

ORGANISE
A FACTORY

*Naxalbari and the
Chinese Press*

A Select Anthology

Edited by Alope Mukherjee

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Naxalbari Upsurge (May 1967) is a momentous event in the history of independent India. The movement—led by a section of Communist revolutionaries—gave a massive jolt to the existing economic and socio-political order of the country and introduced a set of new parameters. It rid the young generation of Indian communists of the parliamentary bias and unfolded before them the path extra-parliamentary activism. Alongside our peasants and tribal masses, it attracted a considerable section of the rural populace and urban youth, who were imbued with a deep sense of patriotism and zeal to change the society for the better.

Gradually, the very phrase “Naxal” became synonymous to rebellion, and emerged as a source of sheer uneasiness for the administration and mainstream political parties. The movement initially gave birth to a coordination committee (AICCCR) led by communist revolutionaries of India and later on to a full-fledged communist party, the CPI-ML. In popular expression though, it came to be referred to as the Naxal movement—borrowing the name from its place of origin, a remote hamlet situated at the foot of the Himalayas in the northern part of the province of West Bengal.

The movement drew ideological inspiration from the Chinese revolution of 1949, and, as a result, received much

acclaim from the ruling Chinese Communist Party and its enigmatic leader Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese press, almost regularly, published reports and news strips about the radical escapades of the Naxals in its various mouthpieces, and also broadcasted them through Radio Peking.

Like it or not, one cannot rule out the historical significance of these reports, and it is precisely because of this Aloke Mukherjee, a key figure of the movement, who worked actively among the workers and peasants of Howrah and Birbhum in West Bengal as a part of the regional leadership of the AICCCR and the CPI-ML, has taken up the job of documenting them, the important ones of course, in a modest volume, so that an important part of the nation's revolutionary history—through a foreign lens—could be preserved systematically.

Magpie expresses its gratefulness to Mr. Mukherjee and expects (nay believes) that his immense toil will bear fruit and thereby help our common readers and researchers to comprehend the import of the movement. Magpie is also indebted to Ms. Dhrupadi Ghosh and Ms. Agnihotri Syeda for designing the cover and going through the proof respectively.

Swagata Dutta

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FROM THE DESK OF THE EDITOR

Naxalbari and the Chinese Press: A Select Anthology is a compilation of important editorials, articles and reports published in the English language journals of the Communist Party of China on the communist revolutionary movement of India—popularly known as the Naxal movement.

One might ask, why this compilation, or what is the need for such a compilation now? Here, the purpose can be best described as an attempt to look at the past being embedded in the present with a view to serve the future.

Superficially looking, this compilation belongs to a period when not only in India but worldwide the stormy petrels were out in the open to spread the message of revolution faster and speedier, to develop the movement of the people to a higher, and further higher level, and to make the forces of revolution ever stronger to dare the vilest of reactionary violence.

But, as mentioned earlier, that is only superficial, for after going through the articles and reports one could find deeper implications.

Today, there is a tendency among people, especially among the so-called politically conscious ones, to brand the communist revolutionary movement of Naxalbari and its aftermath as an outburst of youthful emotion. But is that really correct? Were the historic actions of the third

quarter of the last century—more accurately the second half of that quarter—were acts of some idealists chasing certain principles meant to be followed as a specificity of that period? Were the historical actions just exuberances of a section of overconfident youth or flamboyances of a few students of some elite institutions to make an imprint on history? The answer is no, and indeed NO. Victories or defeats, whatever the results be, history is never made that way. In this respect, Marx's observation apropos the interconnection between principles and history as opposed to Proudhon in his famous book *Poverty of Philosophy* can be consulted:

"Let us admit with M. Proudhon that real history, history according to the order in time, is the historical sequence in which ideas, categories and principles have manifested themselves.

"Each principle has had its own century in which to manifest itself. The principle of authority, for example, had the 11th century, just as the principle of individualism had the 18th century. In logical sequence, it was the century that belonged to the principle, and not the principle which belonged to the century. When, consequently, in order to save principles as much as to save history, we ask ourselves why a particular principle was manifested in the 11th century or in the 18th century rather than in any other, we are necessarily forced to examine minutely what men were like in the 11th century, what they were like in the 18th, what were their respective needs, their productive forces, their mode of production, the raw materials of their production—in short, what were the relations between

man and man which resulted from all these conditions of existence. To get to the bottom of all these questions—what is this but to draw up the real, profane history of men in every century and to present these men as both the authors and the actors of their own drama? But the moment you present men as the actors and authors of their own history, you arrive—by detour—at the real starting point, because you have abandoned those eternal principles of which you spoke at the outset."

Here, in these articles and reports, it has been shown how huge masses of people, mostly in rural areas of Naxalbari and different parts of the country, acted in that particular period of history. Those actions were neither isolated, nor insulated from what was going on around the world. Rather, the influence of the international situation, the successful advances of socialism, lent them the scripts to be followed. So, let us, for the moment, take a time-travel to the past days and have a glimpse of the situation pertaining then.

The Second World War ended not only with the defeat of fascism but also with the weakening of imperialism as a whole. The imperialists, as a result, were witnessing unprecedented crises both economically and politically. Moreover, Socialist Soviet Union was glaringly showing the people of the world that capitalism, and its developed stage of imperialism, had been facing its dead-end. At the same time, China was advancing towards a successful revolution in great strides and was acting as a beacon for the people of the world, especially the people fighting for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Almost in all colonies and semi-

colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there were great upsurges of people's movements leading them to liberation struggles in great speed. Terribly scared of the power of the people, imperialism had to change its colonial policy. It thought, in such a situation, instead of losing everything, it was wiser and more convenient to opt for an indirect rule by transferring power to the classes subservient to them. This policy of neo-colonialism started to be followed almost everywhere—and thus, peaceful transfer of power emerged as the new tactic of imperialism. Furthermore, the devastating effect of the War on almost all the countries in all continents created a penchant for peace among the people, which the imperialists utilized to the most to serve their interests.

The situation in India then was truly depicted in the Programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) adopted in the Party Congress held in May 1970. It reads:

"The mighty movement for the release of 'Azad Hind' prisoners, powerful anti-imperialist demonstrations by students all over India, the great Tebhaga and Bakhast struggles, the anti-feudal struggles in the princely states, the powerful struggle of the P&T workers, the armed revolt of the R.I.N. ratings along with rebellions in the Air Force and the Army and police revolt in Bihar, the great solidarity actions of the working class and the beginning of the historic armed peasant struggle in Telangana brought the imperialist rule in India at the verge of collapse."

In a word, a great revolutionary upheaval was brewing, of which the British rulers were mortally afraid. At the same time, the big bourgeoisie, dependent on and subservient to

imperialism, and the feudal lords, who were acting as agents of the British, were scared of a revolutionary takeover of power. So, the imperial administration pressed into service the representatives of their subservient classes—the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League—and divided the country on religious lines, thereby engineering a communal carnage. Amid this situation, the leaders of the Communist Party of India, instead of leading the revolutionary peasants and the struggling millions, started "bidding for power" and tried to broker peace.

But in different parts of the India, especially in Telangana, the communist leaders raised the banner of uncompromising struggle and went on fighting against the inimical state. They took lessons from the successful revolution in China and upheld the general line followed by the CPC as a guide in their revolutionary struggles.

From then onwards, a close relationship was forged between the CPC and the revolutionary section of the CPI. These articles and reports show how deep that relationship was. Here, it must also be added that when the CPI was almost split into pieces owing to the unfortunate Calcutta Committee-Bombay Committee discord during the early thirties, the nascent CPC took a bold initiative to mend the differences and help the CPI surface as a unified detachment of the advanced section of the proletarian class. The closeness, however, came much later. It took a concrete shape after the death of Stalin, when the revolutionaries within the CPI started regarding Comrade Mao Tse-tung as their leader and guide.

Although as a fraternal party the CPC's role was limit-

ed solely to exchange of experiences and, in exceptional circumstances, a few suggestions, the opinions it expressed were of utmost importance to the revolutionary section of the Indian Communists. These opinions used to be disseminated through different editorials, articles and reports in journals such as *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), and reproduced in the *Peking Review*, as it was then called.

Here, a selection of editorials, articles and reports after the great Peasant Upsurge of Naxalbari is being produced.

The purpose has already been stated. True, the selection itself transmits opinions and ideas from the perspective of objective analysis of the-then existing situation; but, to the reader, who has not experienced the reality present then, it is very difficult to feel or even fathom the warmth these articles produced among the people. I emphasize on the word 'people', since at the very outset it has been clarified by quoting Marx that principles or ideas do not make history, the 'men', the people are its real authors.

As a person who played a minor yet a very active role in the movement, the present editor would like to exchange some of his experiences as proof of the above statement.

To us, in those days, the Khrushchevite theory of "three peacefuls" (peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition) were synonymous to betrayal. That was a period when the international communist movement got divided into two conflicting camps, and there was a fierce ideological battle between them, with the CPSU leading one side and the CPC and the Albania Party of Labour the other. The Khrushchevite penchant for peace turned into an abject surrender to the reactionaries all over the world by a

section of communists—along with hankering for pelf and power. The other section stood firmly by the people in their battle to put an end to the exploitative system that bled them white. Wherever these struggles crossed the limit drawn by the ruling classes, they turned into bitter armed conflicts, some even developing into revolutionary armed struggles for liberation.

The CPC's *Open letter* of June 14 (1963) opposing the Soviet Party-line of peaceful transition, and championing armed struggle of the oppressed masses as the only prop of liberation movements—was taken by all communist revolutionaries as a guideline set by the international communist leadership in the absence of the Comintern. We regarded the Chinese revolution and the CPC, its leader Mao Tse-tung, as our teacher and guide.

So, following the incidents of resistance and genocide at Naxalbari on May 24 and 25 (1967), when the organ of the CPC, the *People's Daily*, on July 5 published the editorial *Spring Thunder Over India*, it had an electrifying effect on all communist activists. The editorial was not merely a cursory support but a well thought declaration by a responsible party regarded as the leader of the International Communist movement clarifying which side it was on. The statement was loud and clear: the CPC was standing by the side of the revolutionary communists in opposition to the leadership of the Party that had by then taken to a revisionist path and acting as a part of the United Front government in West Bengal to suppress the upsurge of peasants at Naxalbari. In addition, it drafted an outline which way the revolutionary struggle should develop. I remember the last meeting of the

District Organising Committee of the CPI (ML) of Birbhum where the decision to dissolve it to form a regional committee merging with the DOC of Murshidabad was taken. Comrade Sushital Roy Choudhury, the State Committee Secretary, was present there. When we asked him how to develop our work, he emphatically advised us to take the *Spring Thunder* editorial of the CPC as our guideline. In his words—"That is the blueprint of Indian revolution".

Then we found on July 14, 1967, an article, *The Darjeeling Peasant Armed Struggle*. It hailed the struggle, the strategic and economic importance of the area it was spreading and how the revolutionaries with homemade weapons were meeting the challenge of armed reactionaries, even snatching arms from them. But what actually attracted readers like us was the following few lines which said: "In 1965 the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party in Siliguri put forward the slogan of arming the peasants and setting up rural bases in preparation for armed struggle." Consequently, some of us started enquiring and came to know about Charu Mazumdar's historic *Eight Documents*. Like us, many rank-and-file comrades came to know about them and got rough ideas about their content from different sources. But a highly revered leader of Naxalbari wrote in April 1973 that "To many, these eight documents may seem mysterious: because many do not know the source and their existence. Particularly, 90% of those connected with the AICCCR and the CPI (ML) do not know about them." (More about Naxalbari). Through this subtle attempt to undermine and belittle Charu Mazumdar, he not only despised the rank-and-file as some ignorant bunch of comrades but also

put the intention of the CPC into question.

Anyway, here we are not going to introduce all the contents. It is also impossible to transmit the effects of each of them had on the revolutionary peasants and activists. But when Reports of Mushahari and Debra peasant armed struggles were published one after another, the self-confidence of the peasant comrades reached a new height and a sense of Bolshevik competition to build up struggles grew almost in all areas.

When peasants came to know that the CPC led by Mao was supporting Naxalbari type of struggles, they started identifying themselves with communism and also with the Chinese leadership.

In this connection, a small anecdote, directly experienced by the editor, i.e., me, may get the readers a feel of the esteem with which the ordinary struggling peasantry looked at China and its leader Mao Tse-tung.

Nabinda, Com. Nabin Kisku, an adivasi comrade, once took me to a tribal village, where, till then, we did not have any organisation. Our aim was to build up one, and for that we needed to talk to the advanced section of the peasants to make our politics known. It was the period of the Second United Front government when infighting among its partners had taken an ugly shape. The village to which we went was a hotbed of this infighting. Just a few days before our arrival, there had been an armed clash between the CPM and the RSP, and the latter had foisted a number cases against the villagers who were, in the main, CPM supporters. Here, one more thing is to be added: in Birbhum, from the days of the AICCCR, almost in all the parties including the CPM, a

sharp division had appeared; one section was sympathetic and helpful to us and another inimical. The CPM leader of that particular area was Manjurul Islam—a Muslim youth who maintained friendly terms with the Naxals. Anyway, after reaching a relative's house Nabin-da asked one person of his confidence to secretly call a few leading members of the village. After he had gone, some young boys came to meet us, and as we began to talk, they listened to us with utmost attention. One or two of them, like Chandar Murmu, even asked questions. All on a sudden, a big number of people, all drunk, rushed in. Actually, the person who was to secretly call a few individuals, went to the village tavern and whisperingly asked all of them to meet us! The result was that the whole tavern moved to the room where we were talking with the young boys. They listened to us for a while, then started enquiring about the cases. We told them that we did not know about them and tried to resume the discussion as the young fellows were eager to carry on with it. But once again the seniors started repeatedly asking about the cases and at one point with annoyance I said—"we do not belong to that party, so we do not know." Much irritated, they left their seats almost instantaneously, saying—"So you belong to RSP"! When we tried to clarify who we were, they said in a bitter tone—"We thought you have been sent from China by Mao Tse-tung. And now we find you are an RSP!" They left the spot in haste but the young boys were still sitting. Sometime after, the fathers of those boys returned and asked them to come out. But as they were too reluctant to go out, we requested them to leave to avoid tension. Next day, early in the morning,

we left. But as we discussed the whole incident later, the words of being sent from China by Mao Tse-tung struck us, and we decided to contact them once again. Within a short period we could build up the organisation there, and the whole village was with us. Comrade Chandar became a good peasant organiser.

Let us now return to the topic. The essays and features published in the Chinese print media were written in simple language. There were no play of words. The approach was uncomplicated, and most importantly, direct. For instance, the article *Historic Turning Point in the Indian Revolution*, published on January 12, 1968. It unmasked the true character of Indian revisionism and proclaimed: "The 'Parliamentary Road' is a mixture of the fallacy of 'Peaceful Transition' advocated by old time revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky, and the 'Doctrine of nonviolence' advocated by Gandhi. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and China's Khrushchev have made great efforts to propagate this 'Parliamentary Road', the so-called 'Indian Road', in an attempt to prevent the Indian people and other oppressed nations and peoples from taking the victorious road of the Chinese Revolution."

These articles gave us the confidence that we were in the right track. When the *Political Resolution of CPI (ML)* was published in the *Peking Review* (July 11, 1969), we were sanguine that we held a real weapon to fight the reactionaries.

Another important aspect of the writings published in the Chinese press was the linking of past revolutionary struggles with the struggle at Naxalbari. The Chinese

commentators brought to the fore the **significance of the** Telangana armed struggle—that had by then, owing to the complot of the revisionists, slipped into oblivion. Through a couple of essays of modest scope, published in two successive issues of the *Peking Review*, they analysed the lessons of the great Telangana armed struggle anew and showed how it was historically connected to the peasant uprising in Naxalbari.

Another important facet of the reports published in the CPC mouthpieces was the endorsement of Com. Charu Mazumdar's leading role in developing the movement. That the CPC itself validated his pioneering role, is evident from a report, entitled *Red Revolutionary Area in India Shines Like a Beacon*, carried by the *Peking Review* on the Srikakulam movement. In that piece there was a sentence which had great influence personally on me as well as a great number of comrades. The sentence was: "Charu Mazumdar, leader of the CPI (M-L), personally kindled the flames of armed struggle in Srikakulam". Though in hindsight it proved to be a grave mistake on behalf of us, I never deny that in our region and inside the prison for a long time I had been a proponent of the authority of Com. Mazumdar. This particular statement by the CPC, whom we took as our international leadership and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung as the international authority, had influenced me to arrive at such a conclusion.

Essentially, the Chinese Communist party led by Mao had a tremendous and effective role in the armed struggle that developed during the second half of the third quarter of the last century. That was a time when in large parts of

the country the peasants themselves proudly declared they belonged to the communist revolutionary party—popularly known as the Naxal party.

Here as well, I can tell a story of my own experience. In those days, our practise was to stay with the poor and landless peasants in the villages, and one such shelter was in a small hamlet in the midst of a forest. After some days of staying outside, on my way return through the forest-path, I heard shouting of slogans. I was sure the slogan-givers were my comrades. Reaching there, I found they had seized a gun from a local landlord and were shouting proudly: *Amra bati Naxal party* (know our identity, we belong to the Naxal Party). But this was not all. They were also shouting: *CPI-ML zindabad* (Long live CPI-ML), meaning they had identified their "Naxal Party" with the "CPI-ML".

It was, in the real sense, a period of revolutionary struggle that Marx envisaged in his great work *German Ideology* :

"For the creation on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, as well as for the success of the cause itself, it is necessary for men themselves to be changed on a large scale, and this change can only occur in a practical movement, in a revolution. Revolution is necessary not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because only in a revolution can the class which overthrows it, rid itself of the accumulated rubbish of the past and become capable of reconstructing the society."

One might say, whatever the Naxalbari movement did and whatever did the CPC through its press propaganda—proved to be wrong, as it failed to produce a positive result

after the initial success. My answer would be in the words of JBS Haldane, the great scientist. In the book *The Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences*, he said:

“An important type of dialectical process is as follows. We study something or some process in isolation. We produce a theory and we find that the theory is unsatisfactory because we have ignored the background. Now afterwards it is very easy for any critic to say, ‘Well, your original theory was just a piece of absurdity. Anyone could tell that it wasn’t going to work.’ Unfortunately, in practice, we find that until we had produced the theory which worked up to a point and then broke down, we could not tell which elements we have ignored and should not have ignored.”

I fully agree with this view when at the outset I stated the purpose of this compilation is to look at the past being embedded in the present with a view to serve the future, i.e., to find out the elements that have been ignored and should not have been ignored.

Well, with these words this compilation is being put before the readers to make their own understanding.

May 24, 2022
Naxalbari Day
Bolpur

ALOKE MUKHERJEE

SPRING THUNDER OVER INDIA

A peal of spring thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people’s revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed the trammels that bound them. They have seized grain, land and weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and wicked gentry, and ambushed the reactionary troops and police that went to suppress them thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants’ revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials, local tyrants and wicked gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The absolutely correct thing has been done by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party and they have done it well. The Chinese people joyfully applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-

Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

It is an inevitability that the Indian peasants will rebel and the Indian people will make revolution because the reactionary Congress rule has left them with no alternative. India under Congress rule is only nominally independent; in fact, it is nothing more than a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The Congress administration represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it oppresses the Indian people without any mercy and suck their blood, while internationally it serves the new boss, U.S. imperialism, and its number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, in addition to its old suzerain British Imperialism, thus selling out the national interests of India in a big way. So imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The Congress administration has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and pursued a policy of national betrayal during the past few years. Famine has stalked the land year after year. The fields are strewn with the bodies of those who have died of hunger and starvation. The Indian people, above all, the Indian peasants, have found life impossible for them. The revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have now risen in rebellion, in violent revolution. This is the prelude to a violent revolution by the hundreds of millions of people throughout India. The Indian people will certainly cast away these big mountains off their backs and win complete emancipation. This is the general trend of Indian history

which no force on earth can check or hinder.

What road is to be followed by the Indian revolution? This is a fundamental question affecting the success of the Indian revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tse-tung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolutions of all oppressed nations and peoples.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, pointed out as long as 40 years ago: "In China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves."

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago that the peasant question occupies an extremely important place in the people's revolution. The peasants constitute the main force in the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and its lackeys; they are most reliable and numerous allies of the proletariat. India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of which, the peasantry, once aroused, will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating itself with peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earth-shaking

changes in the vast countryside of India and defeat any powerful enemy in a soul-stirring people's war.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao, teaches us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good, universally, for China and for all other countries."

The specific nature of the Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting against armed counter-revolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for the Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever. Such trash as "Gandhi-ism", "parliamentary road" and the like are opium used by the Indian ruling classes to paralyse the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation. Specifically, this is to arouse the peasant masses boldly, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal blows at the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries, who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces, by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people's war personally worked out by Chairman Mao, and to persist in protracted armed struggle and seize victory of the revolution step by step.

In the light of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, our great leader, Chairman Mao, has pointed out the importance of establishing revolutionary rural base areas. Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to persist in protracted armed struggle and defeat imperialism and its lackeys, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base

areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting."

India is country with vast territory; its countryside, where the reactionary rule is weak, provides the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. So long as the Indian proletarian revolutionaries adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and rely on their great ally, the peasants, it is entirely possible for them to establish one advanced revolutionary rural base area after another in the broad backward rural areas and build a people's army of a new type. Whatever difficulties and twists and turns the Indian revolutionaries may experience in the course of building such revolutionary base areas, they will eventually develop such areas from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, an expansion in a series of waves. Thus, a situation in which the cities are encircled from the countryside will gradually be brought about in the Indian revolution to pave the way for the final seizure of towns and cities and winning nation-wide victory.

The Indian reactionaries are panic-stricken by the development of the rural armed struggle in Darjeeling. They have sensed imminent disaster and they wail in alarm that the peasants' revolt in Darjeeling will "become a national disaster." Imperialism and the Indian reactionaries are trying in a thousand and one ways to suppress this armed struggle of the Darjeeling peasants and nip it in the bud. The Dange renegade clique and revisionist chieftains

of the Indian Communist Party are vigorously slandering and attacking the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling for their great exploits. The so-called "non-Congress" government in West Bengal openly sides with the reactionary Indian Government in its bloody suppression of the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling. This gives added proof that these renegades and revisionists are running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and lackeys of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie. What they call the "non-Congress government" is only a tool of the landlords and bourgeoisie.

But no matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may co-operate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. "A single spark can start a prairie fire". The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surely triumph.

People's Daily, July 5, 1967

Raising the Red Flag in India THE DARJEELING PEASANT ARMED STRUGGLE

A peasant armed struggle base has been set up in the country side in Darjeeling District, West Bengal State, under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party. A glowing spark of the fire of revolutionary armed struggle launched by the Indian people under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, it represents the general orientation of the Indian revolution at the present stage.

