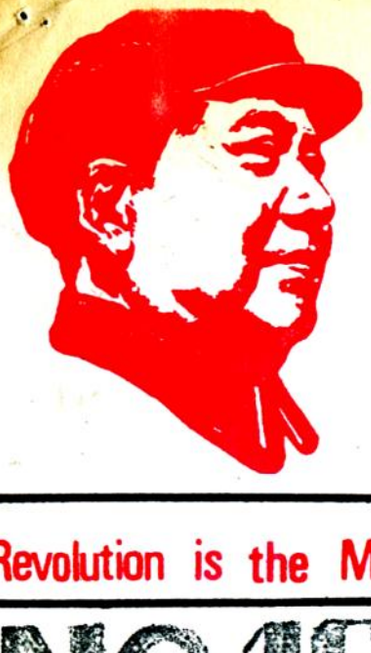


AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

— NEWS RELEASE —

'Revolution is the Main Trend in the World Today.' -Chairman Mao

NO. 16

7 - 4 - 72

UPHOLDING THE REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY OF COMRADE CHARU MAZUMDAR

INDIAN REVOLUTION FORGES AHEAD!

Articles and Reports from the latest issue of LIBERATION, Journal of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST-LENINIST) under the leadership of COMRADE CHARU MAZUMDAR: July 1971 - Jan. 1972; Vol. 5, No. 1.

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IN MEMORY OF MARTYRS

Charu Mazumdar

At midnight of 4th and 5th August the police captured Comrade Saroj Dutta and on that very night shot him dead secretly.

Chairman has said: "IT IS NOT HARD FOR ONE TO DO A BIT OF GOOD. WHAT IS HARD IS TO DO GOOD ALL ONE'S LIFE AND NEVER DO ANYTHING BAD, TO ACT CONSISTENTLY IN THE INTEREST OF THE BROAD MASSES, THE YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE REVOLUTION, AND TO ENGAGE IN ARDUOUS STRUGGLE FOR DECADES ON END. THAT IS THE HARDEST THING OF ALL!" Comrade Saroj Dutta was such a comrade and his entire life was spent in working for the revolution. There is no reactionary force which did not fear his pen which was as sharp as a razor. That is why the police force did not even dare enact the farce of a trial, they murdered him on that night itself.

Like all reactionary powers of the world the Indian Government and its accomplices -- all the reactionary and revisionist parties -- want to arrest the march of revolution by resorting to mass murders on a wide scale. In the Cossipore-Baranagar area they unitedly entered into a conspiracy and murdered over a hundred youths. The police and the goondas who committed the murders were engaged for the purpose by all those rogues who, in the name of restoring "Law and Order", were holding conferences with a view to preserving this man-eating system and uniting against the revolutionaries. Today when their mask is falling off their face before the people, when it is no longer difficult for the people to recognize the blood-stained hand of the murderers, they have come forward to show sympathy for the murdered revolutionary youths to hide their devilry. They executed the same conspiracy in Barasat and Uttarpara. The orgy of murder in which they indulged in the Cossipore and Baranagar area has surpassed all previous records of their demoniac acts.

In jails also they are killing revolutionary cadres by opening fire on prisoners or lathi-charging them. They are thinking that in this way they will be able to arrest the progress of revolution. In South Vietnam the Diem clique wanted to stop the onward march of revolution by carrying on killings in this manner. The result is, the strength of the National Liberation Front has increased and it has defeated the American aggressors repeatedly. In India this killing will rouse the anger and hatred of men and a new India will be built on the destruction of the murderous system -- this is the law of history. The reactionaries will have to repay in blood the blood debt that each act of murder accumulates.

Comrade Saroj Dutta was a leader of the Party and he died a hero's death befitting a leader. His revolutionary steadfastness should serve as a model for youths. Overcoming all weaknesses, the youths will have to take to the path of revolution more resolutely and avenge these killings by integrating themselves with the workers and poor and landless peasants.

-- August 16, 1971

* * *

TO THE STAUNCH FIGHTERS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Charu Mazumdar

(Following is Comrade Charu Mazumdar's letter of July 18, 1971, to the Comrades of Andhra)

After a heavy setback and loss of our brilliant cadres you are now recovering from the shock. Actions have taken place smashing the fond hope of the Congress regime to finish off the great Srikakulam struggle and the struggle of Andhra Pradesh. On behalf of the Central Committee, I congratulate you, the staunch fighters of Andhra Pradesh, for your superhuman effort, strong faith in the ultimate victory of our democratic revolution and great love for the downtrodden people, the landless and poor peasants of Andhra. On behalf of the Central Committee, I urge upon you to rely wholly and completely upon the landless and poor peasants who alone can take the leadership of the agrarian revolution in our country and have got great traditions of innumerable bloody struggles. Form small squads of landless and poor peasants, fix an area of operation for each of the squads and rely firmly on their initiative to develop the struggle. In this way alone guns and rifles can be snatched by the squads, and

firmly holding the rifles we can build and develop people's political power. Every such squad should be considered as a contingent of our People's Liberation Army and area-wise commanders should be elected from among these landless and poor peasants. Our petty-bourgeois cadres should work as political commissars of these units while the leadership should remain with the landless and poor peasant cadres. Our method is: our squad members must train each other, commanders should teach the other members of the squads and should also be taught by them. By this method a technique adopted in an area should be the common property of all the squads in the state. Mass economic work, such as land distribution and the seizing of the harvest, should be propagated and activised by Revolutionary Committees at various levels and we must pay attention to the production of food-grains etc. Only in this way mass struggle of the peasantry can be linked up with armed struggle and the political authority of the Party can be established.

I have got great respect for you and for your revolutionary potentiality, and the Indian situation as a whole is becoming more excellent every day. So I am sure that you will overcome your weaknesses, and your struggle will develop like an avalanche in the state.

With revolutionary greetings.

* * *

L E T T E R T O A C O M R A D E

Charu Mazumdar

I have received your letter. You have raised many questions. It is not possible to answer all of them in one letter. I have given a reply to the Midnapore document* and an article is being published on behalf of Liberation. I hope these will help remove your confusion.

To us there is no contradiction between national and international interests, since when we speak of a nation we mean the peasants, workers and other toiling people. Their interest is to make revolution. That is why Chairman has said: "WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF WORLD WAR, THERE ARE BUT TWO POSSIBILITIES: ONE IS THAT THE WAR WILL GIVE RISE TO REVOLUTION AND THE OTHER IS THAT REVOLUTION WILL PREVENT THE WAR." The slogan of national self-defence is a bourgeois slogan. By raising it the bourgeoisie seeks to suppress the just right of workers, peasants and petty-bourgeois toilers to exist and tries to utilize all the resources of the nation in its own interest. Therefore, in no way and under no circumstances will that be our slogan. That is why our slogan is national revolutionary war and this war can be waged only in the form of people's war. To develop people's war it is necessary to make the peasants -- the basic force of this revolutionary war -- participants in the revolutionary struggle and this can be accomplished only on the basis of class struggle and a class line. So, under no circumstance, it is our responsibility to support the bourgeoisie. Our responsibility is to be united with that section of the bourgeoisie which desires to be united with us on the issue of national independence. And on the question of unification also two things have to be remembered: (1) the Party will have the right to conduct war independently and (2) the initiative in regard to the struggle will be in the hands of the Party. These two conditions are indivisible and only on the basis of these two conditions is it possible to build such unity as can enthuse and inspire the broad masses to participate in the war of national independence. So, you can understand that the idea they are spreading to create confusion in the name of the great Chinese Party is opposed to Mao Tsetung Thought and is only a new edition of the Wang Ming-Liu Shao-chi line of tailing after the bourgeoisie.

