

Liberation

June '68

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Quotation from
Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains

—Mao Tse-tung

[This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China.]

We have had a very successful congress. We have done three things. First, we have decided on the line of our Party, which is boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China. Second, we have adopted the new Party Constitution. Third, we have elected the leading body of the Party—the Central Committee. Henceforth our task is to lead the whole membership in carrying out the Party line. Ours has been a congress of victory, a congress of unity. The delegates have made excellent comments on the three reports.¹ Many comrades have undertaken self-criticism and, setting out with unity as the objective, have arrived at unity through self-criticism. This congress is a model of unity, of self-criticism and of inner-Party democracy.

When the congress closes, many comrades will be leaving for their posts and the various war fronts. Comrades, wherever you go, you should propagate the line of the congress and, through the members of the Party, explain it to the broad masses.

Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution. We must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and

unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory. But this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with the conviction that China belongs not to the reactionaries but to the Chinese people. There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Yesterday, in a talk with two Americans who were leaving for the United States, I said that the U. S. government was trying to undermine us and this would not be permitted. We oppose the U. S. government's policy of supporting Chiang

Kai-shek against the Communists. But we must draw distinction, firstly, between the people of the United States and their government and, secondly, within the U. S. government between the policy-makers and their subordinates. I said to these two Americans, "Tell the policy-makers in your government that we forbid you Americans to enter the Liberated Areas because your policy is to support Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists, and we have to be on our guard. You can come to the Liberated Areas if your purpose is to fight Japan, but there must first be an agreement. We will not permit you to nose around everywhere. Since Patrick J. Hurley² has publicly declared against co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party, why do you still want to come and prowl around in our Liberated Areas?"

The U. S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists shows the brazenness of the U. S. reactionaries. But all scheming of the reactionaries, whether Chinese or foreign, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory is doomed to failure. The democratic forces are the main current in the world today, while reaction is only a counter-current. The reactionary counter-current is trying to swamp the main current of national independence and people's democracy, but it can never become the main current. Today, there are still three major contradictions in the old world, as Stalin pointed out long ago: first, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries; second, the contradiction between the various imperialist powers; and third, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the imperialist metropolitan countries.³ Not only do these three contradictions continue to exist but they are becoming more acute and widespread. Because of their existence and growth, the time will come when the reactionary anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-democratic counter-current still in existence today will be swept away.

At this moment two congresses are being held in China, the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang and the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party. They

have completely different aims : the aim of one is to liquidate the Communist Party and all the other democratic forces in China and thus to plunge China into darkness ; the aim of the other is to overthrow Japanese imperialism and its lackeys, the Chinese feudal forces, and build a new-democratic China and thus to lead China to light. These two lines are in conflict with each other. We firmly believe that, led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by the line of its Seventh Congress, the Chinese people will achieve complete victory, while the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary line will inevitably fail.

—June 11, 1945

NOTES

¹ These three reports were : the political report made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the military report and the report on the revision of the Party Constitution.

² Patrick J. Hurley, a reactionary Republican Party politician, was appointed U. S. ambassador to China towards the end of 1944. In November 1945 he was forced to resign because his support for Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist policy roused the firm opposition of the Chinese people. Hurley's open declaration against co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party was made on April 2, 1945 at a U. S. State Department press conference in Washington.

³ See J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, pp. 74-82.

Declaration OF THE All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries

The All India Co-ordination Committee of the Revolutionaries of the CPI(M) met on the eve of the first anniversary of the Naxalbari peasant uprising and reviewed the developments that had taken place since its first meeting six months before. In view of the changed situation the Committee decided to issue a new Declaration and also to change its name to the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries.

The following is the full text of the Declaration :

The spring thunder that burst over India just a year ago proclaimed to the world the dawn of a new era in India's history. Inspired by Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Chairman Mao, and led by communist revolutionaries, the brave peasants of Naxalbari rose arms in hand to break the shackles that bound them. They demonstrated once again the bankruptcy of the parliamentary path pursued by all revisionists, open or disguised. Since then the message of Naxalbari, the message of armed peasant struggle under the leadership of the working class, has spread to the remotest hamlets of India and, under its influence, innumerable peasant struggles have broken out in different parts of the country. While it has caused alarm to the U. S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, the big Indian landlords and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and their lackeys—the Dange renegade clique and the neo-revisionists, the toiling people of India and all revolutionaries, irrespective of party affiliation, have hailed it with joy and hope. To them Naxalbari represents

a road—the road illumined by the bright light of the thought of Chairman Mao, the road to the liberation of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world, the road that led to the victory of the great Chinese revolution.

India, which was a colony of Britain a little over twenty years ago, has now become a neo-colony of several imperialist powers, chief among which are the U. S. A. and the Soviet Union. The U. S. imperialists, the most aggressive enemies of all mankind, are also the worst enemies of the Indian people. Their neo-colonial grip over India is now complete.

The Soviet renegade ruling clique, which has set up again a bourgeois dictatorship in the first socialist state of the world, is actively collaborating with U. S. imperialism and has turned India into a neo-colony of both the U. S. A. and the Soviet Union. India provides the classic example of the collaboration of the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet neo-colonialists for joint world domination.

The deepening economic and political crisis is the result of the extremely acute contradictions between the ruling classes and the people. In this era when the capitalist-imperialist system is heading towards its final collapse, the contradictions in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India between the imperialist, neo-colonial powers and our people, between the feudal classes and the peasantry, between comprador-bureaucrat capital and the working class have grown sharper than ever. Today, U. S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, the big Indian landlords and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie are the main enemies of the Indian people, the four mountains that weigh heavily on the back of our toiling people.

The People's Democratic Revolution can succeed only by overthrowing the direct and indirect rule of these sworn enemies. Under the leadership of the working class, the peasantry, the main force of the revolution, must set up revolutionary base areas in the countryside, wage a protracted armed struggle, encircle the cities from the countryside and finally seize them and win ultimate nation-wide victory. The firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry will serve as the basis of the united front which will include the

working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The success of the Indian revolution will depend on how far the revolutionaries and the people are imbued with the thought of Chairman Mao, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our era. The propagation of the thought of Chairman Mao is the foremost task of all Communist revolutionaries. Not conspiratorial methods but the mass line alone must be pursued if the enemies of the Indian people are to be overthrown.

Revisionists of all hues—the Dange renegades as well as the neo-revisionist clique—have proved to be the lackeys of U. S. imperialism, Soviet neo-colonialism and domestic reactionaries and are, beyond dispute, enemies of the Indian people. At Burdwan, the neo-revisionist leaders have put the final seal of approval on an anti-Marxist, revisionist ideological-political line but, faced with the opposition of the revolutionaries and the people, they have grown more wily and crafty than before. Only opportunists, not Marxist-Leninists, can remain within this party which has adopted a stand that repudiates Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Chairman Mao, and rejects the road of violent revolution in favour of the parliamentary path. It has become quite evident after Burdwan that the neo-revisionists, like the Dange renegades, have joined the counter-revolutionary camp and, while paying lip-service to Marxism-Leninism, are engaged in actively sabotaging the agrarian revolution that is breaking out. Those who hold that there is yet scope for inner-party struggle are sowing illusions among the ranks of the anti-revisionist fighters and preventing them from consolidating themselves.

Today, India has acquired a pivotal importance in the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the U. S. imperialists and Soviet neo-colonialists. With the willing and active collaboration of India's ruling classes they are trying to build up India as a powerful citadel of reaction for fighting the forces of the Indian revolution, for undermining the great and glorious national liberation struggles of the Vietnamese people and of other peoples of South and South-east Asia and for aggression against Socialist China. With that end in view and in perfect collusion with the U. S. imperialists, the Soviet

renegades have stepped up their supplies of military hardware, including supersonic jet bombers and submarines to the Indian reactionary ruling classes, set up MIG factories and missile bases on the Indian soil, and are trying to secure ocean bases for their warships in the Andaman and Nicobar islands. The world today is divided into two camps—one headed by the U. S. imperialists and their chief accomplice, the Soviet neo-colonialists, and the other led by Socialist China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This is the era of Chairman Mao Tse-tung when imperialism is on the eve of its final collapse and socialism is marching towards its ultimate, world-wide victory. The victory of the Indian people, a contingent of the great anti-imperialist army of the world's people, over imperialism and its accomplices and lackeys, is certain.

In this historic hour we appeal once again to all revolutionaries throughout India, who accept the thought of Chairman Mao, to unite their forces and co-ordinate their struggles so that the victory of the Indian revolution may be nearer. Let us all rally under the red banner of Chairman Mao's thought, let us apply his thought to the concrete conditions in India, and let us build up a true Communist Party of India in the course of revolutionary struggles of the Naxalbari type, for revolution cannot be victorious without a revolutionary party. We take this opportunity to urge all revolutionaries who have firm faith in Chairman Mao's thought and have rebelled against the leadership of the revisionists and neo-revisionists, but who are still maintaining separate groups, to liquidate the groups and consolidate themselves within the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. They should realise that the existence of separate groups at this time is quite harmful to the cause of the Indian revolution.

The final doom of imperialism and its chief ally, revisionism, is near: the victory of the Indian revolution will bring that great day nearer. In his latest statement Chairman Mao Tse-tung has predicted:

"It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."

—May 14, 1968

The Indian People's Democratic Revolution

—Charu Mazumdar

The victory of the People's Democratic Revolution in this country of 500 million people will lead to the inevitable collapse of world imperialism and revisionism.

The People's Democratic Revolution in this country can be led to a victorious end only in opposition to all the imperialist powers of the world. Particularly, we shall have to reckon with U. S. imperialism, the leader of world imperialism. U. S. imperialism has not only adopted all the aggressive features of pre-war Germany, Italy and Japan, but has further developed them to a great extent. It has extended its aggressive activities to all corners of the globe and has enmeshed India in its neo-colonialist bondage. The Vietnamese people are in the forefront of the struggle against this aggressive imperialism, which is raging in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victorious Indian revolution will destroy this imperialist monster.

The People's Democratic Revolution in this country will have to be carried through to a victorious end by actively opposing the Soviet Union—the land of the great October Socialist Revolution. This is because the present leaders of the Soviet state, party and army have adopted a revisionist line and set up bourgeois dictatorship in their country. In collusion with the U. S. imperialists, they have extended their exploitation and established their domination over various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In India, the Soviet leaders have become, the chief pedlar of U. S. imperialism despite their flaunting of the name of the great Lenin. With the help of their stooges (the Dange clique and the neo-revisionist clique) nurtured by themselves, the Soviet

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leaders are turning India into a field for their unrestricted exploitation and are deceiving the fighting masses, thus proving themselves to be the running dogs of U. S. imperialism and friends of the Indian reactionaries. The victory of the Indian revolution will not only bury Soviet revisionism and its Indian lackeys in the soil of India, but also ensure its death all over the world.

The People's Democratic Revolution in our country can be led to a victorious end only on the basis of the thought of Chairman Mao. The extent to which one assimilates and applies the thought of the Chairman will determine whether one is a revolutionary or not. Moreover, the extent of the revolutionary upsurge will depend on how widely we can spread and propagate the Chairman's thought among the peasants and workers. This is because the Chairman's thought is not merely the Marxism-Leninism of the present era, the Chairman has advanced Marxism-Leninism itself to a completely new stage. That is why the present era has become the era of the Chairman's thought.

The People's Democratic Revolution in India has to be directed against the bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie in the country and against feudal exploitation in the vast rural areas. Because forty crores of people out of the total population of fifty crores live in the rural areas in our country and because even today, feudal exploitation continues to be the main form of exploitation to which they are subjected, the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords in the countryside remains even today the main contradiction. This contradiction can only be resolved in the countryside through the establishment of liberated zones by the peasants' armed forces under working class leadership. This is the biggest and most important task that faces us today, for India is at present going through a period of revolutionary upsurge and this path pointed out by the Chairman is being increasingly accepted by growing numbers of peasants and revolutionary masses.

Our revolution has to be directed against the Congress

government which represents the bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie and which, frightened by the post-war mass upheaval, came to terms with the imperialists with the help of the feudal lords. The leaders of the so-called Communist Party of India actively co-operated with these reactionary forces either in the name of making compromises or by open betrayal. They have disgraced the red banner which was dyed in the blood of the heroes of Kayyur, the fighters of Punnapra and Vayullur, the fearless heroes of Telangana and hundreds of martyrs of Bengal and other parts of the country. Today, all the political parties of India have turned into active accomplices of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reactionaries, and become enemies of the revolution. That is why the new democratic revolution in India can be victorious only under the leadership of the working class and by following the thought of the Chairman.

To organise this new-democratic revolution and lead it to victory we need a party of the working class, a Communist Party, whose political ideology will be Marxism-Leninism and its highest development—the thought of Mao Tse-tung. But how can such a party be built? Could we perhaps gather together the various so-called Marxists who profess the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and revolt against the leadership of their party, and declare that a Mao-ist party has been formed? Certainly not. Because merely raising the banner of revolt is not enough to build up a Mao-ist party. These rebel comrades must apply in practice the thought of the Chairman and must thereby train up worker and peasant cadres. Only then can we claim to have made progress in building up a genuine Mao-ist party.

The old political cadres will no doubt be in such a party. But, basically, such a party will be formed with the youth of the working class, the peasantry and the toiling middle class, who not only accept the thought of the Chairman in words but also apply the same in their own lives, spread and propagate it among the broad masses and build bases of armed struggle in the countryside. Such a party will not only be a revolutionary

party but will at the same time be the people's armed forces and the people's state power. Each and every member of such a party must participate in struggles in the military, political, economic and cultural spheres. We must immediately take in hand the task of building such a party. It may not be possible right now to build up such a party on an all-India basis but that should not discourage us. We must begin our work wherever we can build up such a party no matter how small that area may be. We must shed fears of being in the minority and advance with unshakeable faith in the thought of the Chairman. Our task is in no way easy, but is extremely difficult. Our struggle will generate new enthusiasm in the minds of all the fighting people of the world. Only thus can we successfully help the heroic fighters of Vietnam. Only such a revolutionary party can successfully lead the armed struggle and build up the broadest united front—the two weapons with which the revolution can be led to a victorious end.

Those who think that our main task is to attract the great majority of the members of the so-called Marxist parties towards us and that a revolutionary party can be built up in this way, are consciously or unconsciously thinking of forming only another party for fighting elections. They forget that the members of these so-called Marxist parties, whatever revolutionary qualities they may still possess, have been accustomed to the practice of unadulterated revisionism and as a result of this practice, have lost many of their revolutionary qualities. They must undergo the process of new practice to become revolutionaries again. This is why a revolutionary party cannot be built up by relying upon the members of the old party. The new party must be built up with the fresh revolutionary youth of the working class, the peasantry and the middle class by educating them in the thought of the Chairman and through revolutionary practice.

The primary condition for building up a revolutionary party is to organise armed struggle in the countryside. Until this task is taken in hand all talk of revolution simply

amounts to accepting revolution in words only. And so they are, as the Chairman has said, revolutionaries in words. But our party will be built up with those who are revolutionaries in deeds. Otherwise, the party will be reduced to a debating society, like the Burdwan plenum.

What happened at Burdwan? The Soviet ruling clique has become the number one enemy of the national liberation movements of various countries and is openly working for the destruction of the national revolutions; yet, people engaged themselves in a heated controversy at Burdwan over the extent of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. To engage oneself in a controversy over the restoration of capitalism in a country where the proletarian dictatorship has already been abolished and bourgeois dictatorship established, is to confuse the people and to blunt the edge of struggle against the main enemy. So, what happened at Burdwan has gladdened the hearts of the revisionists of the world, and marks the success of the revisionist conspiracy. Not a single person attending the Burdwan plenum broke away from these revisionist traitors.

So, if we rely on the revolutionary force inside the party we shall never be able to build up a revolutionary party. We must lay our main stress on the hundreds of thousands of young people outside the party. Only then can we build up a genuinely revolutionary party and establish revolutionary bases of armed struggle.

Comrades! A great responsibility rests on us. All the reactionaries of the world have turned our country into their base and are using it as the centre for destroying the liberation struggles of South-east Asia. They are trying to use India as their base for supplying cannon fodder for their aggression against the great Chinese people. It was precisely this that the renegade Kosygin, Tito and Chester Bowles conspired about with Indira Gandhi in New Delhi recently. So to make revolution in our country is a great international responsibility. This is exactly why the little spark of Naxalbari brings joy and enthusiasm to the fighting people of entire South-east Asia, to the leaders of the great Chinese Party—the leaders of the

world revolution—and to the revolutionary peoples of the entire world.

A most sacred international responsibility lies on our shoulders and we absolutely must fulfil it. There is no doubt that this would demand heavy sacrifices from us but what revolutionary ever feared to make sacrifice?