A Red District

Indian papers have disclosed that this armed struggle area is located around the three villages of Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa in Siliguri Sub-Division of Darjeeling District in the mountainous area of North West Bengal. This Red district, first established in early March, covers an area of some 270 square miles and has a population of 80,000. For nearly four months since its formation, it has withstood encirclement by the White regime. Nearly 20 hamlets, where the revolutionary power is comparatively strong, have raised the red flag.

In 1965, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party in Siliguri put forward the slogan of arming the peasants and setting up rural bases in preparation for

armed struggle. For two years they devoted themselves to mobilizing and organizing the peasants. After the fourth general elections in early March this year, a non-Congress "United Front" government in which members of the Indian Communist Party participated was formed in West Bengal (see, *Peking Review*, No. 24, p. 33). It served as a tool of the Indian reactionaries to deceive the people and benumb their revolutionary militancy. Then the members of the Indian Communist Party in the state, who want to make revolution, unfolded a movement of "deserting the United Front government" and "joining the Darjeeling struggle." They went to Naxalbari and other villages to lead and organize the peasants to carry out the agrarian armed struggle.

Led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, poor peasants and farm labourers began to arm themselves by the thousands. They established their own political power and organized peasants' societies. Trampling in the dust the reactionary government's law which protects the landlords' property, they occupied by force the estates of the landlords, plantation owners and reactionary government. They ploughed the land, drove away the plantation owners, used force to harvest the paddy in the fields of the landlords, seized grain, guns and ammunition from the homes of the big landlords, collected money and grain from the landlords, and forbade hoarding and speculation. They established people's courts to try and punish the local bullies and bad gentry. Ignoring the reactionary government's order prohibiting assembly of more than four persons and forbidding the carrying of

weapons, they held armed demonstrations and moved about in armed groups.

In the hamlets the organized peasants, armed with bows and arrows, guarded their homes day and night against police "sweeps." They set up alarm systems to warn the villagers of the police's approach.

Defeating Counter-Revolutionary Dual Tactics

Soon after the armed struggle area was established, the Indian reactionaries resorted to counter-revolutionary double-dealing—political deception and armed suppression—to clamp down on the people's revolutionary armed struggle.

In mid-May, the West Bengal state government sent a land and revenue minister to Naxalbari to induce the local people to lay down their arms and seek a "political settlement." But the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party who led the struggle refused to meet him.

When these "soft" tactics failed, the state government resorted to a hard line. It dispatched large numbers of armed police to Naxalbari. However, the rebelling peasants successfully ambushed the reactionary troops and police sent out on "mopping-up" operations.

On May 24, when a police team went to Naxalbari to "round up" and arrest the peasants taking part in the struggle to seize land, they were ambushed and encircled by 400 armed peasants. Four police officers were wounded. On May 25 a police party led by the Siliguri sub-divisional officer and the deputy superintendent of police went to a

place near Naxalbari to fire on the peasants harvesting the paddy in the fields of the landlords. They were attacked by armed peasants, one of the party being killed and three others wounded. On May 26, 500 peasants encircled a landlord who had guns in his house. Altogether, in various conflicts in late May, one police officer and over ten policemen were killed and the rebellious peasants eliminated the police stations in the three villages.

When this suppression failed, West Bengal Chief Minister Mukherjee (member of the Bengali Congress Party which split from the Congress Party) went personally to Siliguri on May 27 and called an emergency meeting of district officials of North West Bengal to plot further moves.

In mid-June Mukherjee sent two companies of police from Calcutta to reinforce Siliguri and prepare for suppression of the people's armed struggle. Troops and police also blockaded the frontiers in Darjeeling bordering Pakistan and Nepal. Meanwhile, six state ministers were sent on June 12 to Naxalbari for political manoeuvring. They tried to fool the local people with promises that the government authorities would "pay immediate attention" to their complaints. At the same time they issued an ultimatum, threatening that the government would resort to armed force after June 20. *The Hindustan Standard* admitted on June 20 that "for three days the six ministers worked very hard to bring what they called the 'misguided leaders to the conference table, but their . . . efforts could make no headway against the increased tempo of lawlessness in the affected areas."

The Darjeeling peasant armed struggle has greatly encouraged the revolutionary people of West Bengal and

has had wide repercussions throughout India. On June 27 the revolutionary masses staged a demonstration in front of the West Bengal state assembly house in Calcutta to support the Darjeeling armed struggle led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party. They shouted: "Red Salaam (salute) to Naxalbari!" and "Down with the revisionists!" They also raised slogans in praise of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As revealed in the Indian press and Western news agencies, peasant armed action is "on the rise" in many areas of West Bengal and "more and more places are developing in the direction of becoming 'Naxalbari districts'".

Panic-Stricken Reactionary Government

This situation has greatly alarmed India's central government. Congress Party President Kamaraj rushed back to New Delhi from the state of Madras and the first meeting he held with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on June 8 was to discuss the West Bengal situation. On June 13 Interior Minister Chavan's report to parliament on Naxalbari touched off a heated row within the Congress Party. Some members advocated a presidential take-over of the "Non-Congress" government in West Bengal. However, the Congress high command vetoed this proposal, feeling that they need this "Non-Congress" government to put out the revolutionary fire in Darjeeling.

What is worth special attention is the fact that the reactionary central government is not frightened of the West Bengal government in which a number of Indian Communists are in power, but allows this "Non-Congress" government to continue as part of the apparatus for

its own reactionary rule. However, when the peasants' armed struggle led by revolutionaries within the Indian Communist Party started in three villages in the state, this made the reactionary central government quake with fear. This clearly proves that "peaceful transition," the "parliamentary road" and other revisionist wares cater to the needs of reactionary rulers. Only through revolutionary armed struggle can the reactionaries be dealt heavy blows; only in this way can the foundations of reactionary rule be shaken.

* * *

Thirty-seven years ago, summing up the experience of the Red political power of the Chinese worker-peasant armed independent regime, Chairman Mao wrote in his article *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*: "... in semi-colonial China the establishment and expansion of the Red Army, the guerrilla forces and the Red areas is the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, the inevitable outcome of the growth of the semi-colonial peasant struggle, and undoubtedly the most important factor in accelerating the revolutionary high tide throughout the country."

Like pre-liberation China, India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. To liberate themselves, the Indian people must proceed along the path pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The establishment of the Darjeeling peasant armed struggle area under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party shows that the Indian people have begun to advance along this victorious road.

Peking Review, July 14, 1967

LET THE RED FLAG OF NAXALBARI FLY STILL HIGHER

by Renmin Ribao Commentator

The revolutionary peasant forces in Naxalbari and elsewhere in the Darjeeling District have won their first-round victory in the struggle against the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the reactionary Indian troops and police. The Indian reactionaries' initial repressive actions have failed.

Since July 6, the "Non-Congress" government in West Bengal has sent large numbers of troops and police to attack the revolutionary peasants in Naxalbari, but they have found no way of putting down the peasant armed forces, nor have they been able to control the area.

Bravely and skilfully, the peasant armed forces, led by revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, have launched guerrilla activities in this area. They are able to take the initiative and attack; they also can instantly move away when confronted by an enemy with superior forces.

On July 13 the armed peasants attacked the reactionary troops and police, near the police camp in the Kharibari area. Six days later, they opened fire on the police near Tukuria forest, and then easily left the area. A July 23 report in the *United News of India* confessed that the peasant armed forces in the Naxalbari area "can move from place to place within the belt evading police action," adding that

the Indian reactionaries could not understand this state of affairs and "has got no answer."

In fact, the answer is very clear. It is that the peasant revolutionary armed forces in Naxalbari have won the support of the peasant masses. In contrast, the reactionaries are extremely isolated from the masses. Provided that the peasants are fully mobilized, the revolutionary armed forces will be entirely able to smash any "encirclement and suppression" by reactionary troops and police; and thus carry on their struggle.

Establishment and expansion of the peasant armed forces is a primary condition for persisting in revolutionary peasant struggle. Speaking of the peasants' forces armed with spears in his masterly work *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, our great leader Chairman Mao says, "This multitude equipped with spears... is a new-born armed power the mere sight of which makes the local tyrants and evil gentry tremble. The revolutionary authorities in Hunan should see to it... that every peasant, whether young or in his prime, possesses a spear...". The peasant armed forces in the Naxalbari area today are equipped with bows and arrows, long spears and other locally made weapons. If this "power of bows and arrows, and long spears" is built up on a more extensive scale, it will be able to make the landlord forces and the reactionary troops and police in the rural areas shiver at its sight. The armed peasants not only can safeguard their own survival, but they can also equip themselves with weapons captured from the enemy.

To continuously defeat the enemy's "mopping-up"

operations and "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and to win military victories, the peasant armed forces, while still in a position of weakness, must adhere to mobile and flexible guerrilla tactics. So long as these revolutionary forces are good at employing the tactics of "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue" (known as the 16-character formula), they will be able to gather strength and exhaust the enemy's effectives. This is an effective method for persevering in armed struggle over a long period and for defeating the enemy and winning victory.

To gain a firm footing and to stick to long-term armed struggle, the revolutionary peasant armed forces must set up and expand their base areas in the countryside. This is an important task for the present Indian peasant revolution.

In their struggle against the reactionary troops and police, the armed peasant forces in Naxalbari have withstood the first rigorous test. This shows that the revolutionary forces in the countryside have ample space to manoeuvre in and are quite capable of growing and expanding from small to big in the course of struggle.

The Chinese revolution from the very beginning was tested in battle by repeated "encirclement and suppression" and "counter-encirclement and suppression" campaigns. It was only through a protracted struggle that a powerful people's army and vast rural base areas were established and final victory was won. The Indian revolution will naturally be the same. The peasant's revolutionary struggle in Naxalbari will be long and arduous. It still has to carry

out intense struggles to smash one enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaign after another. It will meet with all kinds of difficulties and setbacks. However, so long as the revolutionary peasant armed forces in Naxalbari persevere in following the road of China's revolution and hold high the red banner of armed struggle, they will certainly push the Indian revolution towards victory step by step.

Peking Review, August 11, 1967

HISTORICAL LESSONS OF TELANGANA UPRISING

by "Renmin Ribao Commentator"

The torch of armed revolution once lit by the peasants of Telangana and later quenched by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party has been rekindled today by the peasants of Naxalbari in Darjeeling under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian C.P. That red torch lights the road of victory for the Indian revolution; it points the way the Indian revolution has to take.

No sooner had the storm of revolution arisen among the Naxalbari peasants than the renegade S.A. Dange group, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and other revisionists shamelessly rushed forward to attack and vilify the revolutionary peasants' great undertaking. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, on the other hand, are leading the peasants resolutely to take the road of armed struggle. This is the continuation of the protracted struggle between the two lines in the Indian Communist Party.

Since the end of World War II, there has been a constant, sharp and complicated struggle in the Indian Communist Party between these two diametrically opposed lines. On the one side is the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, followed by the revolutionaries in the Party, that is, the line of following the road along which the Chinese revolution advanced to victory, the road

of boldly arousing the peasants to revolution, building a people's army, establishing rural revolutionary base areas, waging a protracted armed struggle, encircling the cities from the countryside and eventually winning nationwide victory. The other is the revisionist line pursued by Dange, Namboodiripad and their like. They preach the theory of India being an "exception" and maintain that the parliamentary road of "peaceful transition" should be followed. They oppose violent revolution and want the revolutionary people who have taken up arms to lay them down and abandon their struggle. This is an out-and-out capitulationist line, a counter-revolutionary line.

The history of the Indian revolution proves that wherever the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is dominant, a lively revolutionary situation will emerge. On the other hand, wherever a revisionist line gains the upper hand, the revolutionary people will be betrayed and the revolutionary cause will suffer a setback.

The peasants' armed struggle in Telangana from 1946 to 1951 was the result of the triumph of the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. At that time, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, closely relying on the peasants, succeeded in establishing a base area for armed struggle in Telangana. Peasant armed struggles also broke out in Kerala, West Bengal and many other states. However, this excellent situation for the Indian revolution was undermined and finally put an end to by the revisionist line enforced by Dange and his followers. By spinelessly calling for "a negotiated settlement of the Telangana issue," they forced the revolutionary peasants

to lay down their arms, and so strangled this vigorous revolutionary movement.

The failure of China's great revolution in 1925-27 resulted from betrayal by opportunism and revisionism represented by Chen Tu-hsiu. Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that as a result of Chen Tu-hsiu's opportunist capitulationist line "in 1927, within the space of a few months, the people lost all the rights they had won." In similar fashion, India's Chen Tu-hsius pursued a policy of capitulation and betrayal at this critical juncture in the Indian people's revolution, and in a short space of time threw to the four winds the gains won by the Indian people in their revolutionary struggle. This is a painful historical lesson for the Indian people.

The "special" road, that is, the parliamentary road, advocated by the Dange renegade clique and the other revisionists in the Indian Communist Party is treachery, pure and simple, to deceive the people. To put it bluntly, they don the cloak of a "Communist" while prostrating themselves before the landlord and bureaucrat-capitalist classes to beg for some official posts so that they can check and stamp out the people's revolution and loyally safeguard the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys in India.

The struggle of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party against the revisionist line concerns the success of the Indian revolution and the destiny and future of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution will march to victory step by step if it takes the road of the Chinese revolution, the road of Mao Tse-tung. If the revisionist line is followed, not only will the Indian working people be unable

to achieve liberation, but their country will be further reduced to the position of a dependency of U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind; there is no room for compromise in the struggle between the two lines."

The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary people of India should draw on the profound historical lesson of Telangana, draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between themselves and the revisionist line politically, ideologically and organizationally and wage a resolute struggle against modern revisionism centred on the Soviet revisionist: ruling clique. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party will surely enhance their strength in the struggle and build a genuinely revolutionary Party of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only in this way can they steadfastly carry on the correct revolutionary line, lead the Indian people to defeat the imperialists and their lackeys and win final victory for the Indian people's revolution!

Peking Review, August 11, 1967

ARMED STRUGGLE IN TELAGANA

An intense struggle between the two lines has been going on for a long time inside the Indian Communist Party. The struggle has centred on the question of which road the Indian revolution ought to take. This is a key issue upon which the success or failure of the Indian revolution hinges.

Revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party resolutely advocate the seizure of power by armed struggle, and make it clear that they will take the road of the Chinese people who have won victory in their revolution under the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Some revisionist chieftains, however, have feverishly pushed ahead with the revisionist parliamentary road, thus doing tremendous harm to the Indian revolution.

Guided by the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, armed struggle flared and spread in Telangana in 1946-51. Telangana is in the northern part of Andhra State, southeast India, which was at that time part of eastern Hyderabad. It has an area of 44,000 square miles and a population of over 10 million. Its peasants have long been ruthlessly exploited by the British imperialists and feudal forces. Half the land is owned by the princes and most of the rest by the big landlords. More than 50 per cent of the peasants are landless. Under tyrannical rule, the masses live like beasts of burden.

The Telangana people have a glorious tradition of struggle. In the 1930s and early 40s, mass struggles broke out against feudal exploitation, and the influence of the Indian Communist Party grew steadily among the peasants. In 1946 a mass organization, *Andhra Mahasabha*, led by the Indian Communist Party, had a membership of more than 100,000.

The armed struggle first broke out in Shayapet, Nalgonda District in June, 1946. It was touched off by the murder of an *Andhra Mahasabha* official by a landlord. The angered peasants, led by the Indian Communist Party, rose and seized land and weapons from the landlords. The storm of revolution spread rapidly and village people's committees and people's volunteers were established throughout the area. They resisted the 30,000 troops mustered by the Nizam, ruler of Hyderabad.

By the end of 1947, the uprising had spread to 300 villages. Armed struggle continued to surge still higher under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Local organizations of the Indian Communist Party fought steadfastly along the road taken by the Chinese revolution. By September 1948, the whole of Telangana was aflame, and a red political power was set up embracing some 3,000 villages and a population of nearly 3 million. The guerrilla force increased to 2,000 men and 10,000 villagers joined the militia. Agrarian reform was carried out in the liberated areas. About 1 million acres of land were confiscated from the landlords for free distribution to the landless and land-poor peasants. For the first time in history, the peasants of Telangana were free. The Nizam's regime was shaken to the

core.

The Nehru regime at first confined itself to providing the Nizam with arms and ammunition to suppress the uprising. Then, seeing that this feudal prince was in crucial danger, Nehru ordered tens of thousands of troops to invade Hyderabad. Telangana was plunged into a bloodbath. More than a million peasants were arrested and tortured.

Fighting the enemy, but with heavy odds against them, the peasant guerrillas suffered temporary reverses. They were militarily inexperienced and some of their leaders vacillated. Nevertheless, with wide support from the masses, they quickly recovered and carried on the fight. Some of them moved into the jungles to continue operations from there; others resumed their activities shortly after they had been put down. New areas of guerrilla activity were opened up in the coastal districts of Andhra. Between 1948 and 1951, the Congress party never succeeded in quelling by force of arms the armed revolution in Telangana.

After 1949, and especially in 1950 and 1951, the guerrillas used flexible tactics. They ambushed enemy troops, blew up enemy vehicles and attacked munition dumps and police stations. In the three months, October-December, 1950, they carried out 344 such operations. By the end of that year, the guerrillas of Karimnagar district had well-established contacts with the people in 300 villages. At the beginning of 1951, guerrillas were active in over 100 villages in the coastal districts of Andhra state. Up to the end of 1951, government troops were still afraid of moving into Telangana's mountain areas.

In October 1950, a vast guerrilla zone of 40,000 square miles with a population of 10 million was established in

an area which included Telangana and Andhra of northern Madras.

The brilliant successes achieved by the armed struggle in Telangana had a tremendous impact on peasant struggles all over India. Between 1946 and 1951, peasant armed struggles broke out in Kerala, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Tiripura, Manipur and in the Garo hill country of Assam.

From the very beginning, the armed struggle in Telangana came up against opposition and sabotage from the counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Indian Communist Party. First they slanderously charged that it "undermined the United Front" and then they attacked those who advocated following the road of the Chinese revolution as preaching the theory of "leadership by the peasantry." Dange and a handful of extremely reactionary revisionists openly vilified the peasants' armed struggles as "adventurism" and "individual terrorism." They were determined to betray the armed struggle in Telangana. In a party document issued in September 1950 and again in an open statement in 1951, they vilified the Chinese people's revolutionary war led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and put forward the theory of India's "exceptionalism" in an hysterical attempt to prevent the Indian people from taking the road of the Chinese revolution.

In June 1951, the Indian Communist Party's Central Committee controlled by the handful of revisionists adopted a resolution on settling the Telangana struggle by negotiation. Under pretext of "restoring peaceful conditions in Telangana," they begged for negotiations with the Congress government. In July, they hastily sent a delegation

to Hyderabad for talks with the local government. During the talks, the delegation went on its knees asking the government to accept two minimum demands for ending the armed struggle: one, that the government stop seizing the land of the peasants; and two, proclaim an amnesty for the guerrillas. They were categorically rejected by the local government. In October of the same year, the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party unilaterally issued a statement of capitulation. The statement said that the central committee had decided to advise the Telangana peasantry and the fighting partisans to cease all guerrilla activities, and mobilize the people to defeat the Congress party in the elections.

Thus, the Telangana armed struggle was shamefully betrayed. Mass arrests, jailing and killings of the revolutionary peasants by the Indian reactionaries followed. All the fruits of victory won by the revolutionary peasants in the armed struggle were lost.

In the past decade and more, the heroic armed struggle of the Telangana peasants has had a far-reaching impact on and been a profound lesson for the Indian people longing for liberation. After many setbacks and heavy sacrifices, the Indian masses have come to realize that the parliamentary road of "defeating the Congress party in elections" advocated by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism is a road of out-and-out betrayal and burial of the Indian revolution. They have come to realize that the only road to genuine liberation is the road of victory of the Chinese revolution led by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary road of the proletarian

vanguard going to the countryside and leading the peasants in armed struggle, the road of building base areas in the countryside, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing political power throughout the country. Only in this way can the Indian people overthrow imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, those mountains on their backs which weigh them down, and truly achieve liberation to become the masters of their country.

Peking Review, August 11, 1967

THE INDIAN FOOD CRISIS AND ARMED REVOLUTION

The food shortage in India, unchecked for years, has ballooned into staggering proportions recently. India is a big country with a large population and rich resources but starvation is spreading across the land. Why has the food shortage become so serious that millions have died and are dying of hunger? What is the way out for hungry India?

In the opinion of the reactionary ruling Congress Party, "Everything will depend on the monsoon and available foreign aid." That is to say, there is no way out except to rely on the handouts of the American overlords and the blessings of God Almighty.

The revisionists in the Indian Communist Party have come forward with "recommendations" for solving India's food problem. In high-sounding language, they call for "doing away with our dependence on the United States" and emphasize the need for a "fundamental agrarian reform" and so on and so forth. Who is supposed to take on this important job? Though beating about the bush, they in fact want the Indian people to rely on none other than the reactionary Congress regime, which represents the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

The Soviet revisionists have also chimed in with a "theory" that India's difficulties in agriculture lie in the method of utilizing the land and in the weakness of India's

chemical industry, etc. They completely avoid the basic question of India's social system and talk only about methods of management and farming techniques, as if once these questions were out of the way India's food shortage, which results from the rule of the blood-sucking big landlords and capitalists, would automatically disappear.

The fact is India's serious food shortage is entirely due to the reactionary dark rule of the Congress government. At home, this government preserves intact the feudal system and boosts bureaucrat-capitalism, mercilessly exploiting and oppressing the Indian people. In foreign affairs, it hires itself out to and throws in its lot with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, following a policy of "letting the wolf into the sheepfold," selling out the national interests and bringing untold misery to the Indian people.

The teeming millions of India's toiling masses refuse to accept starvation as their fate. They have now risen to give battle, as witness the spring thunder from Naxalbari where the peasants have started armed struggle. Chairman Mao has said: "Revolution plus production can solve the problem of feeding the population." The only way out for the hungry, suffering Indian people is to cast off, by revolutionary means, imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, the mountains weighing down on their backs, and fight for a new India where the people are their own masters.

Following are four features: 1. Famine Stalks the Land; 2. The Crushing System of Exploitation; 3. Indian Revisionists Are Quacks; and 4. a "Renmin Ribao" commentary entitled "Experience Gained by the Indian Peasants at the Price of

Blood." These articles demonstrate the truth that for the Indian people groaning under crushing exploitation and oppression, revolutionary violence is the only way forward. The road of victory charted by Chairman Mao for the Chinese people is also the road to victory for the Indian people.

Famine Stalks the Land

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had to admit on July 6 at a meeting of state chief ministers that the food situation in India was "extremely difficult." The food crisis, already a major symbol of India's growing economic stagnation, is regarded as a big issue leading to the eruption of a political upheaval and the sharpening of the class struggle in the country.