If a bourgeois State becomes a partner in a just war, then the Chinese Party and the Chinese Government will surely support it. But this support does not mean that within the country the Communists will have to tail behind the bourgeoisie. At the time of World War II Chiang Kai-shek got the support of the Soviet Union and on the pretext of that support, he and his associates repeatedly sought to have the Chinese Party tied to Chiang Kai-shek. As Chairman understood the need for unity, so also he realized the necessity of independent work and initiative and did not make compromise in any sphere. That is why, after 1945, when communists all over the world laid emphasis on unity with the bourgeoisie and decided to surrender arms, Chairman Mao, even after having admitted the necessity of unity, gave a call for taking up arms with a firm hand. That is why we see that after the World War Communists of almost all countries took to the

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* This refers to the Midnapore document on recent developments in East Pakistan.

path of revisionism but, under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Chinese Communist Party could, through a successful revolution, raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher still and reach the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought. Therefore, the revisionist path is the path of tailism and those who today are talking of supporting Yahya have taken to this path of tailism and fallen deep into the mire of revisionism. If you have learnt to hate revisionism, then you will learn to hate this Khruschov thesis of the national bourgeoisie seizing power through peaceful methods. Eight years ago, Chairman Mao tore the mask off this thesis, as a result of which there has been a new high tide in the worldwide Communist movement and a new horizon has opened up before the struggle. After eight years the Khruschov thesis is being propagated again in our country and this is being done in the name of Chairman. This is called opposing Mao Tsetung in the name of Mao Tsetung, opposing the Red Flag in the name of the Red Flag, opposing revolution in the name of revolution. In our country, the CPI and the CPI-M have directly taken the path of class collaboration; that is why they are supporting Mujib. But behind their 'Leftist' mask, the others are talking of supporting Yahya on the basis of the same theory. Therefore, this 'Leftist' slogan of theirs is in reality another manifestation of revisionism.

I hope you will try to understand properly what I have stated and you will then get the answers to your questions.

The danger of getting isolated from the struggle will appear again and again in the midst of it. Therefore, it is essential to take shelter in the houses of poor and landless peasants and without this one cannot overcome one's isolation from struggle.

-- July 23, 1971

* * *

ON THE QUESTIONS OF BUILDING PEOPLE'S ARMY AND BASE AREA

Charu Mazumdar

(This is in reply to a writing by Asim Chatterjee and his associates -- renegades who have openly attacked the Party and the Party line.)

On the Pakistan question Khokan and his associates have stuck to their old line. From this it appears that they have read more documents of the Soviet Party than of the Chinese Communist Party. That is why they have repeatedly and emphatically tried to prove that through aid received from a socialist country the national bourgeoisie of a semi-colony can come to power. They have propagated this Khruschov thesis repeatedly.

In a semi-colonial country the national bourgeoisie is tied to the comprador bourgeoisie. First, the small and middle bourgeois take help from the compradors for their capital; secondly, they have to purchase raw materials for their industry from the comprador bourgeois; thirdly, they have to take help from the comprador bourgeois for the improvement and expansion of their industry; fourthly, the comprador bourgeoisie is the buyer of a big portion of their products and, taking advantage of this transaction, the comprador bourgeoisie shifts its crisis on to the shoulders of the small and middle bourgeois; fifthly, in opposing the working class, they are united with the comprador bourgeois; sixthly, a portion of the accumulated profits of the small and middle bourgeois -- which they set apart as reserve fund -- is used in purchasing shares of the big industrial enterprises of the comprador bourgeoisie. For these six reasons, the national bourgeoisie is the weakest class. Therefore, it is impossible for them <u>independently</u> to take any decision and implement it.

In their document the charge has been made that certain "unnecessary conditions have been imposed" in respect of building up of the People's Liberation Army and that the task of forming it has thus been delayed. Our People's Liberation Army is mainly a peasant army and this army becomes strong through the peasants' class struggle. It is the responsibility of this army to make agrarian revolution successful. To make agrarian revolution successful the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the struggle will have to be established inevitably. That is why we have said that in the matter of selection of commanders at every level, emphasis will have to be laid on poor and

landless peasants, because the class struggle in rural areas is their struggle. If this is taken as a pre-condition, then this pre-condition will have to be fulfilled unhesitatingly. Not to do this will really mean denial of class struggle.

The People's Liberation Army is a special kind of army. The speciality of this army is that each of its members has conquered the fear of death and can conduct struggle on his own initiative. That is why it is said that victory or defeat in a war is determined not by the rifle but by the man who holds it. Here lies the basic difference between the imperialist army and the People's Army. That is why even after Magurjan and Rupaskundi we have not yet been able to attack the mobile enemy force. The reason is not technical, but political. It is certain that after the People's Liberation Army is built many youths from among the poor and landless peasants will want to join this army. After they are taken into the People's Army it will be the duty of the Party to quickly educate them politically.

To build a base area we need first a permanent army and we need a politically conscious people. It is only after the two conditions are fulfilled that the question of terrain comes. The terrain-question has two aspects: one natural and the other man-made. It is possible to develop a base area in the plains; the proof of that is the fact that during the time of the anti-Japanese war seven such base areas developed in the suburbs of the city of Peking. The danger of taking shelter in the mountains is that the possibility of becoming isolated from the broad masses becomes greater. That is why if base areas are built in mountainous regions, it is the responsibility of the Party to make the peasant masses in the plains politically conscious by sending armed propaganda squads there and to cause disarray among the enemies by building more and more guerrilla units and thus resist enemy attacks by guerrilla tactics. The importance of this is very great, because if we go to the mountainous regions the enemy's "encirclement and suppression campaign" becomes easy. In regard to West Bengal, to proceed to build a base area in the mountainous regions means abandoning the peasants and the broad toiling masses of West Bengal and putting out the fire of armed struggle.

If these two tasks -- the establishment of Revolutionary Committees under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants in rural areas and making the broad peasant masses participants in that struggle under the leadership of those Revolutionary Committees -- are performed successfully, the problem of building base areas will be solved. It is in this way that base areas developed in China and in different countries of the world. It is my conviction that this method will yield good results in our country also. For it is our experience that in the middle of 1969 the call for building People's Liberation Army and base area was given in Srikakulam. But this slogan did not yield good results; there were few guerrilla squads in the wide plain areas and as our entire strength was concentrated, the enemy could also concentrate his attack. As a result, we had to suffer many losses.

That is why the People's Liberation Army is not formed merely by giving the call for it. Base areas are not developed merely by giving the call for develop-ing them. The People's Liberation Army will become strong and base areas will be established only when, through Revolutionary Committees, the political consciousness of the broad peasant masses is raised and they are enthused to participate in armed struggle. That is why Chairman has said:

"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 IT IS IMPOSSIBLE, AND ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE, FOR ANY FORCE ON 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 permanence of base areas depends on the arming of the people. Chairman has said:

"CONSIDERING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AS A WHOLE, THE OPERATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLAS AND THOSE OF THE MAIN FORCES OF THE RED ARMY COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER LIKE A MAN'S RIGHT ARM AND LEFT ARM, AND IF WE HAD ONLY THE MAIN FORCES OF THE RED ARMY WITHOUT THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLAS, WE WOULD BE LIKE A WARRIOR WITH ONLY ONE ARM. IN CONCRETE TERMS, AND ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO MILITARY OPERATIONS, WHEN WE TALK OF THE PEOPLE IN THE BASE AREA AS A FACTOR, WE MEAN THAT WE HAVE AN ARMED PEOPLE. THAT IS THE MAIN REASON WHY THE ENEMY IS AFRAID TO APPROACH OUR BASE AREA."

-- August 19, 1971

TO COMRADES

Charu Mazumdar

Within the Party there exists the struggle between two lines and this will exist in future also. When we speak of two lines, we mean that one is correct and the other incorrect. In our country the incorrect line means revisionism which, in our era, is a reactionary ideology. Through this struggle the Party worker and the common man will learn to understand which line is correct and which is incorrect. Therefore, the Party's strength and striking power will increase only if we direct this struggle in a principled manner. To understand today's world and to understand which is the correct line it is necessary for comrades to specially study Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War" and his Report to the Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China. It is in these two writings that the answers to the questions raised today are to be found. And, it is only by studying these two writings earnestly and diligently that we shall understand clearly which is correct and which is incorrect. Therefore, I specially appeal to the comrades to carry on a conscious effort to make a living study and application of these two writings.