Chairman Mao teaches: *We must dare to fight and dare to win.* He is still with us. Victory shall be ours!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Long live India's new-democratic revolution!

We regret our inability to publish, as announced in the last issue, the Andhra comrades' *Alternative Draft on Ideological Issues* in *Liberation*. The Draft with a Note attended to it will be available as a separate book in the third week of June, 1968.

—Editorial Board *Liberation*

NOTES

THE STORM RISES

Twenty-two years ago the working class of France lay down its arms at the instance of the Communist Party of France after waging for several years heroic armed struggles against the Nazi invaders. The Communist Party had taken leading role in organizing partisan warfare against Hitler's hordes and emerged after the Second World War as the strongest party in France—the leader of an army of armed partisans and the leader of a united front of the revolutionary classes. But the leaders of the Communist Party chose to throw away all the precious gains: they disarmed the working class and other toiling people, joined a coalition cabinet with parties of the bourgeoisie and became lackeys of the exploiting classes. The inevitable happened. Before the year was out, the French bourgeoisie, taking its inspiration from the U. S. imperialists, dismissed the Communist members of the cabinet. The Communist Party of France only plunged deeper and deeper into the morass of parliamentarism. For more than ten years the U. S. imperialists tried their best to extend their domination over France, which had been battered by the Second World War and was being exhausted by the colonial wars, first in Vietnam and afterwards in Algeria. Then, during the last ten years, the French monopolists under de Gaulle have tried to fight back against the economic, political and military domination of the U. S. imperialists, and inter-imperialist contradictions have grown quite sharp. But during all these years the Communist Party of France has played a most inglorious role. With the rise of Khrushchov revisionism, it has unashamedly flaunted its revisionist ideas, renounced the struggle for seizure of political power and worked hard to confine all struggles of the toiling people within the sphere of economism. With the leaders of the

working class turned renegades, France remained steeped in darkness.

But the events since May 3 show beyond doubt that the forces of darkness are not as powerful as they seem and that the people of France have not forgotten the revolutionary heritage of the Paris Commune. Neither threats nor violent repressive measures, neither economic inducements nor all the manoeuvres of the revisionist traitors, have succeeded in suppressing the vast struggle of the French students and workers, whose reverberations have filled the whole world.

It was the revolt of students that sparked off the revolt of the workers. What the students were attacking was not merely some flaws in the educational system but the very basis of the capitalist system itself. They were in revolt against the system that turned them into "future managerial cadres, the exploiters, the watchdogs of the bourgeois society or its parasites." General de Gaulle's government, the government of French monopoly capital, unleashed brutal violence against the students. But the surging student movement throughout France, the huge demonstrations, the battles in the streets, the heroic fights at the barricades forced the arrogant authorities to retreat and to concede the demands of the students.

The students who were fighting the rule of capital itself knew that the working class must join and lead the battle if the capitalist system was to be overthrown. They went in processions to the factories, invited the workers to the universities and discussed with them how best to rid France of the rule of the bourgeoisie. Foiling all the attempts of the revisionist traitors to isolate the workers from the heroic struggle of the students, the working class assumed the leadership of the struggle and about ten million workers have gone on strike for days paralysing the economic life of the country. Then, following the example of the students who had occupied the universities, the workers took over the factories one by one.

What was the role of the revisionist traitors during these

historic days of May? At first *l'Humanite*, their organ, spoke contemptuously of the student leaders and tried by all means to prevent the fraternisation of workers with the student rebels. Though the unions under their control refused to respond to the students' invitations, bands of young workers joined the students, even at the barricades. The alarm of the revisionists at the growing movement was reflected in a Tass report carried by the Soviet revisionist organ *Pravda* on May 8. It shamelessly condemned the student leaders as "instigators of the riot" and appreciated the punishment meted out to them by the French ruling clique. But sensing the revolutionary mood of the French workers and students the revisionist renegades changed their tune and "jumped on the bandwagon in order to put on the brakes," as Paul Johnson wrote in *New Statesman*. They tried to sabotage the joint struggles of workers and students by every means at their command. They tried, but failed, to prevent the great demonstrations of May 13 and May 27. To quote Paul Johnson again [*New Statesman*, May 24], "Their men stopped the workers from joining hands with students in taking over factories. But they could not halt the take-overs themselves and were obliged to cover such action with their authority." In order to disrupt the unprecedented revolutionary struggle which had spread from Paris to almost all the towns of France—a struggle that was shaking the very foundations of the capitalist system—the 'Communist' CGT, France's biggest federation of trade unions, drew up a list of purely economic demands: a steep rise in pay, a 40-hour week, big improvements in social insurances, etc. and entered into negotiations with the Government and the employers. Writing in *New Statesman* of May 24, K. S. Karol commented: "One should not be surprised, therefore, that in these circumstances the CGT has for the first time in its career become the hope of the frightened French establishment. The *Patronat*, the employers' organization, would prefer, of course, to discuss wage rates rather than accept the challenge to the management system or the structure of the society. And so even traditional rightists are suddenly praising the communist

federation of unions for its discipline and statesmanlike behaviour."

The immediate reaction of the workers was to spurn the offer of wage increase by about 10 per cent of their pay and to rebuff the revisionist leaders, particularly Seguy, the Secretary-General of the C.G.T. So General de Gaulle has been forced to dissolve the National Assembly, reshuffle the cabinet and call a general election for June 23 and 30. At the same time, de Gaulle paid a flying visit to the headquarters of the French forces in West Germany on May 30. "The official confirmation," reports *The Statesman* of June 1, "followed a variety of rumours that the French President held talks with General Jacques Massu, C-in-C, of the French forces here, and other French Generals on the possibility of transferring French troops from West Germany to France." The meaning is clear. To escape from the crisis that threatens their rule, the French monopolists have offered the people the sop of another general election and are, at the same time, preparing for a civil war against the workers and students. On the one hand, the ruling class is using the general election as a counter-revolutionary manoeuvre to divert the struggle along the bankrupt parliamentary road; on the other, they are even planning to bring back troops from West Germany in case the people reject the parliamentary path. And in these desperate efforts of the French ruling class to preserve the present system of exploitation and to impose a fascist regime of violence and terror, they are greatly assisted by the French revisionists. "The C.P. and the Gaullists", to use the words of Paul Johnson, "are natural allies...Both have a stake in society—in the status quo—and a good deal to lose by radical change."

Already the heroic struggle of the French workers and students has provided inspiration to students and workers elsewhere, especially, in the countries of Western Europe including Franco's Spain. No doubt, the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China must have had a deep influence on the advanced students and workers of France. A few months ago the Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist)

came into existence. The long spell of revisionism is going to be over: Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, is winning in the battle for men's minds.

The French monopolists and their lackeys—the modern revisionists—may succeed this time in maintaining the status quo but a mightier struggle led by France's working class will surely sweep these enemies away in no distant future and emancipate the toiling people of France. The contradictions between the monopolists and the toiling people will grow more and more acute with the passing of days. The French economy, like the economy of other imperialist countries, the U. S. A., Britain etc. is faced with a deepening crisis. Last year, in France, industrial production was at its lowest ebb, the number of jobless persons was the highest in more than 20 years, and prices rose sharply. The home market for French goods is shrinking and they face a more and more severe competition in the international market. The budget deficits and the trade deficits with countries outside the franc zone are mounting. The prospects for the ruling class are quite dismal. The entire capitalist-imperialist system is heading fast towards complete collapse. The present struggle, the prelude to greater struggles to come, has helped in intensifying the contradictions between the French monopolists and the toiling people, between the various monopoly groups and imperialism, in unmasking and isolating the revisionist traitors, and in restoring faith and confidence to the working class. After this struggle France, nay Europe, will never be the same again.

—June 1, 1968

THE MISSION THAT SHALL FAIL

Mrs Indira Gandhi seems to have been allotted quite an important role in the sordid drama of intrigues against the people of South and South-east Asia by the imperialists and their chief allies, the Soviet renegades. The lady is trying to play her part well. What else can she do when her fate, the

federation of unions for its discipline and statesmanlike behaviour."

The immediate reaction of the workers was to spurn the offer of wage increase by about 10 per cent of their pay and to rebuff the revisionist leaders, particularly Seguy, the Secretary-General of the C.G.T. So General de Gaulle has been forced to dissolve the National Assembly, reshuffle the cabinet and call a general election for June 23 and 30. At the same time, de Gaulle paid a flying visit to the headquarters of the French forces in West Germany on May 30. "The official confirmation," reports *The Statesman* of June 1, "followed a variety of rumours that the French President held talks with General Jacques Massu, C-in-C, of the French forces here, and other French Generals on the possibility of transferring French troops from West Germany to France." The meaning is clear. To escape from the crisis that threatens their rule, the French monopolists have offered the people the sop of another general election and are, at the same time, preparing for a civil war against the workers and students. On the one hand, the ruling class is using the general election as a counter-revolutionary manoeuvre to divert the struggle along the bankrupt parliamentary road; on the other, they are even planning to bring back troops from West Germany in case the people reject the parliamentary path. And in these desperate efforts of the French ruling class to preserve the present system of exploitation and to impose a fascist regime of violence and terror, they are greatly assisted by the French revisionists. "The C.P. and the Gaullists", to use the words of Paul Johnson, "are natural allies....Both have a stake in society—in the status quo—and a good deal to lose by radical change."

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fate of India's ruling classes, is intimately tied with that of her neo-colonial masters, old and new? All of them are threatened with extinction by the surging tide of national liberation struggle. U.S. imperialism has its own special problems too. It has over-reached itself and can hardly act the policeman everywhere. The British imperialists also have been forced by an insoluble economic crisis to declare their intention to withdraw from bases east of Suez. The imperialists and the Soviet renegades want their lackeys to do the act of policing and guarding their neo-colonial possessions. Their policy is the same old policy of Dulles, the policy of making Asians fight Asians in the interest of the neo-colonialists.

The year 1954, the year of Dien Bien Phu, saw the birth of the SEATO, Dulles's child, which was intended to further the U.S. imperialists' ambitions of turning the whole of Indo-China, excluding North Vietnam, into a U.S. neo-colony, to stem the tide of national liberation struggles in South-east Asia, and to act as an instrument of aggression against China. The device failed to work; so did other devices like the ANZUS.

South-east Asia and East Asia are not the same today as in Dulles's time. The whole of South Vietnam is going to be a Dien Bien Phu for the U.S. imperialists, despite more than half a million U.S. soldiers there. It has already started a chain reaction throughout the region. In Laos, Thailand and Burma, People's War is spreading like a prairie-fire. In Malay, Indonesia, the Philippines and India, armed struggles have already started. Shattering all the fond dreams of revisionist renegades, Socialist China, the centre of world revolution, has scotched the possibility of the restoration of capitalism there by carrying out successfully the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and has grown immensely strong politically, economically and militarily. On the other hand, the imperialist camp is ridden by crisis after crisis. One has to read the account of U. S. Secretary of State Rusk's latest interview with the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee to learn what anxiety and what fear have gripped the minds of the most powerful imperialists of the world. The logic

of their policy forces them to expand the war in South-east Asia but the disaster in Vietnam, the mood of their people and the state of their economy, besides other factors, hardly permit them to do so. Hence the need for a wider SEATO in which all the lackeys of this region—from Japan to India—are to be herded together. The lackeys must provide the cannon-fodder for the 'holy' war against "subversion" (the term in the imperialist vocabulary for national liberation struggles) and Socialist China.

Ten years ago, the prestige of India's rulers had not fallen so low. For fear of being unmasked, they would have shuddered to rub their upright shoulders with imperialism's open stooges like the ruling classes of Australia, New Zealand and Malay. There were imperialism's lackeys both open and disguised. Lackeys in disguise were called the "non-aligned" powers, and India then belonged to this category. Today, things have changed quite grievously for India's ruling classes. They have to throw off the mask and, at the behest of the U. S. imperialists and Soviet renegades, must play an active role in setting up an alliance of all stooges of South-east and East Asia to undermine the People's War in Vietnam—if possible—and national liberation struggles elsewhere and to conspire against China. (How do the Ranadives describe this policy of India's reactionary ruling classes? To them it is a policy of gradual surrender to imperialism, one of active hostility to China and national liberation struggles within the broad framework of neutrality and non-alignment! For the Ranadives this act of surrender will never be complete.)

So Mrs Indira Gandhi flew to Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia. It was indeed a "voyage of discovery"—an attempt to discover how far the brother stooges would be able to pool their strength to keep back the surging waves of national liberation struggle. Who were her illustrious hosts? They were the Prime Minister of Singapore—who is terribly upset over the prospect of withdrawal of the British military forces from that island, the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand—who are members of the U. S.-

sponsored aggressive alliances, SEATO and ANZUS, and whose troops were sent to fight in Korea and are still fighting in Vietnam, Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman of Malaysia—a bastion of imperialism enjoying sham independence like Singapore.

It may not be unprofitable to examine the performance of Mrs Indira Gandhi during her visit to these countries.

“At the Press Conference Mrs Gandhi held this morning,” wrote the *Statesman's* correspondent from Singapore on May 20, “the focus of interest was unmistakably on India’s attitude to security problems of South-east Asia”. On the same day, a Reuter message from Singapore stated: “Mrs Gandhi and the Singapore Premier, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, are understood to have concurred on the need to broadbase ASEAN—the economic grouping of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore.” “While answering a question by an Australian reporter,” the *Statesman* correspondent added, “she noted with satisfaction the interest Australia and New Zealand were now taking in neighbouring Asia.” The *Statesman* correspondent explained this interest in his report of May 23 from Melbourne: “Australia has involved itself in Asia since 1950 when it sent in an Air Force squadron to Malaysia in support of the British forces dealing with Communist insurgency in that country.” And, as we have noted before, the reactionary ruling classes of Australia and New Zealand sent their troops to help the U. S. imperialists to overrun two Asian countries, Korea and Vietnam. This is the kind of interest taken by Australia and New Zealand in Asia, that Mrs. Gandhi “notes with satisfaction” !

Welcoming her, Mr Gorton, Prime Minister of Australia, said: “Australia also had a lively interest in that area [South-east Asia]. It is prepared to commit manpower and money to maintain not only a military presence there but also to promote economic development.” Writing from Melbourne, the *Statesman* correspondent reported, “There continues to be keen interest in Mrs Gandhi’s visit in the context of possible co-operation between India and Australia in the troubled South-

east Asian region. Bruce Grant, a leading foreign affairs commentator, writing in *The Age of Melbourne*, assumes that like Indonesia, India would not object to an Australian military presence in South-east Asia....Jonathan Gaul, writing in *Canberra Times* this morning, took the line that Mrs Gandhi’s posture has strengthened the Australian Prime Minister’s hand in pursuing a policy of greater involvement in Asia.” (*The Statesman*, May 24)

Mrs Gandhi gave herself away when she said at Canberra that India understood the anxiety felt by some South-east Asian countries about their security. “It should be possible,” she added, “to allay their anxiety by providing international guarantees for neutrality and independence of this troubled area.” On returning home she repeated the same thing. A Reuter message from New Delhi reads: “She also said that the neutrality of South-east Asia could only be guaranteed if all the big Powers accepted the undertaking.” (*The Statesman*, June 2)

Who are the big Powers whose guarantees she is seeking? They are the two super-powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., who actually made her undertake this business of peddling the idea of a more broadbased ASEAN. The guarantees of these neo-colonial powers are already there. When the U.S.A. is actually doing the fighting, the Soviet renegades have taken upon themselves the task of equipping the reactionary classes of the different countries of this region with all kinds of weapons of mass murder. They only want their lackeys to contribute more manpower and materials to keep their neo-colonial possessions safe for them. An Asian coalition of reactionaries with Australia and New Zealand as guest members and with both the super-powers to lead it—that is the ideal Mrs Gandhi and her neo-colonial masters seek to achieve !

Against whom are the “international guarantees” needed? The invisible presence of China, no doubt, dominated all these talks between the brother and sister stooges. Does Mrs Gandhi really believe that the Chinese People’s Liberation Army will soon march across South-east Asia? No, she is not

as thick-headed as to believe that. Actually, these people were all the time afraid of "subversion" and were all the time thinking of measures to defeat "subversion." Reporting from Canberra on May 22, the *Statesman* correspondent said, "The Indian side reiterated its belief that military invasion from outside was less of a threat than the danger of subversion from within, aided and abetted by China. This assessment seemed to be shared by Australian officials who voiced their country's readiness to assist Malaysia and Singapore with training equipment and supplies." Again, in a message from Kuala Lumpur, dated May 31, the *Statesman* correspondent wrote: "It is believed to be the Tunku's assessment, as of Mrs Gandhi's, that attempts at subversion are more likely than frontal assaults. Tunku evidently referred in this context to continuing activities of the Malayan Communist Party from jungle hideouts in the Thailand-Malaysia border area."