It is estimated that in the agricultural year ending last June, the total grain output was only 76 million tons. Jagjivan Ram, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, stated that even if the total output reaches this figure, "it will still be 12 million tons short of the state requirement." This is a greatly minimized figure of the actual grain shortage. In the next few months, while the new crop is still in the blade, the old stock will be consumed. At the earliest, the new grain will come on the market in December. As the government's grain reserves are depleted, the solution of the food problem will have to depend entirely on imports.

Diminishing Production. Natural conditions are really very favourable for agricultural production in India. But the Congress government follows a reactionary domestic policy of protecting feudalism and a reactionary foreign policy of

collaborating with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. As a result, agriculture has been seriously affected. For years India has suffered from a grain scarcity and since 1960 India's annual grain output has stagnated at about 80 million tons. It has dropped successively for three years after the Indian Government flagrantly launched that large-scale military aggression against China in 1962 and stepped up its armament expansion and war preparations. In the meantime, the amount of grain imported annually from other countries, mainly from the United States, increased every year, rising to over 10 million tons last year.

To alleviate the food crisis by importing grain is tantamount to drinking poison to quench one's thirst. The dumping of U.S. grain on the Indian market has further crippled India's grain production. In 1964, India was hit by a nationwide food crisis unprecedented in history. Indian newspapers disclosed in August 1965 that 300 million out of the 500 million population of India did not have enough food to eat.

According to an AFP report in December the same year, at least 10 million Indians invariably starve to death every year. Since the beginning of this year, the food situation has grown worse. The Indian weekly *Link* lamented: "The shadow of hunger is looming large all over the country from Kerala in the south to Bihar in the north." More and more of the poor have to make do with tree bark and grass root. Death from starvation is a daily occurrence everywhere.

Worst Famine of the Century. The state government of Bihar was compelled to disclose in April this year that serious famine exists in one third of the state. At present,

of the 50 million people in the state at least 40 million are starving, *The Times of India* reporting the situation in this area said: "The worst famine of the century has reduced millions to moving skeletons" and they "might not survive long."

The other 15 states of India fare no better. In West Bengal the grain rationing system of the so-called "Non-Congress government" has collapsed. Out of a population of 38 million, at least 27 million people are starving. Of the 43 districts in Madhya Pradesh 38 districts are facing serious famine. In some regions in Uttar Pradesh grain shortage has all along been quite serious.

On the other hand, the Indian landlords, bourgeoisie and bureaucrats are indulging in gay life and debauchery and wallowing in luxury. Profiteers cashing in on the grain shortage are hoarding and speculating to amass fortunes.

Where there is oppression there is resistance. Living on the verge of starvation and death, the broad masses of the Indian people are rising to oppose the vicious rule of the reactionary Indian Government. Recently, incidents of seizure of government grain occurred in many places in India.

Peasant Armed Struggle. What is more encouraging is that the peasants in Naxalbari and other places in Darjeeling District, under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, have started organized armed struggle and have set up Red areas. (See *Peking Review*, No. 29) They have overthrown local despots, distributed land, banned hoarding and speculation in grain, and repulsed the "mopping-up operations" by government troops and police.

The Crushing System of Exploitation

This revolutionary storm which broke over Naxalbari in India's Darjeeling District, under the leadership of the proletariat sounded the clarion call for armed agrarian revolution, inspiring peasants in many other places to unfold the struggle for land seizures. It is pounding at the centuries-old savage feudal system of exploitation.

Ruthless Exploitation of the Peasants. As in old China, the fundamental problem of the Indian revolution is the peasant problem.

Soviet revisionist "experts," "scholars," publications and press, the renegade Dange clique and other Indian revisionists have misrepresented facts and rattled on endlessly that a "fundamental change" has taken place in the Indian countryside since independence, that "agrarian reform" instituted by the Congress Party has "struck at and weakened feudalism," that the feudal system "no longer occupies a predominant position" in the countryside and that the Indian countryside has been turned "capitalistic" and similar rubbish. According to the logic of all these renegades, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary task had been accomplished by the Congress Party and now "peaceful transition" to socialism can be achieved through parliamentary elections. But what are the facts?

The "agrarian reform" laws promulgated by the reactionary Indian Government set "ceilings" for the holding of land by an individual or an individual peasant household. They provide that the land owned in excess of the "ceilings" is to be distributed by the Government among the peasants.

But the "ceilings" set are so high that in some cases a family of five can own 360 acres of land. Thus, the big landlords continue to own large tracts of land and their holdings are considered "legitimate." In addition, landlords were allowed to break up their holdings nominally and apportion them to members of their families or their relatives and friends.

The "agrarian reform" laws provide for the abolition of the *zemindar* (landlord) system introduced by British imperialism during its colonial rule in India, under which a feudal landholder could, by paying a fixed revenue to the colonial government, grab a large area of land and collect heavy rents from the cultivators. The laws stipulate that the Government will collect rent directly for the land previously possessed by the *zeminders*. This in fact does not change the character of feudal exploitation.

Besides, the landlords are allowed to retain large tracts of land allegedly "for their own cultivation" which enables them to continue their feudal exploitation. According to the figures released by a parliamentary committee in 1966, 20 per cent of the total of 100 million rural households own 75 per cent of the land, while 80 per cent hold the remaining 25 per cent. These figures show that after the so-called "land reform" was carried out by the Congress Party, the landlords and rich peasants who form a small minority of the rural population still own most of the land while the poor peasants and farm labourers who constitute the large majority are left with little land or no land at all.

It is also common for landlords to use any conceivable pretext to evict peasants from the farms they rent. Such evictions were especially widespread when the reactionary

Indian Government began implementing its sham "land reform," and the practice continues in various parts of the country. In the original State of Bombay, the number of evicted peasant households in the period from 1949-53 accounted for 47 per cent of the total of tenant-peasant households.

After the so-called "land reform," "share-cropping" remained very common in the Indian countryside. Under this system, the tenant peasant pays part of his crop as rent to the landowner. Although according to the "land reform" statutes the portion paid to the landowner should be one-third, one-fourth or even one-sixth of the total crop, yet even official Indian documents had to admit that actually a half or 60 per cent or even more is often exacted.

The Soviet and Indian revisionists have sought to prove that the "land reform" carried out by the reactionary Congress government is "anti-feudal" in nature. They have vociferously claimed that one-third of the Indian rural population consists of agricultural workers who are "wage labourers" and that this is proof that capitalism has come to the Indian countryside. All this is bunkum. As a matter of fact, an overwhelming majority of the Indian "agricultural workers" are farm labourers like those in old China. They are tied to the land owned by the landlords or plantation owners and subjected to barbarous feudal oppression and exploitation. They have to serve the landlords day and night and toil 10 to 14 hours a day.

Shocking usury is an important form of feudal exploitation in the Indian countryside. The annual rate of interest is often as high as 100 per cent, and sometimes 200 or even

300 per cent. It is still nothing uncommon for poor peasants to be born in debt, grow up in debt, die in debt and leave their children in debt.

Armed Agrarian Revolution is the Road to Emancipation for the Peasants. Writing about the countryside of colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The exploitation of the peasantry by the landlord class, which is the basis of the system of feudal exploitation, not only remains intact but, linked as it is with exploitation by comprador and usurer capital, clearly dominates China's social and economic life." This applies to India today.

The fiercer the oppression, the greater the resistance. Indian peasants have at last taken up arms to wage revolutionary struggles. They are the main force of the Indian revolution and the most reliable ally of the Indian proletariat. The Indian revolution cannot triumph without reliance on the peasants, without armed agrarian revolution and without the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party have realized this truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have begun to go deep into the countryside to arouse and organize the peasant masses and unfold armed struggle. This is an important development of the Indian revolution.

The revolutionary struggles of the Indian people will prove that the Chinese people's road to victory pointed out by Chairman Mao is also the road for the Indian people. Comrade Lin Piao has put it well: "It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of

rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys."

Indian Revisionists Are Quacks

While millions of the Indian people are struggling on the verge of starvation and death, the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party who dream about "peaceful transition" have tried hard to cover up the class and political reasons which caused the food shortage. They are trying to whitewash the reactionary government and openly serve the reactionary ruling classes.

In an article on the food question published in April, the Indian revisionists did not even once dare to refer to the system sustaining the evil rule of Indian reaction or call on the Indian people to rebel against such tyranny. On the contrary, they proposed that the Congress government "carry out a fundamental land reform," "stop imports of American food," "purchase all surplus grains," "control prices of all commodities," etc. All this claptrap can serve no other purpose than to help the reactionary hierarchy deceiving the Indian people.

"To carry out a fundamental land reform" is definitely an urgent task in the countryside of India. But how can the Congress government which represents the interests of

the landlords and bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie be expected to carry out a fundamental land reform? Since the proclamation of India's independence in 1947, the Congress government has adopted many bills on "land reform," but it is all pretence. The result is that the ownership of land in the countryside is more concentrated and feudal exploitation more serious with the number of poor peasants and farm labourers steadily increasing

In point of fact, there was a genuine land reform, but that did not take place anywhere under the reactionary Congress government of landlords and bureaucratic-comprador bourgeoisie. It happened 20 years ago in Telangana, southeast India, where the armed struggle organized by the peasants led to the establishment of a Red regime and a genuine land reform in the liberated area (see *Peking Review*, No. 33, for details about the Telangana uprising). One million acres of land were confiscated and distributed among peasants who had no or only little land. Thus the peasants in Telangana for the first time shook off the feudal yoke. However, came the betrayal by the revisionist leaders of the Indian Communist Party, and the fruits of victory won by the revolutionary peasants in the armed struggle were completely lost.

Historical Lesson. This historical lesson once proves that the following statement of Chairman Mao is an absolute truth: "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the more 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." If the Indian people want to "carry out fundamental

land reform," they can only do it by taking up the gun to overthrow the Indian reactionaries, there is no other way.

"Stop imports of American food"? Year after year, grain production in present-day India has declined and the amount of grains imported from the United States has risen. From 1956, when the first grain agreement was signed between India and the United States according to "Public Law 480," to the end of 1965 a total of 37,280,000 tons valued at 11,120 million rupees were imported. The amount of rupees in the hands of the U.S. Embassy in India is estimated at one quarter to a half of the total Indian currency in circulation, U.S. grain dumping (most grains were rotten) has enriched the U.S. monopoly capitalists, the Indian bureaucrat-comprador capitalists and landlords, and has made the Delhi government more and more dependent on U.S. imperialism. With the rural economy still more severely dislocated as a result of the U.S. dumping and large numbers of peasants drifting into the cities, the government has found itself in an inextricable predicament; it must depend on the United States for food. A Congress official, who was once Food Minister, admitted long ago that without the greatest possible import of grains there would be no way out, and it would mean suicide without a foreign grain supply.

The talk about "purchase all surplus grains" and "control prices of all commodities" by the Congress government is humbug. In present-day India, the black-market in grain is rampant, grain prices are soaring, and the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists are raking in huge profits. Even much of the rationed grains which are nominally handled by the

government finds its way into the black-market and is sold at high prices because of the racketeering of the capitalists and politicians. Therefore, the famished Indian people often cannot buy even the meagre grain rations promised by the government. Then how can the reactionary Congress government be expected to "purchase" the grains from the landlords and the profiteering merchants and "control" the market prices?

Change the Social System. Harsh facts have taught the Indian people that the various fraudulent "reforms" advertised by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party can achieve nothing. India's food crisis can be solved completely only by the seizure of power by armed force and a thorough change in the social system.

Experience Gained by Indian Peasants at the Price of Blood

"The Naxalbari path is our path!" This is the correct conclusion drawn by the Indian revolutionary peasants from the historical experience of their prolonged struggle.

Since the proclamation of the "independence" of India 20 years ago, there have appeared three high tides in the peasant movement. The first (1946-51) was the mammoth armed struggle in and around Telangana which shook the whole of India. The second (1953-55) was the mass struggle against eviction by landlords. The third one (1959-62) was another mass struggle for land and against exorbitant taxation. All these mass struggles failed as a result of the brutal suppression by the reactionary regime and the

betrayal by the revisionists. However, as the saying goes, "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit" and more and more peasants have gained in their understanding, thanks to the experience of their past struggles.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He has also said: "Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords."

The experience of the various peasant revolutions in the history of India boils down to this: it is imperative to follow the road of armed seizure of power and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside, under the leadership of the proletarian revolutionaries and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the decisive factor in the outcome of a revolution. With a revolutionary army, the peasants will have land and rights, and they will win their liberation. Without a revolutionary army, the peasants will have nothing. And to stop the armed struggle is to forfeit all fruits of the peasant revolution,

It is entirely necessary for India's poverty-stricken peasants to wage a mass struggle to combat eviction, seize land, obtain rent reduction and resist taxation. But the various forms of mass struggle must be combined with the general struggle for seizing power by armed force; the armed struggle must be the main form of struggle. Otherwise it is impossible to destroy the feudal system root and branch and to win complete liberation for the peasants. Agrarian revolution is a basic task of the new-democratic

revolution in India at the present stage and this revolution will inevitably be a peasant armed revolution.

For several thousand years, domestic and foreign ruling classes had invariably fooled the Indian people and did everything possible to prevent them from knowing the truth about the necessity of taking up arms. Once the masses of Indian workers and peasants are awakened and take up arms, they must never lay them down again. The betrayal of the Telangana peasants' armed struggle by the Indian revisionists is a lesson paid for in blood by the Indian people. If the revolutionary people lay down their arms after having embarked on the road of armed struggle, the result will not be "concessions" and "reforms" by the ruling classes but only brutal suppression, sanguinary slaughter and mad vengeance—seeking counter-attacks. In short, the most ruthless class vengeance from the enemy. Revolutionary armed struggle can never be abandoned halfway. The revolutionary people must surmount every difficulty and persist in unyielding and protracted struggle until final victory.

The history of the Indian peasants' revolutionary movement has proved that the Dange clique and other Indian revisionists have all along been renegades betraying the Indian peasants' revolution and have been accomplices and running dogs in the service of the big landlords and bourgeoisie in the country. These despicable and shameless types have tried in every way to bring the peasant movement into the orbit of their revisionist political line — the "parliamentary road" and "peaceful transition." When the peasants' revolutionary struggle has broken through

the confines set up by the revisionists, especially when the reactionary rule of the big landlords and bourgeoisie is threatened by the peasants' armed struggle, these renegades will try their best to undermine the revolutionary movement and hoodwink the peasants into laying down their arms and giving up their armed struggle. The Indian revisionists had, in this way, forfeited the peasants' armed struggle in Telangana. Now they again stretch out their sinister hands at the peasants' armed struggle in Naxalbari trying to stamp out this revolutionary spark. To push the peasants' revolution forward on to victory, the Indian proletarian revolutionaries must redouble their class vigilance and wage a resolute struggle against betrayal and sabotage by the revisionists.

The Soviet revisionist renegade group and China's Khrushchov, too, have always preached the "parliamentary road"—the so-called "India's road"—in an effort to prevent the Indian people and other oppressed nations and people from taking the road traversed by the Chinese revolution to victory. All revolutionary people must thoroughly criticize and repudiate this counter-revolutionary fallacy advanced by the Soviet revisionist clique and China's Khrushchov and eliminate its noxious influence.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." He emphasized that "it is only through struggle and hard work, and over a long period too, that we can prevent setbacks or even reversals in the revolution."

The peasant revolution in India has been advancing in

tortuous struggle. So long as they are good at summing up their historical experience and forge ahead along the road charted by our great leader Chairman

Mao Tse-tung for armed struggle to seize power, the Indian proletarian revolutionaries certainly can, by prolonged, arduous struggle and hard work, turn the armed struggle, initiated in Naxalbari, into a sweeping revolutionary torrent to overthrow the criminal regime of the big landlords and bourgeoisie and win complete victory in their country's new-democratic revolution.

Peking Review, September 22, 1967

HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN INDIAN REVOLUTION

Nineteen sixty-seven marks a turning point in the history of the Indian revolution. Under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Indian people have finally embarked on the only correct road for the Indian revolution—the victorious road along which Chairman Mao led the Chinese people to seize political power by armed force. The revolutionary line upheld by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party has been winning one victory after another, while the line of “peaceful transition” pursued by the Indian revisionists is steadily going on the rocks. The revolutionary situation in India is better than ever.

A big Asian country with a population of 500 million, India occupies an extremely important strategic position in the world proletarian revolution. The great Lenin, pointed out more than 40 years ago: “In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe.” Now, the revolutionary people of India led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party are determined to take the road of the Chinese revolution, to oppose armed counter-revolution with armed revolution. This is not only a great turning point in the history of the Indian revolution, but is also of immense

significance for the development of the world proletarian revolution.

The struggle between the two lines and the two roads which existed in the Indian Communist Party for a long time has intensified in the past few years. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, have firmly opposed the parliamentary road of “peaceful transition” pursued by the usurpers of the Party’s leadership, the renegade Dange clique and the handful of revisionist chieftains whose representatives are Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu.

These revolutionaries in the Indian C.P. resolutely proclaimed that “the strategy employed by the great leader Mao Tse-tung is one which the Indian Marxists should adopt” and that “we shall have to strive earnestly to be apt pupils of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.” Abiding by Chairman Mao’s brilliant teaching, “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,” they explicitly pointed out that in India “the only correct path of the people’s democratic revolution is: “to build up revolutionary bases in the rural areas through an agrarian revolution under proletarian leadership, and subsequently to encircle the urban centres by expanding these revolutionary bases; to organize people’s liberation forces from among the peasants’ guerrilla forces and to lead the revolution to victory by capturing the cities.”

And so at the beginning of 1967, a spring thunderstorm burst over India. In Naxalbari and other places of Darjeeling District, revolutionary peasants rallied by the revolutionaries in the Indian C. P., lit the flames of armed struggle.

The revolutionaries in the Indian C. P. led the landless or land-poor peasants in Darjeeling District, who were oppressed and exploited to the limit by the landlords, to mount tempestuous attacks on the landlords, the plantation owners and the reactionary government; they took back the land and wrested arms and grain from them. They organized small armed groups and set up "people's courts" to punish those local tyrants and evil gentry who put up stubborn resistance and defended by armed force the fruits of their agrarian revolution. Between March and June last year the peasants engaged in 220 armed actions. The privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years and foreign plantation owners for a century, and the "law" and "order" imposed on the peasants by the reactionary government were all shattered to pieces. Every bit of the "dignity" and "prestige" built up by the landlords and plantation owners was swept into the dust. The landless or land-poor peasants, now proud and elated, lifted up their heads. The movement struck terror into the hearts of the landlords and plantation owners. The top rank of landlords and plantation owners and those of the second rank fled to Calcutta, while the third rank and the still lesser fry vanished into the smaller cities and county towns. Urgent reports and appeals for rescue poured into the offices of the reactionary government and filled the Indian reactionaries with fear.

The armed struggle waged by the Naxalbari peasants greatly inspired the revolutionaries in the Indian C. P. and the revolutionary people in all India. The Indian revolutionaries set up in various places committees in

support of the Naxalbari peasants' struggle, and rallied the people to support the armed revolution. They translated and published large quantities of Chairman Mao's writings; widely propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought. They published many periodicals and books, and printed leaflets to spread the truth about the seizure of political power by armed force and to expose the small handful of revisionists within the Party who sabotage armed struggle. Following the example of the Indian C. P. revolutionaries in the Darjeeling area, many revolutionaries went deep into the rural areas where they are now striving hard to "develop the Naxalbari type of movement" and to build up "more Naxalbaris."

The furious flames of the peasants' movement quickly spread in the vast Indian countryside. According to the skimpy disclosures made by the Indian press, the "Naxalbari-type" of peasants' land struggles have developed in 50 places in eight states and areas under the direct control of the Central Government. The peasants in these places, with arms in hand, regained the land forcibly occupied by the landlords and the reactionary government, and they seized the crops on the land illegally controlled by the landlords. During harvest time in India, the peasants in quite a number of places organized "peasants' committees" or "people's committees" and launched a movement of "no share to the landlords" and "no taxes to the government."

These facts indicate that a vigorous situation has emerged in the Indian revolution.

Nineteen sixty-seven is also a year during which the "parliamentary road" followed by Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and such other Indian revisionists was further exposed

and went up in smoke.

This "parliamentary road" is a mixture of the fallacy of "peaceful transition", advocated by old-line revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky, and the "Doctrine of Non-Violence", advocated by Gandhi. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and China's Khrushchov have made great efforts to support and propagate this "parliamentary road," the so-called "Indian road," in an attempt to prevent the Indian people and other oppressed nations and peoples from taking the victorious road of the Chinese revolution.

Hiring themselves out to the Indian reactionaries, the Indian revisionists have promised never to use armed force to overthrow the reactionary Indian Government. Since these revisionists, the Indian reactionaries calculated, can be used both as tools for carrying out the reactionary policies of the Congress Party and as ornaments for dressing up Congress "democracy," the Indian reactionaries allowed them to run in the February "general elections" of 1967. The revisionists were also given seats and official appointments in the so-called "Non-Congress governments" in West Bengal and Kerala.

In taking the "parliamentary road," the Indian revisionists have completely exposed themselves as shameful renegades and accomplices of the Indian reactionaries into the bargain. They took part in the reactionary regime's suppression of the people and its massacre of many revolutionary people. Their hands are stained with the blood of the Indian people.

The "parliamentary road" of the Indian revisionists has gone bankrupt once again in 1967's "experiment." This is a heavy blow not only to the Indian revisionists but also

to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and to China's Khrushchov.

The inspiring events of the successive victories of the revolutionary line, and the increasing failure of the revisionist line in India in 1967 forecast a bright future for the development of the Indian revolution.

In regard to the tasks of the Indian revolution, the revolutionaries in the Indian C.P. put forward the following as the main ones at present; to spread among the people Mao Tse-tung's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era; to carry further the struggle against the old and new types of revisionism; to make a specific analysis of India's objective conditions in accordance with the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, and formulate the programme and tactics of the Indian revolution on this basis; and to give impetus to the peasant revolutionary struggle and develop Naxalbari-type movements. The revolutionaries in the Indian C.P. and India's revolutionary people now are striving for the realization of these tasks.

Under the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary people of India will surely score still greater victories in their future struggles! In spite of the fact that the Indian revolutionary struggle may be protracted and tortuous, the Indian people will gain the final victory in the revolution. That is certain. A new India with genuine independence and people's democracy will certainly emerge in the East!

Peking Review, January 12, 1968

INDIAN PEASANTS TAKE "NAXALBARI" ROAD

Armed Seizure of Land in Bihar

Under the leadership of the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party, peasants in Bihar State, northeast India, are rising in struggle to take back their land by force.

The Hindustan Times revealed on February 5 that in Champaran District in northwest Bihar, large tracts of land in and around the Mandanpur forests which were occupied by the government had been seized by several thousand landless labourers.