-- August 4, 1971

* * *

TO THE COMRADES OF BIRBHUM

Charu Mazumdar

As there are victories in struggle, so there are defeats. Just as struggle advances by leaps, so it has to experience set-backs also. The path of struggle is not straight but very tortuous. Only the revolutionary Communist Party -- the Party capable of applying Mao Tsetung Thought and adopting the correct style of work -- can correctly conduct struggle in the midst of this complexity. Your struggle has reached a stage when it is about to take a leap: now is the time when it is very necessary to strengthen the Party organization. If the Party organization is to be strengthened, the struggle between the two lines within the Party will have to be conducted in a principled manner. Even if such questions have not arisen in your area, all the issues concerning the struggle between the two lines within the Party will have to be discussed in details at all levels of the Party and even by the guerrilla squads and supporters in general.

The four principles of guerrilla struggle* enunciated by Chairman should be discussed at all levels.

The guerrilla commanders must be made alert. Attention must always be paid to increasing the initiative of the guerrilla squads of poor and landless peasants and to the initiative of the commanders elected from among them. Our intellectual comrades will have to study Chairman's Military Writings.

In your area the attempt at "encirclement and suppression" by the military has failed in the initial stage. Now everything depends on whether we are able to take the initiative. Birbhum has become an object of terror to the ruling classes. I hope you will win still more victories.

-- September 10, 1971

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* The four principles of guerrilla struggle enunciated by Chairman are:

" 'Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.' "
" 'The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.' "
" 'To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.' "
" 'Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.' "
" 'These tactics are just like casting a net; at any moment we should be able to cast it or draw it in. We cast it wide to win over the masses and draw it in to deal with the enemy.' "

(Chairman Mao, "A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire")

STRENGTHEN THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

Charu Mazumdar

Our struggle is now entrenching itself deep among the working class and the poor and landless peasants. We must now make our Party organization stronger and rid it of defects. In a secret party the isolation of the higher committee from the general body of Party members and units occurs at all times. As a result of this, the higher committee develops a bureaucratic outlook. A trend to run the Party organization through orders, directives, mandates, etc. grows. All these are sins inherited from the old Party. We do not get anything done through directives. All our activities should be conducted on the basis of discussions with lower units and by convincing them of their significance. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the higher unit always to carry on discussions with lower units and to obtain their views. It is in this way that the Party can increase its capacity for doing revolutionary work and the unity of the Party is strengthened. Chairman Mao has taught us that every communist must fight against conceit and arrogance, for conceit and arrogance destroy all communist virtues.

We have united for making a revolution. That is why our relation should be one of mutual respect and co-operation. Each of us must study deeply the chapter entitled "Communists" in "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung" and try to be a good Communist. It is then that the unity of our Party will be as strong as steel. The lower units should be helped to criticise higher units and the opinion of lower units should be taken at all levels. The struggle between the two lines exists within the Party and it will always be so. That struggle must be conducted in a principled manner. It is in this way that the centralism of the Party will be strengthened. Party members must have the full democratic right of giving their opinions and making criticism. In many cases the Party members have complaints against Party functionaries. They should be given the full right to voice and discuss these complaints. It is then that the Party's functionaries will be able to rectify their weaknesses.

As the struggle advances, the importance of political work also increases. One trend of thinking is that there has been enough of political work and that military work is now the main task. This has been stated clearly in the document submitted by Khokan and his associates. This deviation cannot take the struggle forward: it weakens the forces of the struggle. Our People's Liberation Army will be able to achieve success only when the number of guerrilla units in the villages increases through political work. There is no way of building guerrilla units except through political propaganda. Political work must be given priority at every stage of the class-struggle. This is Chairman's teaching.

October 4, 1971

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A NOTE ON PARTY'S WORK IN URBAN AREAS

Charu Mazumdar

We cannot occupy Calcutta and the different towns right now and that is not also possible. Therefore, the Party members who are in the urban areas cannot directly participate in the struggle for seizure of power. But they have to live in urban surroundings. As a result, they will repeatedly be subjected to the influence of the ruling classes. There are ups and downs in struggle. Therefore, various sorts of confusion arise when the struggle suffers a setback. All such confusion may be greater among comrades in towns. That is why the comrades who will live in towns must give greater emphasis to politics. They must steadfastly work among the working class and the poorer classes and must repeatedly try to form Party units by propagating our politics among them. Our object is to form Party units among the working class and to help develop Party organizers from among workers. Of course, we shall always support the workers and co-operate with them in their struggles. If there are a large number of politically-conscious Party units, the working class will, on its own, conduct many struggles. Thus the Party's task is to form more and more units among the working class and to raise the workers' political consciousness. The influence of revisionism on the working class is still great. It is our task to free the working class from that influence. The working class is ceaselessly conducting struggles, big and small. Our political work among them will help them in those

struggles and draw the broad sections of the working class into the fold of our politics. The class-conscious worker will then voluntarily go to the villages and participate in the peasants' armed struggle. It is in this way that the firm unity between the workers and the peasants will be established.

November 18, 1971

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A NOTE ON PARTY'S WORK IN RURAL AREAS

Charu Mazumdar

The movement for seizing crops is a mass movement. This is the first time that we are leading a mass movement since we started our armed struggle. The aim of this movement is to make even the backward peasants participants in our struggle. Without conducting this mass movement we can in no way realize our objective — the objective of making every peasant a fighter. Otherwise, this all-embracing character of People's War can in no way be attained.

This movement will be directed against the class enemy, i.e., the jotedar class. It will also be conducted against such rich peasants as may be actively co-operating with the police. All other classes are our allies in this struggle.

The Party will conduct this struggle through Revolutionary Committees. It is in this way that the Revolutionary Committees will be established as the new State power. The guerrilla squads will always help Revolutionary Committees.

If the Party is to discharge this responsibility the Party cadres will have to be much more conscious politically. Efforts must always be made to raise the political consciousness of Party cadres. The Party cadres and the guerrillas must study the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention. They must try to observe them to the very letter.

November 18, 1971

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LONG LIVE THE HEROIC PEASANTS OF NAXALBARI !

Charu Mazumdar

The social system that exists in India is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. So the democratic revolution in this country means agrarian revolution. All the problems of India are related to this one task. On this question of agrarian revolution there has been difference of opinion in Marxist circles from the beginning of this century and among Marxists the struggle between the two policies -- the one revolutionary and the other counter-revolutionary -- continues. The Mensheviks side-tracked the question of State power and searched for a solution in municipalization. Lenin declared a crusade against it and said that it was not possible to solve the problem by side-tracking the question of State power. He showed that however progressive the legislation framed by one might be the present State structure could not implement it. The condition of the peasant will remain the same. That was why he said that only the democratic State of workers and peasants, led by the working class, could solve this problem. Only the other day even the Soviet Party writer, Yudin, while criticizing Nehru's Basic Approach, said that Nehru had not till then been able to solve the peasant problem. He challenged Nehru to show, in practice, how this problem could be solved in a peaceful way and added that Nehru would fail to do so. History has proved that, far from solving this problem, Nehru was not able even to bring about an iota of change.

After the twentieth congress of the Soviet Party, the door to revisionism was opened wide and, as a result, the Soviet State has been transformed from a Socialist State into a capitalist State. By making the theory of peaceful transition to socialism -- adopted at that twentieth congress -- their basic guiding principle, the revisionists of our country are shouting loudly that the peasants' struggle for land is a struggle for realization of economic demands and that it is adventurism to talk of the State machinery. What strange similarity between the words of Dange and Basavapunnia!