Poor Mr Tunku! Poor Mrs Gandhi! "Subversion" has become the order of the day not only in Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Burma but also in India itself! The toiling peoples of these countries are resolved to "subvert" the existing social system that bleeds them white and keeps them under the subjection of imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital. And they are receiving extremely valuable help and support from China. It is the thought of Chairman Mao, especially, his theory of People's War, on which they depend more than on anything else in their difficult struggle against imperialism, Soviet revisionism and domestic reaction. And Chairman Mao's thought, the highest stage Marxism-Leninism has attained, gives them the faith and confidence that they will be able to smash all the counter-revolutionary alliances that puny creatures like Indiras and Tunkus may seek to build up.

One Year of Naxalbari Struggle

—Charu Mazumdar

Full one year has passed since the peasant struggle in Naxalbari began. This struggle is different from all other peasant struggles. Where is the difference? Peasants have always struggled against various injustices and oppressions. This is the first time that the peasants have struggled not for their partial demands but for the seizure of state power. If the Naxalbari peasant struggle has any lesson for us, it is this: militant struggles must be carried on not for land, crops etc., but for the seizure of state power. It is precisely this that gives the Naxalbari struggle its uniqueness. Peasants in different areas must prepare themselves in a manner so as to be able to render ineffective the state apparatus in their respective areas. It is in Naxalbari that this path has been adopted for the first time in the history of peasant struggles in India. In other words, the revolutionary era has been ushered in, and this is the first year of that era. It is for this reason that the revolutionaries of all countries are heartily welcoming the Naxalbari struggle.

India has been turned into a base of imperialism and revisionism, and is acting today as a base of reactionary forces against the people struggling for liberation. That is why, the Naxalbari struggle is not merely a national struggle; it is also an international struggle. This struggle is difficult,

This article by Comrade Charu Mazumdar appeared in the Bengali weekly *Deshabrati* of May 23, 1968.

and the path we have chosen is in no way easy or smooth. The path of revolution is difficult, not smooth or easy, and difficulties, dangers and even retreats will be there. But the peasants, who are fired with the spirit of the new internationalism have defied all this, and refuse to submit. They continue to persist in their path of struggle.

Our experience during the last one year shows that the message of this struggle in a small area has spread to every corner of India. Each one of the existing political parties has opposed the Naxalbari struggle, yet the people are thinking in terms of this struggle and are coming forward to take the path charted by this struggle. The heroic leaders of the Naxalbari struggle are still living and the reactionary government, in spite of all their attempts, has not been able to destroy them. This shows how true are the words of Chairman Mao: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying but in reality are not so powerful."

The Chairman has said, "the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."

Let us march forward to usher in that brilliant sunshine of liberation!

Resolution on Elections

Adopted by the
All India Co-ordination Committee
of Communist Revolutionaries

Since the victory of the Chinese Revolution and the swift advance of the national liberation movements unleashed by it and the emergence of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought as the Marxism-Leninism of the present era of rapid collapse of imperialism and swift spread of socialism, bourgeois parliamentary institutions, already historically obsolete, have become a positive impediment to the advance of revolutions in general and to revolutions in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries like India, in particular, which is feudal and not bourgeois. The experiences of the last twenty years have taught the Indian people the bitter truth that the parliamentary path as an alternative to the Chinese path of armed struggle chalked out by Chairman Mao perpetuates their shackles of slavery and impoverishes them still further. Their experience of the last ten months, in particular, with the emergence of the revolutionary peasants' struggle at Naxalbari has taught them another lesson of graver import. They have seen with their own eyes how people masquerading as Communists and socialists are also a party to this conspiracy of the ruling classes. They have seen how the Dange renegade clique and the neo-revisionists, mouthing revolutionary phraseology, are in reality votaries of class collaboration, trying to give a fresh lease of life to parliamentarism and breeding in the minds of the people dangerous illusions about the parliamentary path as opposed to the revolutionary path. At the bidding of their masters they have tried, without shame and hesitation, to crush not only the Naxalbari peasant struggle but every movement of the workers, peasants and other toiling people. Against the background of the last twenty years' satanic Congress rule,

the people's own experiences of the last ten months have shown them that the Dange renegade clique, neo-revisionists and other left parties are in reality parties of the reactionary ruling classes of India, serving their interests as faithful agents, and this service is all the more effective because of its 'left' camouflage. But our people have begun to learn from their experiences, the process of disillusionment about the parliamentary path, disillusionment about elections, ministries and so forth, is proceeding apace, and their revolutionary consciousness is on the rise.

Since the victory of the Great Chinese Revolution, we have been living in a revolutionary epoch of rapid collapse of imperialism and we are now in the midst of a great revolutionary upsurge. Renegades betrayed the great Telangana battle, but now Naxalbari has arisen on the horizon. Naxalbari is a turning point in the history of the Indian revolution. Naxalbari has proved to be the burial ground of parliamentarism in India. People of India so long wallowing in the mud of parliamentarism have now seen the light. They are now realising that the Naxalbari path is the only path for their liberation. The reactionary ruling classes and their agents, Dange renegades and neo-revisionists, are rightly panicky over Naxalbari. So, in order to prevent Naxalbari fire from starting a prairie fire, they are now peddling elections with a vengeance.

So, Comrades, our call is "Down with Elections!" We call upon all revolutionaries and the revolutionary people to come forward and frustrate this sinister counter-revolutionary manoeuvre of the reactionary ruling classes and their lackeys, the Dange clique and the neo-revisionists, by raising the slogan, "Boycott these Elections." But it must be remembered at the same time that the mere negative slogan of boycott will not carry us far. It must be accompanied by positive action. Simultaneously with the campaign for boycott we must mobilise and organise people in revolutionary class battles under the banner of Chairman Mao's thought and must try to build up the Naxalbari type of movement leading to People's Democratic Revolution.

India—Show-Case of U. S. Neo-Colonialism

The *People's Daily* in a commentary on May 8 exposed India as a show-case of U.S. neo-colonialism. The commentary says:

India, under the rule of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, has been lauded by the trumpeters of the imperialists as a "show-case of democracy". As a matter of fact, it is nothing else but a typical show-case of U.S. neo-colonialism.

True, the United States has not put any governor-general in India, but the Indian Government which represents the interests of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie fulfils the function of a governor's office of a U.S. colony. In foreign affairs, the Indian Government is closely following U.S. imperialism. At home, by utilizing its state power to issue all kinds of decrees and regulations, it has thrown the door wide open to U.S. imperialism's control over India's politics, economy and military affairs. The reactionary Indian rulers are actually a bunch of agents hired and paid for by the U.S. neo-colonialists.

The weapons and equipment of the reactionary armed forces of India are supplied by U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. They are employed by U.S. imperialism and its accomplice to suppress the Indian people's revolutionary struggle and to launch military provocations in Asia.

True, the United States has not formally set up an "East India Company" in India. Nevertheless, in the past twenty years, the United States' control and exploitation of India has been on a scale comparable to that of the British, which has a history of colonialism in India of three hundred years. The massive infiltration of U.S. monopoly capital into India has enabled it to grab fabulous profits while the thousands of so-called American "experts" and "advisers" who have wormed

their way into the economic, political, military and cultural spheres have stepped up their control and enslavement of the country. India's natural resources have been sucked out by the United States in large quantities. India has become a market for the flooding of American goods. Through the dumping of "surplus" farm produce alone, the United States controls one half of India's currency as well as its finance and banking. The United States has also been steadily deepening the agricultural crisis in India and aggravating its starvation for years on end. Each year millions of working people die of starvation in India. Isn't this a fact of the bloody and ruthless U.S. imperialist exploitation of the Indian people?

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The biggest imperialism in the world today is U.S. imperialism. It has its lackeys in many countries. Those backed by imperialism are precisely those discarded by the broad masses of the people".

U. S. imperialism has carried out its neo-colonialist policy of enslaving India precisely by means of fostering its agents in India. This neo-colonialist tactics of U. S. imperialism is more sinister and ferocious than that of the old colonialists!

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is blabbering enthusiastically about this show-case of U. S. neo-colonialism. And, on top of that, it is trying its utmost to rule this "show-case" jointly with U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique is now only second to the United States in the degree of control over India through its "aid". It has become the biggest supplier of military "aid" and the second biggest creditor to India, and it ranks third in trading with the country. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, also, is practising neo-colonialism in India in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

However, U. S. imperialism and its accomplices of every description can never fool the awakening broad masses of the Indian people, no matter how hard they try to hoax them and no matter how painstakingly they try to embellish themselves. The Indian people will certainly rise to smash this show-case of U.S. neo-colonialism, break up the cannibal feast of imperialism and Indian reaction, and build a bright new India.

Revolutionary Committees Are Fine

(Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi*, and *Jiefangjun Bao*)

The spring breeze of Mao Tse-tung's thought has reached every corner of our motherland. The revolutionary committees which have come into being one after another stand like red flags flying in the wind. To date, revolutionary committees have been established in 17 provinces (since then revolutionary committees have been established in more provinces.—Ed. *Liberation*) and municipalities and in one autonomous region. More are in the preparatory stage in other areas. Vast numbers of units at the grassroot levels have set up their own revolutionary committees. This is a significant indication of the fact that the situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent and is getting even better. This is a magnificent act in the struggle for all-round victory in this revolution.

When the new-born revolutionary committees appeared on the eastern horizon a year ago, our revered and beloved leader Chairman Mao, with his great proletarian revolutionary genius, pointed out with foresight: "In every place or unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called the Revolutionary Committee."

Our great leader Chairman Mao again recently pointed out: "The basic experience of revolutionary committees is this—they are three-fold: they have representatives of revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary masses. This forms a revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination. The revolutionary committee should

exercise unified leadership, do away with redundant and overlapping administrative structures, have 'better troops and simpler administration' and organize a revolutionized leading group which is linked with the masses." Chairman Mao's brilliant directive sums up the experience of revolutionary committees at all levels and gives the basic orientation for building revolutionary committees.

The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee is a creation of the working class and the masses in the current great cultural revolution. Chairman Mao teaches: "We must have faith in and rely on the masses, the People's Liberation Army and the majority of the cadres." The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee is the organ which organizationally knits closely together the three sides pointed out by Chairmen Mao after having summed up the experience of the masses, so as more effectively to meet the needs of the socialist economic base and the needs of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee is a great creation of the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses that appeared in the course of their struggle to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. It has shown enormous vitality in leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy over the past year and more.

This "three-in-one" organ of power enables our proletarian political power to strike deep roots among the masses. Chairman Mao points out: "The most fundamental principle in the reform of state organs is that they must keep in contact with the masses." The representatives of the revolutionary masses, particularly the representatives of the working people—the workers and peasants—who have come forward en masse in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution are revolutionary fighters with practical experience. Representing the interests of the revolutionary masses, they participate in the leading groups at various levels. This provides the revolutionary committees at these levels with a broad mass foundation. Direct participation by the revolutionary masses in the

running of the country and the enforcement of revolutionary supervision from below over the organs of political power at various levels play a very important role in ensuring that our leading groups at all levels always adhere to the mass line, maintain the closest relations with the masses, represent their interests at all times and serve the people heart and soul.

This "three-in-one" organ of power strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat. "If the army and the people are united as one, who in the world can match them?" The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Great Wall of steel defending the socialist motherland. The revolutionary "three-in-one" combination carries our army-civilian unity to a completely new stage. In its work of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training, the People's Liberation Army has made big contributions over the past year and more and has been well steeled in the process. As a result of the direct participation of P.L.A. representatives in the work of the provisional organs of power at all levels, our dictatorship of the proletariat is better able to withstand storm and stress, better able to smash the intrigues by any enemy, whether domestic or foreign, and play a more powerful role in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Revolutionary leading cadres are the backbone of the "three-in-one" organs of power. They have rich experience in class struggle and are a valuable asset to the Party and people. By going through the severe test of the great proletarian cultural revolution and receiving education and help from the masses, they were touched to the soul and remoulded their world outlook further. The combination of the revolutionary leading cadres and representatives of the P.L.A. and of the revolutionary masses in the revolutionary committees makes them better able to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, grasp and implement the Party's policies, and correctly organize and lead the masses forward.

At the same time, veteran cadres and young new cadres work together in the revolutionary committees, learn from each other and help each other so that, as Chairman Mao teaches, the veterans are not divorced from the masses and the young people are tempered. Organizationally, this guarantees the work of training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

This "three-in-one" organ of power has absolutely nothing in common with the over-staffed bureaucratic apparatus of the exploiting classes in the old days. It has an entirely new and revolutionary style of work of its own and it functions in a way which is beneficial to the people. The "three-in-one" revolutionary leading body brings together the P.L.A. "three-eight" working style,¹ the labouring people's hard-working spirit and our Party's fine tradition of maintaining close contact with the masses. "Remain one of the common people while serving as an official." Maintain "better troops and simpler administration," and drastically reform old methods of office and administrative work. Have a small leading body and a small staff, as certain revolutionary committees have begun doing, so there is no overlapping or redundancy in the organization and no over-staffing, so that bureaucracy can be prevented. In this way, the style of hard work, plain living and economy is fostered, corrosion by bourgeois ideology is precluded; and the revolutionary committee becomes a compact and powerful fighting headquarters which puts proletarian politics to the fore and is full of revolutionary enthusiasm and capable of taking prompt and resolute action.

In order to become genuinely revolutionary headquarters with proletarian revolutionary authority, the revolutionary committees should hold fast to the general orientation for the

1. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, has fostered a fine tradition. This fine tradition is summed up by Chairman Mao in three phrases and eight additional characters, meaning firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

struggle, consistently direct the spearhead of attack against China's Khrushchov and the handful of other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their agents, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from contradictions among the people, carry on revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, continue to consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and constantly sum up experience and draw lessons. It is precisely in the storm of class struggle that the revolutionary committees in many places are being consolidated.

Of all the good things characterising the revolutionary committees, the most fundamental is the creative study and application of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the doing of this well. Revolutionary committee members are outstanding P. L. A. commanders and fighters, revolutionary leading cadres and representatives of the revolutionary masses who have been assessed and selected by the broad masses in the course of the struggle. The highest demand which they put upon themselves is to be loyal to Chairman Mao, to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We hope that all the leading members of the revolutionary committees will continue to regard studying, carrying out, spreading and defending Chairman Mao's instructions as their most sacred duty. The revolutionary committees should see to it that Chairman Mao's instructions are transmitted most promptly and accurately so that the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are imbued with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and so that it is translated into the conscious action of the masses and becomes an inexhaustible source of strength in transforming the world.

The revolutionary committee is something new which has emerged in the course of the revolutionary mass movement and it is continuing to develop. It should be cherished and supported by all revolutionary comrades. As for the shortcomings and mistakes which are inevitable in the course of its growth, we should make well-intentioned criticism so as to

help it keep on making progress and improving. It is necessary to be on guard against and expose plots by the class enemy to shake and subvert the revolutionary committees either from the Right or the extreme "Left". All personnel of the revolutionary committees should resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, carry out his latest instructions in an exemplary way, make strict demands on themselves, have a correct attitude to themselves and to the masses, conduct constant criticism and self-criticism and pay the closest attention to wiping out any vestige of being divorced from the masses.

The revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organs of power which have sprung up all over the country will lead the proletarian authority and in playing a vital revolutionary role in the momentous struggle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(March 30)

II

Fight Self-Interest

At this particular stage of the Cultural Revolution in China, people all over the country are being urged to fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism. What is the relationship between these two ideas? What do they mean in the context of creating a socialist society?

The principal motivation of human conduct in a bourgeois society like Britain—or in any capitalist country for that matter—is self-interest. In such a society each man has to fight for his own interest in competition with the rest—even his work-mates and neighbours. This competition is regarded as natural and conducive to progress. The theory is that the actions of all the individuals making up society, each pursuing his own personal interest and profit, will automatically add up to a grand total of activity which is beneficial to society as a whole.

As Adam Smith states in *The Wealth of Nations*, 'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer and the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity, but to their self-love, and never talk of them of our own necessities but of their advantages.'

Since capitalist society has self-interest as its main-spring, it follows that any attempt to replace it by a socialist society will require some motivation other than the self-regard of bourgeois utilitarian ethics. Is it reasonable to suppose that the drives and incentives characteristic of capitalist society can lead to socialism?

Democratic socialists such as, in Britain, the Fabians and the current theoreticians of the Labour Party have always argued that it is reasonable. Their criticism of capitalist society is based not on a rejection of what motivates it but on

the lack of equal opportunity in competition. Their remedy has always been the reformist one of trying to devise fairer terms in the free-for-all, instead of questioning the social morality of the contest itself.