The paper also divulged that some of the Indian C.P. revolutionaries who had led the struggle in Naxalbari had arrived in northern Bihar and were carrying out organizational and mobilization work. Reactionary police sources said that they had gone there to "plan and guide a Naxalbari type of struggle in the entire border region."

The Bihar government is panic-stricken. It has stepped up its brutal suppression of the Indian C.P. revolutionaries who are leading the peasants in their struggle for the land, so as to prevent the "suspected flare-up of a 'Naxalbari type' agrarian trouble in north Bihar bordering West Bengal, Nepal, and Uttar Pradesh." Up to early February, about 200 revolutionaries who were organizing the peasant land struggle had been arrested by the reactionary authorities.

The armed peasants have been strongly resisting this suppression by the reactionary government. On January 30, when police were escorting three arrested peasant leaders through a thick forest near the Nepal border, they were ambushed by about 200 armed people. Nineteen of the police were wounded and the peasant leaders were rescued from the police jeeps.

Under the brutal exploitation of the Indian reactionaries and the feudal landlords, the Bihar peasants lead an extremely miserable life. Among the 50 million people of the state, at least 40 million, mostly peasants, have not enough food to eat and millions were starving in India's nationwide famine last year.

The north Bihar peasants' armed struggle for land shows that the vast rural population there are rising up to fight against the criminal regime. The reactionary Indian Government can never subdue them by brutal suppression but will only make them take the revolutionary path ever more resolutely.

Peking Review, February 16, 1968

LET THE PEASANTS' REVOLUTIONARY STORM IN INDIA STRIKE HARDER

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

The flames of revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian peasants have been rapidly spreading ever since the peasants of Naxalbari launched their revolutionary armed struggle. Recently, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, guided by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, have been leading the peasants in the northern part of Bihar State in a courageous struggle to seize land by force of arms. By now the Naxalbari-type of peasant movement has engulfed 50 areas in 8 of the 16 Indian states and regions under direct central control. Growing in scale, the peasants' struggle to seize land by force has assumed such proportions that, like thunderclaps and flashes of lightning breaking the dead silence of the overcast skies over India, it is shaking the reactionary rule of the Congress government. An excellent situation, never seen before, has opened up in the Indian revolution. We warmly acclaim and cheer this revolutionary storm let loose by the Indian peasants!

India is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, with the peasants constituting more than 70 per cent of the country's population of 500 million. The problem of the peasantry is the basic problem of the Indian national democratic revolution, and the peasants are the main force of this revolution.

The Indian peasants, under the crushing oppression of the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, exist in the most wretched conditions. In today's India, 75 per cent of the land is concentrated in the hands of a small number of landlords, rich peasants and maharajahs, while the poverty-stricken peasants who make up 80 per cent of the rural population own only the remaining 25 per cent. The landless peasants and those who have little land have to turn over from 50 to over 90 per cent of their annual harvests in land-rents to the landholders. Extortionate usury and exploitation have caused much of the land in India to go rack and ruin, with the rural areas plunged into bankruptcy and famine stalking the land. Each year famine claims lives of millions of hard-working peasants, and over 200 million must struggle at the starvation level. In Bihar, which is mainly inhabited by peasants, at least 40 million of the 50 million people in the state are short of food. For the broad masses of the Indian peasantry who can no longer lead such an existence, there is no other way out except to rise up and make revolution.

And now, more and more of the long-suffering Indian peasants are in rebellion. From Bihar in the north to Kerala in the south, large numbers of peasants have risen in the wide countryside. They are unfolding struggles to seize land and dealing violent blows at the foundations of feudal rule. So-called "law" and "order" designed to protect the interests of the landlord class are trampled underfoot by the revolutionary peasants. Imperialism, the local tyrants and evil gentry, and the patriarchal landlords are being beaten into the dust and kept there by the revolutionary peasants.

Many revolutionary peasants have organized peasant associations to levy taxes on the landlords, confiscate their grain and seize their land. In some places, people's courts have been set up to try and punish the recalcitrant landlords and evil gentry. In others, the peasants have organized themselves into people's armed forces equipped with bows and arrows, spears and captured arms. This strikes terror into the hearts of the landlord class and is used for fighting the "suppression" campaigns of the reactionary troops and police. In short, the impoverished peasants, slaves of yesterday have arisen wherever the peasants' revolutionary storm has begun to rage.

Face to face with this stirring and growing revolutionary peasant movement, the Indian reactionaries are scared stiff, and they howl in alarm that this is a "national catastrophe." They venomously scream: "It's terrible!" "It's terrible!" On the other hand, revolutionaries in India and throughout the world acclaim with joy: "It's fine!" "It's fine!"

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out 41 years ago: "The national revolution requires a great change in the countryside... This change is now taking place, and it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution."

This is also the case with the current Indian situation. In the India of today, the roots of the feudal system lie very deep in the countryside. Maharajahs, patriarchal landlords and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie are the main social foundation of imperialist rule in India. The landlord class ruthlessly exploits and oppresses the peasants by the feudal system, and impedes the progress of Indian society politically, economically and culturally. This foundation

of reactionary rule must be thoroughly overthrown and a great change must be brought about in the countryside if the Indian peasants are to achieve liberation and if Indian society is to progress and develop.

Only through such an earth-shaking revolution to strike down the landlord class, the local tyrants and evil gentry, to smash the feudal system to bits, and to make the poor Indian peasants achieve liberation, can the vast Indian countryside become the reliable base areas for the revolutionary forces to grow in size and strength and finally seize all-round victory. Only when such a great change takes place can the millions upon millions of peasants become the inexhaustible source of the people's armed forces and the firm participants and supporters of the people's revolutionary war. The road to victory in the Indian revolution can only be the road of Mao Tse-tung, the road of the Chinese revolution. This means, under the leadership of the proletariat, to rouse the peasants boldly, establish revolutionary base areas in the countryside, engage in protracted armed struggle, encircle the cities from the countryside and finally seize the cities so as to win ultimate victory throughout the country. The development of the Indian peasants' revolutionary struggle at present is precisely the great prelude to the Indian people taking this road to victory.

The vigorous development of India's peasant revolutionary struggle is a significant victory for the proletarian revolutionary line over the revisionist line in the Indian Communist Party. This sharp struggle between the two lines has existed in the Indian Communist Party for a long time. It is centred around the issue whether the Indian revolution should take the road of the Chinese revolution or the revisionist "parliamentary road." The Dange renegade

clique and the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party who oppose and hate the Indian peasants' revolutionary struggle have done all they could to sell the phoney idea of "defeating the Congress Party in the elections" and the so-called "Non-Congress government" road. When the armed struggle of the Naxalbari peasants broke out, they showed their vicious nature and acted as the faithful hounds of the Indian reactionaries in suppressing the peasant revolution. Thus, the so-called "Non-Congress government" road has gone completely bankrupt in India.

The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party are determined to take the road of the Chinese revolution. They have declared that "the strategy employed by the great leader Mao Tse-tung is one which the Indian Marxists should adopt." They have gone into the countryside to spread and propagate Chairman Mao's brilliant thought that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Once the Indian revolutionary peasants master the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the flames of their revolutionary armed struggle will surely blaze up. Facts have shown that the Indian peasants, in their hundreds of millions, constitute an inexhaustible source of power for the revolution, and that, once awakened, they will not be held back but will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation.

"A single spark can start a prairie fire." Let the peasants' revolutionary storm in India strike harder!

Peking Review, March 1, 1968

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL "PEOPLE'S WAR" PUBLISHED

Defying oppression and overcoming obstruction from the reactionary government Indian revolutionaries have recently published a new journal *Lok Yuddha* (People's War) as an important means to disseminate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, among the people.

The first issue of this Hindi weekly came off the press on August 8 in Calcutta. It front-paged a photograph of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the proletariat, and a quotation from his works: "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which is impossible and absolutely impossible, for any force earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China."

The issue also printed Chairman Mao's brilliant work, *Serve the People*.

It published an article entitled "*Push the Indian Revolution Onward*," together with a quotation from Chairman Mao: "The seizure of power by armed force, the

settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

The weekly carried an editorial headed "*The Publication of Lok Yuddha*" in which it ardently praised the great leader of the proletariat Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The editorial said that the weekly "begins its publication at a time when the whole world is illumined by a rising sun, the sun of the thought of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung the red sun. India too is illumined by its red radiance. Under the brilliant radiance of this sun, Naxalbari has awakened; under the brilliant radiance of this sun, Bihar State and the Terai area of Uttar Pradesh have awakened, the Nagas, Mizos and Kukis have awakened; under its brilliant radiance revolutionaries in the Communist Party throughout the country have awakened."

"It is this red sun that lights up the dark path and points out the road of emancipation to the exploited and oppressed people. So, we express our best wishes to this red sun. We repeat them again and again!"

"Under the inspiration of this red sun, revolutionaries in the Communist Party have put forth the slogan to boycott the elections, for the path to emancipation does not lie in elections but in armed struggle. Chairman Mao has taught us: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' The first step is to spread this truth to every one of the masses."

The article said: "Chairman Mao has also told us: The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can

change this general trend of history. We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory".

"This is the aim of *Lok Yuddha*. Today, the bright future of country is seen in Chairman Mao's thought. So the chief objective of *Lok Yuddha* is to publicize this thought and build up the people's confidence in victory."

Indian revolutionaries have also published earlier the English language monthly *Liberation* and the Bengali language weekly *Desha Brati* (Patriot). Originally, they had planned to publish a Hindi version of *Desha Brati*, but they were ruthlessly prevented by the reactionary Indian Government. Last June it sent large numbers of police and secret agents to ransack the editorial department and printing press of *Desha Brati* and persecuted its staff. However, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism; Mao Tse-tung's thought, can never be stopped by the reactionary Indian Government's brutal suppression. At present, the Indian revolutionaries are striving to integrate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, with the actual conditions in India in order to push forward the Indian revolution.

Peking Review, September 6, 1968

PEOPLE IN REVOLT

The revolutionary people in Kerala State recently took up arms and attacked police stations and landlord estates.

This has thrown the reactionary authorities into a panic. More than 300 revolutionary people attacked a police wireless station in Pulpalli, Calicut District, in the early hours of November 24. Armed with daggers, spears, home-made guns, explosives and other weapons, they quickly surrounded the station and killed or wounded six officers and constables,

Early in the morning of November 22, more than 400 revolutionary people attacked a police station in Tellicherry. They cut its telephone lines, destroyed a police van and hurled a home-made hand-grenade at the sentry. Before withdrawing, they distributed revolutionary leaflets.

On November 25, 200 revolutionary peasants armed with daggers and home-made guns attacked an estate in the Kuttanad area. They angrily smashed up this big landlord's lair and confiscated grain and other things he had plundered from the peasants. The landlord's son and henchmen fled.

Frightened by the masses' revolutionary actions, the reactionary state government hurriedly ordered all police stations in Kerala to be on a round-the-clock alert and decided to provide police escorts to state ministers when

they go on trips.

The Kerala state government is an obnoxious product of the "parliamentary road" pushed by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party and the Dange renegade clique. These revisionists pay lip-service to "the interests of the people," but, like the Indian reactionaries, they are hostile to the people, oppress them and are afraid of the people's revolution. They particularly fear the people's revolutionary armed struggle. In a statement made in Trichur on November 25, Kumaran, secretary of the Kerala state committee of the Dange renegade clique, wildly vilified and attacked the masses there for their recent revolutionary actions. But his raving only reveals the frustration of these renegades over the fact that their fond hopes for the "parliamentary road" were dashed.

Peking Review, December 20, 1968

REVOLUTIONARY INDIAN PEOPLE ARE ADVANCING

Hsinhua Correspondent, Peking

The Indian revolutionary people have this year carried to a greater depth and wider scale their heroic struggle against the Indian reactionaries and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. In the course of their struggle, they constantly summed up experience, consolidated their ranks and accumulated strength; they often seized favourable opportunities to strike hard at the Indian reactionaries, throwing them into panic.

Extensive Dissemination of the Revolutionary Truth

The year has witnessed the extensive spread of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought in various places in India. Proceeding from the concrete conditions in the country, the Indian revolutionaries have emphatically propagated the necessity for the Indian people to take the revolutionary road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing political power by armed force. They have forcefully repudiated the "parliamentary road" trumpeted by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party and the Dange renegade clique to benumb the Indian people.

The Indian revolutionaries have translated and published Chairman Mao's brilliant works in large quantities

and reproduced Chairman Mao's writings and quotations in their revolutionary journals. They have spread the revolutionary truth among the broad masses of the Indian people, especially among the poor labouring people most brutally oppressed and exploited. It has been leaked out in the Indian press that among the "adivasi" (indigenous) peasants living in Chota Nagpur area, Bihar state, many can recite quotations from Chairman Mao.

The Indian revolutionaries have also spread the revolutionary truth among the people by secretly painting huge slogans and pasting up leaflets. Large numbers of revolutionary slogans have appeared on the walls in villages and towns. They include: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," "Without a people's army the people have nothing," "Not ballots but bullets needed for revolution!" "Boycott elections!" "Long live violent revolution!" "Armed struggle, yes, yes!" "Down with the yankees!" "Red salute to Naxalbari!" "Liberation is possible only by smashing the bourgeois state machinery!" "Mao Tse-tung, zindabad! (Long live Mao Tse-tung).

In November, a huge slogan "Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung" appeared on a wall near the Dum Dum international airport in Calcutta. "Down with elections" and other revolutionary slogans were painted all over the walls of a small street in Bombay, the second biggest Indian city, on the night of December 17. These actions of the Indian revolutionaries have dealt heavy blows at the Indian reactionaries. Indian Minister of Home Affairs Y. B. Chavan clamoured in Parliament on December 20 for another bill so as to carry out wanton suppression of the people.

Peasant Struggles Rising Wave upon Wave

The Indian revolutionaries have been working hard to integrate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution. They paid great attention to going to the rural areas and mobilizing the peasants in the revolutionary struggle. Summing up their past experience in their work in the rural areas, the Indian revolutionaries pointed out the importance of making investigations in the rural areas and of applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought in making class analysis. They pointed out that this is the way indispensable for distinguishing between the enemy and ourselves, a question of the first importance for the revolution. An article on investigation of two villages published by the Indian weekly *Desha Brati* (Patriot) exposed with numerous facts the extremely cruel feudal exploitation in the countryside and refuted the modern revisionists' fallacy that capitalism has prevailed in India's countryside.

With the daily awakening of the Indian peasant masses, the revolutionary peasants' armed struggle against brutal repression and their struggle to seize land have risen in successive waves in various parts of India. The people of Naxalbari, West Bengal State, have been persisting in their struggle. Moreover, in February this year, the peasants in Srikakulam, Andhra State, launched several surprise attacks on the reactionary troops and police with home-made guns as well as bows and arrows. In July, 5,000 peasants in the northern part of Uttar Pradesh seized back more than 20,000 acres of land from the landlords. In August,

the peasants in Muzaffarpur District, Bihar State, heroically beat back the attacks of the police and armed bands of the landlords, holding a locality under their control for three days.

Recently, the reactionary Indian Government published a proclamation urging all the state governments to strengthen their secret service set-ups and intensify the suppressive measures against the revolutionary peasants. It instructed the state governments to send police as quickly as possible to the "troubled spots" and promised that the Central Government would come to their assistance if necessary. On December 5, Home Minister Chavan told Parliament in alarm that Indian revolutionaries are very active not only in West Bengal but also in eastern Uttar Pradesh, northern Bihar, Andhra and Kerala. He shouted hysterically that this threat cannot be underestimated and must be met with.

No matter how desperately the Indian reactionaries may struggle, the nearly 400 million woe-stricken Indian peasants are bound to rise up in struggle and get rid of the shackles on them. This is a historical trend that no reactionary forces can stop.

People's Struggle Surging in the Cities

This year, the struggles of the Indian workers, students and teachers have pounded heavily at the reactionary rule in India. The strike staged by 4 million government employees, including railway, postal and tele-communication workers, in September was unprecedented in scale. It hit the Indian Central Government with a force more direct and

more powerful than that of all past strikes of government employees. The tide of struggles staged by the students and teachers has spread to several states as the year is drawing to an end. Newspaper workers and employees who seldom took part in past strikes, have also struck for two months for higher wages.

The Indian urban people's struggle is spearheaded more and more directly at U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionary Indian rulers this year. When Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defence and now President of the World Bank arrived in India in November, the Calcutta citizens staged a mammoth anti-U.S demonstration. Deeply frightened McNamara had to leave the international airport by helicopter. When a delegation of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was holding talks with the reactionary Indian Government in New Delhi in September, the revolutionary people of the Indian capital put up many slogans saying "Neo-colonialists, go home!" in the city and its suburbs, denouncing the Soviet revisionists for plundering the Indian people. Furthermore, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of the reactionary Indian Government and Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai were surrounded on several occasions this year by the indignant masses who stoned these reactionary chieftains to show their bitter hatred for the reactionary rule.

The urban people in India have manifested a courageous and undaunted spirit in their struggle. The inwardly weak reactionary Indian Government has revealed its fascist features in suppressing the big strike of the government employees. It ordered the police to open fire at the strikers,

killing ten of them. 10,000 people were thrown into prison and over 10,000 people were discharged or suspended from work. However, the employees and workers of the posts and tele-communications departments carried on their struggle against the reactionary government in various forms. The "pen-down" strikes and "slow-down" struggle lasted more than one month after the big strike and threw the Indian reactionaries into a very awkward position.

Indian Reactionaries are Doomed to Destruction

Under the blows of the Indian people's struggle, the Indian reactionary rule which is beset with difficulties both at home and abroad is becoming more and more unstable. As pointed out by an article in the November issue of the Indian revolutionary monthly *Liberation*, the Indian "ruling classes have been enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crisis than before. Their economy, an appendage to imperialist economy, is afflicted with a mortal disease from which there is no hope of recovery." The article said, "As the contradictions between the people and the exploiting classes grow sharper, the Congress Party, the main party of the Indian landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, can hardly deceive the people any longer with talks of economic planning or of building socialism. It is also a house divided against itself. A dogfight is going on between different factions and parties of the ruling classes, which have linked their fate with that of U. S. or British imperialists or of the Soviet neo-colonialists. Their fight for power and super-profits among themselves and their masters is

making the political crisis even more sharp.”

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: “The Indian nation is a great nation, and the Indian people a good people.” The Indian reactionaries and their masters—U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism—are all paper tigers. The Indian people will certainly win complete emancipation through their own struggle!

December 26, 1968

Liberation, January 1969

INDIAN PEOPLE EMBARK ON REVOLUTIONARY ROAD OF ARMED STRUGGLE

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

“Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun”.

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

in shamelessly betraying the Indian revolution have won praise and support from the notorious Khrushchov and the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi.

In the sixties of the 20th century, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought launched a powerful struggle against modern revisionism and scored a great victory. In this situation, the Indian communist revolutionaries took concrete action to rebel against the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party, smashed the shackles of the "parliamentary road" and embarked on the revolutionary road of armed struggle. They translated into different dialects and published in large quantities the brilliant works of Chairman Mao and propagated Mao Tse-tung's thought widely in revolutionary journals. They distributed and put up large quantities of revolutionary leaflets and posters, laying emphasis on spreading the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

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

In the past two years, the spark kindled by the Naxalbari peasants' revolutionary struggle has been blazing in several parts of India. Under the leadership of the Indian

communist revolutionaries, the hill people in Srikakulam district, Andhra State, who are severely oppressed by the Indian reactionaries, have armed themselves with bows and arrows and dealt heavy blows at the reactionary Indian police. The flames of their struggle have spread to the plain and coastal areas and further extended to the adjoining Orissa State. In some places in Bihar State and Uttar Pradesh, the revolutionary peasants, who have organised themselves, heroically beat off the armed suppression by the landlords and reactionary troops and police and seized back large tracts of land from the landlords. Recently, a peasant revolutionary armed force appeared in the jungles of Lakhimpur, Uttar Pradesh, striking repeated blows at the reactionary police force. In Kerala State, the revolutionary peasants have also waged armed struggle.

Indian Communist Revolutionaries Striving to Solve Questions in Revolutionary Practice

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

After summing up the experience and lessons gained in the Naxalbari struggle, the Indian communist revolutionaries pointed explicitly to the importance of building a party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's

thought. In a report summing up the experience of the Naxalbari struggle published not long ago, they pointed out that one of the causes of the temporary set-back in the Naxalbari struggle is "the absence of a party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear self-criticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work."

The Indian communist revolutionaries in the Naxalbari struggle have set forth the question of the important significance of establishing revolutionary political power. They pointed out that the Naxalbari peasants' struggle is a struggle not only for land but for political power. The heroic Naxalbari peasants set up Revolutionary Committees and established the peasants' political power in various places. They declared the bourgeois law and law courts in the villages null and void. The decisions of the Revolutionary Committees were proclaimed to be the law. The Indian communist revolutionaries, in summing up the experience of this struggle, pointed out that only by arming the peasants, organising guerrilla units and a regular armed force, and setting up liberated areas, can the political power of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords be overthrown and new political power established in India. On the question of seizing political power through armed force, the Indian communist revolutionaries resolutely exposed the Indian revisionists for their revisionist line of limiting the peasants' struggle against feudalism to the distribution of land and of opposing the seizure of power by

the peasants through armed force.

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

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

The Indian communist revolutionaries attached much importance to rural investigation and class analysis. An

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

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

The broad masses of revolutionary people of India are applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought to solve the strategy and tactics of the revolution, and other questions, and to constantly expose and repudiate the absurdities and lies spread by the Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists, thus pushing the revolution ahead unceasingly.

1969 is the year of paramount importance for the revolutionary people the world over. In this year, the communist revolutionaries and revolutionary people of

India will surely strengthen their unity, frustrate the tricks and intrigues of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists, march forward in bigger strides on the glorious road of armed struggle, and achieve more and bigger victories.

Hsinhua News Bulletin, May 10, 1969

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
(MARXIST-LENINIST) FOUNDED

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was founded on April 22, 1969. This was announced by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries in a communique issued on the same day.

The Communique said: "The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, which met in a plenary session from 19th to 22nd April, 1969, announces the formation of the revolutionary Party, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), based on the thought of Mao Tse-tung on 22nd April 1969, the one hundredth birthday of great Lenin—a task it set itself eighteen months ago, in November 1967."

According to the May issue of the monthly *Liberation*, Kanu Sanyal announced the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) at the May Day rally in Calcutta. The announcement was met with prolonged and tumultuous cheers by the masses attending the rally.

In his address, Kanu Sanyal said: "Our Party was formed on a memorable day of the international communist movement—the 100th birthday of the great Lenin. When our Party was born, the historic Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China was in session under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. I firmly

believe that the great Indian people will warmly welcome this event, will realize the formation of this party as a historic step forward for the Indian revolution. On the other hand, I am also convinced that the announcement of the formation of the Party will strike terrible fear in the hearts of all the enemies of the people—open or disguised."