What strange co-operation between Biswanath Mukherji and Harekrishna Konar! This is not accidental since its source is one and that is the Menshevik counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the cunning rulers of the Soviet State have

repeatedly declared that it is only by using fertilizers, improved seeds and agricultural implements that India's food problem can be solved. It is in this manner that they are coming forward to save India's reactionary ruling clique; they are concealing from the masses the basic and effective way of solving India's food, unemployment, poverty and other problems. This is because the Soviet State is today collaborating with British-American imperialists and has been turned into a State which exploits the masses of India. With the help of the native bourgeoisie the Soviet Union is also trying to invest capital in our country. In the sphere of trade and commerce with our country it has come to enjoy special facilities. That is why the arguments of the reactionary ruling clique are pouring out from the mouths of its spokesmen in a continuous flow and at an uninterrupted speed. That is why, as a collaborator of Britain and the U.S.A., the Soviet State is also our enemy and it is by taking shelter under their wings that the reactionary Government of India weighs like a corpse upon the shoulders of the masses. But even then Naxalbari has been created and hundreds of Naxalbaris are smouldering. This is because on the soil of India the revolutionary peasantry is heir to the heroic revolutionary peasants of great Telangana. The then Party leadership betrayed the heroic peasant struggle of Telangana and it did so by using the name of great Stalin. Many of those who are occupying the positions of Party leaders today were a party to the act of betrayal on that day! On bent knees, we will have to take lessons from those heroes of Telangana, not only to have strength to carry the red banner of revolt but also to have faith in the international revolutionary authority. What boundless respect they had for the international leadership -- the name of Stalin made them place their lives fearlessly at the disposal of the reactionary government of India. In all ages and at all times this revolutionary loyalty is necessary for organizing revolutions. We must learn from the experience of the heroes of Telangana: we must take the mask off the face of those who oppose Marxism-Leninism by using the name of Stalin. We will have to snatch from their hands the Red Flag dyed with the blood of hundreds of workers and peasants. The traitors have, by touching that Flag with their hands, stained it.

Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen on it like a blessing. When Naxalbari receives congratulations from the heroes in the rubber plantations of Malaya who have been engaged in struggle for 20 years, when congratulations are sent by Japanese comrades who have been fighting against the revisionist leadership of their own Party, when such congratulations come from the Australian revolutionaries, when the comrades of the armed forces of great China send their greetings, we feel the significance of that immortal call, "Workers of the World, Unite", we have a feeling of oneness and our conviction becomes more strong and firm that we have our dear relations in all lands. Naxalbari has not died and it will never die.

(First published in Bengali in the 1967 Autumn issue of DESHABRATI)

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Report from Andhra

" SRIKAKULAM IS ALIVE, THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN SRIKAKULAM IS ALIVE "

"To the dismay of the enemy and to the joy of the revolutionaries, Srikakulam is alive, the armed struggle in Srikakulam is alive." In these few words a leading comrade has summed up the experience of the new wave of struggle in Srikakulam. It is by carrying on an intense struggle against revisionism, by releasing the initiative of the poor peasants, that the Andhra comrades have overcome their temporary setback. In Srikakulam district alone 20 class enemies and police agents have been annihilated during the last few months. In the first action of its kind in Andhra a poor peasants' squad of Telangana has snatched a rifle from the enemy. Actions have taken place in Krishna district also.

The Andhra comrade writes: "After the old leaders became martyrs or were captured, the poor peasant guerrillas of Parvatipuram agency in Srikakulam district came forward, took up the leadership and annihilated 15 class enemies and police agents. Firmly holding on to the Party's political line, the guerrillas are spreading out over a vast area." In the plains of Tekkali and Sompet taluks of Srikakulam district guerrilla squads of poor peasants annihilated three class enemies and

two police agents. In Krishna district also a jotedar was severely injured, his documents were burnt and his property was confiscated. In Nalgonda in Telangana a small squad of poor peasants annihilated a class enemy. Above all, at Garla, on the borders of Warangal and Khammam districts in Telangana, a squad of poor peasants and workers annihilated a sentry attached to the Railways, snatched his rifle and confiscated a large amount of money. The action was led by the Party.

Some time ago the Andhra State Committee of the C.P.I.(M-L) issued a document, initiating a struggle against revisionism within the Party. This document has boldly upheld the line of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, as 'the concrete application of Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India". In this document the Andhra comrades have reviewed the struggle in Srikakulam and have shown that it was revisionism which was responsible for a temporary setback in the struggle. They have analyzed the different manifestations of revisionism within the Party and have realized, at the cost of much blood and suffering, the correctness of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line. In order to help comrades conduct their political work correctly, the committee has published selected writings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar in Telegu. In the course of this inner-Party struggle the revisionist trends within the Party were mostly overcome and the new wave of revolutionary peasants' struggle followed.

In jails also, the Andhra comrades have begun a fight against revisionism. With unflinching faith in the victory of the revolution, Comrade Ramanna Reddy declared in the court that no power on earth could destroy the armed struggle in Andhra. He exposed the revisionism of Satyanarain Singh and other renegades. Comrade Nagbhushan Patnaik said in the court that he had nothing to do with the "mercy petition" filed by his father. He challenged the reactionary government to carry out the death-sentence against him.

-- December 29, 1971

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REPORT FROM AN AREA IN UTTAR PRADESH

After Satya Narain Singh in Bihar and the Mahinder Singh group in U.P. turned out to be renegades, there was a temporary set-back in the struggle in Uttar Pradesh. But the comrades of U.P. fought valiantly against the wrong line and they have gained good support from the poor and landless peasants.

There were various reasons because of which actions had not taken place in U.P.

The spirit of self-sacrifice was not deep-rooted among the petty bourgeois comrades and that was why they were looking for fire-arms, etc, instead of rousing the landless and poor peasants with the politics of seizure of political power by armed force.

In some of the districts, especially in Kuraon district, instead of relying on poor and landless peasants, the petty-bourgeois comrades were relying mostly on middle peasants. When a guerrilla squad was formed with middle peasants they demanded fire-arms and made all sorts of bogus requests.

After studying the above facts the petty-bourgeois comrades are now becoming integrated with the poor and landless peasants and are carrying to them Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line that annihilation of the most hated, oppressor class-enemies is the higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla war in the countryside. One hated class enemy has been annihilated in Banda of Eastern U.P. and another seriously injured at Tirhar, which is attached to Allahabad district, by poor and landless peasants. More actions are expected soon.

On the night of 2nd July a squad of two poor-peasant guerrillas attacked a big jotedar and hated money-lender, Inder Singh, and annihilated him with country-made pistols in Banda.

The guerrillas are safe among the vast masses. The jotedar owned 1,400 acres of land. After this action there is a feeling of joy and relief among the poor and landless peasants.

The propaganda of this action was carried on by the poor and landless peasants themselves.

On the night of 8th July a squad of two poor peasant and one petty-bourgeois guerrillas attacked a hated jotedar and goonda, Kanta Prasad, with the help of

conventional weapons (gandasa), in Kuraon attached to Allahabad district.

The jotedar is very much hated by the poor and landless peasants of his village. He forcibly took away eight peasant women from the adjoining villages, and his brother is a police officer. After the above action the confidence of the poor and landless peasants has increased and more actions will be carried out in that area within a very short time.

On the night of July 17, a big and hated money-lender was attacked at Tirha and was seriously injured.

-- August 19, 1971

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Report from West Bengal

ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE IN WEST BENGAL FORGES AHEAD

Combating reaction, revisionism and chauvinism, the armed peasant struggle in different parts of West Bengal is marching forward. The poor and landless peasants and workers of Naxalbari attacked the nearby Magurjan police camp and snatched rifles over a year ago and thus raised the peasants' armed struggle to what Comrade Charu Mazumdar called the stage of a liberation war. Since then the creativity of the poor and landless peasants has been unleashed more and more. Simultaneously with the campaign for annihilation of class enemies, the revolutionaries intensified their attacks on the reactionary State machinery during the last few months. The struggle for seizure of power in different rural areas was carried forward. Grasping firmly the truth that "WITHOUT THE PEOPLE'S ARMY, THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING", the revolutionaries are steadfastly carrying on the battle for strengthening and arming the guerrilla forces. They continue to snatch rifles and cartridges from the police and class enemies. An all-night campaign for seizure of class enemies' guns in two villages on the borders of Kotwali and Nakasipara thanas of Nadia a few months ago turned into a "festival of the masses." Seven guns were collected. As 23 poor and landless peasant guerrillas marched through the villages and sang revolutionary songs, the villages joined them.