The Marxist criticism of capitalist society goes deeper. On the general issue of social motivation and its consequences Marx made two points clear. (1) The self-interested acts which under the capitalist system were supposed to produce a beneficent social order in fact produce systematised exploitation. The victims of this exploitation are the workers in the homelands of capitalism and, even more, the workers and peasants in colonial territories, the conquest of which inevitably accompanies capitalist expansion; (2) This exploitation is based on the dominant position of the bourgeois class which, through its control of the means of production, can always dictate its own terms—not only through the exercise of its economic power but also through the use of the whole state apparatus it commands. Therefore it is utopian to expect exploitation to disappear without a fundamental change in class relationships. Such a change creates the basis and the need for an entirely different concept of social motivation.

But even among so-called Marxists there were those who believed in a purely mechanical transition from capitalism to socialism, much as the apologists for capitalism had believed in a purely mechanical transformation of private interests into public good.

Kautsky, one of the earliest of the revisionists, criticised Marx for the moral fervour in *Das Kapital* because, he argued, ethical considerations had no place in scientific socialism; the economic contradictions of capitalist society would automatically bring about a crisis which would inevitably be resolved in socialism. This amounted to saying that the victims of exploitation need only sit back and wait passively for this to happen.

Revolutionary Humanism

Lenin exposed the thoroughly un-Marxist character of this line of thought and showed that, in abandoning the idea of

revolutionary social change, it really served the interests of the bourgeois class. Only a revolutionary movement, guided by revolutionary theory and imbued with revolutionary morality, is capable of transforming society in such a way that exploitation is eliminated. This revolutionary morality is proletarian morality (such as prevails in China) because only the working class can make a revolution.

And yet also today, in Lenin's own country, the present Soviet leadership has slipped into the old revisionist error of supposing it possible to build a socialist society without socialist, that is to say, proletarian morality. They are trying to use bourgeois incentives to achieve a non-bourgeois social result and assuming that economic tinkering can automatically produce the good society. The Chinese, following Lenin, call the policy of bribing people by material benefits 'economism'. One of the main targets for criticism in China's Cultural Revolution is this approach to social motivation.

What has been demonstrated by these recent experiences of social development in the U.S.S.R. is that altering the economic base of society by expropriating the private owners of the means of production only establishes the basic possibility of socialism. Bourgeois habits of thought, bourgeois motivation, the whole bourgeois world outlook still have to be fought and conquered ideologically to bring into existence socialist man. Without socialist man, motivated by the socialist impulses of putting others first, not oneself, of working for the good of society, and not one's own material benefits, a socialist system cannot be consolidated.

That is what the Cultural Revolution in China is all about. It is concerned with exposing and eliminating the old selfish forms of bourgeois thinking and acting and with replacing them by proletarian, non-self-regarding forms of thinking and acting. This is not a utopian, idealistic ethical movement, since the socialist economic base for these new ways of thinking and acting has already been established.

The Cultural Revolution is the socialist answer to the reactionary bourgeois dictum: 'You can't change human nature'. In China, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, along with tremendous material changes which are transforming the whole face of the country, human nature

itself is being changed. Such a change does not take place overnight of course. The struggle between the two class ideologies, the one grounded on self-interest, the other on serving the people, will 'continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute'.

It has been one of Mao's great contributions to repudiate firmly any attempt to turn Marxism into a mechanical formula that excludes human values and aspirations. Setting forth the dialectical interaction of economic base and ideological superstructure in such works as *On Contradiction*, he has shown that there comes a point when the superstructure, which includes ethics and culture, becomes a hindrance to the further development of the socialist economic base. Its transformation through a cultural revolution must then become society's principal concern. For example, if in a commune a peasant, clinging to the old ideas, thinks only of making his own plot of land more productive and acquiring another pig, he holds back the whole collective and eventually himself.

What Mao is asserting against the apologists of capitalism, and reasserting against the revisers of Marxism, is the role humanism has to play in social development—not the *liberal* humanism which believes that there are two sides to every question but *revolutionary* humanism which, taking its stand on the side of the oppressed, is shaping the great historical events of our times. While some are deluded into regarding material aid from outside as necessary to the economic advance of poor countries, Mao teaches that a country's wealth is its people who, once freed from imperialist domination, can bring their poverty to an end. While some may be blackmailed by terror into acknowledging the destructive power of the nuclear bomb as the major force in the world, Mao teaches (and the Vietnamese are proving) that men are more important than weapons and that morale is a decisive factor in wars waged by the people against the most heavily-armed aggressors.

What we are seeing in China today, as a stage in the process of building socialism, is the development of socialist man moved not by self-regard but by concern for others, whether his own fellow-countrymen or the millions of people all over the world who have to win their freedom from exploitation and oppression. This is the true meaning of Mao's words: Fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism.

III

Why Soviet Leaders Fear Cultural Revolution

In the welter of propaganda hostile to the Chinese proletarian cultural revolution none is more falsified and, in its attacks on Mao Tse-tung, more scurrilous, than the Soviet propaganda. Shortly after the 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the cultural revolution, adopted 8th August, 1966, the Soviet propaganda machine got under way. A statement by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party was followed by speeches from Kosygin, Brezhnev and others. Thus Kosygin, addressing a Soviet-Polish friendship society, referred sneeringly to a 'so-called great cultural revolution'. Brezhnev said in the Kremlin a few days later that the events taking place in China under the banner of a cultural revolution had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or socialist policy and could only help the imperialists.

An endless spate of articles, written and broadcast, followed. They accused Mao of personal ambition, labelled activities of Red Guards as the viciousness of *lumpen* elements, and described the new revolutionary committees and alliances as manoeuvres to destroy the Communist Party. Recently, Soviet commentators have distorted the acute political and ideological struggle against revisionists within the Chinese Party and state apparatus by libelling it as a bloody purge motivated by the personal venom of Mao. Brezhnev's diatribe is typical:

'Unfortunately, the chauvinist and great power course of Mao Tse-tung's group which has been pursued in recent years, is doing great harm to the cause of socialism in China. This policy, aimed at undermining the unity of the

Reprinted from *The Broadsheet*, February 1968.

world socialist community and the international communist movement, is contrary to interests of the people's revolutionary struggle...' (*Report to CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet, 5th November, 1967.*)

The violent and often hysterical attacks on the cultural revolution by the Soviet rulers are prompted by apprehension that such ideas if followed by the peoples of China, other countries, and most significantly, their own, will have serious consequences for the success of their new economic and political plans.

Mao Tse-tung's basic concept of the cultural revolution is the consolidation of China's socialist revolution by the people themselves—hundreds of millions of them. To achieve this consolidation the people investigate and make public the conduct of leaders at all levels and in all fields, including party and state organisations in agriculture, industry and education. They repudiate all those shown to be working for self rather than collective interest. Through these struggles they deepen their political understanding, heighten their personal responsibility, and strengthen and safeguard their socialism. The socialist state must not become the instrument of a small minority—the remnants of the old propertied classes, new privileged groups, even the highest in the land—senior Party leaders and veterans of the revolutionary war.

How can the present Soviet rulers accept this fundamental proposition when their main concern is to propagate a completely opposite ideology? The Chinese cultural revolution is consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat whereas in the USSR it is being dismantled. Today in the Soviet Union the essential contradiction is between the great majority of working people and a minority of privileged party bureaucrats, high-ranking officials, pampered technocrats and intellectuals. The Communist Party and state apparatus is used in the personal interest of this minority against the people. This has meant jettisoning the very basis of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and subsequent advances in socialist planning and socialist education. They are, in fact, destroying their socialist heritage.

In the cultural revolution the Chinese people are struggling against ideas based on self-interest and personal security, and are replacing them by concern for the common good, not only in China but in the whole world. Thus all forms of material incentives and special privileges, advocated by the new Soviet economics, are being exposed in China as 'sugar-coated bullets' aimed at the people's socialist consciousness. Chinese peasants, factory workers, civil servants, party cadres have exposed the economic and political policies based on material incentives such as, in agriculture, for example, the extension of private farming and marketing advocated by Liu Shao-chi. Little wonder that Soviet leaders find the exposure of such ideas and the struggle to eliminate them distasteful. They themselves are encouraging the erosion of collectives by permitting the extension of private plots and conniving at illegal distributive practices. By sharply widening wage differentials between state farm managers and workers they are creating a new rural aristocracy in parts of the Soviet Union.

The present day Soviet ruling group fears the strengthening of proletarian ideology inside China because this heightened class consciousness is in itself a condemnation of the new Soviet economics of profits and increased consumption. In China the model is one of simple living and helping others, an ideal useless to those who are busy encouraging capitalist aspirations—acquisitiveness, competitiveness, and concern for individual advancement. Such non-socialist ideas are especially indoctrinated into the younger generation through the kind of selective education and nepotism now being practised in the Soviet Union. Is it any wonder that the determination of the Red Guards of China, to learn from Mao's revolutionary experience and propagate the ideals of service and self-sacrifice should be vilified? That Soviet youth might find the Red Guards attractive is always a possibility. Is it any wonder, too, that the practical socialism of China's peasants so simply stated by the nationally known Tachai production brigade is contemptuously derided by *Pravda*? The Tachai peasants say: '...we worked hard to develop production by self-reliance not to live better but to aid the country's socialist construction and assist the world revolution.' (*Hsinhua*, 14th August, 1967.) *Pravda* comments: 'Peasants, in their turn, are recommended to follow the example of the Tachai team, which tills the soil with a wooden plough and works with a hand hoe, without even thinking of improving their life.' (*Soviet News*, 5th December, 1967.)

The obligation to help the peoples of the world fighting against imperialism, for socialism, for national salvation, is a basic principle of Marxism. Thanks to the brilliance of Mao's contributions to the strategy of national liberation through people's war and revolutionary united front, the Chinese people understand clearly the need to help all national revolutionary struggles, which they regard as inseparable from their own socialist revolution. Today these theoretical principles have been accepted with greater clarity because of the deeper understanding that socialism is based on the international solidarity of revolutionary peoples. They know that they can save their socialist gains only by extending the maximum support to others fighting U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of all oppressed peoples.

The Chinese people hail the victories of people's war in Vietnam and do not hold back in face of the increasing extension of U.S. aggression onto their own territory. Whereas the Soviet leaders are constantly afraid that Vietnamese insistence on driving out the U.S. may create difficulties for their own detente with the U.S. and therefore gladly support any negotiations for settlement, the Chinese maintain their stand on principle and are prepared to meet the U.S. challenge, whatever form it takes.

In their eagerness to collaborate with U.S. imperialism and at the same time to profit from neo-colonial practices, the Soviet rulers have even come to terms with imperialist-created 'Malaysia' and counter-revolutionary regimes such as the fascist junta of Indonesia. They have not only revised the socialist bases of their own society, they have abandoned proletarian internationalism. They fear revolutionary change and to them people's war is dangerous. That, indeed, is the crux of the matter.

According to the Soviet leaders, people should not fight for their own salvation but beg for crumbs from the big powers. The Chinese, who encourage people to take up arms and fight however strong the enemy, are accused of being adventurist. Unfortunately for the Soviet rulers however, the oppressed peoples find that Mao speaks to their condition and prefer to learn from him. It is not improbable that the people of the Soviet Union will also start to learn.

SOVIET REVISIONISTS :

NO. 1 ACCOMPLICE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

I

"Voice of America" In the Soviet Union

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique is piling up crimes by helping and abetting the U. S. imperialists in every possible way. Recently they have opened the floodgates to allow the flow of poisonous propaganda of 'Voice of America' into the Soviet Union. The *Renmin Ribao*, in a commentary "The Devil's" "Crony" on April 6, fully exposed this criminal deed of the Soviet renegades. The commentary reads :

Director of the U.S. Information Agency, Leonard Marks, propaganda chief of U.S. imperialism, openly praised, in a recent statement, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique for opening the door wide to the reactionary propaganda of the "Voice of America". He gleefully declared that V.O.A. broadcasts to the Soviet Union were now "effective" and "were no longer jammed".

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique need not blush when receiving such well-deserved praise from Washington. But the people the world over can once again see from this that the Soviet revisionist chieftains are merely "*flunkeys and accomplices of imperialism before which they prostrate themselves,*" as our great leader Chairman Mao has said.

What kind of outfit is this V.O.A. ? To quote former U.S. President Kennedy, it is an "arm of the U.S. Government." U.S. imperialism spreads rumours and slanders against communism, China and the people and boosts the American way of life via the V.O.A. broadcasts. It tries to corrupt the revolutionary spirit of the people of all countries, and is engaged in all kinds of conspiratorial and sabotage activities. The so-called "Voice of America" is nothing but the evil voice of the devil, the voice of vice and sin.

This stinking "Voice of America", however, is esteemed by the Soviet revisionist clique. As far back as shortly after

the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the Soviet revisionist clique adopted a policy of an off-and-on jamming of V.O.A. broadcasts to the Soviet Union. Later, an agreement was reached by the Soviet revisionists with the U.S. imperialists which formally and totally stopped the jamming of the V.O.A., and facilities were even provided by them for V. O. A. transcription programmes to be broadcast in the Soviet Union. After Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like came to power, they went a step further, giving the V. O. A. the green light and allowing it to be heard all over the Soviet Union. Recently the Soviet renegades have even published in the *Literary Gazette* the full texts of anti-Communist articles broadcast by the V. O. A. ; thus openly spreading the ideological virus of U. S. imperialism among the Soviet people.

The eagerness with which the Soviet revisionist renegade tackle the building of this aerial bridge between the United States and the Soviet Union indicates that they are not only catering to the needs of U. S. imperialism but also are working to quicken the pace of an all-round restoration of capitalism at home. They want to use decadent American music to drug the Soviet people and, with the aid of this sinister "arm of the U. S. Government", to prop up the wobbly dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact, the Soviet revisionists have gone far beyond merely opening the door wide for the "Voice of America." Radio Moscow long ago became, in effect, one of its relay stations. The U. S. press noted with great satisfaction that in content, form and technique the radio and television programmes of the Soviet revisionists have been "radically reformed" after the fashion of the West. The "Voice of America" in Washington and the voice of Soviet revisionism in Moscow have consistently echoed each other in spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda against China, communism and the people. Between these two reactionary radio stations, one lies and slanders, while the other turns black into white; one plumps for "Soviet-American co-operation", while the other comes up with "parallel efforts"; one hawks the American way of life, while the other calls "all-round Westernization". How idyllic this Soviet-American duet is!

What the director of the U. S. Information Agency pretends to contribute to is only a particle of the great "service" rendered to U. S. imperialism by the gang of Soviet renegades.

II

New Criminal Evidence of Soviet Revisionists' Collusion with U. S. Imperialism to Boost Chiang Kai-shek Gang

Professing to publicize the Olympic Games, *New Books U. S. S. R.*, No. 6., a bulletin published this year by the "International Publishers" of the Soviet revisionist clique, printed of all things the so-called "national emblem" of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang on its inside cover. This is another piece of criminal evidence that the Soviet revisionist renegades are teaming up with the Chiang Kai-shek brigands in a malicious attack on the great People's Republic of China. It is a despicable provocation by the Soviet revisionist renegades against the 700 million great Chinese people.

The Chiang Kai-shek brigand gang is a political mummy long stamped into the dust by the Chinese people, and its "wolf-teeth" flag [emblem of the traitorous gang] is an odious, tattered shroud. Yet, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique treasures it and shamelessly flaunts it. This shows to what depths these renegades have degenerated!

Khrushchov and his successor, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, harbour inveterate hatred for the Chinese people who hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have long been flirting with the Chiang Kai-shek gang—the public enemy of the Chinese people. In 1963, the Soviet revisionist clique brazenly allowed the Chiang Kai-shek gang to subscribe to the notorious "Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty" as a "sovereign state." Time and again, this clique has described China's territory Taiwan under the Chiang gang's occupation as a "country". On many occasions the Soviet revisionist renegades have sat at the same table with "representatives" of the Chiang Kai-shek gang at international

conferences. It is therefore not accidental that the Soviet revisionist clique has become so open as to publicize the disgusting flag of the Chiang Kai-shek brigands.

The series of criminal acts committed by the Soviet revisionist clique are aimed at aiding in the U. S. imperialist plot of creating "two Chinas". For many years U. S. imperialism has racked its brains to rig up "two Chinas", but it has always failed. Therefore, it counts on the help of its pawns and accomplices. Here, the Soviet revisionist clique offers its services with vigour and enthusiasm. At the latest session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet revisionists, obsessed with malice, mentioned the question of the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and the question of accepting the two Germanys in the same breath. It is only too clear that they were working hand in glove with U. S. imperialism in the plot to create "two Chinas." What is still more shameless and revolting is the fact that of late the Soviet revisionists have been echoing the yelling by U. S. officials that "both Taiwan and Peking should be members of the United Nations." The Chinese people will certainly settle accounts with the Soviet revisionist clique for its blatant crime of openly allying itself with U. S. imperialism to oppose China.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind."