Sanyal said, "Chairman Mao has said: 'Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve which dares to make sun and moon shine in the new sky.' We will certainly be able to make a new sun and a new moon shine in the sky of our great motherland India. It is certain that our great people of India, led by the newly-formed Communist Party, will march forward in unison with the people of all other countries and build a free, happy and prosperous India free from exploitation of man by man."

Peking Review, July 12, 1969

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

Adopted at the Plenary Session of the All India
Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries

- **The resolution points out that the history of the Communist Party of India is the history of struggle between the line of class struggle and the line of class collaboration and treachery, between the proletarian revolutionary ranks and the bourgeois reactionary leadership, and that the line of rejecting the parliamentary path and adopting the path of revolutionary struggle is wholly correct.**
- **It points out that the revolutionary Communist Party will build a revolutionary united front on the basis of worker-peasant alliance, lead the Indian people in carrying out a people's democratic revolution the main content of which is the agrarian revolution, and seize power through armed struggle. It calls on, the Indian revolutionaries to unite with the people of various countries to destroy world imperialism and its chief accomplice, modern revisionism.**

The May issue of the Indian monthly *Liberation* published

the "Political Resolution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)" adopted at the Plenary Session of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries held from April 19 to 22, 1969.

The resolution pointed out that the most important task today is to build up a revolutionary Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It also pointed out that the nature of the Indian revolution at the present stage is a people's democratic revolution the main content of which is the agrarian revolution. It is the responsibility of the working class as the leader of the revolution to unite with the peasantry - the main force of the revolution—and to advance towards seizure of power through armed struggle. The resolution said that to fulfil this task the revolutionary Communist Party must study Mao Tse-tung's thought. It called on the Indian revolutionaries to unite with the great people of China and the people of various countries to destroy world imperialism and its chief accomplice, modern revisionism.

The resolution said: "The events of the last eighteen months since we repudiated the neo-revisionists prove beyond doubt that the line of rejecting the parliamentary path and adopting the path of revolutionary struggle is wholly correct."

It said: "We stated that India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, that the Indian state is the state of the big landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, and that its government is a lackey of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The abject dependence of Indian economy on 'aid' from imperialist countries, chiefly from

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the thousands of collaboration agreements, imperialist plunder of our country through unequal trade and 'aid,' the utter dependence for food on Public Law 480, etc. go to prove the semi-colonial character of our society".

"The increasing concentration of land in the hands of a few landlords, the expropriation of almost the total surplus produced by the toiling peasantry in the form of rent, the complete landlessness of about 40 per cent of the rural population, the back-breaking usurious exploitation, the ever-growing evictions of the poor peasantry coupled with the brutal social oppression including lynching of 'harijans,' reminiscent of the mediaeval ages, and the complete backwardness of the technique of production clearly demonstrate the semi-feudal character of our society".

"The fleecing of the Indian people by extracting the highest rate of profit, the concentration of much of India's wealth in the hands of 75 comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, the utilization of the state sector in the interest of foreign monopolies and domestic big business, and the unbridled freedom of the landlords to plunder and oppress the peasantry with the help of the state machinery—all go to prove that it is the big landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists who run the state".

"The political, economic, cultural and military grip of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism on the Indian state, the dovetailing of its foreign policy with the U.S.-Soviet global strategy of encircling socialist China and suppressing the national liberation struggles, the total support given by the Indian Government to the Soviet armed provocation

against China, the tacit approval of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and its active collaboration with the U.S. imperialists against the national liberation struggle of Viet Nam clearly show that the Indian Government is a lackey of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism."

The resolution said: "The Indian revolution at this stage is the democratic revolution of the new type—the people's democratic revolution — the main content of which is the agrarian revolution, the abolition of feudalism in the countryside. To destroy feudalism, one of the two main props (comprador-bureaucrat capitalism being the other) of imperialism in our country, the Indian people will have to wage a bitter, protracted struggle against U.S. and Soviet imperialism too."

Referring to the situation of the world revolution and the Indian revolution, the resolution said: "A very excellent revolutionary situation prevails in the world today. The U.S. imperialists and their chief accomplice, the Soviet revisionists, are facing increasing difficulty in their dirty efforts to re-divide and enslave the whole world. The growing intensity of the armed struggles in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation is destroying the very foundations of imperialist rule".

"A new upsurge of struggles of the working class and the toiling peasantry has overtaken the capitalist countries and the reactionary ruling classes are facing insoluble contradictions at home".

"An unprecedented wave of struggle of the Afro-American people against racial oppression coupled with working class action, is dealing powerful blows at the rule

of the monopolists in the United States. The revisionists headed by the Soviet Union are also confronted with an acute crisis and the people in the countries ruled by them are rising in revolt against the restoration of capitalism and national subjugation and for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat”.

“On the other hand, socialist China is performing miracles of socialist construction. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in every sphere of life and created conditions for the emergence of the socialist man. The victories of the Cultural Revolution have culminated in the triumph of the historic Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China. The thought of Chairman Mao is winning ever new victories. The international class struggle has grown more intense than before and the doom of imperialism and all other reaction is near. The world has entered a new era in history—the era of Chairman Mao’s thought.”

The resolution said: “The revolutionary situation in India is quite excellent. Today, the ruling classes are enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crisis than ever before. Contradictions between imperialism and the people, between feudalism and peasants, between capital and labour, and between different sections of the ruling classes are growing sharper and sharper every day.”

It continued: “Everywhere in India the people are rising in bitter struggles to remove the four mountains that weigh upon them heavily. These mountains are U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital.”

Armed peasant struggles, which started in Naxalbari, are spreading to ever newer areas, the resolution said. The resistance of our people, both in the rural and in the urban areas, is fast developing and bringing about a new upsurge in the agrarian revolution—the main content of the democratic revolution.

The resolution said: “The reactionary ruling classes are resorting to brutal repression in order to beat back the rising tide of people’s struggles. The ruling classes are every day arming themselves with all sorts of draconic legislative powers to crush the class struggle. National chauvinism is being fanned against socialist China and neighbouring Pakistan to dupe the people and suppress their struggles”.

It said: “In such a situation when revolutionary struggles are advancing rapidly and when the ruling classes are making frantic efforts to suppress them, the revisionists have come forward to serve as the lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction. By presenting the so-called “united front” governments as “organs of struggles,” by raising the slogan of “providing relief to the people,” they are trying to create illusions among the people in order to blunt their revolutionary consciousness and divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. These “united front” governments are in essence the answer of the reactionary ruling classes to the challenge thrown out by the people. There is no doubt now that these lackeys of foreign and domestic reaction are only trying their best to dampen the revolutionary spirit of our toiling people in order to save their masters from the fiery wrath of the people”.

Reviewing the history of the struggle between the two

lines in the Communist Party of India since its founding, the resolution said: "The history of the Communist Party of India is the history of struggle between the line of class struggle and the line of class collaboration and treachery, between the proletarian revolutionary ranks and the bourgeois reactionary leadership. An appraisal of Party history will show that the leadership has always acted as conscious traitors to the revolutionary cause of our people."

It said: "With the great victory of the anti-fascist war, in which the Soviet people led by Stalin played the most outstanding role, and the glorious victory of the Chinese people, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, over Japanese imperialism, the fascist imperialist powers met with their doom, thus severely weakening imperialism as a whole. The world-shaking victory of the great Chinese revolution under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung breached the imperialist front in the East and the world balance of forces underwent a change. It is during the anti-Japanese war of resistance that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war was fully developed: it charted a new path—the path that all the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries like India must pursue to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism and domestic reaction. A storm of revolutionary struggles raged over various countries of Asia where the people followed the road indicated by Chairman Mao, the road of people's war. The pent-up wrath of the Indian people found expression in a widespread, heroic revolt against the rule of the imperialists. Led by the working class, India's peasantry took to the path of armed struggle; the peasants of Punnapra-Vayalar put up resistance against

the reactionary armed forces; the peasants of Telangana rose arms in hand against the rule of the feudal lords; the peasants of Bengal waged the Tebhaga struggle [struggle for rent reduction] against feudal exploitation. There was an upsurge of working class struggle all over the country. The revolt spread even among the ranks of the police, the army and the navy. But the revisionist leadership acted as the lackey of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries and betrayed these great struggles".

The resolution said: "The Second Congress of the Party witnessed the revolt of the ranks against the sordid betrayal. The Ranadive clique utilized this revolt to seize the leadership of the Party. The Secretariat of the Andhra Provincial Committee, which was then leading the Telangana struggle, correctly pointed out that the Indian revolution could win victory only by following the road blazed by China—the road of people's war. The Ranadive clique opposed this correct formulation of the Andhra Secretariat and adopted the Trotskyite theory of accomplishing both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution at one stroke. Thus, this clique diverted the attention of the Party ranks from the agrarian revolution—the basic task of the democratic revolution. Though the Ranadive clique followed this wrong and suicidal policy, the peasant revolutionaries of Telangana did not deviate from the path of struggle. They carried this struggle forward by adopting the tactics of guerrilla war. But the same treacherous policy was restored by this clique with the adoption of the programme of 1951".

It said: "The programme and the tactical line of 1951

were adopted on the understanding that the Indian big bourgeoisie has a dual character. By this dual character was meant that the Indian big bourgeoisie has an anti-imperialist role as well as a proneness to compromise with imperialism. In other words, the Indian big bourgeoisie is regarded as the national bourgeoisie. This enabled the revisionist leadership to describe the Indian state as an independent bourgeois state. Taking advantage of this theory, the Dange clique adopted the political line that feudalism does no longer exist in India and capitalism has developed in agriculture. Thus, Nehru was described as the representative of the progressive bourgeoisie. The Dange clique adopted a liquidationist policy as they held that India's national democratic government would be set up by forming an alliance with the bourgeoisie. At the same time they preached that the more Soviet "aid" India received, the more secure would be India's freedom. That is, Soviet "aid" would enable India to move out of the orbit of imperialist domination. The treacherous revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of India opposed every kind of revolutionary struggle. They forced Telangana's revolutionary peasants to surrender arms and stabbed the struggles of the peasants in India in the back wherever they rose in revolt".

The resolution said: "When in 1962 the Indian Government launched attack against the Chinese frontier guards, the treacherous role of the Dange clique was clearly exposed before the Party ranks. The Party members rebelled against the renegade Dange clique. Taking advantage of this revolt, the Ranadive clique again seized the leadership of the Party,

as in 1948. No sooner had the Seventh Congress been over than it was declared on behalf of the Politbureau that the Party did not entertain any thought of armed struggle and that the Party would pursue the legal, parliamentary path. So, no revolutionary party but another bourgeois party emerged out of the Seventh Congress. And this party has today forged unity with world reaction by allying itself with the renegade Dange clique and has become a party hostile to the Indian masses—an instrument for suppressing the liberation struggle of the Indian people. Yet this period has witnessed increasing collaboration between Soviet and U.S. imperialism for joint world domination. Bourgeois dictatorship has been set up in the Soviet Union. In collusion with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is opposing every national liberation struggle in the world and has tightened its neo-colonial grip on India. Despite all this, the Ranadive clique not only sings praises of the Soviet Union as a "socialist state" but is also loud in praise of Soviet "aid." Though the character of the Indian big bourgeoisie is essentially comprador and bureaucratic, the Ranadive clique propagates the lie that they are independent and sovereign and thus tries to make India's revolutionary struggle an appendage to the bourgeoisie. By underestimating the feudal exploitation of the peasant masses they belittle the importance of the agrarian revolution and seek to lead the peasant struggles along the path of compromise. So, the most important task today is to build up a revolutionary Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Today the sparks of Naxalbari have spread to many

states of India and will soon spread to newer and newer areas. Without overthrowing the enemies of the Indian people—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, India's comprador-bureaucratic capital and feudalism—there can be no solution of any of the problems of the Indian people, the reign of darkness over India cannot be ended, nor can India advance one step along the road of progress”.

On the task of struggle confronting the revolution, the resolution pointed out: “While this revolutionary Party is formed in India, it should be borne in mind that the Indian Party may commit both Right and ‘Left’ deviations because the party of India's working class has never before given serious consideration to the role of the peasantry in the agrarian revolution. Chairman Mao has taught us: ‘Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.’ If the poor and landless peasants, who constitute the majority of the peasantry, the firm ally of the working class, unite with the middle peasants, then

the vastest section of the Indian people will be united and the democratic revolution will inevitably win victory. It is the responsibility of the working class as the leader of the revolution to unite with the peasantry—the main force of the revolution—and to advance towards seizure of power through armed struggle. It is on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance that a revolutionary united front of all revolutionary classes will be built up. As the party of the working class, the Communist Party must take upon itself the chief responsibility of organizing the peasantry and advancing towards seizure of power through armed struggle. To fulfil this task the revolutionary Communist Party must study Chairman Mao's thought, for it is only Chairman Mao's thought that can bring the peasant masses into the revolutionary front and Chairman Mao's theory of people's war is the only means by which an apparently weak revolutionary force can wage successful struggles against an apparently powerful enemy and can win victory. The basic tactic of struggle of the revolutionary peasantry led by the working class is guerrilla warfare. We must bear in mind the Chairman's teaching: ‘Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions’. Our tactics as described by Comrade Lin Piao are: ‘You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.’ The task of the party of the working class is not merely to master these tactics but also to rally all the other revolutionary classes behind the basic programme of the agrarian revolution. The revolutionary Party will be able to carry out this task only when it educates itself in the thought of Chairman Mao,

adopts the style of work taught by him and practises self-criticism."

The resolution said: "The U.S. and Soviet imperialists are using India as a main base for carrying out their strategy for joint world domination. India is also the centre of conspiracies against socialist China, the base of world revolution, the hope of the exploited people of the whole world. That is why it is not merely the patriotic duty of the Indian people to accomplish the Indian revolution, it is also their internationalist duty. The international significance of the Indian revolution is very great. Great Lenin dreamed of the day when revolutionary India would unite with revolutionary China and bring about the collapse of the world imperialist system. That is why at the time of the formation of the Party the Indian revolutionaries must resolve that they shall unite with the great people of China and thus forge unity with the liberation struggles of the various countries, that they shall build up a revolutionary united front and destroy world imperialism and its chief accomplice, modern revisionism. Chairman Mao has given the call:

'People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch sustained and vigorous offensive against enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off'.

Our task is to prepare ourselves to respond to this call."

Peking Review, July 11, 1969

RESOLUTELY TAKE THE PATH OF PEOPLE'S WAR
POINTED OUT BY CHAIRMAN MAO

Report on the peasants' armed struggle by the
Srikakulam District Committee of the Indian Communist
revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh

The monthly *Liberation* published in its May issue a report on the peasants' armed struggle by the Srikakulam District Committee of the Indian Communist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh. The report calls on the Indian revolutionaries and the people to resolutely take the path of people's war pointed out by Chairman Mao, arouse the peasants, unfold guerrilla warfare, establish rural revolutionary bases and finally seize the cities to accomplish the national-democratic revolution.

The report points out: "Today we are in the midst of armed struggle. The path we follow is that of people's war. The method we adopt at present is that of guerrilla struggle. We know that the building up of revolutionary rural base areas and the seizure of towns at the end are the primary tasks to be achieved through people's war. We can raise the consciousness of the peasants only by intensifying armed class struggle in villages and thereby annihilating the class enemies. This method of people's war is necessarily applicable against the ruling classes in all

semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This method of protracted armed struggle was first victorious in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China. It is Chairman Mao who mapped out this revolutionary path of people's war. There is none other than the path of people's war indicated by Chairman Mao. Since the victory of people's war in China, people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries firmly believe that it is only people's war that is to be adopted in these countries for their liberation. The material conditions in these countries also make the people realize this truth. Today, guerrilla struggles on the lines of people's war based on Chairman Mao's thought are getting intensified in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The walls built up by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in these countries are cracking. The present era is most favourable to the people's revolutions in oppressed countries. In these conditions any single spark anywhere against the reactionary ruling classes will start a prairie fire and all the reactionary ruling classes will be consumed by that fire. So it is the central task of a revolutionary Party and individual to make conditions suitable for the kindling of that spark".

The report points out: "India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. People's war is inevitable in this country and it has already started, the armed struggle that raged in Naxalbari in 1967 inaugurated the people's war. Among many contradictions in our country the one between the feudal landlords and the peasantry is most acute, and this is no doubt the principal contradiction today. Only by resolving this contradiction can we advance towards a

bright future. This contradiction can be resolved through the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. That means, we are in the stage of democratic revolution. We have to complete the stage of democratic revolution through peasant revolution headed by the proletariat. This is the immediate task before us in this country".

The report says: "Firmly believing in Chairman Mao's dictum 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,' we decided that the struggle for seizure of political power is possible only by taking firm hold of the gun. In a leaflet we appealed to the people "to support the peasant struggle, to build up rural revolutionary base areas" and declared that the Communist Party with the help of other progressive forces will do its best to make the peasant revolution a success and that the district peasantry have taken up Chairman Mao's thought as their guide".

The report calls for the deep-going study of Marxism-Leninism. Especially, it says, one should never forget the study and application of the thought of Chairman Mao.

The report says: "People, mainly peasants, have risen like a storm and it is now blowing like a whirlwind. We have to take this forward through to the end. We have to continue the class struggle on guerrilla lines in a much bigger way. The District Committee firmly believes that our cadres and members will carry out this task with discipline. It also believes that they will lead the fighting people in annihilating the enemies with death-defying spirit".

"But now the situation is different", the report says. "Militant peasants from the villages are coming forward

with great enthusiasm to join the guerrilla squads. The number of squads which are quite active is increasing day by day. We have made many new changes in the organization of squads. After our taking up the gun there was great enthusiasm among the people. On December 20, 1968, in the Balleruguda struggle of Aviri area, the victories achieved by the people roused great enthusiasm in all the nooks and corners of the agency. It also roused the fighting spirit of the cadres”.

On December 20, 1968, the police entered the Aviri area to make raids. The resistance put up by the people shook the whole mountains.

The report says: “After our taking up the gun and giving the call for people’s war, the hearts of the police in the agency area trembled. When the police began to die in the hands of the guerrillas the morale of the police was shattered. Hearing the roar of the guns midway the police become nervous. They feel afraid whenever they have to travel along village routes. Unlike on the previous occasion, the police are not able to go for searches in groups of twenty or twenty-five. The truth of Chairman Mao’s saying that all reactionaries in the world are paper tigers is proved to us within a short span of time. Yet the enemy may concentrate its big forces and try to attack us. Our cadres and people should develop such mental calibre as to face the difficulties with undaunted courage and learn such tactics as to beat back the enemy’s offensive on the lines of protracted war from now onward”.

The report says: “The present conditions are very hopeful for carrying our struggle forward. We have reviewed

our movement, the present situation and the conditions we faced before and during the struggle. Basing on this, we formulate our tactics of struggle and advance along the path of struggle. We achieved many victories within a very short period of time. Let us be prepared for more arduous struggles in the future. In this context all of us must make efforts to help every Party member and cadre to observe discipline, make sacrifice and stand firm”.

In conclusion, the report says: “We place tremendous confidence in our nation. This nation following the thought of Mao Tse-tung has begun its struggle against the reactionary ruling classes. We must remember that we have become participants in this great struggle. Whether we live or die, it must be for the people, revolution is our ultimate goal. There is nothing greater in life than this. Let us build up a revolutionary base area. Let us build up the people’s army, because “without a people’s army the people have nothing” as Chairman Mao said”.

Peking Review, August 6, 1969

INDIAN PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES ARE GROWING STRONGER IN BATTLE

The Indian revolutionary people's armed struggles, led or supported by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), are developing and getting stronger in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. In the course of their struggle, the Indian revolutionary people constantly sum up their experience and have raised their political consciousness. Their grasp of the truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is becoming more and more firm.

Following the armed struggle started by the peasants in Naxalbari and other areas in 1967 which shook the whole of India, the revolutionary peasants of Andhra Pradesh in the south-eastern part of the country took up arms in 1968 to resist the brutal rule of the Indian reactionaries. According to the Indian bourgeois press, their struggle has now expanded from the remote mountainous area inhabited by the Girijans in Srikakulam District to 19 taluks on the broad plains of Visakhapatnam, East and West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Anantapur, Warangal and Khammam districts.

Since the beginning of 1969, the revolutionary peasants of Srikakulam District have scored many victories in countering the "combing" operations of the reactionary

landlords' armed bands and the reactionary police. The people's forces have been growing stronger day by day. Adopting flexible strategy and tactics, they skilfully pounded the enemy out on "combing" operations. They fought heroically and skilfully and armed themselves with weapons seized from the enemy. According to the Indian bourgeois press, the Girijan armed forces in Srikakulam District have in their possession large quantities of explosives and many guns in addition to spears, bows and arrows and axes.

It was reported that recently the guerrilla units in Srikakulam District made frequent, successful attacks on the reactionary police. Within two days in early June, the guerrillas in Sompeta and Parvathipuram areas of the district launched four comparatively large-scale attacks on the reactionary police, dealing them telling blows. On June 5, using home-made weapons, a guerrilla unit in Parvathipuram area, made a surprise attack on the reactionary police sent there on "combing" operations.

In late May, the peasants' armed forces in Bhadrachalam area of Khammam District raided a local police station and the residence of a police inspector at night. They killed two reactionary policemen on the spot and wounded four others.

The peasants' armed forces in Srikakulam District also made frequent attacks on the estates of landlords, seized their weapons and property and executed landlords who had committed heinous crimes and had blood debts on their hands. On May 11, the armed peasants of Pathapatnam area executed a despot landlord. On May 19, the armed peasants

in Sompeta area put to death two big landlords who had committed monstrous crimes and seized their property.

The continuous development of the peasants' armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh has struck terror into the hearts of the reactionary authorities. The Indian bourgeois paper, *Statesman*, said on July 5 that there has been an "alarming increase" in the armed struggle of the peasants in Andhra Pradesh. In the past, the reactionary police in Srikakulam District carried out "combing" operations day and night, but now, they dare not go out for such operations by day even in groups of 20 to 30 men. They dare not carry out activities at night even in greater numbers.

The armed struggle of the peasants in Uttar Pradesh is also forging ahead. In the last two months, the guerrillas in Pallia area, Lakhimpur District, repeatedly ambushed the reactionary police sent out on "combing" operations and won one victory after another. Recently the guerrillas raided three houses of the reactionary police and captured some guns. Despite wanton suppression by the police hurriedly dispatched by the reactionary local regime, the strength of the peasant guerrillas has more than doubled. In Unnao District, the peasants' armed forces recently killed a despot landlord, who had led reactionary landlords' armed bands in a counter-attack on the peasants, as well as a notorious usurer. In Nainital District, the armed peasants launched one attack after another on the local despot landlords and their lackeys, and on the reactionary officers who were guilty of many crimes. In seven days they sent an armed squad to dozens of villages to mobilize the masses to launch a campaign to boycott the deceitful bourgeois election.

