget the killing of peasant women and children in Naxalbari in 1967?

Today, faced with the resistance of the people led by the C P I (M-L), the role of the police has become still more vicious than before. So, what mercy, what sympathy, can these killers expect? They will be treated with mercy only when, pounded by

the blows of the revolutionary people, they will turn their guns against the enemies of the people or hand them over to the people.

It is by developing the revolutionary class struggles of peasants and workers and by establishing the revolutionary people's political power in the rural areas, that the murder and suffering of the finest and most heroic sons of India will be avenged. They were the flesh of our flesh, the blood of our blood. Their cause is our cause. The people cannot rest until that cause has triumphed.

Another turning-point of history has been reached. The poor and landless peasants have started snatching rifles from the enemy in different places and begun to dig underground tunnels. These are the events of the greatest significance after the great revolt in Naxalbari. The march of the People's Liberation Army has started. What power on earth can stop it?

— x —



## IN THIS ISSUE

- |     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| 1.  | March Onward, Day of Victory<br>is near— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> ....   | 1  |
| 2.  | Greet Armed Peasants Struggle<br>in East Pakistan— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> ....   | 8  |
| 3.  | Avenge the Heroic Martyrs— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> ....   | 9  |
| 4.  | NOTES :<br>— <i>Long Live the Chinese Revolution</i><br>— <i>A Period of Great Upheaval,<br/>Great Division and Great Reconstruction</i><br>— <i>Another Turning-Point of History</i> | 11 |
| 5.  | Give Priority to the Task of Establishing<br>Revolutionary Political Power<br>— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> ....  | 31 |
| 6.  | Revolutionary Armed Struggle Surges<br>Forward in West Bengal ....  | 33 |
| 7.  | Armed Peasant Struggle Breaks out<br>in East Pakistan ....  | 48 |
| 8.  | Peasant Guerrilla Struggle spreads to Kerala ...  | 52 |
| 9.  | Japanese Militarism will inevitably End up<br>in Defeat as Before ...   | 54 |
| 10. | Revolutionary Armed Peasant Struggle<br>Forges Ahead in Punjab ....   | 61 |
| 11. | Communist Party of East Pakistan (M-L)<br>Greets CPI (M-L) ....   | 65 |
| 12. | Avenge the Massacre in Midnapur Jail<br>— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i> ....  | 69 |

are' lism hatching plots of destroying great China and the liberation struggles of South-east Asia by using India as a base." The peasants' armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is upsetting the plans of their counter-revolutionary war. In this respect the peasants' armed struggle in India has an international significance.

To suppress the armed agrarian revolution in India and its leader, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Indira government, the running-dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, have been carrying on savage persecution, murdering and sending to prison thousands of revolutionaries and destroying village after village. The revisionists of various hues—Dange, Jyoti, Sundarayya etc—are the accomplices of the Indira government in this criminal act. The heroic people of India under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) are fighting this white terror with boundless courage and revolutionary determination and are imposing revolutionary red terror in its place. This Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist) offers a revolutionary red salute to the comrades who have laid down their lives and to those who have suffered persecution in this revolutionary war and sends its revolutionary greetings to the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

— x —

## AVENGE THE MASSCRE IN MIDNAPUR JAIL

*Call of Comrade Charu Mazumder on behalf  
of the CPI (M-L)*

As stooges of world imperialism headed by U. S. imperialism and of Soviet social-imperialism, the Indian government has not only re-introduced the laws that were enacted to maintain British colonial rule but has also adopted all the imperialist tactics of murdering revolutionaries. The British shot to death political prisoners in the Hijli jail in Midnapur. The Nehru government shot and killed political prisoners in Dum Dum and Presidency Jails. In the same way, but in an even more ferocious manner, the puppet Indian government has shot to death imprisoned revolutionaries in Midnapur Jail. The Indian government has adopted the same policy—"Kill all, burn all, destroy all"—that all imperialist powers adopt on the eve of their extinction. No imperialist power has ever been able to stop the onward march of revolution by murdering revolutionaries. Rather, every massacre has kindled the people's rage and made the struggle even more intense than before. Attempting genocide in Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is being pounded again and again by the blows of the people and is suffering defeat after defeat. The Indian government too has kindled the revolutionary consciousness of the people through such massacres and revolutionary war will in the near future become wide-spread and overthrow the Indian government: this is an inexorable law of history.

The people of West Bengal will never forget all these heroes: to carry forward their revolutionary work the people will be ready to sacrifice their all and plunge into the struggle. All these attacks of the enemy break up the narrow bounds of