The U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries have joined hands in a virulent campaign against China. But their evil designs are destined to fail. The 700 million Chinese people are taking big strides forward under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao. Socialist China's international prestige has risen higher than ever as a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unprecedented. By ganging up with the Chiang clique, the Soviet revisionist clique cannot, in the least, dim the glory of the great People's Republic of China. Instead, this will only prove that the Soviet revisionist clique and the Chiang Kai-shek gang are birds of a feather.

("Renmin Ribao" commentary, March 22)

A BASIC DOCUMENT

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

—Lin Piao

This article, originally published in "Renmin Ribao" (People's Daily) on September 3, 1965, was written by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Premier of the State Council and concurrently Minister of National Defence, in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the victory won in the Chinese people's War of Resistance against Japan.

Full twenty years have elapsed since our victory in the great War of Resistance Against Japan.

After a long period of heroic struggle, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, won final victory two decades ago in their war against the Japanese imperialists who had attempted to subjugate China and swallow up the whole of Asia.

The Chinese people's War of Resistance was an important part of the world war against German, Japanese and Italian fascism. The Chinese people received support from the people and the anti-fascist forces all over the world. And in their turn, the Chinese people made an important contribution to victory in the anti-fascist war as a whole.

Of the innumerable anti-imperialist wars waged by the Chinese people in the past hundred years, the War of Resistance Against Japan was the first to end in complete victory. It occupies an extremely important place in the annals of war, in the annals of both the revolutionary wars of the Chinese people and the wars of the oppressed nations of the world against imperialist aggression.

It was a war in which a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country triumphed over a strong imperialist country. For a long period after the invasion of China's northeastern provinces by the Japanese imperialists, the Kuomintang followed a policy of non-resistance. In the early stage of the War of Resistance, the Japanese imperialists exploited their military superiority to drive deep into China and occupy half her territory. In the face of the massive attacks of the aggressors and the anti-Japanese upsurge of the people throughout the country, the Kuomintang was compelled to take part in the War of Resistance, but soon afterwards it adopted the policy of passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party. The heavy responsibility of combating Japanese imperialism thus fell on the shoulders of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the people of the Liberated Areas, all led by the Communist Party. At the outbreak of the war, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies had only a few tens of thousands of men and suffered from extreme inferiority in both arms and equipment, and for a long time they were under the crossfire of the Japanese imperialists on the one hand and the Kuomintang troops on the other. But they grew stronger and stronger in the course of the war and became the main force in defeating Japanese imperialism.

How was it possible for a weak country finally to defeat a strong country? How was it possible for a seemingly weak army to become the main force in the war?

The basic reasons were that the War of Resistance Against Japan was a genuine people's war led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a war in which the correct Marxist-Leninist political and military lines were put into effect, and that the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies were genuine people's armies which applied the whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war as formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of and policies for people's war have creatively enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese people's victory in the anti-Japanese war was a

victory for people's war, for Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Prior to the war against Japan, the Communist Party of China had gone through the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1924-1927 and the Second Revolutionary Civil War of 1927-1936 and summed up the experience and lessons of the successes and failures in those wars, and the leading role of Mao Tse-tung's thought had become established within the Party. This was the fundamental guarantee of the Party's ability to lead the Chinese people to victory in the War of Resistance.

The Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance paved the way for their seizure of state power throughout the country. When the Kuomintang reactionaries, backed by the U. S. imperialists, launched a nation-wide civil war in 1946, the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung further developed the theory of people's war, led the Chinese people in waging a people's war on a still larger scale, and in the space of a little over three years the great victory of the People's Liberation War was won, the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in our country ended and the People's Republic of China founded.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war breached the imperialist front in the East, wrought a great change in the world balance of forces, and accelerated the revolutionary movement among the people of all countries. From then on, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America entered a new historical period.

Today, the U. S. imperialists are repeating on a world-wide scale the past actions of the Japanese imperialists in China and other parts of Asia. It has become an urgent necessity for the people in many countries to master and use people's war as a weapon against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys. In every conceivable way U. S. imperialism and its lackeys are trying to extinguish the revolutionary flames of people's war. The Khrushchov revisionists, fearing people's war like the plague, are heaping abuse on it. The two are colluding to prevent and sabotage people's war. In these circumstances, it is of vital

practical importance to review the historical experience of the great victory of the people's war in China and to recapitulate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war.

The Principal Contradiction in the Period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Line of the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung were able to lead the Chinese people to victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan primarily because they formulated and applied a Marxist-Leninist line.

Basing himself on the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and applying the method of class analysis, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed, first, the mutual transformation of China's principal and non-principal contradictions following the invasion of China by Japanese imperialism, second, the consequent changes in class relation, within China and in international relations, and, third, the balance of forces as between China and Japan. This analysis provided the scientific basis upon which the political and military lines of the War of Resistance were formulated.

There had long been two basic contradictions in China—the contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese nation, and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses of the people. For ten years before the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the Kuomintang reactionary clique, which represented the interests of imperialism, the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, had waged civil war against the Communist Party of China and the Communist-led Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which represented the interests of the Chinese people. In 1931, Japanese imperialism invaded and occupied northeastern China. Subsequently, and especially after 1935, it stepped up and expanded its aggression against China, penetrating deeper and deeper into our territory. As a result of its invasion, Japanese imperialism sharpened its contradiction with the Chinese nation to an extreme degree and brought about changes in class relations within China. To end the civil war

and to unite against Japanese aggression became the pressing nation-wide demand of the people. Changes of varying degree also occurred in the political attitudes of the national bourgeoisie and the various factions within the Kuomintang. And the Sian Incident¹ of 1936 was the best case in point.

How was one to assess the changes in China's political situation, and what conclusion was to be drawn? This question had a direct bearing on the very survival of the Chinese nation.

For a period prior to the outbreak of the War of Resistance, the 'Left' opportunists represented by Wang Ming within the Chinese Communist Party were blind to the important changes in China's political situation caused by Japanese aggression since 1931 and denied the sharpening of the Sino-Japanese national contradiction and the demands of various social strata for a War of Resistance; instead, they stressed that all the counter-revolutionary factions and intermediate forces in China and all the imperialist countries were a monolithic bloc. They persisted in their line of "closed-doorism" and continued to advocate, "Down with the whole lot."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung resolutely fought the "Left" opportunist errors and penetratingly analysed the new situation in the Chinese revolution.

He pointed out that the Japanese imperialist attempt to reduce China to a Japanese colony heightened the contradiction between China and Japan and made it the principal contradiction; that China's internal class contradictions—such

¹ Under the influence of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and the people's anti-Japanese movement, the Kuomintang Northeastern Army under Chang Hsueh-liang and the Kuomintang 17th Route Army under Yang Hu-cheng agreed to the anti-Japanese national united front proposed by the Communist Party of China and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek should stop the civil war and unite with the Communist Party to resist Japan. Chiang Kai-shek refused. On December 12, 1936, Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng arrested him in Sian. Proceeding from the interest of the entire nation, the Chinese Communist Party offered mediation and Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to accept the terms of unity with the Communist Party and resistance to Japan.

as those between the masses of the people and feudalism, between the peasantry and the landlord class, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other—still remained, but that they had all been relegated to a secondary or subordinate position as a result of the war of aggression unleashed by Japan; and that throughout China opposition to Japanese imperialism had become the common demand of the people of all classes and strata, except for a handful of pro-Japanese traitors among the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

As the contradiction between China and Japan ascended and became the principal one, the contradiction between China and imperialist countries such as Britain and the United States descended to a secondary or subordinate position. The rift between Japan and the other imperialist countries had widened as a result of Japanese imperialism's attempt to turn China into its exclusive colony. This rendered it possible for China to make use of these contradictions to isolate and oppose Japanese imperialism.

In the face of Japanese imperialist aggression, was the Party to continue with the civil war and the Agrarian Revolution? Or was it to hold aloft the banner of national liberation, unite with all the forces that could be united to form a broad national united front and concentrate on fighting the Japanese aggressors? This was the problem sharply confronting our Party.

The Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front on the basis of their analysis of the new situation. Holding aloft the banner of national liberation, our Party issued the call for national unity and united resistance to Japanese imperialism, a call which won fervent support from the people of the whole country. Thanks to the common efforts of our Party and of China's patriotic armies and people, the Kuomintang ruling clique was eventually compelled to stop the civil war, and a new situation with Kuomintang-Communist cooperation for joint resistance to Japan was brought about.

In the summer of 1937 Japanese imperialism unleashed its all-out war of aggression against China. The nation-wide War of Resistance thus broke out.

Could the War of Resistance be victorious? And how was victory to be won? These were the questions to which all the Chinese people demanded immediate answers.

The defeatists came forward with the assertion that China was no match for Japan and that the nation was bound to be subjugated. The blind optimists came forward with the assertion that China could win very quickly, without much effort.

Basing himself on a concrete analysis of the Chinese nation and of Japanese imperialism—the two aspects of the principal contradiction—Comrade Mao Tse-tung showed that while the “theory of national subjugation” was wrong, the “theory of quick victory” was untenable, and he concluded that the War of Resistance would be a protracted one in which China would finally be victorious.

In his celebrated work *On Protracted War*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the contrasting features of China and Japan, the two sides in the war. Japan was a powerful imperialist country. But Japanese imperialism was in its era of decline and doom. The war it had unleashed was a war of aggression, a war that was retrogressive and barbarous; it was deficient in manpower and material resources and could not stand a protracted war; it was engaged in an unjust cause and therefore had meagre support internationally. China, on the other hand, was a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. But she was in her era of progress. She was fighting a war against aggression, a war that was progressive and just; she had sufficient manpower and material resources to sustain a protracted war; internationally, China enjoyed extensive sympathy and support. These comprised all the basic factors in the Sino-Japanese war.

He went on to show how these factors would influence the course of the war. Japan's advantage was temporary

and would gradually diminish as a result of our efforts. Her disadvantages were fundamental; they could not be overcome and would gradually grow in the course of the war. China's disadvantage was temporary and could be gradually overcome. China's advantages were fundamental and would play an increasingly positive role in the course of the war. Japan's advantage and China's disadvantage determined the impossibility of quick victory for China. China's advantages and Japan's disadvantages determined the inevitability of Japan's defeat and China's ultimate victory.

On this basis of the analysis Comrade Mao Tse-tung formulated the strategy for a protracted war. China's War of Resistance would be protracted, and prolonged efforts would be needed gradually to weaken the enemy's forces and expand our own, so that the enemy would change from being strong to being weak and we would change from being weak to being strong and accumulate sufficient strength finally to defeat him. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that with the change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves the War of Resistance would pass through three stages, namely, the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate and the strategic offensive. The protracted war was also a process of mobilizing, organizing and arming the people. It was only by mobilizing the entire people to fight a people's war that the War of Resistance could be persevered in and the Japanese aggressors defeated.

In order to turn the anti-Japanese war into a genuine people's war, our Party firmly relied on the broadest masses of the people, united with all the anti-Japanese forces that could be united, and consolidated and expanded the Anti-Japanese National United Front. The basic line of our Party was: boldly to arouse the masses of the people and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of the Party, they could defeat the aggressors and build a new China.

The War of Resistance Against Japan constituted a historical stage in China's new democratic revolution. The line

of our Party during the War of Resistance aimed not only at winning victory in the war, but also at laying the foundations for the nation-wide victory of the new democratic revolution. Only the accomplishment of the new-democratic revolution makes it possible to carry out a socialist revolution. With respect to the relations between the democratic and the socialist revolutions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"In the writing of an article the second half can be written only after the first half is finished. Resolute leadership of the democratic revolution is the prerequisite for the victory of socialism."¹

The concrete analysis of concrete conditions and the concrete resolution of concrete contradictions are the living soul of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has invariably been able to single out the principal contradiction from among a complexity of contradictions, analyse the two aspects of this principal contradiction concretely and, "pressing on irresistibly from this commanding height", successfully solve the problem of understanding and handling the various contradictions.

It was precisely on the basis of such scientific analysis that Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly formulated the political and military lines for the people's war during the War of Resistance Against Japan, developed his thought on the establishment of rural base areas and the use of the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture them, and formulated a whole range of principles and policies, strategy and tactics in the political, military, economic and cultural fields for the carrying out of the people's war. It was this that ensured victory in the War of Resistance and created the conditions for the nation-wide victory of the new-democratic revolution.

Correctly Apply the Line and Policy of the United Front

In order to win a people's war, it is imperative to build the broadest possible united front and formulate a series of policies

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 290.

which will ensure the fullest mobilization of the basic masses as well as the unity of all the forces that can be united.

The Anti-Japanese National United Front embraced all the anti-Japanese classes and strata. These classes and strata shared a common interest in fighting Japan, an interest which formed the basis of their unity. But they differed in the degree of their firmness in resisting Japan, and there were class contradictions and conflicts of interest among them. Hence the inevitable class struggle within the united front.

In formulating the Party's line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following class analysis of Chinese society.

The workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie firmly demanded that the War of Resistance should be carried through to the end; they were the main force in the fight against Japanese aggression and constituted the basic masses who demanded unity and progress.

The bourgeoisie was divided into the national and the comprador bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie formed the majority of the bourgeoisie; it was rather flabby, often vacillated and had contradictions with the workers, but it also had a certain degree of readiness to oppose imperialism and was one of our allies in the War of Resistance. The comprador bourgeoisie was the bureaucrat-capitalist class, which was very small in number but occupied the ruling position in China. Its members attached themselves to different imperialist powers, some of them being pro-Japanese and others pro-British and pro-American. The pro-Japanese section of the comprador bourgeoisie were the capitulators, the overt and covert traitors. The pro-British and pro-American section of this class favoured resistance to Japan to a certain extent, but they were not firm in their resistance and very much wished to compromise with Japan, and by their nature they were opposed to the Communist Party and the people.

The landlords fell into different categories; there were the big, the middle and the small landlords. Some of the

big landlords became traitors, while others favoured resistance but vacillated a great deal. Many of the middle and small landlords had the desire to resist, but there were contradictions between them and the peasants.

In the face of these complicated class relationships, our Party's policy regarding work within the united front was one of both alliance and struggle. That is to say, its policy was to unite with all the anti-Japanese classes and strata, try to win over even those who could be only vacillating and temporary allies, and adopt appropriate policies to adjust the relations among these classes and strata so that they all served the general cause of resisting Japan. At the same time, we had to maintain our Party's principle of independence and initiative, make the bold arousing of the masses and expansion of the people's forces the centre of gravity in our work, and wage the necessary struggles against all activities harmful to resistance, unity and progress.

Our Party's Anti-Japanese National United Front policy was different both from Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist policy of all alliance and no struggle, and from Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist policy of all struggle and no alliance. Our Party summed up the lessons of the Right and "Left" opportunist errors and formulated the policy of both alliance and struggle.

Our Party made a series of adjustments in its policies in order to unite all the anti-Japanese parties and groups, including the Kuomintang, and all the anti-Japanese strata in a joint fight against the foe. We pledged ourselves to fight for the complete realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles. The government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia revolutionary base area was renamed the Government of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Special Region of the Republic of China. Our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was redesignated the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. Our land policy, the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords, was changed to one of reducing rent and interest. In our own base areas

we carried out the "three thirds system"¹ in our organs of political power, drawing in those representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry and those members of the Kuomintang who stood for resistance to Japan and did not oppose the Communist Party. In accordance with the principles of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, we also made necessary and appropriate changes in our policies relating to the economy, taxation, labour and wages, anti-espionage, people's rights, culture and education, etc. While making these policy adjustments, we maintained the independence of the Communist Party, the people's army and the base areas. We also insisted that the Kuomintang should institute a general mobilization, reform the government apparatus, introduce democracy, improve the people's livelihood, arm the people, and carry out a total war of resistance. We waged a resolute struggle against the Kuomintang's passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party, against its suppression of the people's resistance movement and its treacherous activities for compromise and capitulation.

Past experience had taught us that 'Left' errors were liable to crop up after our Party had corrected Right errors, and that Right errors were liable to crop up after it had corrected "Left" errors. "Left" errors were liable to occur when we broke with the Kuomintang ruling clique, and Right errors were liable to occur when we united with it.

After the overcoming of "Left" opportunism and the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, the main danger in our Party was Right opportunism or capitulationism.

Wang Ming, the exponent of "Left" opportunism during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, went to the other extreme in the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan and became the exponent of Right opportunism, i.e., capitulationism.

¹ The "three thirds system" refers to the organs of the political power which were established according to the principle of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and in which the members of the Communist Party, non-Party progressives and the middle elements each occupied one-third of the places.