The peasants' armed struggle in Punjab has spread from Bhatinda District to three other districts Rupar, Sangrur and Hoshiarpur. On April 30, the peasants' armed forces in Rupar District courageously raided a police station, killing two reactionary police officers on the spot.

While persisting in their armed struggle, the Indian Communist revolutionaries made timely summations of their experience and applied Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tungs thought to solve the problems arising in their revolutionary practice.

In a recent report on the peasants' armed struggle in Srikakulam District, the Indian Communist revolutionaries issued a call to launch guerrilla warfare on a still larger scale, build up rural revolutionary base areas and create a people's army.

Putting into practice Chairman Mao's great teaching "to learn warfare through warfare," the Indian Communist revolutionaries criticized and repudiated the erroneous viewpoint that the guerrillas can start a struggle only after they have received "special military training." They explained this with a local proverb, "unless we go into the water, the depth of it is not known." They hold that guerrilla warfare should be learnt in the course of heroic and indomitable battle against the enemy and guerrilla units will grow rapidly in the course of fighting.

The Indian peasants' armed struggle has won energetic support from the broad masses of the people. Group after group of peasants have joined the guerrilla units with great enthusiasm. Where there is a guerrilla unit, there are masses who bring them rice, vegetables and fruit. Thanks to

cover provided by the masses, the guerrillas can carry out activities near police barracks without being discovered by the enemy.

With mounting militancy, the revolutionary Indian people are courageously pressing forward along the road of armed struggle. They encourage one another by saying that "whether we live or die, it must be for the people" and that they will dare to fight and dare to win as before, and carry on their heroic fight with the revolutionary spirit of not fearing death.

Peking Review, August 6, 1969

HAIL RISING REVOLUTIONARY STORM OF THE INDIAN PEASANTS

Shao Yung-hung

[Shaoshan District Revolutionary Committee,
Hunan Province]

Led by the Indian Communist revolutionaries, the oppressed peasant masses of India have risen in a revolutionary storm which is unprecedented in scale. Like a clap of spring thunder, the revolutionary struggle of the peasants of Naxalbari and other areas has shaken all India. The sparks of revolutionary armed struggle have been steadily spreading to many places in the country. We Shaoshan people acclaim the revolutionary spirit of rebellion demonstrated by the poverty-stricken Indian peasants and the unprecedented excellent revolutionary situation in India.

Our great leader Chairman Mao personally made an investigation of the peasants' revolutionary struggle in Hunan and wrote the brilliant work Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan 42 years ago. He predicted at that time: "In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation."

Chairman Mao's statement pointed out the direction for the nation's revolutionary peasant movement of that time with Hunan as its centre, and imbued it with inexhaustible strength. The Chinese revolution has developed exactly in line with Chairman Mao's scientific prediction. Chairman Mao thoroughly understands, shows the greatest concern for and has complete faith in us poor and lower-middle peasants, warmly praises and supports our revolutionary spirit of rebellion and values the great significance of the revolutionary peasant movement highly. Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: "The national revolution requires a great change in the countryside," and "it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution." "Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years." "Otherwise it would be impossible to suppress the activities of the counter-revolutionaries in the countryside or overthrow the authority of the gentry." Chairman Mao also instructed us at that time that it was imperative to implement the Party's class line of firmly relying on the poor peasants and uniting with other revolutionary elements, that we must grasp the gun and seize power by armed force. Because we resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's instructions, the revolutionary peasant movement surged ahead wave upon wave, winning one great victory after another.

The disaster-ridden Indian peasants are in a situation similar to that of the Chinese peasants 42 years ago. The Chinese people were then weighed down by the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In particular, the peasants, who accounted for

more than 80 per cent of the population, went through inhuman ordeals. A folk song of misery and indignation circulated among us, Shaoshan peasants, who were weighed down by the three big mountains:

The valleys of Shaoshan interlink in a chain,
Out of every ten,
Nine, let there be no mistake,
Find it hard a family to maintain.

Tillers of the soil,
Always under threat—
Like three swords over the head,
High interest, rent and debt.

Tillers of the soil,
Before them only three choices to make—
Prison, beggar's stick,
Or home to forsake.

A true picture of the countryside in old China, this song is a stirring indictment of the reactionaries. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Chairman Mao pointed out the road of emancipation and liberation for us poverty-stricken peasants: To get organized and armed, overthrow the local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords, eliminate feudalism and put all power in the peasant associations. Initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, the peasant movement in the Shaoshan area, as in other parts of Hunan Province, developed swiftly and violently. Under the solid leadership of the Shaoshan Party Branch of the Communist

Party of China, revolutionary mass organizations like peasant associations, women's associations and children's corps were established one after another. Mammoth demonstrations and political gatherings were held which greatly heightened the revolutionary people's morale. To meet the needs of the struggle, the poverty-stricken peasants in 41 townships in the vicinity of Shaoshan rapidly joined forces and began making their weapons—spears, which increased from about a dozen at the beginning to several thousand. With weapons and power in our hands, we grew in strength with each day. We launched vigorous and sustained offensives against the local tyrants, evil gentry and feudal landlords and scored one great political and economic victory after another. First we banned shipping food grain out of the area and prohibited the landlords from hoarding grain and forcing up grain prices. Then we attacked the "township defence corps" and seized weapons from the landlords, set up peasant armed forces, and put down the despotic landlords. "In force and momentum the attack is tempestuous; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish. As a result, the privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years are being shattered to pieces. Every bit of the dignity and prestige built up by the landlords is being swept into the dust." The revolutionary people were beside themselves with joy when the head of the "township defence corps" (the landlords' armed forces), who had committed murder without batting an eye, was put to death by the furious peasants. This punctured the arrogance of the reactionaries and greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary peasants.

Today, we are glad to see that under the Indian Communist revolutionaries' leadership, the Indian peasants are getting organized and launching fierce attacks on the enemy. They have armed themselves with weapons seized from the enemy and with home-made weapons. They have struck at the reactionary police who were sent to suppress them; they have raided landlords' plantations, suppressed despotic landlords, carried out land reform and set about eliminating feudalism. All these revolutionary acts of rebellion are excellent! As pointed out in the Political Resolution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), "without overthrowing the enemies of the Indian people—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, India's comprador-bureaucratic capital and feudalism there can be no solution of any of the problems of the Indian people, the reign of darkness over India cannot be ended, nor can India advance one step along the road of progress." At present, the Indian peasant movement is developing and the revolutionary Indian people are advancing. India has a bright future!

The upsurge in the revolutionary movement of the oppressed people has compelled all classes and all kinds of people to take a position. The revolutionary people say this is fine, while the reactionaries say it is terrible. The imperialists, revisionists and reactionary ruling classes invariably hate and fear the revolutionary people's movement as something monstrous and leave no stone unturned to make trouble and to carry out disruption and suppression. However, the more ruthless the oppression, the fiercer the resistance. The wheel of history definitely cannot

be turned back. The great leader Chairman Mao has said: "However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph." This is a great, incontrovertible truth. The U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, Indian revisionists and Indian reactionaries are now working hand in glove to persecute the revolutionary Indian peasants in various ways. Their persecution "only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale," and they themselves will end up shamefully by "lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet."

Summing up the experience and lessons of the Indian revolution, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has pointed out that the most important task in India today "is to build up a revolutionary Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought," to repudiate all bourgeois and revisionist junk, such as "peaceful transition," the "parliamentary road," the "united front" government and the "principle of non-violence," and to steadfastly lead the Indian people on to the revolutionary road of seizing political power by armed force.

We people of Shaoshan, along with the people of the whole country, are firmly convinced that once Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung's thought is integrated with the concrete conditions of India, it will generate a powerful material force and become a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. Whatever plots and schemes the reactionaries resort to, they can in no way prevent the rapid development of the revolutionary storm in India.

Peking Review, September 19, 1969

INDIAN PEASANT ARMED STRUGGLE RAGES LIKE A PRIRIE FIRE

The reactionary Indian Government and feudal landlords ruthlessly exploit and oppress the peasants and grab their land by force. Made homeless and living in utter misery, the peasant masses in many parts of India are taking up arms in a heroic revolt against the criminal rule of the landlord class and the reactionary Indian Government. Like a prairie fire, the peasant armed struggle is rapidly developing.

Ruthless Exploitation and Oppression by Landlord Class

In the Champaran District of northern Bihar, thousands of peasants reclaimed nearly 10,000 acres of farmland from an area overgrown with thickets after more than ten years of hard work. But early in 1968, acting on orders of the landlords, reactionary government officials and police evicted the peasants from it.

In the Thana District of Maharashtra State, 10,000 peasants carved 20,000 acres of land out of the forests by the sweat of their brow. The reactionary Indian Government recently issued orders to seize this land. The peasants were threatened with confiscation of their ploughs, bullocks and all other assets together with their land if they refused to

comply with the orders.

In many places in Uttar Pradesh, government officials, feudal lords and big capitalists unjustifiably took possession of thousands of acres of fertile land, while the peasants were not allowed to cultivate land lying fallow. With the backing of the reactionary government, big landlords in Bahraich District forcibly occupied 25,000 acres of land.

With the help of the reactionary Indian Government, landlords and usurers in Srikakulam District, Andhra State, seized large tracts of land on the plains from the Girijan people. Many Girijans were forced to move to the mountainous areas to make a living. Even there they could not escape oppression and exploitation by the reactionary officials in charge of the forests, by the tax collectors and usurers. Debt reduced many of them to slaves of landlords and local bullies.

In the Darjeeling District, the fertile land of many plantations had been hacked out of jungles on mountains infested with wild beasts by industrious peasants after years of back-breaking labour. But this product of their sweat and blood was grabbed bit by bit by the landlords and plantation owners. The real masters of the land thus became hired labourers who are brutally exploited by the plantation owners. Like medieval slave overseers, the plantation owners lash, rage at and dismiss the agricultural workers as they please. Many of these workers have died of starvation and sickness.

The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into

numerous uprisings against its rule." Indian peasants in more and more places, rising in armed rebellion and using revolutionary violence against the tyrannical rule of the feudal landlords, are today embarked on the road of armed struggle.

Guns for Revolution Create Red Power

A phenomenal expansion of the red area of revolutionary armed struggle is taking place in Srikakulam and various other districts of Andhra, according to a report in the July issue of the Indian monthly *Liberation*. Despite vicious enemy suppression campaigns, more than 300 villages have been turned into red areas. Panic-stricken landlords have fled for their lives, it adds.

The report says: "Here no machinery of the reactionary government operates. Here no forest or revenue official of the reactionary government, no panchayet samiti man, can enter. The guerrillas and members of village self-defence squads try their best to protect the villages from police marauders. The administration is run, production is looked after, and disputes are settled by the *ryotanga sangrama samithi*, the revolutionary mass organization of the peasants." It goes on to say that this organization has more than 8,000 members in the special area alone. Here the *ryotanga sangrama samithi*—the new power structure—is carrying on investigations of the land whose owners have escaped or have been wiped out by the guerrillas, and investigations of the land handed over by the landlords. The samithi is expected soon to distribute all this land among

the poor and landless peasants. Here, in every village, justice is meted out to the enemies of the people by the people's court.

In every corner of Srikakulam and other parts of Andhra, the report says, the people wrote to the landlords in the name of the *ryotanga sangrama samithi* or the Communist Party to denounce them as despotic landlords and warn them that they will be executed and their property confiscated. The landlords in some areas have fled, while in other areas they dare not spend the night at home.

Peasant Guerrillas Set Off Struggle to Wipe Out Enemy Agents and Local Despots

The flames of armed struggle have spread to some areas in Bihar and Punjab States. Relying on the masses, the peasant guerrillas in Bihar have been active in unleashing a struggle to wipe out enemy agents and despots, and this has greatly heightened the revolutionary fighting-will of the broad masses of the peasantry.

On July 5 peasant guerrillas in the Muzaffarpur District launched a successful attack on a big despotic landlord who was bitterly hated by the peasants for his ruthless persecution and sending armed police to rob them of much of their property. In co ordination with the local masses, the guerrillas punished this despot and confiscated all his property, thus revenging their class brothers.

On June 13, peasant guerrillas in Bihar State attacked the estate of another despotic landlord, killing this reactionary landlord who had barbarously oppressed the peasants

and attempted to stamp out the peasants' revolutionary struggle. They confiscated all his deeds and made a public bonfire of them. The securities the peasants had been forced to mortgage to the landlords, were returned to their owners.

Relying closely on the landless and poor peasants and uniting with the middle peasants, the guerrillas in Bihar have fought the enemy with simple weapons made by themselves and, at the same time, armed themselves with weapons seized from the enemy.

In Uttar Pradesh, the guerrillas in Lakhimpur District's Pallia area have frequently ambushed reactionary police sent there on "mopping up" operations, scoring one victory after another.

The raging flames of armed struggle of the Indian peasants have greatly raised the morale of the poor peasants and deflated the arrogance of the feudal landlords and reactionary bureaucrats. No matter what suppressive and deceitful tactics the reactionary Indian Government and the feudal landlord class resort to, they can in no way hold back the Indian peasants from rushing forward along the road to liberation.

Peking Review, September 19, 1969

INDIA'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE SURGES FORWARD

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

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

In Srikakulam District, where the peasants' armed struggle is raging, the peasant masses under the leadership of

the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) have set up an area for armed struggle encompassing some 300 villages. Peasants set up people's courts in this area to try enemies of the people and have begun to organize the apparatus of rudimentary revolutionary political power.

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

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

Cherishing the great ideal of overthrowing reactionary rule in India and achieving complete freedom from oppression and exploitation for the people, members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and other Indian revolutionaries have gone to work in places where feudal oppression is serious and class contradictions are acute. They work in the revolutionary spirit of "whether we live or die, it must be for the people." Regarding the propagation of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought among the peasants as their primary task, they have ardently disseminated the great truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" among the poor peasants. Applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, they

made typical investigations about the economic conditions and political attitudes of the various classes in the rural areas, formulated the class line in rural work and put forward the task of developing agrarian revolution and eliminating feudalism in the countryside.

After the revolutionary peasants were aroused and organized, the Indian revolutionaries first helped them to set up their armed organizations—guerrilla units and peasant self-defence forces—and then they launched attacks on the feudal forces in the rural areas. They frequently punished despotic landlords and corrupt officials who had committed many bloody crimes, seized guns, grain and land from the landlords, and ambushed reactionary police and landlord's armed forces sent to carry out "encirclement and suppression" operations and round up the peasant armed forces and revolutionary peasants. In July this year, a guerrilla unit in an area in Srikakulam District repulsed a reactionary police force of 60 men, killing its 2 officers. The guerrillas and peasant self-defence force in another area attacked a 150-man reactionary police unit in June. In Sompeta area, Srikakulam District, hundreds of peasants together with the guerrillas confiscated the property of a despotic landlord and seized his firearms. In the Pathapatnam area in the same district, several guerrilla units along with well over 1,000 peasants attacked the homes of 4 landlords. Terrified by this powerful mass action, the reactionary police stationed less than one mile away were afraid to show themselves.

Since the guerrillas are closely united with the peasant masses, they are able to frustrate the "encirclement and

suppression" operations conducted by the reactionary government and they are growing in strength steadily. In the Pallia area in Lakhimpur District (Uttar Pradesh), where there was a vigorous peasant armed struggle, the revolutionary peasants active in providing the guerrillas with information about the police while preventing any information about the guerrillas from reaching the enemy. The reactionary government had sent armed police to make about 10 sudden raids in different villages in the area, but, under the people's protection, none of the revolutionaries was arrested. The police arrested some peasants, cruelly tortured them and tried to force them to give information about the leaders of the armed struggle. But the peasants, valiant and indomitable, refused to utter a single word that would harm the revolutionaries. Further incensed by the police atrocities, the people joined the guerrilla forces more actively, and took up arms to hit the enemy. The number of guerrillas doubled. Once, 3 leaders of the revolutionary armed struggle were arrested by the police in Bihar State. Over 200 local armed peasants carried out a successful ambush while the reactionary police were escorting these leaders through a dense forest. The peasants wounded 19 policemen and rescued their leaders from a police jeep. The flesh-and-blood relations between the guerrillas and the peasant masses have greatly dismayed the Indian reactionaries.

In summing up the experience of armed struggle, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pointed out that armed struggle is not merely for land but for state power. It pointed out: "The monopoly of land ownership

and feudal exploitation by the landlords in the villages are being preserved by the state power which serves the landlords. To end the monopoly of land ownership and feudal exploitation by the landlords, it is necessary to establish a new political power through armed struggle." In some areas where armed struggle has been developed, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has led the revolutionary peasants in destroying the reactionary political power at the basic level, abolishing the reactionary laws and establishing rudimentary people's political power. The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history." Today, the broad masses of the people in India are awakening and the peasant movement is rising. The vigorous development of the peasants' armed struggle led and supported by the Indian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) foretells that hundreds of millions of Indian peasants will surely rise to overthrow the four big mountains—U.S. imperialism, social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism—which bear down like a dead weight on them. Although the Indian people's revolution may meet various kinds of difficulties and have twists and turns in its course of advance, no force in the world can prevent the Indian people from marching forward triumphantly along the road of seizing political power by armed forces.

Peking Review, October 31, 1969

RED REVOLUTIONARY AREA IN INDIA SHINES LIKE A BEACON

The revolutionary armed struggle in Srikakulam under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is expanding

Like a beacon light, the red revolutionary area, which has come into being in Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh, is shining brightly on the woe-stricken land of India. The oppressed people in that country hail and praise it as "the most advanced bulwark of India."

Srikakulam District is a mountainous area covered with thick forests in the north-eastern part of Andhra Pradesh. For generations the peasants here have been kept in subjection, and now they are taking up arms under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) against their oppressors. They have smashed the feudal yoke and overthrown the crushing tyranny. The greater part of Srikakulam has been turned into a red revolutionary area with yesterday's oppressed becoming masters of the land. Today, every where in this area is a scene of revolutionary vigour and the people sing with revolutionary gusto:

Rise up, oh, ye *Adivasi* heroes,
And flex the muscles
Of your taut and sinewy body,
And plunge with the force of a hurricane

Into battle against your class enemies.

The red revolutionary area in Srikakulam District was created by the Indian revolutionaries with the blood they shed in battle.

Take the Road of Armed Struggle

Every family of the poverty-stricken peasants in Srikakulam has a history written with blood and tears.

Ruthlessly exploited and oppressed for generations by the landlord class, they eke out a miserable existence like beasts of burden. The life of the Girijans is even worse, for the fertile land arduously reclaimed by them on the plains was seized by the landlords and usurers with the help of police brutality. Dispossessed, they are driven to live in the mountain areas.

Oppression begets resistance. The peasants of Srikakulam began waging an unrelenting struggle against their feudal oppressors. But the revisionists in the state tried their best to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the Srikakulam peasants, using all kinds of despicable means to lure them on to the so-called "parliamentary road." Aided and abetted by the revisionists, the counter-revolutionary armed forces repeatedly carried out sanguinary suppression of the peasant revolution in the district.

Lessons written in blood have prompted the suffering peasants of Srikakulam to seek more eagerly the truth for liberation. They finally found the correct road of struggle from great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought disseminated there by the Communist Party of India

(Marxist-Leninist). A report of the Srikakulam District Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L) has put it well: "Since the victory of people's war in China, people in the backward countries firmly believe that it is only people's war that is to be adopted in these countries for their liberation." "People's war is inevitable in this country." "We can raise the consciousness of the peasants only by intensifying the armed class struggle in villages and thereby annihilate the class enemies." The district committee decided thoroughly to rebel against the revisionist leadership in the state and resolutely take the road of armed struggle, which is the correct one. From November 25, 1968, the district committee began to mobilize the masses of the peasantry to take up arms and fight.

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the C.P.I. (M-L), personally kindled the flames of the armed struggle in Srikakulam. Arriving there in March 1969, he instructed the district committee to "build up guerrilla squads and start struggle immediately." He conveyed to it the correct thesis made by Comrade Lin Piao in his work *Long Live the Victory of People's War!*: "Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy."

Members of the Srikakulam District Committee of the C.P.I. (M-L) went deep into the countryside, established guerrilla units and propagated the truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They aroused the masses, organized them and armed them. As the peasant movement swept through the land like a storm, the revolutionary armed forces developed

speedily. The C.P.I. (M-L) has now more than 100 guerrilla squads under its leadership and the areas of armed struggle have rapidly extended from the mountains to the plains and coasts. The revolutionary armed forces have turned 300 villages into a red area and set up preliminary organs of people's political power called "Councils for the People's Uprising" to take charge of administration and production and lay the groundwork for land distribution. "People's Courts" have been set up in all villages to try the enemies and pass judgment on them. The broad masses of the peasants heartily hail the birth of the red area.

"Whether We Live or Die, It Must Be for the People"

The above is the slogan adopted with pride in their hearts by the revolutionaries of Srikakulam District. Courageous in battle against the enemy, they have accomplished many a heroic and moving feat.

Srikakulam's revolutionary peasants scorn the ferocious enemy. Fighting with home made guns, hand grenades, swords, spears, and bows and arrows, they have badly battered the "Central Police Reserve Corps" and the state police forces equipped with modern weapons. In 1969, they fought 65 engagements with the police and smashed the reactionaries' armed "encirclement and suppression" operations one after another. The peasant masses and the guerrilla squads fought side by side, raiding landlords' estates, seizing enemy weapons, suppressing local despots, burning land and loan contracts, and distributing the landlords' grain and land. Overwhelmed with joy, the

masses shouted: "Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!" "Long live the armed revolution!", and "Long live Chairman Mao!" They look upon the guerrillas as their own kinsfolk and enthusiastically provide them with grain, vegetables and shelter.

In May last year, the reactionaries barbarously killed Krishnamurthy, one of the leaders of the Srikakulam guerrilla units, and 6 guerrilla fighters. Upright and dauntless, hero Krishnamurthy sternly denounced the reactionary police officers: "You cannot stop the advance of the revolution by murdering us. No power on earth can suppress the armed revolution of our people which has just started. The present regime of exploitation and oppression is doomed."

When one hero falls, tens of thousands of others rise to step into the void. Sampurna, a woman fighter of the Srikakulam central guerrilla squad, is one such heroine. Sampurna, the mother of three children, was arrested by the enemy in June last year, and the reactionaries viciously threatened and cajoled her. One reactionary police officer tried to soften her up: "You have your children, your parents and your husband's parents. Why then should you get yourself involved in all this trouble? Wouldn't it be better for you to recant your mistake and return to your home and also to persuade your husband to give up all this and return to the path of sanity?" Neither threats nor blandishments by the enemy could shake Sampurna's revolutionary resolve. She replied with firmness: "I did not seek this trouble, far from it. But I found that the solution of the problem of starvation and that of bringing up my children are inseparably connected with the solution of the problem

facing the peasantry. And the way to solve this problem has been pointed out by Mao Tse-tung's thought. So I have taken this path illuminated by Mao Tse-tung's thought, in order to make not only my own children but also those of millions of the poor toiling people happy."