The activities of revolutionary committees of poor and landless peasants, the organs of the new State power, are making the broad peasant masses participants in the struggle. However small its beginning may be, a mass movement has been initiated through the struggle for seizing crops of class enemies in some areas. After consulting the peasants of a village on the basis of Chairman Mao's class analysis and in the light of the objectives of the democratic revolution, the comrades of a certain area concluded: (1) the entire quantity of paddy of jotedars, who are dead or have fled, should be seized; (2) a portion of the paddy of jotedars, who have surrendered, should be seized; (3) the paddy of middle peasants must not be "touched"; and (4) revolutionary committees will impose a levy on rich peasants after ascertaining the size of their land-holdings, amount of harvest and their family conditions. This is how the comrades are applying the principle: "FROM THE MASSES, TO THE MASSES."

Under the impact of the struggle in the villages, urban mass movements, organized on the basis of propaganda conducted secretly by Party units, have begun to develop. In some cases, general strikes have been organized on political issues in district and sub-divisional towns without the help of any open mass organization. Sustained and secret work by Party units in some industrial areas has begun to bear fruit and the workers in such areas have been roused. In north-east Calcutta the workers of factories in Sinthi struck work in protest against the murder of Comrade Shyamal Chaudhuri by the reactionary police. An increasing number of Party units is taking to the working class, leader of the revolution, Comrade Charu Mazumdar's words: "Only by ending the unbearable exploitation", to which the poor and landless peasants are subjected, can the working class establish in society its dignity as "creator of wealth". An organizer writes: "The Party will now have to take repeatedly the politics of seizure of power - Comrade Charu Mazumdar's politics and the teachings of the 'Three Constantly Read Articles of Chairman Mao' - to the working class". Inspired by the politics of revolutionary self-sacrifice, the more advanced workers are going to the villages.

The struggle in West Bengal during the past few months has developed in the face of the chauvinism nurtured by the ruling class on the "Bangladesh" issue and the repression let loose by it with the co-operation of the revisionists. On

the walls of several factories in the northern suburbs of Calcutta and in other industrial areas of the State are seen posters, denouncing the puppet Bangladesh government backed by the Soviet-Indian military alliance and calling upon workers and other toiling people to quicken the pace of revolutionary work to defeat the conspiracy to make East Bengal their colony and a base against revolution in the sub-continent and against China. A few days ago four revolutionary youths of Murshidabad gave a slap in the face of the reactionary Soviet-Indian alliance by snatching a stengun from a member of the so-called liberation army of Bangladesh near the Khandua border outpost in Lalgola. The West Bengal Police and the Border Security Force jointly combed the entire area but failed to trace the youths or the stengun. Again, the repression let loose by the reactionaries has evoked the most determined resistance of revolutionaries armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. To preserve this man-eating system in the interest of a few exploiters, the reactionaries have started killing revolutionaries everywhere, on roads and in jails. Despite bickerings amongst themselves, reactionaries and revisionists of all hues unitedly planned the mass murder of youths in the Baranagar-Cossipore area north of Calcutta a few months ago. The revolutionaries of Howrah promptly avenged the mass murder by executing two leaders of the "resistance party", the fascist group reared by the police. Comrade Madan of Sukhchar, an industrial area in 24-Parganas, battled heroically against the enemy with his rifle till he died, when several reactionary policemen surrounded him and three other comrades and started shooting at them. When, on November 26, the armed reactionaries strangled several revolutionaries in Ward No. 9 of Alipore Central Jail and severely beat almost all the remaining 250 prisoners, our comrades put up whatever resistance was possible. This is evident even from the following description by a journalist in a bourgeois paper: "Slogans written in red on the walls of the ward-cell on the first floor, like 'Red salute to Mao' convinced the most casual observer that the extremists were not sleeping behind the bars. The crumpled blanket sheets on the floor, empty aluminium utensils and the twisted and broken iron railings on the verandah spoke of the intensity of the storm fury." Today, it is the ruling class that is really afraid of the revolutionaries. That is why groups of revolutionaries are being transferred from jails in West Bengal to jails in faraway Tamil Nadu and other places. Nearly 1,000 prisoners were transferred in the first half of January.

In Naxalbari and adjoining areas a new consciousness is discernible among members of Revolutionary Committees, which are led by poor and landless peasants. A leading comrade writes: "They are now conscious that the Committees are the new government and that the Committees must, therefore, look after the People's Army." People are requesting that their sons be admitted into the People's Army. Two tea-garden workers also want to join the people's armed units. A large area has been virtually freed of class enemies and the guerrillas operate in a still larger area. There is great enthusiasm among the people. Crops of class enemies have been seized in some places. Villagers have even started digging some tunnels and are discussing how best to do the work. While guerrillas were out on a campaign for snatching guns in the Thakurganj police station area in nearby Purnea in broad daylight, it required a lot of persuasion to stop a 65-year-old peasant from joining the campaign. Two guns and some quantity of gold were seized during the campaign. In Buraganj, a young member of the red guard annihilated a policeman. After two enemy agents were annihilated in Pathar Harharia by a guerrilla squad raised by the local Revolutionary Committee, the people heard the revolutionaries explain at a meeting how to defeat unitedly possible police repression on villagers. The recent martyrdom of Comrade Ranjit Bhowmik of the People's Army, who was surrounded by two police parties in succession in Jorpakri, Hoterhat, filled the people with determination to avenge the murder. Grasping firmly Comrade Charu Mazumdar's teachings and inspired by the spirit of self-sacrifice for furthering the cause of revolution, Comrade Ranjit Bhowmik showed wonderful courage and fighting spirit when a party of police marauders suddenly raided his shelter. He jumped upon the armed bandit who was leading the party, snatched his loaded rifle, shot four policemen and killed at least one of them. The other police bandits hastily retreated, but when our brave comrade was leaving that area, another party of police bandits came and murdered him. Within a few days the revolutionaries attacked the Birsingh Jote police camp and killed a head constable of the State Armed Police. The reactionary police have become so panicky after this attack that they have decided to fortify all the police camps in the region with trenches and sentry boxes.

Both in rural and urban areas the revolutionaries of Burdwan district have initiated movements that have great significance. In villages, a beginning has been made in regard to linking revolutionary mass movement to armed struggle. Again, the comrades are helping to create a revolutionary atmosphere in regard

to the complementary struggle in urban areas as a step towards the building up of the worker-peasant alliance. Several months ago a guerrilla squad of five poor and landless peasants of Srikhand in Burdwan district set up an example of revolutionary heroism by snatching two rifles and securing the release of two captured comrades from a police party in a crowded train. Since then the snatching of rifles from the enemy has become a common occurence in the district and the initiative of poor and landless peasants is being unleashed more and more. It was the initiative and leadership of poor and landl ss peasants that made possible the participation of even middle peasants in the recent seizing of paddy in a village in Burdwan district. Twentyone poor and landless peasants, six women from poor peasant families and three middle peasants took part in the action. The land belonged to a jotedar who had been annihilated. While members of the People's Army kept a watch with rifles on their shoulders, members of the local Revolutionary Committee of poor and landless peasants guided the action. Pledged to observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points For Attention, the participants were disciplined. There was great enthusiasm among the villagers as the 30 peasants proceeded towards the field, shouting "Long live the revolutionary Government", "Long live, Chairman Mao", "Long live Comrade Charu Mazumdar". Many people of nearby villages came to witness the seizing of crops. Frightened at the revolutionary mood of the peasants, a relation of the dead jotedar fled. The paddy seized was thrashed and then distributed among the peasants. Widows or others who could not come because of illness were also given a share. The next day, after doing propaganda campaign in favour of seizing of crops in a nearby village, the peasant guerrillas attacked a police jeep on their way back. The occupants of the jeep could, however, manage to remove the barricade put up by the guerrillas and leave the place in the vehicle. The day after, the seizing of paddy was resumed and this time the number of participants rose to 70. But as arrangements were being made that night for distributing the paddy seized during the day, the news reached the village that a number of police parties had been sent to encircle it. All the peasant comrades except a member of the revolutionary committee could leave the place before the arrival of the police. The committee member was, however, captured. The peasant comrades are now carrying on propaganda work outside the area combed by the police and planning to attack the police and the "resistance" group raised by them.