He countered Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct line and policies with an out-and-out capitulationist line of his own and a series of ultra-Right policies. He voluntarily abandoned proletarian leadership in the Anti-Japanese National United Front and willingly handed leadership to the Kuomintang. By his advocacy of "everything through the united front" or "everything to be submitted to the united front," he was in effect advocating that everything should go through or be submitted to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. He opposed the bold mobilization of the masses, the carrying out of democratic reforms and the improvement of the livelihood of the workers and peasants, and wanted to undermine the worker-peasant alliance which was the foundation of the united front. He did not want the Communist-led base areas of the people's revolutionary forces but wanted to cut off the people's revolutionary forces from their roots. He rejected a people's army led by the Communist Party and wanted to hand over the people's armed forces to Chiang Kai-shek, which would have meant handing over everything the people had. He did not want the leadership of the Party and advocated an alliance between the youth of the Kuomintang and that of the Communist Party to suit Chiang Kai-shek's design of corroding the Communist Party. He decked himself out and presented himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping to be given some official appointment. All this was revisionism, pure and simple. If we had acted on Wang Ming's revisionist line and his set of policies the Chinese people would have been unable to win the War of Resistance Against Japan, still less the subsequent nation-wide victory.

For a time during the War of Resistance, Wang Ming's revisionist line caused harm to the Chinese people's revolutionary cause. But the leading role of Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already been established in the Central Committee of our Party. Under his leadership, all the Marxist-Leninists in the Party carried out a resolute struggle against Wang Ming's errors and rectified them in time. It was this struggle that prevented Wang Ming's erroneous line from doing greater and more lasting damage to the cause of the Party.

Chiang Kai-shek, our teacher by negative example, helped us to correct Wang Ming's mistakes. He repeatedly lectured us with cannons and machine-guns. The gravest lesson was the Southern Anhwei Incident which took place in January 1941. Because some leaders of the New Fourth Army disobeyed the directives of the Central Committee of the Party and followed Wang Ming's revisionist line, its units in southern Anhwei suffered disastrous losses in the surprise attack launched by Chiang Kai-shek and many heroic revolutionary fighters were slaughtered by the Kuomintang reactionaries. The lessons learned at the cost of blood helped to sober many of our comrades and increase their ability to distinguish the correct from the erroneous line.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung constantly summed up the experience gained by the whole Party in implementing the line of the Anti-Japanese National United Front and worked out a whole set of policies in good time. They were mainly as follows:

1. All people favouring resistance (that is, all the anti-Japanese workers, peasants, soldiers, students and intellectuals, and businessmen) were to unite and form the Anti-Japanese National United Front.

2. Within the united front, our policy was to be one of independence and initiative, i. e., both unity and independence were necessary.

3. As far as military strategy was concerned, our policy was to be guerrilla warfare waged independently and with the initiative in our own hands, within the framework of a unified strategy; guerrilla warfare was to be basic, but no chance of waging mobile warfare was to be lost when the conditions were favourable.

4. In the struggle against the anti-Communist die-hards headed by Chiang Kai-shek, our policy was to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and destroy our enemies one by one, and to wage struggles on just grounds to our advantage, and with restraint.

5. In the Japanese occupied and Kuomintang areas our

policy was, on the one hand, to develop the united front to the greatest possible extent and, on the other, to have selected cadres working underground. With regard to the forms of organization and struggle, our policy was to assign selected cadres to work under cover for a long period, so as to accumulate strength and bide our time.

6. As regards the alignment of the various classes within the country, our basic policy was to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the anti-Communist die-hard forces.

7. As for the anti-Communist die-hards, we followed a revolutionary dual policy of uniting with them, in so far as they were still capable of bringing themselves to resist Japan and of struggling against and isolating them, in so far as they were determined to oppose the Communist Party.

8. With respect to the landlords and the bourgeoisie—even the big landlords and big bourgeoisie—it was necessary to analyse each case and draw distinctions. On the basis of these distinctions we were to formulate different policies so as to achieve our aim of uniting with all the forces that could be united.

The line and the various policies of the Anti-Japanese National United Front formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung stood the test of the War of Resistance and proved to be entirely correct.

History shows that when confronted by ruthless imperialist aggression, a Communist Party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the united front, rally around itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people who form more than 90 per cent of a country's population, so as to mobilize all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate to the maximum the common enemy of the whole nation. If we abandon the national banner, adopt a line of "closed-doorism" and thus isolate ourselves, it is out of the question to exercise leadership and develop the people's revolutionary cause, and this in reality amounts to helping the enemy and bringing defeat on ourselves.

History shows that within the united front the Communist

Party must maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence, adhere to the principle of independence and initiative, and insist on its leading role. Since there are class differences among the various classes in the united front, the Party must have a correct policy in order to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and oppose the die-hard forces. The Party's work must centre on developing the progressive forces and expanding the people's revolutionary forces. This is the only way to maintain and strengthen the united front. "If unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish."¹ This is the chief experience gained in our struggle against the die-hard forces.

History shows that during the national-democratic revolution there must be two kinds of alliance within this united front, first, the worker-peasant alliance and, second, the alliance of the working people with the bourgeoisie and other non-working people. The worker-peasant alliance is an alliance of the working class with the peasants and all other working people in town and country. It is the foundation of the united front. Whether the working class can gain leadership of the national-democratic revolution depends on whether it can lead the broad masses of the peasants in struggle and rally them around itself. Only when the working class gains leadership of the peasants, and only on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, is it possible to establish the second alliance, form a broad united front and wage a people's war victoriously. Otherwise, everything that is done is unreliable, like castles in the air or so much empty talk.

Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas

The peasantry constituted more than 80 per cent of the entire population of semi-colonial and semi-feudal China. They were subjected to the threefold oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and they

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 422.

were eager for resistance against Japan and for revolution. It was essential to rely mainly on the peasants if the people's war was to be won.

But at the outset not all comrades in our Party saw this point. The history of our Party shows that in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, one of the major errors of the Right opportunists, represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, was their failure to recognize the importance of the peasant question, and their opposition to arousing and arming the peasants. In the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, one of the major errors of the "Left" opportunists, represented by Wang Ming, was likewise their failure to recognize the importance of the peasant question. They did not realize that it was essential to undertake long-term and painstaking work among the peasants and establish revolutionary base areas in the countryside; they were under the illusion that they could rapidly seize the big cities and quickly win nation-wide victory in the revolution. The errors of both the Right and the "Left" opportunists brought serious setbacks and defeats to the Chinese revolution.

As far back as the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had pointed out that the peasant question occupied an extremely important position in the Chinese revolution, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism was in essence a peasant revolution and that the basic task of the Chinese proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution was to give leadership to the peasants' struggle.

In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again stressed that the peasants were the most reliable and the most numerous ally of the proletariat and constituted the main force in the War of Resistance. The peasants were the main source of manpower for China's armies. The funds and the supplies needed for a protracted war came chiefly from the peasants. In the anti-Japanese war it was imperative to rely mainly on the peasants and to arouse them to participate in the war on the broadest scale.

The War of Resistance Against Japan was in essence a peasant revolutionary war led by our Party. By arousing and organizing the peasant masses and integrating them with the proletariat, our Party created a powerful force capable of defeating the strongest enemy.

To rely on the peasants, build rural base areas and use the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities—such was the way to victory in the Chinese revolution.

Basing himself on the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the importance of building rural revolutionary base areas.

Since China's key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting; it is imperative for them to do so if they do not wish to compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid decisive battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength is inadequate.¹

Experience in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War showed that, when this strategic concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung was applied, there was an immense growth in the revolutionary forces and one Red base area after another was built. Conversely, when it was violated and the nonsense of the "Left" opportunists was applied, the revolutionary forces suffered severe damage, with losses of nearly 100 per cent in the cities and 90 per cent in the rural areas.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Japanese

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, pp. 316-17.

imperialist forces occupied many of China's big cities and the main lines of communication, but owing to the shortage of troops they were unable to occupy the vast countryside, which remained the vulnerable sector of the enemy's rule. Consequently, the possibility of building rural base areas became even greater. Shortly after the beginning of the War of Resistance, when the Japanese forces surged into China's hinterland and the Kuomintang forces crumbled and fled in one defeat after another, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party followed the wise policy laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and boldly drove into the areas behind the enemy lines in small contingents and established base areas throughout the countryside. During the eight years of the war, we established nineteen anti-Japanese base areas in northern, central and southern China. With the exception of the big cities and the main lines of communication, the vast territory in the enemy's rear was in the hands of the people.

In the anti-Japanese base areas, we carried out democratic reforms, improved the livelihood of the people, and mobilized and organized the peasant masses. Organs of anti-Japanese democratic political power were established on an extensive scale and the masses of the people enjoyed the democratic right to run their own affairs; at the same time we carried out the policies of "a reasonable burden" and "the reduction of rent and interest", which weakened the feudal system of exploitation and improved the people's livelihood. As a result, the enthusiasm of the peasant masses was deeply aroused, while the various anti-Japanese strata were given due consideration and were thus united. In formulating our policies for the base areas, we also took care that these policies should facilitate our work in the enemy-occupied areas.

In the enemy-occupied cities and villages, we carried out legal with illegal struggle, united the basic masses of patriots, and divided and disintegrated the political forces of the enemy and his puppets so as to prepare ourselves to liberate the enemy from within in co-ordination with the masses without when conditions were ripe.

The base areas established by our Party became the centre of gravity in the Chinese people's struggle to resist Japan and save the country. Relying on these bases, our Party expanded and strengthened the people's revolutionary forces, persevered in the protracted war and eventually won the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Naturally, it was impossible for the development of the revolutionary base areas to be plain sailing all the time. They constituted a tremendous threat to the enemy and were bound to be attacked. Therefore, their development was a tortuous process of expansion, contraction and then renewed expansion. Between 1937 and 1940 the population in the anti-Japanese base areas grew to 100,000,000. But in 1941-42 the Japanese imperialists used the major part of their invading forces to launch frantic attacks on our base areas and wrought havoc. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang, too, encircled these base areas, blockaded them and went so far as to attack them. So by 1942, the anti-Japanese base areas had contracted and their population was down to less than 50,000,000. Placing complete reliance on the masses, our Party resolutely adopted a series of correct policies and measures, with the result that the base areas were able to hold out under extremely difficult circumstances. After this setback, the army and the people in the base areas were tempered, and grew stronger. From 1943 onwards, our base areas were gradually restored and expanded, and by 1945 the population had grown to 160,000,000. Taking the entire course of the Chinese revolution into account, our revolutionary base areas went through even more ups and downs, and they weathered a great many tests before the small, separate base areas, expanding in a series of waves, gradually developed into extensive and contiguous base areas. At the same time, the work of building the revolutionary base areas was a grand rehearsal in preparation for nation-wide victory. In these base areas, we built the Party, ran the government, exercised state power, built the people's armed forces, organized mass organizations; we engaged in industry and commerce, operated cultural, educational and all other institutions necessary for the independent existence of a

separate region. Our base areas were in fact a state in miniature. And with the steady expansion of our work in the base areas, our Party established a powerful people's army, trained cadres for various kinds of work, accumulated experience in many fields and built up both the material and the moral strength that provided favourable conditions for nation-wide victory.

The revolutionary base areas established in the War of Resistance later became the springboards for the People's War of Liberation, in which the Chinese people defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries. In the War of Liberation we continued the policy of first encircling the cities from the countryside and then capturing the cities, and thus won nation-wide victory.

Build a People's Army of a New Type

"Without a people's army the people have nothing."¹ This is the conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Tse-tung from the Chinese people's experience in their long years of revolutionary struggle, experience that was bought in blood. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

The special feature of the Chinese revolution was armed revolution against armed counter-revolution. The main form of struggle was war and the main form of organization was the army which was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, while all the other forms of organization and struggle led by our Party were co-ordinated, directly or indirectly, with the war.

During the First Revolutionary Civil War, many fine Party comrades took an active part in the armed revolutionary struggle. But our Party was then still in its infancy and did not have a clear understanding of this special feature of the Chinese revolution. It was only after the First Revolutionary Civil War, only after the Kuomintang had betrayed the revolution, massacred large numbers of Communists and destroyed

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, pp. 296-97.

all the revolutionary mass organizations, that our Party reached a clearer understanding of the supreme importance of organizing revolutionary armed forces and of studying the strategy and tactics of revolutionary war and created the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the first people's army under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army created by Comrade Mao Tse-tung grew considerably and at one time reached a total of 300,000 men. But it later lost nine-tenths of its forces as a result of the wrong political and military lines followed by the "Left" opportunist leadership.

At the start of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party had only a little over 40,000 men. The Kuomintang reactionaries attempted to restrict, weaken and destroy this people's army in every conceivable way. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, in these circumstances, in order to sustain the War of Resistance and defeat the Japanese aggressors, it was imperative greatly to expand and consolidate the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and all the guerrilla units led by our Party. The whole Party should give close attention to war and study military affairs. Every Party member should be ready at all times to take up arms and go to the front.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also incisively stated that Communists do not fight for personal military power but must fight for military power for the Party and for the people.

Guided by the Party's correct line of expanding the revolutionary armed forces, the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and anti-Japanese guerrilla units promptly went to the forefront at the very beginning of the war. We spread the seeds of the people's armed forces in the vast areas behind the enemy lines and kindled the flames of guerrilla warfare everywhere. Our people's army steadily expanded in the struggle, so that by the end of the war it was already a million strong, and there was also a militia

of over two million. That was why we were able to engage nearly two-thirds of the Japanese forces of aggression and 95 per cent of the puppet troops and to become the main force in the War of Resistance Against Japan. While resisting the Japanese invading forces, we repulsed three large-scale anti-Communist onslaughts launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries in 1939, 1941 and 1943, and smashed their countless "friction-mongering" activities.

Why were the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies able to grow big and strong from being small and weak and to score such great victories in the War of Resistance Against Japan?

The fundamental reason was that the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies were founded on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building. They were armies of a new type, a people's army which whole-heartedly serves the interests of the people.

Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on building a people's army, our army was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and most loyally carried out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies. It had a high degree of conscious discipline and was heroically inspired to destroy all enemies and conquer all difficulties. Internally there was full unity between cadres and fighters, between those in higher and those in lower positions of responsibility, between the different departments and between the various fraternal army units. Externally, there was similarly full unity between the army and the people and between the army and the local government.

During the anti-Japanese war our army staunchly performed the three tasks set by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, namely, fighting, mass work, and production, and it was at the same time a fighting force, a political work force and a production corps. Everywhere it went, it did propaganda work among the masses, organized and armed them and helped them set up revolutionary political power. Our army men strictly observed the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for

Attention,¹ carried out campaigns to "support the government and cherish the people," and did good deeds for the people everywhere. They also made use of every possibility to engage in production themselves so as to overcome economic difficulties, better their own livelihood and lighten the people's burden. By their exemplary conduct they won the whole-hearted support of the masses, who affectionately called them "our own boys".

Our army consisted of local forces as well as of regular forces; moreover, it energetically built and developed the militia, thus practising the system of combining the three military formations, i.e., the regular forces, the local forces and the militia.

Our army also pursued correct policies in winning over enemy officers and men and in giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war. During the anti-Japanese war we not only brought about the revolt and surrender of large numbers of puppet troops, but succeeded in converting not a few Japanese prisoners, who had been badly poisoned by fascist ideology.

¹ The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention were drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during the Agrarian Revolutionary War and were later adopted as rules of discipline by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and the present People's Liberation Army. As these rules varied slightly in content in the army units of different areas, the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in October 1947 issued a standard version as follows:

The Three Main Rules of Discipline:

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

The Eight Points for Attention:

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

After they were politically awakened, they organized themselves into anti-war organizations such as the League for the Liberation of the Japanese People, the Anti-War League of the Japanese in China and the League of Awakened Japanese, helped us to disintegrate the Japanese army and co-operated with us in opposing Japanese militarism. Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, the leader of the Japanese Communist Party, who was then in Yen-an, gave us great help in this work.

The essence of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is that in building a people's army prominence must be given to politics, i.e., the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis. Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the lifeline of our army. True, a people's army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and its military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique, it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of the commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses.

Owing to the application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on army building, there has prevailed in our army at all times a high level of proletarian political consciousness, an atmosphere of keenness to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung, an excellent morale, a solid unity and a deep hatred for the enemy, and thus a gigantic moral force has been brought into being. In battle it has feared neither hardships nor death, it has been able to charge or hold its ground as the conditions require. One man can play the role of several, dozens or even hundreds, and miracles can be performed.