Suppression by the Indian reactionaries can never put out the flames of armed struggle of the revolutionary Srikakulam people who are determined to carry the armed struggle through to the end. They will not rest till victory is won.

Initiated in Srikakulam, the flames of armed struggle have now spread to 19 localities in 10 nearby districts, and its impact is spreading to other parts of the country.

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the C.P.I. (M-L), pointed out recently: "Srikakulam is fighting valiantly, tomorrow the whole of Andhra will join the fight.". With infinite confidence, the Indian revolutionaries have raised the solemn, militant slogan: "Let us build Srikakulams in other parts of the country."

More and more red revolutionary areas like Srikakulam are indeed coming into existence in the vast land of India. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the revolutionary struggle of the Indian people is bound to score victory after victory.

Peking Review, January 2, 1970

INDIAN MONTHLY *LIBERATION* SUMS UP EXPERIENCES OF ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE IN MUSHAHARI

Party members and guerrillas must be armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is essential to rely completely on the people. The special characteristics of smaller guerrilla units should be utilized in fighting. The art of fighting must be mastered under conditions of "encirclement and suppression" operations launched by the enemy. Middle peasants must be united.

The Indian monthly *Liberation* carried an article entitled "*Mushahari and Its Lessons*" in its issue of October, 1969. It hailed the peasant struggle in Bihar for having entered its new phase of guerrilla struggle and summed up the experiences of the revolutionary peasant armed struggle in the Mushahari region of Muzaffarpur District.

The article said: "With the announcement of the formation of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, i.e., the C.P.L. (M-L), the revolutionary peasant struggle in Bihar enters its second phase, the phase of armed guerrilla struggle. The Party members, the guerrillas and the revolutionary peasants fighting under the leadership of the Party—all were immensely enthused and hailed the formation of the Party with a series of powerful and successful assaults on the class enemy."

"In last August and September," it continued, "the peasant guerrillas launched four attacks on the enemy in the District of Muzaffarpur with the Mushahari region as its centre, in which, 6 class enemies were killed, 16 injured, property worth Rs. 20,000 confiscated, documents of land and hand-notes worth lakhs of rupees destroyed. They also frequently attacked the notorious landlords under the conditions of "encirclement and suppression" operations released by the reactionary police, thus greatly boosting the morale of the guerrillas and the peasants, and badly frightening the enemy".

Recalling the first phase of peasant struggle in Mushahari, the article said, "the first mass upsurge that overtook the Mushahari region had as its background continuous and all-round struggles between the landlords and the peasantry in about 12 villages with a population of about 10,000 people. After the heroic struggle of the Naxalbari peasantry, a new consciousness dawned upon them, the consciousness of fighting for the political power. The poor peasant youths began studying Mao Tse-tung's thought and very soon grasped the essence of the agrarian revolution. In April of 1968, under the leadership of the Party, peasants in Gangapur forcibly, i.e., with arms in hands, harvested the standing crops from the landlords' land in broad daylight and drove out landlords and their goondas, which tremendously enthused the peasantry of the whole Mushahari region".

The article went on: "Soon, the peasants fought a 5 hour-long battle with the armed forces of the most notorious landlord of the area, Bijli Singh, who had to retreat with

serious injuries to dozens of his men. The humbling of this very powerful landlord by the poor peasantry had a magic effect on the neighbouring villages. The landlords grew panicky and the peasants became further courageous and far more determined. Now they felt that the landlords could be beaten and driven out if peasants were united. On August 15, 1968, under the leadership of the Party, peasants in Mushahari organized armed guerrilla procession with several thousand peasants, which put forth the slogans: 'Land to the tillers', 'Naxalbari path, our path', and shouted: 'Long live Mao Tse-tung'.

In the harvest season, the Party aroused the peasant armed forces to seize crops on the land forcibly occupied by the landlords. Peasants and cadres clashed with police who were sent to suppress them, and quite a number of police officials received serious injuries.

Now the class solidarity had taken shape in the course of fighting. People began treating landlords and the reactionary regime alike. They also considered the entire toiling peasantry as one entity bound by blood relations.

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

It went on to criticize some erroneous notions which prevailed in the first phase of the Mushahari struggle. One of these notions has been that without sufficient economic inducements the peasantry could not be organized for a political struggle. However, this wrong notion based upon the discredited theory of the "backwardness of the masses" has been completely shattered in the Mushahari struggle. Facts have proved that the peasants were for the political struggle, for a struggle to destroy feudal authority in the village and build their own authority step by step. This has been borne out by the fact that suffering at the hands of police and landlords, the peasants and cadres, instead of being demoralized, became more determined in opposing the reactionary regime and drew nearer to the Party. The lesson was, as Chairman Mao has put it: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing."

The second erroneous notion is excessive reliance on modern firearms. The contemptuous attitude to the traditional weapon paralyses the initiative of the people. The total strength of the people cannot be applied against the enemy at a given time, if maximum use of traditional weapons is not made. This notion runs counter to the concept of people's war formulated by Chairman Mao and must therefore be liquidated for ever.

The third erroneous notion is that only with the help of experts, i.e., those who have already done some fighting or those who have had some training, can guerrilla actions be launched. This notion too had proved a powerful obstacle

and we had to struggle hard to overcome it.

In summing up the experiences of armed struggle in this area, the article said, the first lesson is: "Great success in launching guerrilla actions could be achieved as the Party and the guerrillas completely depend on the people. In all circumstances, whether gathering intelligence about the position of the enemy and the police or while moving in the areas or in taking shelter for rest or for food supplies or when conducting raids or when retreating and advancing, our guerrilla force depends on the active support of the people."

"The second lesson is that when massive police patrolling is resorted to by the enemy, i.e., in conditions of 'encirclement and suppression' campaign launched by the enemy, smaller guerrilla units alone can effectively and efficiently operate."

"The third lesson is that the art of continuing guerrilla actions and conducting political propaganda and building up of revolutionary organization in condition of 'encirclement and suppression campaign launched by the enemy must be mastered."

"The fourth lesson is that we must place absolute faith in the landless and poor peasantry." "The Party must also be built up from amidst these two classes." "The main thing is to recruit the Party member and the guerrillas from the above two classes and equip them with Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the main method of building the revolutionary Party and a people's army while conducting armed struggles."

"The fifth lesson is that we must tirelessly work to

rally the middle peasants around the banner of agrarian revolution." "It must be realized that without having the firm support of the middle peasant, revolution cannot win. Sectarianism in this regard has to be combated and vigorous efforts to that end are absolutely necessary."

The article pointed out: "The impact of armed guerrilla struggle in Muzaffarpur District has been tremendous on the whole political situation in our state". "In areas contiguous to Muzaffarpur, particularly in Darbhanga and Champaran, the peasantry has been roused and our organization is developing with a rapidity hardly witnessed before. In fact the entire North Bihar seems to be shaken out of its trance and it can be said with certainty that the approaching months would find many Naxalbaris there."

In conclusion, the article said: "Our Party... is being steeled and tempered in the fire of agrarian revolution, it is being Bolshevized. The Party ranks and the masses have shown boundless faith in revolution and Mao Tse-tung's thought and are marching confidently for building up reliable revolutionary base areas in Bihar and liberate the entire Indian people from imperialism and its lackeys."

Peking Review, January 30, 1970

REPORT ON ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE BY DEBRA
THANA ORGANISING COMMITTEE
OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (M-L)

The Indian monthly *Liberation* carried in its December 1969 issue a report on the revolutionary armed peasant struggle in Debra, West Bengal, by the Debra Thana Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The report sums up the experience of the Communist Party of India (M-L) in leading the peasants' armed struggle in Debra.

The report begins with a quotation from Chairman Mao: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom".

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

The report says that the heroic peasants of Debra have

realized the truth of Chairman Mao's teaching from their own experience in the struggle against local tyrants, evil gentry, *jotedars* (landlords) and usurers. They said: "How can a *jotedar* ever wish good to others? A butcher never lays down his knives, and will never become a Gautama Buddha."

The report reviews briefly the history of the peasant movement in Debra. In 1967, a surging wave of class struggle started in the area, the whole area under the Debra police station shook as poor peasants, in their thousands, demonstrated. The unbending and stiff attitude of the *jotedars* and the rich peasants only increased the class hatred of the landless peasants. They did not remain satisfied only with their demand for wage-increase but called for a fight to the finish against the entire *jotedar* class. Their struggle began to overstep the pale of economic demands. They openly raised the slogan: "We will return blow for blow" in a tit-for-tat struggle against the *jotedars* and usurers. Their own struggles helped them to realize better that they must wage armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution.

The report severely denounces the "United Front" government of West Bengal which was controlled by the Indian revisionists for its sabotage and suppression of the armed peasant struggle in Debra. It says: "When the peasants' armed struggle in Debra entered a new phase under the inspiration of the peasant struggle in Naxalbari, warrants were issued by the "United Front" government against the comrades who had taken part in the struggle. This government, on its last day in office, promulgated a reactionary decree banning meetings, demonstrations and

carrying of weapons in this area. It openly collaborated with the *jotedars* and jointly launched their counter-offensive against the peasants. Under these circumstances, there was no way to carry forward the movement other than by means of guerrilla activity, by forming secret squads and annihilating the class enemies. Thus, the question of seizure of power appeared as a natural and inevitable question".

The report points out: "The formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), its political resolution, and the teachings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar tremendously encouraged the organization at Debra to form guerrilla units by fighting against all kinds of opportunism and legalist illusions. Comrades in the organization at Debra placed the experience of the people's struggle before the people and the ranks in the light of Chairman Mao's teachings; they pointed out with modesty their own past weaknesses and they also pointed out the treachery of the Indian revisionist leadership. While doing this they put forward annihilation of class enemies by guerrilla method as the task. The effect was surprising. Work began to progress very rapidly, and the guerrilla unit was ready for action within one and a half months. The progress made in these one and a half months was like a big leap forward. The experience of these one and a half months helped us to realize how tremendous was the significance of Chairman Mao's teaching on massline: 'From the masses, to the masses.'"

The report says: "On October 1, 1969, a demonstration of about 1,000 armed peasants attacked the house of a notorious *jotedar*, Kanai Kuiti. The revolutionary peasants seized his gun and cartridges, confiscated his stock of

hoarded rice, clothes and mortgaged articles, and burnt all his documents relating to land. Moreover, we managed to move our combat force to safety without a scratch on them. So we could use our entire strength in subsequent attacks. The seizure of the gun and the cartridges changed the mood of our cadres and struck fear in the hearts of our enemies. Since then, the guerrillas have taken more revolutionary actions. All these actions could not have been carried out so smoothly without the wholehearted support of the local people”.

The report stresses the importance of keeping close ties with the masses and doing propaganda among them. It points out: “In the plains where the masses serve as our jungles and hills we must carry on political propaganda along with guerrilla actions.” “Relying on the masses is a thing that has to be learnt. We must defy all difficulties and fear and go among the masses not once but repeatedly. The conspiracy of the ruling classes to cause dissensions among us smashed only by making our political propaganda regular and more concrete. We can wage people’s war in Debra only by carrying on political propaganda and guerrilla struggle simultaneously”.

Summing up the experience of the peasant armed struggle in Debra, the report points out: “Ours is a protracted people’s war and the enemy is now much stronger than we. Our weapon is Mao Tse-tung’s thought and our method guerrilla struggle.” “In order to annihilate large numbers of the enemy, there must be accurate investigation of his movements. We must ‘depend on the local squad or the people of the village where action is to take place, because

it is they who have the most detailed information about the movements of the class enemy”.

The report adds: “Ours is a protracted people’s war and our path has twists and turns. But our future is bright. If we do not prepare ourselves mentally in this way we are sure to fall prey to defeatism and frustration. We must repeatedly stress inside our Party what Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said: ‘Let us eliminate the defeatist mentality and be inspired with the inevitability of our victory”.

The report says that it is necessary to turn the personal hatred of the peasants against the *jotedars* into class hatred. This must be taken as a matter of principle by the Party members and the guerrillas alike.

The report ends with: “Long live the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)!

“The present armed struggle in Debra will continue!

“Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!”

Peking Review, January 30, 1970

INDIAN PEASANT ARMED STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES

The year 1969 saw a vigorous development of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Indian peasants and a steady expansion and growth of their armed strength.

A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire

Under the leadership of the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party, the peasants in Naxalbari in Darjeeling District, West Bengal State, fired the first shot of armed struggle in March 1967. This shook the vast land of India like a clap of spring thunder. The broad masses of Indian peasants are awakening and the flames of their armed struggle are spreading fast and raging more fiercely.

Great progress was made last year by the peasants in Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, in their armed struggles led and supported by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The peasant guerrillas turned 300 villages into red areas for launching struggle, and more than 100 guerrilla squads were active in an area of about 500 square miles in the Srikakulam Mountains. One hundred square miles of mountainous area deep in the interior of Parvatipuram Agency came under the control of the peasant armed forces. The current peasant armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh has spread from the remote

mountainous area of Srikakulam District, to more than 19 rural areas in 10 districts on the state's spacious plains and the jungle areas of neighbouring Orissa State. At the same time, the peasant masses rekindled the armed struggle in Khammam and other places in Telangana in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh.

In West Bengal, the peasant revolutionary armed struggle has spread from the Terai (region at the foot of the Himalayas) in the northern part of the state to Midnapur and other coastal regions in the south.

Led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the peasant masses in Mushahari, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar State, took up arms and organized small guerrilla squads to conduct repeated operations against the reactionary police, landlords and local despots. This has brought the peasant struggle in Bihar State to a new stage, that of guerrilla struggle.

The peasant revolutionary armed struggle is also developing unabatedly in the jungle areas of Gunupur in Koraput District, Orissa State, in areas close to Lakhimpur in Uttar Pradesh, in Bhatinda and some other districts of Punjab State, and in Kerala State. All of India is seething with revolutionary vigour.

Resolutely Take the Road of Seizing Political Power by Armed Force

Since its founding on April 22, 1969, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has unswervingly taken the correct road of seizing political power by armed force.

The Party has gone deep into the rural areas, boldly mobilized the masses, done propaganda work among them, organized and armed them. It has led the broad masses of revolutionary peasants to actively wage armed struggle in which agrarian revolution is its main content and brought about a completely new situation of vigorous development of the peasant armed struggle in India.

Since the beginning of last year, the peasant armed forces in various parts of India have made frequent attacks on reactionary police stations and landlord estates, seized guns, grain and land from the landlords, severely punished the crime-laden despotic landlords and corrupt officials, and ambushed reactionary police and landlord armed bands sent to conduct "encirclement and suppression" operations. The Indian paper *Hindustan Times* reported that in the first ten months of last year the revolutionary peasants of Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, fought more than 60 battles with reactionary police forces and local armed police and launched 38 attacks against the enemy. The acts of violence in the peasant revolution have dealt increasingly heavy blows to the reactionary Indian ruling classes.

Learning from past experience, the Indian Communists have begun to advance armed struggle to a completely new stage, the stage of seizing political power and establishing guerrilla bases. In the vast area of Srikakulam where the peasant armed struggle is developing vigorously, the peasants completely abolished the privileges enjoyed by the feudal landlord class for thousands of years and swept every bit of their prestige into the dust. The peasants established

people's political power and set up people's courts to try the enemies of the people. Base areas for armed struggle have been set up in 300 villages controlled by peasant armed forces. Officials appointed by the reactionary government cannot enter these areas and the reactionary state apparatus has ceased to function.

The great teacher 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." Wherever they went, the peasant revolutionary armed forces did propaganda work among the masses and organized and armed them. While fighting the enemy, the peasant guerrilla units publicized the great truth "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" among the masses and mobilized them to take part in struggle. They established the closest relations with the broad revolutionary masses and won their support. In the Pallia area of Lakhimpur District, Uttar Pradesh, where the peasant armed forces are active, the peasant masses kept the guerrilla units fully informed of police activities. The reactionary government has sent armed police to raid various villages in the area on many occasions, but the reactionary police failed to find the guerrillas who are shielded by the masses. Once, over 1,000 peasants together with the guerrilla units attacked a landlord's house in Pathapatnam sub-division, Srikakulam District. The police stationed nearby were so fear-stricken by the might of the masses that they dared not come out. Many peasants in the district voluntarily sent grain, vegetables and fruit to the guerrillas. Because the guerrillas and peasant masses are as closely related as flesh and

blood, the Indian reactionaries are at a complete loss. Even the reactionary Indian press lamented that the peasant masses' support for the revolutionary armed forces is "the biggest obstacle the police met."

March Forward Victoriously in Shattering the Reactionaries' "Encirclement and Suppression"

The swift and vigorous development of the Indian peasant armed struggle has struck terror into the hearts of the reactionary Indian authorities. To prop up its tottering rule, the reactionary Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi is intensifying its suppression of the peasant revolutionary armed forces and the revolutionary Indian people. The reactionary Indian authorities in Andhra Pradesh dispatched a big police force to "mop up" and round up the peasant armed forces in Srikakulam, and attempted to set up so-called "village self-defence guards" and "village volunteers" for putting down the peasant armed forces. Apart from setting up more police camps in various districts to suppress the peasant armed forces, the reactionary authorities in West Bengal State have enforced a fascist rule over the people, and they even empowered the district authorities to compel every person to make a "guarantee of good behaviour" and pledge not to have any contact with the peasant armed forces. Anyone who violates his "guarantee" will be sentenced to imprisonment. To realize their criminal aim of suppressing the Mizo people's armed struggle, the reactionary Indian authorities set up "protective villages" like concentration camps in the Mizo

area in a vain effort to cut off the revolutionary masses from the people's armed forces.

The great teacher Chairman Mao has taught us: "All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, thinking that the greater their massacres, the weaker the revolution. But contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution and the nearer their doom. This is an inexorable law." The reactionary Indian Government is vainly trying to stamp out the peasant armed forces by mass murder, but, contrary to its reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to wanton suppression, the stronger is the resistance of the people. The Indian peasant armed forces cannot be vanquished nor wiped out, but on the contrary will become ever stauncher and more powerful because they are steeled in their counter-attacks against the "encirclement and suppression" and "mopping-up operations of the reactionary police.

In its external policy, the reactionary Indian Government headed by Indira Gandhi is hiring itself out to U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism and living on their alms, and getting itself buried in foreign debts. At home, it is stepping up its oppression and exploitation of the people and sucking their blood. Riddled by serious financial and economic crises, it has made large numbers of workers jobless and plunged the broad masses of Indian peasants and city-poor into ever worsening impoverishment. The class contradictions in India are becoming unprecedentedly acute and the cut-throat struggle for power inside the reactionary Indian

ruling clique is also becoming fiercer and fiercer. Bugged down by difficulties at home and abroad, saddled with countless contradictions and crises and finding itself in an impasse, the reactionary Indian Government is sitting on thorns. Every place in India is inflammable and the raging flames of the peasant armed struggle will certainly blaze fiercer and fiercer. So long as the Indian revolutionary people unswervingly take the road of seizing political power by armed force, they will certainly win nationwide victory in revolution through protracted struggle.

Peking Review, February 13, 1970

HAIL THE NAXALBARI ROAD OF STRUGGLE

Charu Mazumdar, leader of C.P.I. (M-L), points out in an article that it is necessary to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a living way, fight against revisionism and spread the flames of revolution to the whole of India.

Writing in an article carried in the January 1970 issue of the Indian journal *Liberation*, Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), warmly acclaim the Naxalbari road of struggle and points out that the all-conquering Mao Tse-tung's thought is the only way for the people of India to win their liberation.

The article said: "The people of India, exploited by the reactionaries, both foreign and native, have been living for ages under a rule of darkness. No ray of light was there before them to illumine the way by following which they could win their liberation. Driven to exasperation by insufferable misery they have repeatedly risen up in futile bursts of anger and resentment. But ruthless repression by the state apparatus forced them to accept bitter defeat every time. And then, like the crashing of spring thunder, began the Naxalbari struggle in 1967. People all over India listened to the reverberating sound of this peal of thunder and tried to understand its significance and the message it brought to them. The revisionist leadership of the party

had repeatedly asked them to believe that the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung is unsuitable for India, that armed struggle cannot be waged in India, and that advocating armed struggle leads to the destruction of people's fighting organizations. And then, the people, who were being harangued like this, saw for the first time the application of Mao Tse-tung's thought in Naxalbari. This helped them to understand the fact that the all-conquering Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only fully suited for application in India, what is more, it is the only way for the people of India to win their liberation."

The article pointed out: "The year 1969 has ended. It has been a year of victorious advance of the exploited and oppressed masses of India. It was during this year that the Communist Party of India (Marxist- Leninist) was formed, the Party that represents the hope of the exploited and oppressed masses of India, the Party in which they put their trust. They refuse to be dumb victims of oppression any longer. They are relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought and have organized their own guerrilla forces in order to retaliate every act of oppression... The exploited and oppressed masses of India have become active in avenging every attack of the enemy."

The article went on: "During 1969, the peasant masses of India have won big victories, spread their struggle to extensive areas and thus brought confidence among the masses. They have spread their struggle to almost every state of India, from Assam to Punjab, Andhra and Orissa. In this revolutionary war, the masses had to sacrifice the lives of a number of heroes. The death of every hero has,

however, served to fan the flames of hatred in the hearts of the oppressed masses, and hundreds of youth have come forward to join the struggle vying with one another to lay down their lives for the cause, and the peasant masses have repeatedly pleaded with the C.P.I. (M-L), the Party which is dear to them, to carry on the struggle and not to stop it. This instruction, given by the masses, has filled the minds of revolutionary workers with confidence about the inevitability of winning victory and with new energy to march resolutely forward. This, in turn, has enabled more and more masses of peasants to adhere still more firmly to the path of armed struggle, and the struggle has spread to still wider areas."

The article said: "The lessons of 1969 are: Rely on the poor and landless peasants; educate them in Mao Tse-tung's thought; adhere firmly to the path of armed struggle; build guerrilla forces and march forward along the path of liquidating the class enemies; only thus can the high tide of struggle advance irresistibly".

"Today, the fighting peasant comrades in every area studying Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung and trying to apply the same. We must raise the level of such practice and application and spread the fight against revisionism among the masses. Only thus will the revolutionary high tide become widespread enabling us to spread our struggle wave upon wave."