In certain areas of Burdwan district the comrades have for long been integrating themselves with the workers. The workers of Durgapur and other places in the district have already given proof of their revolutionary initiative. As early as July last year the workers of the Fertilizer Corporation of India at Durgapur took out a procession in protest against the killing of revolutionaries in jails. Revisionist trade union leaders were forced to participate in the procession. The recent general strike at Katwa, a sub-divisional town, was an unprecedented event in the district. The strike, observed in protest against the murder of revolutionaries in Ward No. 9 of Alipore Central Jail, was organized on the basis of propaganda carried on secretly by Party units and without the help of any open mass organization. With a view to making the toiling people of the town participants in the revolutionary struggle, the comrades of Katwa town secretly organized the strike mainly with the help of such workers as had already given some proof of their initiative. In different localities small squads of young comrades suddenly raised slogans in favour of the strike call and then disappeared among the masses. The response to the strike call was remarkable among rickshaw-pullers and other toiling people. People were heard to say: "The police are killing those who fight for the poor. We must resist this." Sensing that public opinion was in favour of the strike, the police had opened fire in some localities and injured a youth and a worker. But this only made the people more determined in observing the strike. Schools and colleges were closed and buisness was paralyzed. Summing up the experience, a leading comrade of Katwa writes: "It is possible to build up mass struggles on the basis of propaganda carried on secretly and without open mass organizations. But to achieve this it is essential to build up secret Party organizations among the toiling people." The comrades have admitted that the poor response to the strike call among railway workers was because of lack of Party organizations among them. The comrades are now trying to correct the mistake.

-- January 20, 1972

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Report From Punjab

ARMED STRUGGLE IN PUNJAB REACHES A HIGHER STAGE

On August 28, a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants annihilated a hated police officer. On 23rd September a guerrilla squad attacked a police post and destroyed it. All the arms and ammunition were seized. Dadhahur (Barnala), a revolutionary village, has become the 'Magurjan' of Punjab. In Sangrur district six cartridges and a rifle were snatched from a hated police agent of Jabandh village. In Andhera village (Barnala) a gun was snatched from a local jagirdar's agent, who is also a leader of the reactionary Akali group there. All these armed actions have advanced the armed struggle in Punjab to a higher stage.

With the attack on the armed forces of the enemy and the snatching of guns the building up of the People's Liberation Army has begun also in Punjab. To arm the guerrilla squads the snatching of rifles, guns and pistols has started. What has happened at Dadhahur today will happen throughout the Punjab tomorrow. No power on earth will be able to check this historic advance. Today, the peasants' armed struggle has struck deep roots in Punjab and no power on earth can uproot it. Aswini Kumar, a running dog of the reactionary Indira Government, has shouldered the responsibility of finishing off the "Naxalites" in Punjab. The formation of an "anti-Naxal" brigade has been decided upon and the Central Reserve Police (C.R.P.) has been sent for. In order to crush the new upsurge in the guerrilla zone of Bhatinda-Sangrur districts, six more battalions of the Punjab state police have been employed, all the police stations of Punjab have been provided with wireless sets and the district headquarters have been connected with the control room at Chandigarh with teleprinters. And fascist measures have been taken to close the borders between Punjab and neighbouring states with a view to checking the spread of armed struggle there. But all these shall fail to suppress the agrarian revolution led by the C.P.I.(M-L).

Today we, comrades of Punjab, imbued with the spirit of revolutionary self-sacrifice, are marching forward, strictly obeying our beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar's instructions. Comrade Charu Mazumdar has said, "Comrades, today, the peasants' revolutionary struggle is acquiring the character of a liberation war. So attack must be launched on the armed forces of the enemy. To wage attacks now against class enemies only amounts to a certain form of economism. If we fail to wage attacks against the armed forces of the enemy simultaneously with our attacks on the class enemies we shall land ourselves in the mire of a certain kind of economism. There need be no doubt whether so many tasks can be performed at the same time; for the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses can carry out all these tasks with their many-sided genius. We were busy till now with unleashing the initiative of the poor and landless peasants. Now we have to strengthen the unity of the broad peasant masses and see that their genius has free play. We must undertake our tasks with faith in the revolutionary genius of the masses. Once this genius has free play we shall advance at an irresistible speed and will surely achieve victory. Inspire the cadres with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, for we are a contingent and comrades-in-arms of the world-wide anti-imperialist front. Chairman Mao is leading the world revolution; victory will certainly be ours." We are boldly, resolutely and wholeheartedly following his revolutionary line.

Today, revolutionary armed struggle has been spreading rapidly in the whole of the countryside of Punjab. Revolutionary armed struggle is engulfing Hoshiarpur, Ropar, Patiala and Ludhiana. The guerrilla zone in Bhatinda-Sangrur is gradually extending itself. The annihilation of a D.S.P., the attack on the police post at Dadhahur and the snatching of a rifle from a police agent have created red terror in this area. The enemy has withdrawn small police pickets from the villages; small bands consisting of four or five policemen dare not enter the villages; they do so only in large numbers. The police have asked their agents to surrender their guns, because they cannot protect them from the "Naxalites". Smaller class enemies and the members of the evil gentry have been forced to come to a compromise with the Revolutionary Committees. The government policy to form "anti-Naxalite" squads with goondas equipped with guns supplied by the Government is failing. Village panchayets and other people are refusing to have guns from the government. They boldly assert that they have nothing to fear from the "Naxalites" because there is no enmity between them and the "Naxalites".

In this guerrilla zone the political power of the ruling classes is crumbling. The peasantry, especially the poor and landless peasants, are realizing that the revolutionary armed struggle is the only way of their liberation. They can analyse

and find out who are their enemies and who are their friends. That is why they are rallying round the red banner of the C.P.I.(M-L). The guerrilla units of the People's Liberation Army are smashing the age-old monopoly of political oppression and economic exploitation by the exploiting classes over the peasantry and are thus defending the prestige and dignity of the peasants. In order to safeguard their own dignity, the poor and landless peasants are relying more and more on the People's Liberation Army — their own army. They have realized that the institutions like panchayets, thana (police stations) and courts are only the instruments of exploitation in the hands of the ruling classes and have boycotted them. Our comrades in this region declare proudly: "From now on we will not allow the class enemies, the police agents and the evil gentry to outrage the honour of our peasant mothers, daughters and sisters. The evildoers shall be wiped out."

With the spread of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside of Punjab, the students and the toiling masses are joining the struggle for political power. The revolutionary students of Muktiswar are fighting a heroic battle to safeguard their dignity. The whole student community of Punjab joined their struggle. The university students at Patiala launched a strike-battle when a fellow student was arrested on the charge of being a "Naxalite", and secured his release. The students of the Sangrur College held an angry demonstration when a professor was arrested. In the Batala area ten thousand revolutionary people fought a heroic battle against the oppressor police of the reactionary Indira government and held an angry demonstration. The oppressor police had murdered two students and were propagating that they had been "Naxalites" and killed in an encounter. When a watchman of the S.S.D. Higher Secondary School was arrested by the police, the students and school staff jointly struck work and declared that they would keep the school closed until the watchman was released.

As the fascist character of the reactionary Indira government is thus being exposed, the people's resistance against it is growing from strength to strength. Chairman Mao has said: "WHERE THERE IS OPPRESSION, THERE IS RESISTANCE." When the sacred body of the heroic martyr, Comrade Jaspal Singh, was brought to his village Baladfala (Sangrur) the students of the nearby Kosba Bhahanigarh Higher Secondary School came to the village to pay their homage to this hero of agrarian revolution. A few other schools in the neighbouring villages also closed. The heroic masses of the whole village rent the sky with slogans like "Long Live Naxalbari", "Long Live Agrarian Revolution", and "Long Live Martyr Jaspal Singh". The same night the youth put up posters in the village announcing their determination to avenge the martyr. This is how revolutionary actions are taking place. The day is not far when the spark of the agrarian revolution will kindle a prairie fire throughout Punjab.

Under the leadership of the C.P.I.(M-L) the following guerrilla actions were carried out in Punjab during the last few months.