All this makes the people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party fundamentally different from any bourgeois army, and from all the armies of the old type which served the exploiting classes and were driven and utilized by a handful of people. The experience of the people's war in China shows that a people's army created in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of army building is incomparably strong and invincible.

Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics of People's War

Engels said, "The emancipation of the proletariat, in its turn, will have its specific expression in military affairs and create its specific new military method."¹ Engels' profound prediction has been fulfilled in the revolutionary wars waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In the course of protracted armed struggle, we have created a whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war by which we have been able to utilize our strong points to attack the enemy at his weak points.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, on the basis of his comprehensive analysis of the enemy and ourselves, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the following strategic principle for the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies: "Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions."² He raised guerrilla warfare to the level of strategy because, if they are to defeat a formidable enemy, revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution. Guerrilla warfare is the only way to mobilize and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces in the course of the war, deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerrilla to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy.

In the initial period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung enumerated the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare as follows:

The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we

¹ Frederick Engels, "Possibilities and Perspectives of the War of the Holy Alliance Against France in 1852", *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1956, Vol. VII, p. 509.

² Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 116.

harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.¹

Guerrilla war tactics were further developed during the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the base areas behind the enemy lines, everybody joined in the fighting—the troops and the civilian population, men and women, old and young; every single village fought. Various ingenious methods of fighting were devised, including "sparrow warfare",² land-mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage warfare, and guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers.

In the later period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and during the Third Revolutionary Civil War, we switched our strategy from that of guerrilla warfare as the primary form of fighting to that of mobile warfare in the light of the changes in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves. By the middle, and especially the later, period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, our operations had developed into large-scale mobile warfare, including the storming of big cities.

War of annihilation is the fundamental guiding principle of our military operations. This guiding principle should be put into effect regardless of whether mobile or guerrilla warfare is the primary form of fighting. It is true that in guerrilla warfare much should be done to disrupt and harass the enemy, but it is still necessary actively to advocate and fight battles of annihilation whenever conditions are favourable. In mobile warfare superior forces must be concentrated in every battle so that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 124.

² Sparrow warfare is a popular method of fighting created by the Communist-led anti-Japanese guerrilla units and militia behind the enemy lines. It was called sparrow warfare because, first, it was used diffusely, like the flight of sparrows in the sky; and because, second, it was used flexibly by guerrillas or militiamen, operating in threes or fives, appearing and disappearing unexpectedly and wounding, killing, depleting and wearing out the enemy forces.

decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them.¹

Battles of annihilation are the most effective way of hitting the enemy; each time one of his brigades or regiments is wiped out, he will have one brigade or one regiment less, and the enemy forces will be demoralized and will disintegrate. By fighting battles of annihilation, our army is able to take prisoners of war or capture weapons from the enemy in every battle, and the morale of our army rises, our army units get bigger, our weapons become better, and our combat effectiveness continually increases.

In his celebrated ten cardinal military principles Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out :

In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and also to attack one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 248.

time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.¹

At the same time, he said that we should first attack dispersed or isolated enemy forces and only attack concentrated and strong enemy forces later; that we should strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare; that we should fight no battle unprepared and fight no battle we are not sure of winning; and that in any battle we fight we should develop our army's strong points and its excellent style of fighting. These are the major principles of fighting a war of annihilation.

In order to annihilate the enemy, we must adopt the policy of luring him in deep and abandon some cities and districts of our own accord in a planned way, so as to let him in. It is only after letting the enemy in that the people can take part in the war in various ways and that the power of a people's war can be fully exerted. It is only after letting the enemy in that he can be compelled to divide up his forces, take on heavy burdens and commit mistakes. In other words, we must let the enemy become elated, stretch out all his ten fingers and become hopelessly bogged down. Thus, we can concentrate superior forces to destroy the enemy forces one by one, to eat them up mouthful by mouthful. Only by wiping out the enemy's effective strength can cities and localities be finally held or seized. We are firmly against dividing up our forces to defend all positions and putting up resistance at every place for fear that our territory might be lost and our pots and pans smashed, since this can neither wipe out the enemy forces nor hold cities or localities.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war: You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.

In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. IV, p. 161.

to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out. It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. This strategy and these tactics can be applied only when one relies on the broad masses of the people, and such application brings the superiority of people's war into full play. However superior he may be in technical equipment and whatever tricks he may resort to, the enemy will find himself in the passive position of having to receive blows, and the initiative will always be in our hands.

We grew from a small and weak to a large and strong force and finally defeated formidable enemies at home and abroad because we carried out the strategy and tactics of people's war. During the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the people's army led by the Chinese Communist Party fought more than 125,000 engagements with the enemy and put out of action more than 1,700,000 Japanese and puppet troops. In the three years of the War of Liberation, we put eight million of the Kuomintang's reactionary troops out of action and won the great victory of the people's revolution.

Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance

The Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan was an important part of the Anti-Fascist World War. The victory of the Anti-Fascist War as a whole was the result of the common struggle of the people of the world. By its participation in the war against Japan at the final stage, the

Soviet army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin played a significant part in bringing about the defeat of Japanese imperialism. Great contributions were made by the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand and certain other Asian countries. The people of the Americas, Oceania, Europe and Africa also made their contribution.

Under extremely difficult circumstances, the Communist Party of Japan and the revolutionary forces of the Japanese people kept up their valiant and staunch struggle, and played their part in the defeat of Japanese fascism.

The common victory was won by all the peoples, who gave one another support and encouragement. Yet each country was, above all, liberated as a result of its own people's efforts.

The Chinese people enjoyed the support of other peoples in winning both the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's Liberation War, and yet victory was mainly the result of the Chinese people's own efforts. Certain people assert that China's victory in the War of Resistance was due entirely to foreign assistance. This absurd assertion is in tune with that of the Japanese militarists.

The liberation of the masses is accomplished by the masses themselves—this is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party maintained that China should rely mainly on her own strength while at the same time trying to get as much foreign assistance as possible. We firmly opposed the Kuomintang ruling clique's policy of exclusive reliance on foreign aid. In the eyes of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, China's industry and agriculture were no good, her weapons and equipment were no good, nothing in China was any good, so that if she wanted to defeat Japan, she had to depend on other countries, and particularly on the U. S.-British imperialists. This was com-

pletely slavish thinking. Our policy was diametrically opposed to that of the Kuomintang. Our Party held that it was possible to exploit the contradictions between U. S.-British imperialism and Japanese imperialism, but that no reliance could be placed on the former. In fact, the U. S.-British imperialists repeatedly plotted to bring about a "Far Eastern Munich" in order to arrive at a compromise with Japanese imperialism at China's expense, and for a considerable period of time they provided the Japanese aggressors with war *material*. In helping China during that period, the U. S. imperialists harboured the sinister design of turning China into a colony of their own.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "China has to rely mainly on her own in the War of Resistance."¹ He added, "We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people."²

Self-reliance was especially important for the people's armed forces and the Liberated Areas led by our Party.

The Kuomintang Government gave the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies some small allowances in the initial stage of the anti-Japanese war, but gave them not a single penny later. The Liberated Areas faced great difficulties as a result of the Japanese imperialists' savage attacks and brutal "mopping-up" campaigns, of the Kuomintang's military encirclement and economic blockade and of natural calamities. The difficulties were particularly great in the years 1941 and 1942, when we were very short of food and clothing.

What were we to do? Comrade Mao Tse-tung asked: How has mankind managed to keep alive from time immemorial? Has it not been by men using their hands to provide

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the *Sao Tang Pao* and the *Hsin Min Pao*", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed. FLP. Peking 1965 Vol., II p. 270

² Mao Tse-tung, "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work", *Selected Works* Eng. ed. FLP. Peking 1965 Vol. III p. 241

for themselves? Why should we, their latter-day descendants, be devoid of this tiny bit of wisdom? Why can't we use our own hands?

The Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the policies of "ample food and clothing through self-reliance" and "develop the economy and ensure supplies", and the army and the people of the Liberated Areas accordingly launched an extensive production campaign, with the main emphasis on agriculture.

Difficulties are not invincible monsters. If everyone cooperates and fights them, they will be overcome. The Kuomintang reactionaries thought that it could starve us to death by cutting off allowances and imposing an economic blockade, but in fact it helped us by stimulating us to rely on our own efforts to surmount our difficulties. While launching the great campaign for production, we applied the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" and economized in the use of manpower and material resources; thus we not only surmounted the severe material difficulties and successfully met the crisis, but lightened the people's burden, improved their livelihood and laid the material foundations for victory in the anti-Japanese war.

The problem of military equipment was solved mainly by relying on the capture of arms from the enemy, though we did turn out some weapons too. Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese imperialists and the U.S. imperialists have all been our "chiefs of transportation corps." The arsenals of the imperialists always provide the oppressed peoples and nations with arms.

The people's armed forces led by our Party independently waged people's war on a large scale and won great victories without any material aid from outside, both during the more than eight years of the anti-Japanese war and during the more than three years of the People's War of Liberation.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that our fundamental policy should rest on the foundation of our own strength. Only by relying on our own efforts can we in all circumstances remain invincible.

The peoples of the world invariably support each other in their struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. Those countries which have won victory are duty bound to support and aid the peoples who have not yet done so. Nevertheless, foreign aid can only play a supplementary role.

In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid—even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution—no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won.

The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Theory of People's War

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the Great October Revolution. The road of the October Revolution is the common road for all people's revolutions. The Chinese revolution and the October revolution have in common the following basic characteristics: (1) Both were led by the working class with a Marxist-Leninist Party as its nucleus. (2) Both were based on the worker-peasant alliance. (3) In both cases state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. (4) In both cases the socialist system was built after victory in the revolution. (5) Both were component parts of the proletarian world revolution.

Naturally, the Chinese revolution had its own peculiar characteristics. The October Revolution took place in imperialist Russia, but the Chinese Revolution broke out in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The former was a proletarian socialist revolution, while the latter developed into a socialist revolution after the complete victory of the new-democratic revolution. The October Revolution began

with armed uprisings in the cities and then spread to the countryside, while the Chinese revolution won nation-wide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great merit lies in the fact that he has succeeded in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism by his masterly generalization and summation of the experience gained during the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war has been proved by the long practice of the Chinese revolution to be in accord with the objective laws of such wars and to be invincible. It has not only been valid for China, it is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world.

The people's war led by the Chinese Communist Party, comprising the War of Resistance and the Revolutionary Civil Wars, lasted for twenty-two years. It constitutes the most drawn-out and most complex people's war led by the proletariat in modern history, and it has been the richest in experience.

In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it, "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."¹

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."²

He clearly pointed out:

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Eng. Ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. I, p. 751.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed. FLP. Peking, 1965 Vol. II p 224

holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.¹

War is the product of imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man. Lenin said that "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes."² So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exists, the imperialists and reactionaries will invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

In the world today all the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys, without exception, are strengthening their state machinery, and especially their armed forces. U. S. imperialism, in particular, is carrying out armed aggression and suppression everywhere.

What should the oppressed nations and the oppressed people do in the face of wars of aggression and armed suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys? Should they submit and remain slaves in perpetuity? Or should they rise in resistance and fight for their liberation?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered this question in vivid terms. He said that after long investigation and study the Chinese people discovered that all the imperialists and their lackeys "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion."³ This is called doing unto them what they do unto us.

In the last analysis, whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against armed aggression and suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a

¹ Mao Tse-tung: *Selected Works*, Vol. II p. 219

² V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH Moscow, 1962. Vol. VIII, p. 565

³ Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan". *Selected Works*, Eng. ed. FLP. Peking 1961 Vol. IV, pp. 14-15

People's war against them, means whether one dares to embark on revolution. This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine from fake revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists.

In view of the fact that some people were afflicted with the fear of the imperialists and reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his famous thesis that the "imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers". He said:

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.¹

The history of people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the people's revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings into strong and large forces is a universal law of development of class struggle, a universal law of development of people's war. A people's war inevitably meets with many difficulties, with ups and downs and setbacks in the course of its development, but no force can alter its general trend towards inevitable triumph.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically.

To despise the enemy strategically is an elementary requirement for a revolutionary. Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make revolution and wage a people's war, let alone to achieve victory.

It is also very important for revolutionaries to take full account of the enemy tactically. It is likewise impossible to win victory in a people's war without taking full account of the enemy tactically, and without examining the concrete conditions, without being prudent and giving great attention to the study of the art of struggle, and without adopting appropriate forms of

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p 100

struggle in the concrete practice of the revolution in each country and with regard to each concrete problem of struggle.

Dialectical and historical materialism teaches us that what is important primarily is not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may not appear to be durable, for only that which is arising and developing is invincible.

Why can the apparently weak new-born forces always triumph over the decadent forces which appear so powerful? The reason is that truth is on their side and that the masses are on their side, while the reactionary classes are always divorced from the masses and set themselves against the masses.

This has been borne out by the victory of the Chinese revolution, by the history of all revolutions, the whole history of class struggle and the entire history of mankind.

The imperialists are extremely afraid of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all oppose and attack this thesis and the philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But all this cannot in the least diminish its importance. The light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war solves not only the problem of daring to fight a people's war, but also that of how to wage it.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman and military scientist, proficient at directing war in accordance with its laws. By the line and policies, the strategy and tactics he formulated for the people's war, he led the Chinese people in steering the ship of the people's war past all hidden reefs to the shores of victory in most complicated and difficult conditions.

It must be emphasised that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside

is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys.

Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant question is extremely important in these regions. The peasants constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution against the imperialists and their lackeys. In committing aggression against these countries the imperialists usually begin by seizing the big cities and the main lines of communication, but they are unable to bring the vast countryside completely under their control. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of establishing revolutionary base areas in the rural districts and encircling the cities from the countryside is attracting more and more attention among the people in these regions.

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In

the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. The socialist countries should regard it as their internationalist duty to support the people's revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The October Revolution opened up a new era in the revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the October Revolution built a bridge between the socialist revolution of the proletariat of the West and the national-democratic revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East. The Chinese revolution has successfully solved the problem of how to link up the national-democratic with the socialist revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, in the epoch since the October Revolution, anti-imperialist revolution in any colonial or semi-colonial country is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a complete theory of the new-democratic revolution. He indicated that this revolution, which is different from all others, can only be, nay must be, a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

This means that the revolution can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and by no other class or party.

This means that the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist democrats.

This means, finally, that the revolution is directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

The new-democratic revolution leads to socialism, and not to capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the new-democratic revolution is the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution by stages as well as the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct distinction between the two revolutionary stages, i. e., the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions; at the same time he correctly and closely linked the two. The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national-democratic revolution. There is no Great Wall between the two revolutionary stages. But the socialist revolution is only possible after the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The more thorough the national-democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

The experience of the Chinese revolution shows that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution can be fulfilled only through long and tortuous struggles. In this stage of revolution, imperialism and its lackeys are the principal enemy. In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, it is necessary to rally all anti-imperialist patriotic forces, including the national bourgeoisie and all patriotic personages. All those patriotic personages from among the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who join the anti-imperialist struggle play a progressive historical role; they are not tolerated by imperialism but welcomed by the proletariat.

It is very harmful to confuse the two stages, that is, the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the wrong idea of "accomplishing both at one stroke," and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the most urgent task at that time. The Kuomintang reactionaries and the Trotskyites they hired during the War of Resistance deliberately confused these two stages of the Chinese revolution, proclaiming the "theory of a single revolution" and preaching so-called "socialism" without any Communist Party. With this preposterous theory they attempted to swallow up the

Communist Party, wipe out any revolution and prevent the advance of the national-democratic revolution, and they used it as a pretext for their non-resistance and capitulation to imperialism. This reactionary theory was buried long ago by the history of the Chinese revolution.

The Khrushchov revisionists are now actively preaching that socialism can be built without the proletariat and without a genuinely revolutionary party armed with the advanced proletarian ideology, and they have cast the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the four winds. The revisionists' purpose is solely to divert the oppressed nations from their struggle against imperialism and sabotage their national-democratic revolution, all in the service of imperialism.

The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thorough-going national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat; it likewise provides a successful lesson for the timely transition from the national-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has been the guide to the victory of the Chinese revolution. It has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, thus adding new weapons to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

Ours is the epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom and socialism and communism are marching to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war is not only a product of the Chinese revolution, but has also the characteristics of our epoch. The new experience gained in the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries since World War II has provided continuous evidence that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the whole world. This is the great international significance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Defeat U. S. Imperialism and its Lackeys by People's War

Since World War II, U. S. imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and has

been trying to build a great American empire by dominating and enslaving the whole world. It is actively fostering Japanese and West German militarism as its chief accomplices in unleashing a world war. Like a vicious wolf, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples, plundering their wealth, encroaching upon their countries' sovereignty and interfering in their internal affairs. It is the most rabid aggressor in human history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world. Every people or country in the world that wants revolution, independence and peace cannot but direct the spearhead of its struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Just as the Japanese imperialists' policy of subjugating China made it possible for the Chinese people to form the broadest possible united front against them, so the U. S. imperialists' policy of seeking world domination makes it possible for the people throughout the world to unite all the forces that can be united and form the broadest possible united front for a converging attack on U. S. imperialism.