The article pointed out: "The year 1970 holds the promise of still bigger victories. We can translate that promise into reality if the members and workers of our Party give prominence to politics, raise their political

consciousness, carry on a ruthless struggle against all wrong and revisionist thinking, strengthen their faith in the revolutionary masses and in the Party, undertake to make still more sacrifices to serve the people, and fulfil the task of spreading the flames of revolution to every state of India. Do not forget even for a moment the enormous sufferings of the people of India. You must take upon yourselves the task of ridding them of the sufferings, and the only way to fulfil this task is to make revolution. Study Mao Tse-tung's thought and try to apply it creatively; make war on revisionist thinking, and learn to hate all thinking that overestimates the strength of the enemy."

The article said: "Chairman Mao is today the helmsman of world revolution. The brilliance of his correct guidance illuminates also the path along which we must advance. No matter how arduous the struggle is, every revolutionary must be firm today in the conviction that we possess the weapon with which to make the impossible possible, and that victory will certainly be ours."

The article ended with such slogans:

"Long live the Indian revolution!

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

Peking Review, February 20, 1970

INTENSIFIED SUPPRESSION BY REACTIONARY INDIAN GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY INCREASE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE

The reactionary Indian Government has been vigorously expanding its police force to strengthen its sanguinary suppression of the mounting revolutionary armed struggle of Indian peasants and the armed struggle of the Mizo and Naga people for national liberation.

The Indian peasants' revolutionary armed struggle has spread to many areas in nine states of India. The Naga and Mizo people have been persevering in armed struggle for national liberation in some mountainous regions in Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura in east India. It is shaking ever more violently the tottering rule of the reactionary Indian Government. Finding that the police of various states have failed to cope with the daily-growing armed struggle, the reactionary Indian Government in its decline is mobilizing more and more Central Police to carry out the suppression.

The Hindustan Times reported on March 6 that the reactionary Indian Government "has asked the states to make full use of the Arms Act and the Penal Code" to quell the peasants' armed struggle and that all State governments have also been told to draw upon Central Reserve Police and Border Security Force without hesitation to suppress Naxalite activity". In West Bengal the state government

controlled by the Indian revisionists have set up 421 armed police camps in areas where the peasants' armed struggle is active. In the Gopiballavpur area of Midnapur district of West Bengal, Jyoti Basu, the police minister of the state and a revisionist, replaced the armed police forces which failed to carry out their mission by 1,100 Eastern Frontier Rifles troops and rabidly ordered the latter to shoot to kill the peasants and revolutionaries. In Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh, the reactionary state government classified the areas where the peasants' armed struggle is developing vigorously as "disturbed areas" and dispatched large numbers of armed police and four battalions of the Central Reserve Police to suppress the armed struggle. The reactionary Indian Government also sent large numbers of the "Border Security Force" to Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura to suppress the armed struggle of the Naga and Mizo people.

To step up the suppression of the Indian people's armed struggle, the reactionary Indian Government has enormously increased the expenditure on the central police and expanded the police forces. According to an Indian paper, in fiscal year 1969-1970, the reactionary Indian Government increased the expenditure on the Central Police by 100 million rupees to raise additional battalions of the Central Reserve Police, expand "Border Security Force", set up new police offices, purchase more arms, ammunition and equipment and move police forces on a large scale to suppress the people. In fiscal year 1970-1971, the expenditure on the Central Police of the reactionary Indian Government will rise sharply to over 690 million rupees, nearly 20 per cent more than that of the previous

fiscal year.

But the reactionary government's sanguinary suppressive measures have failed to frighten the awakening Indian people. On the contrary they have roused the Indian people to fiercer resistance. It was reported that in areas of armed struggle the Indian people waged heroic struggle against the reactionary armed police dispatched there to suppress them. They reconnoitred for the guerrillas, protected the guerrillas who were moving away and refused to give the slightest information to the enemy. They hid grains and refused to give drinking water to the police, placing the enemy in an awkward predicament. Indian bourgeois papers admitted that the reactionary Indian Government's suppressive measures "have not proved effective" and "even after the police had moved into these areas in some force... very few villagers are said to have shown any willingness to help the police with information regarding the Naxalites". So, "the police have failed to catch the right leaders or to break the organization". Despite the intensified suppression by the reactionary government, the Indian peasants' armed struggle is spreading to new In east India, the Naga and Mizo people's armed forces have repeatedly attacked the reactionary armed troop and police, dealing heavy blows to the reactionary government. In making all-out efforts to enforce its suppressive measures, the reactionary government is "lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet", and will only promote the Indian people to carry out the revolution more violently and on a broader scale.

Hsinhua Dispatch, March 15, 1970

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (M-L) LEADS INDIAN
PEOPLE ONWARD ALONG VICTORIOUS PATH OF
SEIZING POWER BY ARMED FORCE**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has over the past year led the broad masses of the revolutionary Indian people to victories in marching forward vigorously along the path of encircling the cities from the countryside and seizing political power by armed force.

**“Spreading the Flames of Armed Struggle
throughout India”**

Since its founding last April, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been firmly leading the broad masses of the Party members, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals to go deep into the rural areas, where class contradictions are most acute, with the indomitable revolutionary spirit— “to live for the people, to die for the people”—to disseminate among the broad masses of peasants Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and to propagate the great truth that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”. Applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, they made typical investigations and class analysis of the economic conditions and political attitudes of the various classes in the rural areas, formulated the class line in rural work of “relying on the poor and landless

peasants, uniting with the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and attacking the landlords”, and raised the task of unfolding agrarian revolution in the rural areas, crushing the feudal power and establishing political power of the peasants and revolutionary base areas.

After the peasants were aroused, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), first of all, helped them to set up their own armed organizations—guerrilla units and peasant self-defence forces to launch fierce attacks on the feudal forces in the countryside. They punished the despotic landlords and usurers guilty of many bloody crimes, seized guns, grain and land from the landlords and ambushed the reactionary police and the armed forces of the landlords. The peasant “guerrilla units overthrew step by step the power of the feudal landlord class in the countryside and established preliminary political power of the peasants in some areas. In Midnapur District, West Bengal State, where the armed struggle is active, the peasant guerrillas executed more than 20 despotic landlords in four months from September to December last year. In Srikakulam District, the red revolutionary region in Andhra Pradesh, the peasant guerrillas frequently and successfully attacked despotic landlords and reactionary armed forces, and from January to October last year, they executed more than 20 despotic landlords and ambushed the reactionary police on 50 occasions. Last June, the guerrillas in an area in Srikakulam District assaulted and routed a unit of the reactionary police composed of 150 men.

Now, the flames of the peasant armed struggle have been raging in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab,

Himachal, Orissa, Assam, Tripura and particularly in Andhra Pradesh.

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pointed out that the practice of struggle in 1969 proved: "rely on the poor and landless peasants; educate them in Mao Tse-tung Thought; adhere firmly to the path of armed struggle; build guerrilla forces and march forward along the path of liquidating the class enemies; only thus can the high tide of struggle advance irresistibly". Now, the revolutionary Indian people, in response to the call of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) of "carrying the agrarian revolution in the countryside through to victory, spreading the flames of armed struggle throughout India", are summing up their experience and marching forward victoriously.

The Masses are a True Bastion of Iron

In order to fulfil the glorious task of "spreading the flames of armed struggle throughout India", the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) especially stressed that during their guerrilla activities, the peasant guerrilla units must persistently carry out political propaganda work among the peasants and rely on the local Party organizations and peasant masses. This is because the masses are the "ocean" while the guerrilla units are moving about in this "ocean" like "fish"; and in the plains the masses are the "jungles" and "ravines" for the guerrilla units. So long as the peasant guerrilla units closely rely on the masses and fully mobilize and organize them, they certainly can develop extensive guerrilla warfare and achieve victories in the mountain

areas as well as on the plains. Abiding by these teachings of the Party, the peasant guerrilla units, whenever they arrive at a village, always propagate among the local peasants the Party's policies on revolutionary armed struggle, put to death in accordance with the will of the poor peasants those despotic landlords most hated by the people, and call on the peasants to confiscate the property of the feudal exploiting class, completely crushing the arrogance of the feudal landlord class. During the days of hard fighting, the guerrilla units and the peasant masses established and developed such a relation as between fish and water; this gave the peasant armed forces powerful vitality and fighting strength and made them invincible. In India today, the peasant guerrilla units "are moving about among the masses like fish in water" in all areas where armed struggle prevails. In Srikakulam District where armed struggle is vigorously developing, the reactionary Indian government has repeatedly dispatched large numbers of reactionary police to carry out suppression. Many peasants refused to betray their revolutionary comrades despite brutal police torture. They firmly told the reactionary police: "We won't tell you even if we know; why should we tell you! We are all fighting for the people!"

During their armed struggle, the peasants often maintained complete secrecy concerning the guerrilla movements and provided cover for them to move away safely. The press of the Indian capitalist class lamented that even after the police had moved into the areas of armed struggle in considerable force, "very few villagers have shown any willingness to help the police with information

regarding the Naxalites," whereas the support received by the peasant armed force from the peasants is "the biggest hindrance the police are facing."

In a political resolution adopted at the time of its founding, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pointed out: "Chairman Mao's theory of people's war is the only means by which an apparently weak revolutionary force can wage successful struggle against an apparently powerful enemy and can win victory. The basic tactic of struggle of the revolutionary peasantry led by the working class is guerrilla warfare." In line with the strategy and tactics of people's war, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been closely relying on the peasant masses and formed a real iron bastion with them. The "encirclement and suppression" operations of the reactionary government have been smashed one after another, and guerrilla warfare is developing irresistibly.

Growing Strong in the Struggle against Revisionism

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), pointed out: "Our Party's growth and development depend on how we firmly fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party. And not only that. The growth and development of the peasants' armed struggle also depend on this." Both the old and new Indian revisionists are all opposed to this fundamental question of seizure of political power by armed force. With the support of the Indian reactionaries and in collusion with some reactionary parties, they rigged-up so-called "united front governments"—sinister examples

of "peaceful transition"—in Kerala State and West Bengal State, and vigorously carried out an "agrarian reform" hoax in an attempt to lead astray the peasants' revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and to betray the Indian people's cause of revolution. However, under the fierce pounding of the storm of the peasants' armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), all the conspiracies of the Indian revisionists have come to an ignominious failure. The "united front governments" in Kerala and West Bengal States, they had painstakingly managed, have collapsed one after the other. This is an important victory of the revolutionary line of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) of seizing political power by armed force and a victory of the struggle against revisionism.

The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out 20 years ago: "Like free China, a free India will one day emerge in the world as a member of the socialist and people's democratic family; that day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind." Although the road of the Indian revolution will be long and arduous and there will be twists and turns in the course of advance, the revolutionary Indian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) will surely be able to destroy the reactionary rule of the Indian big landlord class and big bourgeoisie and win final victory so long as they persist in integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with the concrete practice of the Indian revolution and persist in a protracted people's war.

Hsinhua dispatch, March 28, 1970

PEASANTS' ARMED STRUGGLE
LED BY COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (M-L)
DEVELOPS STEADILY

The Indian peasants' armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is developing without let-up. The Indian bourgeois press deplored that this struggle "has spread unbelievably fast."

Defying hardships and difficulties, the masses of cadres of the Communist Party of India (M-L) have gone deep into the rural areas, the scene of the acutest struggle, to propagate to the peasant masses the great truth of "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and rouse them to take part in the revolutionary armed struggle on a wider scale. At the call of the Communist Party of India (M-L) many revolutionary intellectuals went to the countryside to join peasant guerrilla units.

Since the peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (M-L) staged armed uprising in Goalpara in November 1969, in Assam State, a strategic zone in northeastern India, the raging revolutionary flames spread rapidly to other areas. As disclosed by the Indian bourgeois press, the peasant guerrilla fighters are working to rouse the masses in Kamrup, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Cachar and Darrang of this state. In many areas, the peasants attended secret meetings and took part in

group discussions, with Party members disseminating the revolutionary truth among them. Guerrilla warfare training classes have been set up in some villages. The Indian bourgeois press stated in alarm that peasant guerrilla units are frequently active in many areas of Assam State and the situation has become "quite serious."

In West Bengal State, members of the Communist Party of India (M-L) and other Indian revolutionaries have been extensively propagating among the masses the revolutionary truth of seizing political power by armed force. They roused the peasant masses on a wide scale in attacking the notorious and deeply hated despotic landlords with spears, bows and arrows as weapons. They also attacked police camps and patrols. According to Indian press reports in early June quoting the *Deshabrati*, an underground weekly of the C.P.I. (M-L), the peasant guerrillas of West Bengal State annihilated 80 class enemies inside the state up to the end of May this year. On April 17, a police contingent was sent to a place near Ranaghat to suppress the people. The peasant guerrillas attacked this unit and wounded 13 police officers and men. On June 18, 500 revolutionaries in Bandhaghat, near Calcutta, hurled home-made bombs and brickbats at the police, wounding 5 policemen and a police officer. On June 26, peasant guerrillas attacked a special train carrying military supplies of the Indian Defence Ministry at Kharagpur, West Bengal, and captured a large quantity of explosives. At the important railway junction of Siliguri in the northern part of the state, a number of revolutionaries locked up the chief administrative officer and killed a police officer on July 4 in protest against the unjustified arrests of

revolutionary students by the Siliguri authorities.

According to the July 1 issue of the *Hindustan Standard* which quoted a report of the *Deshabrati*, the Bengal-Bihar-Orissa Border Zonal Committee of the Communist Party of India (M-L) has formulated the guiding principle that guerrilla activities should be stepped up in the rural areas so as to overthrow the rule of the feudal landlords and set up the political power of the landless and poor peasants. Under this guiding principle, the peasant guerrillas employed flexible strategy and tactics and carried out extensive activities in the broad rural areas of the border zone of these three states.

In Andhra State, the peasant guerrillas under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (M-L), defying hardships and sacrifices, have persistently waged heroic and staunch struggles and dealt incessant blows at the enemy. This was done amidst repeated "encirclement and suppression" operations conducted by large numbers of police sent by the reactionary government. According to a UPI report, a peasant guerrilla unit of Srikakulam ambushed a police unit on June 12, killing four policemen and a reactionary village headman. A PTI report said that on June 13, in a village of Guntur District, Andhra State, the peasant guerrillas launched a surprise attack on the police and other officers supervising the so-called panchayat elections. More than ten police and other reactionary officers were injured.

The Indian Express revealed that in various areas of Srikakulam District where armed struggle is being waged, many women actively joined the guerrillas and took part in attacks on the reactionary police. Another Indian paper,

Free Press Journal admitted that the influence of the peasant guerrillas is "slowly spreading to hitherto unaffected areas," and that revolutionary ideology "is taking root in a wider area in Andhra."

The Indian peasants' armed struggle is also quite active in Bihar, Kerala and Punjab and revolutionary armed insurrections of the peasants took place again and again, according to recent reports of the Indian bourgeois press. *The Hindustan Times* disclosed that in Champa Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saharsa, Purnea, Monghyr and Santal Parganas Districts of Bihar State, the peasant guerrillas unfolded a series of revolutionary activities. In Purnea District 48 peasant insurrections took place in the past few months. On May 20, armed with spears, bows and arrows over 2,000 peasants of Bettiah District, Bihar State, raided a local plantation. They fought with the police sent to suppress them and wounded a police officer and 14 policemen.

In spite of the savage suppression by the Indian reactionaries, the Communist Party of India (M-L) continued to rouse the masses in a deep-going way and launch armed struggle in the rural areas. Indian newspapers reported that not long ago, Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (M-L), in an article in the *Deshabrati*, called on Party cadres to come forward with all their might to spread guerrilla warfare to all Indian villages. UPI reported in early June that the Communist Party of India (M-L) distributed leaflets calling on Party cadres in basic-level units to go deep among and rouse the peasant masses and keep moving among the masses as fish in water so as to launch armed struggle more effectively.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." With the support of the masses of the people, the peasants' armed struggle led by the Communist Party of India (M-L) will certainly witness a still higher upsurge.

Peking Review, September 25, 1970

CHAIRMAN MAO'S SOLEMN STATEMENT BEARS
PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE

Says article by Charu Mazumdar, leader of Communist
Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

Charu Mazumdar, leader of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), recently made public his article entitled "*Chairman's Call of May 20 Ushers in a New Age.*" The article reads in full as follows:

"On May 20 last Chairman Mao issued a statement to the world's revolutionary people as a guide-line for the coming days. This statement bears a profound significance. It makes many demands on the revolutionary masses in different countries of the world. That is why May 20 of this year has ushered in a new age on this earth. This is the age of the victory of the people, the age of the defeat of imperialism and its running dogs, the age of their total collapse.

By invading Cambodia, U.S. imperialism has spread its war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China as a preparation for the third world war. That is why the Chairman has declared that the danger of a world war is still there. But it is not imperialistic aggression that is the main characteristic of this age. At the very time the U.S. aggression has been taking place, the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China have forged their unity, their war

of resistance has grown more resolute, the web of false illusions that modern revisionism wove has been torn into shreds, the people's march of victory has begun, the revolutionary people in different countries are loud in denouncing imperialism, and resistance to imperialism has developed throughout the world. That is why the Chairman has declared his support to the militant people of Indo-China and all other revolutionary people of the world. He has announced that great China is an ally and comrade-in-arms in all these struggles. The Chairman has said that the day when the people were afraid of imperialism is over. Today it is imperialism that is afraid of the offensive of the people. This is the era of revolution, the era of the victory of revolution. That is why the Chairman has issued this call to the revolutionary masses in different countries: 'Be resolute in attacks, the day of victory in the struggle is imminent'.

This statement of the Chairman is infusing boundless self-confidence into the minds of the revolutionaries. He says: 'March onward, this is the era of the offensive of the people, consolidate all your forces and wage the offensive. Today, imperialism is powerless to crush or suppress the revolutionary forces. However weak you may be, your offensive today is sure to multiply your strength'. Chairman Mao has issued the call to the people to march forward with this conviction. It is through this statement that the Chairman has given this conviction to the revolutionary people of the entire world,

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

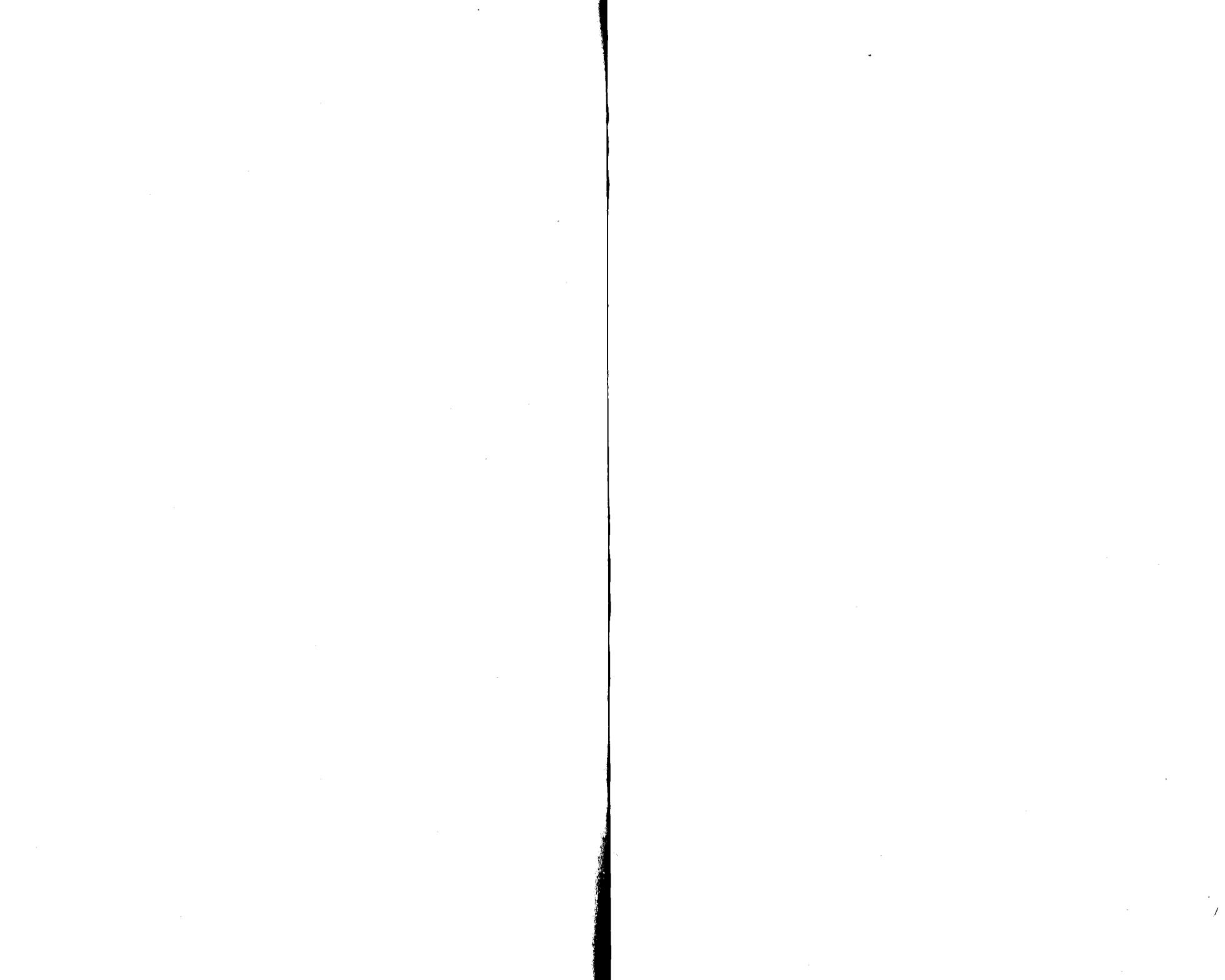
the world.

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. The vast upsurge of tens of millions of people will strengthen your hands, you will advance at an irresistible speed towards the liberation of the world.

Comrades, march onward to fulfil with all your strength the task of spreading the class struggle to every village in India—the task that our Party Congress has undertaken. Let the Chairman's call be your mantra:

"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every, difficulty to win victory—."

Peking Review, October 23, 1970



The Naxalbari Upsurge (May 1967) is a momentous event in the history of independent India. The movement—led by a section of Communist radicals—gave a massive jolt to the existing economic and socio-political order of the country and introduced a set of new parameters. In popular expression, it came to be referred to as the Naxal movement—borrowing the name from its place of origin, a remote hamlet situated at the foot of the Himalayas in the northern part of the province of West Bengal. The movement drew ideological inspiration from the Chinese revolution of 1949, and, as a result, received much acclaim from the ruling Chinese Communist Party and its enigmatic leader Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese press, almost regularly, published reports and news strips about the radical escapades of the Naxals in its various mouthpieces, and also broadcasted them through Radio Peking. Some of these important publications are compiled in this volume.

Aloke Mukherjee (1946) is a known face of Indian communist revolutionary movement. After completing his graduation in Electrical Engineering from Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, he worked actively among the workers and peasants of Howrah and Birbhum districts in West Bengal and emerged as a part of the leadership of the West Bengal-Bihar Border Regional Committee of undivided CPI-ML. At present he is a Central Committee member of the Party.



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