SANGRUR-BHATINDA :

A guerrilla squad of the People's Liberation Army of Dadhahoor village (Barnala) smashed the police post in the village on 23rd September. This action was carried out by six poor and landless peasants. Five mounted policemen were posted here. The revolutionary initiative of the commander, the flawless planning by the guerrillas and the intensity of the attack did not allow the enemy any chance to mount a resistance. The mercenary police force of the enemy just surrendered. Havildar Darbara Singh, in charge of the police post, made a frantic effort to kill one of our comrades and was therefore shot dead. Four 303 rifles and 200 rounds of ammunition were seized. The squad then raised the slogans "Long Live Agrarian Revolution," "Long Live Heroic Martyrs," "Long Live C.P.I.(M-L)," "Long Live Comrade Charu Mazumdar," "Long Live Chairman Mao," and danced a Bhangra dance to express their joy of victory and merged themselves in the vast ocean of the revolutionary peasant masses.

KAJHLA :

On 21st September a guerrilla squad of poor and landless peasants, annihilated Kapur in the evening. He was an exploiter of the worst type, usurer and lecher. His companions were allowed to go.

SANCHERA :

On September 17, the gun of an agent of a jagirdar (big landlord) was snatched. Earlier, a class enemy had been annihilated in this village and red political power was established. The peasants forced usurers to destroy the hand-notes (documents showing usurious loans at very exorbitant interest) in their possession.

The overseer Sukhdev of Canal Rest House was annihilated on September 21. This hated canal overseer helped the police to arrest our comrades. Recently he helped the police to capture three of our guerrilla comrades and finally to kill them. By annihilating him the guerrilla squad implemented the verdict of the People's Court.

PATIALA-ROPAR-LUDHIANA :

The peasants' armed struggle in this area has had to face many set-backs. On the one hand, the mercenary police force of the enemy have murdered nine of our heroic leading comrades, among whom were Daya Singh and Taresam Bawa. By making martyrs of them the reactionary Indira-Akali Government has tried its best to deprive our agrarian revolution of its leadership. On the other hand, the revisionist traitors who were hiding within the Party made every effort from within to put out the flames of armed revolution. Revolution succeeds only by combating revisionism. So the Party in this area won victories for the revolutionary line by waging ceaseless struggle against revisionism. Under the leadership of the reorganized Party Committees, the following actions have been carried out.

SONDA :

On September 9, three peasant guerrillas attacked a big jagirdar Harpal and severely wounded him. This goonda jagirdar dispossessed peasants of 100 acres of land. He was the chairman of the "Market Committee" and Sarpanch. After the attack he fled to the town. The guerrillas of this area attacked a notorious licence-holder and police agent and snatched his revolver. A guerrilla squad of the People's Liberation Army attacked the hated enemy Kripal's house with bombs. The peasants of this area have highly praised this action of the guerrilla squad. Red terror has been created among the police agents Kripal had helped the police to kill three of our comrades.

According to the latest reports, the Party units in the rural areas of Bhatinda-Sangrur are making rapid advance. Peasant youths are joining the guerrilla squads. The Indira Government has been confiscating the houses of Party functionaries and is shooting them to death. This brutal repression on our Party functionaries has aroused deep regard and boundless love among the peasants for them. The people treat the confiscated houses of our comrades as their own. Peasant women are looking after our guerrillas like their own children. For the first time in their lives our peasants have realised what revolution is and how it is carried forward. This is the result of armed struggle. That is why our peasants are devoting all their strength to advance revolution. The armed struggle of the peasants in our area has convinced us of the correctness of the teachings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar: "There need be no doubt whether so many tasks can be performed at the same time; for, the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses can carry out all these tasks with their many-sided genius." The revolutionary peasant masses are protecting our comrades, they are keeping an eye on the movement of the enemy and providing information about the activities of the enemy and their agents correctly and unmistakably.

Many villages in this region are free from class enemies and police agents. The political power of the exploiting classes has crumbled down. The people of the Barnala region look upon this area as a "Naxalite" base area. The enemy also is forced to admit this. The class-enemies who have so long plundered the people are fleeing from this area. Small landlords have given up their anti-peasant activities and are therefore being requested not to leave the villages by our peasant masses.

People are convening their own meetings and are deciding on the steps to be taken to defend the villages against police oppression. They are consolidating their unity in order not to allow the police to enter the villages. The people have decided not to sell even a piece of bread or tea to the police. A large police force went to Mahmadpur village to confiscate the houses of the comrades who have gone underground. The police were surrounded by the people. The D.S.P. escaped in his jeep. The people of the village gave a sound beating to the police force, who fled the village in panic. At this active co-operation of the revolutionary masses our comrades' revolutionary enthusiasm was enhanced greatly. With the confiscation of their houses our Party cadres' determination has grown stronger. They fear neither hardship nor death. Can the reactionary Indira government check the revolutionary high tide by unleashing white terror? No, never. This revolutionary high tide is sure to engulf the entire country and will inevitably sweep the Indian reactionaries and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters to their doom.

(The above is an incomplete report of the armed peasant struggle in Punjab --- Ed. Liberation.)

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

In his historic statement of May 20, Chairman Mao said: "A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world.....The danger of a new world war still exists and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

As in the world outside so in India, revolution is the main trend. A revolutionary upsurge is sweeping parts of India today and is sure to engulf the whole of India tomorrow. Indeed, we are in period of great upheaval --- an upheaval that has been and is being created by Naxalbari and by the years of struggle since then to make a living application of Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of India. This is a period without equal in the history of this country because Naxalbari was the first attempt by Indian revolutionaries to integrate Mao Tsetung Thought with revolutionary practice in India. That is why within the space of so short a period the single spark of Naxalbari has kindled a prairie-fire of armed peasant struggle in several parts of India and red political power has been established in some areas. That is why the onward march of the armed peasant struggle in India's countryside has inspired and is inspiring the working class and the petty bourgeois students and youths to rise in heroic revolts in towns and cities. That is why the camp of the Indian reactionaries and their revisionist agents, who together have dominated the Indian political scene for so long a time, is in disarray today: they actually become panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. The gloom that enveloped this ancient land of ours for centuries is being chased away by the bright radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought and the flames of the revolutionary armed peasant struggle guided by it. Both in theory and in practice the Indian revolution led by our beloved and respected leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has grown vastly richer since Naxalbari.

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

But, as the revolutionary armed peasant struggle spread tearing open the mask of the modern revisionists of various hues and isolating them from the revolutionary people -- particularly after the very successful Congress of the CPI (M-L), which has created a new wave of revolutionary struggle -- Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line began to be assailed more and more bitterly by the revisionists of a new interesting species who claim to be loyal followers of Chairman Mao and who too are loud--rather comically-- in hailing Naxalbari. Like the Sundarayya-Ranadive-Jyoti Basu clique, these revisionists of a somewhat strange breed characterize Comrade Charu Mazumdar's revolutionary line as 'left'-opportunism. We may be pardoned for the following lengthy quotation from the organ of a group of these wretched new-type revisionists: "This is also a time when some of the best revolutionary elements in the country are being wilfully led astray by the bureaucratic 'leadership' of CPI (M-L) headed by Charu Mazumdar. Completely abandoning the teachings of Comrade Mao Tsetung, Charu Mazumdar has set himself up as an oracle of Indian revolution and his 'thoughts' have driven a section of our valiant revolutionary youth to desperate adventurism which has nothing in common with a people's guerrilla war. He has openly announced that the 'con-

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spirators' must go to the villages and 'whisper' that so-and-so should be killed. Thus abandoning Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, Charu Mazumdar has provoked a section of our heroic youth into petty-bourgeois individual terrorism....Consequent white terror has physically eliminated or maimed revolutionary cadres who could have been valuable soldiers in a genuine people's army. The ardent youths who mistake the thoughts of Charu Mazumdar for those of Mao Tsetung have now been ordered to attack schools and hospitals and burn books on the plea of a 'cultural revolution'. Cultural revolution before capture of power: Change superstructure before basis. It is impossible that they (the revolutionary youth) should long be hoodwinked by the leadership of the CPI (M-L) by its careful avoidance of any reference to imperialism, to mass organisations, to economic struggles, to democratic struggles, to concrete steps towards the formation of a people's army."

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

guerrilla squads should be formed in a <u>conspiratorial</u> manner. It is overlooked that the need for maintaining the utmost secrecy in respect of organizational matters cannot be too much stressed in the present conditions in India. For long years, especially after 1951, the CPI led by the revisionist lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction renounced the path of revolution and took to the parliamentary path. Armed struggle was an anathema to them. Their path was the path of class collaboration, the path of the betrayal of the Indian revolution. Naturally, all party work was carried on in the open, the entire party organisation was fully exposed to the enemy. Even the proceedings of the meetings of the leading committees of the party were no secrets to the enemy. Without getting rid of this long revisionist practice, this revisionist habit, which would place the fighters at the tender mercy of the enemy, revolutionary armed struggle cannot be developed. There is perhaps no colony or semi-colony in the world where revisionism had such a stranglehold on the revolutionary movement for such a length of time. Secondly, the new Party has grown out of the old party dominated by the revisionist outlook. Within the new Party itself revolutionary forces are opposed by the counter-revolutionary forces. So, in the concrete conditions of India today, it is necessary to lay the greatest emphasis on the need for secrecy in organizational matters -- a need that is obvious and may not require emphasising in other countries and, at a later phase, in this country.

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

Will <u>open</u> mass organisations like kisan samitis (peasant associations) and trade unions and mass movements help in initiating the revolutionary armed struggle ? Our experience in India is that open mass organisations and mass movements for the realisation of economic demands, which the revisionists have always relied upon to divert the people from the path of revolutionary struggle, never gave and could never give revolutionary politics to the workers and peasants. On the other hand, <u>open</u> mass organisations, permitted by

the reactionary ruling classes, confine all mass movements within the confines of their laws and thus, help to preserve the illussion about the existing regimes, blunt the people's revolutionary consciousness and spread demoralisation among them. When these mass movements prove inconvenient to the enemy, they are invariably smashed, and the best and most militant peasants and workers and party cadre prove easy victims of police repression. Such open mass organisations and mass movements hinder, instead of helping, the growth of revolutionary armed struggle.

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

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

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

Chairman Mao has said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them." The guerrilla war, which has started as the battle for annihilation of class enemies in various areas and which is developing into a people's war, is today rousing the landless and poor peasants, unleashing their initiative and making them leaders of the revolution, mobilising the people as nothing else has ever done before, challenging the rule of the reactionaries and establishing people's political power in the countryside.

At the end of his Report to the Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China, Comrade Lin Piao quoted Chairman Mao as saying in 1962: "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."

Comrade Lin Piao then added: "This magnificent prospect farsightedly

envisioned by Chairman Mao illuminates our future path of advance and inspires all genuine Marxists-Leninists to fight valiantly for the realisation of the grand ideal of communism."

But, according to the wretched revisionists who try to don the cloak of Mao Tsetung Thought to hide their vile treachery, this magnificent prospect does not hold good for India and must not illuminate our path of future advance. In the name of the "uneven character of our revolution", some of them are even in favour of participating in parliamentary elections in places where the revolutionary struggle has not yet broken out. There are others, who too talk of the "uneven character of our revolution" and would impose a ban on the heroic revolts of the youth, workers and students in the cities and towns -- heroic revolts inspired by the valiant armed peasant struggle in the countryside. They distinguish between "offensive" and "defensive" actions and say what in essence is: "It is not right for the workers, students and youths in towns and cities to rebel against oppression and tyranny until the agrarian revolution has triumphed." Are these revolts futile and to be banned because they do not lead to immediate seizure of power in the cities and towns ? The revolutionary struggles of the workers, students and youths, inspired by and complementary to the armed agrarian revolution in the countryside, are actually rousing and mobilising millions of people in the urban areas -- in Calcutta, Durgapur, Krishnanagar, Santipur and various other towns -- on the side of the revolutionary peasants, are ceaselessly lashing at the rotten regime of the reactionaries and causing panic among the reactionaries, revisionists and their imperialist and social-imperialist masters, and are also creating a wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary peasants and helping the armed peasant struggle to surge forward. And Comrade Charu Mazumdar's line, that would not deny the right of the workers, students and youths to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that acclaims -- instead of joining all reactionaries, revisionists and the police in denouncing or putting down--their valiant struggles is, according to the new-type revisionists, the same as that of Ranadive in 1948-49 !

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

Referring to the historic May 20 statement of Chairman Mao, Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote: "Indian comrades, cast off all weakness, spread your struggle to every village, give up all ideas of self-defense. This is the era of self-sacrifice, the era of the liberation of the world. The exploited and oppressed masses of different countries will liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression. Take upon yourselves that sacred task, forget all ideas of self-defense, attack and destroy the enemy." This is fresh proof to the wretched scabs that Comrade Charu Mazumdar is leading the party to the path of left "adventurism". Is he not counterposing self-sacrifice against self-defense and self-preservation? Even a revisionist 'prize idiot' ought to know that revolution will take its toll of many precious lives. The road of revolution is a road crimson with the blood of many martyrs. This is what Chairman Mao teaches us: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurence." Modern revisionists were loud in blaming Chairman Mao as a war-monger bent upon driving the world towards a nuclear conflagration because he stood up to the blackmail of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists and refused to betray the cause of the world proletariat. To revisionists of all hues, surrender is sweeter than struggle, the path of treachery is more alluring than the road to revolution. That is why, to discourage and demoralise the fighting people, the revisionists always paint gruesome pictures of suffering, hardship and death, the price every revolution demands; but they never extol the death defying valour, utter selflessness and heroic self-sacrifice which revolutionaries alone are capable of. The flames of the great and glorious armed struggle in Srikakulam were personally kindled by Comrade Charu Mazumdar as Peking Review once put it. Whatever may be the difficulties or setbacks, this struggle can never be crushed by any power on earth. It is the revisionists who scamper about in fear whenever there is the least difficulty or setback. They preach cowardice, can hardly understand that the blood of martyrs never flows in vain.

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

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

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

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

In his historic statement of May 20 Chairman Mao said: "The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country."

It is a pity that the new-type revisionists have not the courage to say openly that Chairman Mao is the greatest "left"-opportunist of this era for he is telling all peoples all the world over that victory will certainly be theirs "if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country". Again and again, Chairman Mao has been calling upon the people of the world: "Dare to struggle and dare to win", for the day of the total collapse of imperialism and all other reaction, the day of the liberation of mankind, is at hand. In this earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period, Chairman Mao has been telling the revolutionary people of the world: "Fear neither hardship nor death." Comrade Lin Piao concluded his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China with the ringing call of Chairman Mao: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." The call of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, overflowing with revolutionary passion and revolutionary optimism, conveys the same spirit, the spirit that Chairman Mao wants to rouse among the people of the world, the spirit that every revisionist dreads.

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

One of the richest aspects of Mao Tsetung Thought is the importance it attaches to the human element, to the revolutionary transformation within the individual, to the birth of the new man-- the socialist man -- the man who has rid himself of all selfish thoughts, is imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice and has conquered the fear of death. The new man emerges out of the fire of the revolutionary struggle and carries the revolutionary struggle through to victory. How can this revolutionary transformation take place, if the Party and the people are not imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice?

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

To hoodwink the revolutionary people the counter revolutionary revision-

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

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

In his article "Why must we form the Party now" (Liberation, March 1969), Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote: "Refusal to recognise the inevitability of struggle within the Party will give rise to idealist deviations. In this age revisionism is counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the inner-party struggle--the struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary ideology--will continue. 'Unity, struggle, unity' -- this means that counter-revolutionary revisionism must be fought and defeated. Only then unity is possible but that unity is not lasting. New contradictions will arise, revisionism will try to appear in new forms. That is why struggle has to be waged at a new level...The Party will develop through constant struggles -- both against the enemy outside and against alien trends within. Through these struggles the Party will grow in strength, act as the vanguard of the revolution in order to serve the people, transform itself and transform the whole society."

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

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CHINA'S CHAIRMAN

IS

OUR CHAIRMAN:

CHINA'S PATH

IS

OUR PATH!

Charu Mazumdar

LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (M-L).