At present, the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and U. S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other is the vast area of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world as a whole, this is the area where the people suffer worst from imperialist oppression and where imperialist rule is most vulnerable. Since World War II, revolutionary storms have been rising in this area, and today they have become the most important force directly pounding U. S. imperialism. The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II, people's war has increasingly demonstrated its power in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Indonesia, Algeria and other countries have waged people's wars against the imperialists and their lackeys and won great victories.

The classes leading these people's wars may vary, and so may the breadth and depth of mass mobilization and the extent of victory, but the victories in these people's wars have very much weakened and pinned down the forces of imperialism, upset the U.S. imperialist plan to launch a world war, and become mighty factors defending world peace.

Today, the conditions are more favourable than ever before for the waging of people's wars by the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II and the succeeding years of revolutionary upsurge, there has been a great rise in the level of political consciousness and the degree of organization of the people in all countries, and the resources available to them for mutual support and aid have greatly increased. The whole capitalist-imperialist system has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration. After World War I, the imperialists lacked the power to destroy the new born socialist Soviet state, but they were still able to suppress the people's revolutionary movements in some countries in the parts of the world under their own rule and so maintain a short period of comparative stability. Since World War II, however, not only have they been unable to stop a number of countries from taking the socialist road, but they are no longer capable of holding back the surging tide of the people's revolutionary movements in the areas under their own rule.

U. S. imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world. U. S. imperialism has further weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, over-reaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Wherever it commits

aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world."¹

When committing aggression in a foreign country, U. S. imperialism can only employ part of its forces, which are sent to fight an unjust war far from their native land and therefore have a low morale, and so U. S. imperialism is beset with great difficulties. The people subjected to its aggression are having a trial of strength with U. S. imperialism neither in Washington nor New York, neither in Honolulu nor Florida, but are fighting for independence and freedom on their own soil. Once they are mobilized on a broad scale, they will have inexhaustible strength. Thus superiority will belong not to the United States but to the people subjected to its aggression. The latter, though apparently weak and small, are really more powerful than U. S. imperialism.

The struggles waged by the different peoples against U. S. imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to U. S. imperialism. The more successful the development of people's war in a given region, the larger the number of U. S. imperialist forces that can be pinned down and depleted there. When the U. S. aggressors are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others. Therefore, the conditions become more favourable for the people elsewhere to wage struggles against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of U. S. imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head and others at its feet. That is why the greatest fear of U. S. imperialism is that people's wars will be launched in different parts of the world, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and why it regards people's wars as a mortal danger.

U. S. imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people. But these weapons cannot save U. S.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (Leopoldville) Against U.S. Aggression, Nov. 28, 1964.

imperialism from its doom. Nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly. U. S. imperialism has been condemned by the people of the whole world for its towering crime of dropping two atomic bombs on Japan. If it uses nuclear weapons again, it will become isolated in the extreme. Moreover, the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been broken; U. S. imperialism has these weapons, but others have them too. If it threatens other countries with nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism will expose its own country to the same threat. For this reason, it will meet with strong opposition not only from the people elsewhere but also inevitably from the people in its own country. Even if U.S. imperialism brazenly uses nuclear weapons, it cannot conquer the people, who are indomitable.

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice. Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people. The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atomic bomb.

Vietnam is the most convincing current example of a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism by a people's war. The United States has made South Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for many years and everybody can now see that the U.S. aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with people's war. On the other hand, the Vietnamese people have brought the power of people's war into full play in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors. The U.S. aggressors are in danger of being swamped in the people's war in Vietnam. They are deeply

worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat. The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too.

History has proved and will go on proving that people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles and become skilled in waging people's war, though they have not done so before. U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions.

The Khrushchov Revisionists Are Betrayers of People's War

The Khrushchov revisionists have come to the rescue of U.S. imperialism just when it is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with people's war. Working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, they are doing their utmost to spread all kinds of arguments against people's war and, wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine it by overt or covert means.

The fundamental reason why the Khrushchov revisionists are opposed to people's war is that they have no faith in the masses and are afraid of U.S. imperialism, of war and of revolution. Like all other opportunists they are blind to the power of the masses and do not believe that the revolutionary people are capable of defeating imperialism. They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed peoples and nations rise up to fight people's wars or the people of socialist countries repulse U.S. imperialist aggression, U.S. imperialism will become incensed,

they themselves will become involved and their fond dream of Soviet-U.S. co-operation to dominate the world will be spoiled.

Ever since Lenin led the Great October Revolution to victory, the experience of innumerable revolutionary wars has borne out the truth that a revolutionary people who rise up with only their bare hands at the outset finally succeed in defeating the ruling classes who are armed to the teeth. The poorly armed have defeated the better armed. People's armed forces, beginning with only primitive swords, spears, rifles and hand-grenades, have in the end defeated the imperialist forces armed with modern aeroplanes, tanks, heavy artillery and atom bombs. Guerrilla forces have ultimately defeated regular armies. "Amateurs" who were never trained in any military schools have eventually defeated "professionals" graduated from military academies. And so on and so forth. Things stubbornly develop in a way that runs counter to the assertions of the revisionists, and facts are slapping them in the face.

The Khrushchov revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons, whatever methods of fighting it may adopt. This is tantamount to saying that any one without nuclear weapons is destined to come to grief, destined to be bullied and annihilated, and must either capitulate to the enemy when confronted with his nuclear weapons or come under the "protection" of some other nuclear power and submit to its beck and call. Isn't this the jungle law of survival par excellence? Isn't this helping the imperialists in their nuclear blackmail? Isn't this openly forbidding people to make revolution?

The Khrushchev revisionists assert that nuclear weapons and strategic rocket units are decisive while conventional forces are insignificant, and that a militia is just a heap of human flesh. For ridiculous reasons such as these, they oppose the mobilization of and reliance on the masses in the socialist countries to get prepared to use people's war against imperialist aggression. They have staked the whole future of their country on nuclear weapons and are engaged in a nuclear gamble with U. S. imperialism, with which they are trying to strike a

political deal. Their theory of military strategy is the theory that nuclear weapons decide everything. Their line in army building is the bourgeois line which ignores the human factor and sees only the material factor and which regards technique as everything and politics as nothing.

The Khrushchov revisionists maintain that a single spark in any part of the globe may touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind. If this were true, our planet would have been destroyed time and time again. There have been wars of national liberation throughout the twenty years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a world war? Isn't it true that the U. S. imperialists' plans for a world war have been upset precisely thanks to the wars of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America? By contrast, those who have done their utmost to stamp out the "sparks" of people's war have in fact encouraged U. S. imperialism in its aggressions and wars.

The Khrushchov revisionists claim that if their general line of "peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition" is followed, the oppressed will be liberated and "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" will come into being. But the inexorable fact is that imperialism and reaction headed by the United States are zealously priming their war machine and are daily engaged in sanguinary suppression of the revolutionary peoples and in the threat and use of armed force against independent countries. The kind of rubbish peddled by the Khrushchov revisionists has already taken a great toll of lives in a number of countries. Are these painful lessons, paid for in blood, still insufficient? The essence of the general line of the Khrushchov revisionists is nothing other than the demand that all the oppressed peoples and nations and all the countries which have won independence should lay down their arms and place themselves at the mercy of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys who are armed to the teeth.

"While magistrates are allowed to burn down houses, the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." Such is

the way of the imperialists and reactionaries. Subscribing to this imperialist philosophy, the Khrushchov revisionists shout at the Chinese people standing in the forefront of the fight for world peace: "You are bellicose!" Gentlemen, your abuse adds to our credit. It is this very "bellicosity" of ours that helps to prevent imperialism from unleashing a world war. The people are "bellicose" because they have to defend themselves and because the imperialists and reactionaries force them to be so. It is also the imperialists and reactionaries who have taught the people the arts of war. We are simply using revolutionary "bellicosity" to cope with counter-revolutionary bellicosity. How can it be argued that the imperialists and their lackeys may kill people everywhere, while the people must not strike back in self-defence or help one another? What kind of logic is this? The Khrushchov revisionists regard imperialists like Kennedy and Johnson as "sensible" and describe us together with all those who dare to carry out armed defence against imperialist aggression as "bellicose." This has revealed the Khrushchov revisionists in their true colours as the accomplices of imperialist gangsters.

We know that war brings destruction, sacrifice and suffering on the people. But the destruction, sacrifice and suffering will be much greater if no resistance is offered to imperialist armed aggression and the people become willing slaves. The sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars is repaid by security for whole nations, whole countries and even the whole of mankind; temporary suffering is repaid by lasting or even perpetual peace and happiness. War can temper the people and push history forward. In this sense, war is a great school.

When discussing World War I, Lenin said,

The war has brought hunger to the most civilized countries, to those most culturally developed. On the other hand, the war, as a tremendous historical process, has accelerated social development to an unheard-of degree.¹ He added,

War has shaken up the masses, its untold horrors and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "For Bread and Peace", Collected Works, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXVI, p. 386

suffering have awakened them. War has given history momentum and it is now flying with locomotive speed.¹

If the arguments of the Khrushchov revisionists are to be believed, would not that make Lenin the worst of all "bellicose elements"?

In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchov revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people never take a gloomy view of war. Our attitude towards imperialist wars of aggression has always been clear-cut. First, we are against them, and secondly, we are not afraid of them. We will destroy whoever attacks us. As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples, so far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid. It has been so in the past, it remains so in the present and, when we grow in strength as time goes on, we will give them still more support and aid in the future. It is sheer day-dreaming for anyone to think that, since our revolution has been victorious, our national construction is forging ahead, our national wealth is increasing and our living conditions are improving, we too will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Of course, every revolution in a country stems from the demands of its own people. Only when the people in a country are awakened, mobilized, organized and armed can they overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys through struggle; their role cannot be replaced or taken over by any people from outside. In this sense, revolution cannot be imported. But this does not exclude mutual sympathy and support on the part of revolutionary peoples in their struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys. Our support and aid to other revolutionary peoples serves precisely to help their self-reliant struggle.

The propaganda of the Khrushchov revisionists against

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Chief Task of Our Day," Collected Works, Eng. ed. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXVII, p. 162

people's war and the publicity they give to defeatism and capitulationism, tend to demoralize and spiritually disarm revolutionary people everywhere. These revisionists are doing what the U. S. imperialists are unable to do themselves and are rendering them great service. They have greatly encouraged U.S. imperialism in its war adventures. They have completely betrayed the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory of war and have become betrayers of people's war.

To win the struggle against U. S. imperialism and carry people's wars to victory, the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary people throughout the world must resolutely oppose Khrushchov revisionism.

Today, Khrushchov revisionism has a dwindling audience among the revolutionary people of the world. Wherever there is armed aggression and suppression by imperialism and its lackeys, there are bound to be people's wars against aggression and oppression. It is certain that such wars will develop vigorously. This is an objective law independent of the will of either the U. S. imperialists or the Khrushchov revisionists. The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchov is finished. And the successors to Khrushchov revisionism will fare no better. The imperialists, the reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists, who have all set themselves against people's war, will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people.

* * * * *

Great changes have taken place in China and the world in the twenty years since the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, changes that have made the situation more favourable than ever for the revolutionary people of the world and more unfavourable than ever for imperialism and its lackeys.

When Japanese imperialism launched its war of aggression against China, the Chinese people had only a very small people's army and a very small revolutionary base area, and they were

up against the biggest military despot of the East. Yet even then, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the Chinese people's war could be won and that Japanese imperialism could be defeated. Today, the revolutionary base areas of the peoples of the world have grown to unprecedented proportions, their revolutionary movement is surging as never before, imperialism is weaker than ever, and U. S. imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, is suffering one defeat after another. We can say with even greater confidence that the people's wars can be won and U. S. imperialism can be defeated in all countries.

The peoples of the world now have the lessons of the October Revolution, the Anti-Fascist War, the Chinese people's War of Resistance and War of Liberation, the Korean people's War of Resistance to U.S. Aggression, the Vietnamese people's War of Liberation and their War of Resistance to U.S. Aggression, and the people's revolutionary armed struggles in many other countries. Provided each people studies these lessons well and creatively integrates them with the concrete practice of revolution in their own country, there is no doubt that the revolutionary peoples of the world will stage still more powerful and splendid dramas in the theatre of people's war in their countries and that they will wipe off the earth once and for all the common enemy of all the peoples, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression. The determination of the Chinese people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is unshakable. No matter what U.S. imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people until every single one of the U.S. aggressors is driven out of Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are now clamouring for another trial of strength with the Chinese people, for another large-scale ground war on the Asian mainland. If they insist on

following in the footsteps of the Japanese fascists, well then, they may do so, if they please. The Chinese people definitely have ways of their own for coping with a U.S. imperialist war of aggression. Our methods are no secret. The most important one is still mobilization of the people, reliance on the people, making everyone a soldier and waging a people's war.

We want to tell the U.S. imperialists once again that the vast ocean of several hundred million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge your few million aggressor troops. If you dare to impose war on us, we shall gain freedom of action. It will then not be up to you to decide how the war will be fought. We shall fight in the ways most advantageous to us to destroy the enemy and wherever the enemy can be most easily destroyed. Since the Chinese people were able to destroy the Japanese aggressors twenty years ago, they are certainly still more capable of finishing off the U.S. aggressors today. The naval and air superiority you boast about cannot intimidate the Chinese people, and neither can the atom bomb you brandish at us. If you want to send troops, go ahead, the more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send, and can even give you receipts. The Chinese people are a great, valiant people. We have the courage to shoulder the heavy burden of combating U.S. imperialism and to contribute our share in the struggle for final victory over this most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.

It must be pointed out in all seriousness that after the victory of the War of Resistance Taiwan was returned to China. The occupation of Taiwan by U.S. imperialism is absolutely unjustified. Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The U.S. imperialists must get out of Taiwan. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan.

In commemorating the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, we must also point out in all solemnity that the Japanese militarists fostered by U. S. imperialism will certainly receive still severer punishment if they ignore the firm opposition of the Japanese people and the

people of Asia, again indulge in their pipe-dreams and resume their old road of aggression in Asia.

U. S. imperialism is preparing a world war. But can this save it from its doom? World War I was followed by the birth of the socialist Soviet Union. World War II was followed by the emergence of series of a socialist countries and many nationally independent countries. If the U. S. imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it can be stated categorically that many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to socialism; the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe; and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse.

We are optimistic about the future of the world. We are confident that the people will bring to an end the epoch of wars in human history. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that war, this monster, "will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war."¹

All people suffering from U. S. imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder, unite! Hold aloft the just banner of people's war and fight for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism! Victory will certainly go to the people of the world!

Long live the victory of people's war!

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. 1, p. 182.

NO PEACE Without Independence

President Ho Chi Minh's Letter of May 8 to President Nguyen Huu Tho and members of the National Front for Liberation Central Committee, South Viet Nam.

[We reproduce below President Ho Chi Minh's letter in full which expresses the resolve of the Vietnamese people not to rest until the U.S. aggressors are completely routed and complete victory is won.]

— Ed. LIBERATION]

To President Nguyen Huu Tho,
To the members of the National Front
for Liberation Central Committee,

Under the clear-sighted leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the compatriots, fighters and cadres in South Viet Nam have risen up in unison and mounted a general offensive since early spring this year, fighting very well, winning very big victories.

Upholding revolutionary heroism and combining armed attacks, political struggle and propaganda among enemy troops, the armed forces and people in South Viet Nam have :

—Defeated 1.2 million enemy troops including more than 500,000 U.S. troops ;

—Fought victoriously both in the cities and the countryside ;

—Attacked with skill enemy bases, ports, storages, and communication lines ;

—Liberated many more vast areas with dense population ;

—Fought while engaging in construction, hence the unusually speedy growth of both their military and political forces ;

—Fought well and have done very well in implementing the policy of the National Front for Liberation.

The armymen are devotedly defending and assisting the people. The people are giving the armymen their unreserved love and helping them, and fighting side by side with them against the aggressors.

In the last few days, the armed forces and people of South Viet Nam, from Quang Tri-Thua, Thien region to the Cape of Ca Mau, from the coastal plains to the highlands, have again launched concerted attacks on the U.S. and its puppets, winning very big victories ; inflicting heavier defeats on the enemy and increasing their consternation and confusion.

So, all the armed forces and the entire people of heroic South Viet Nam—the old and the young, women and men, the Kinh people and the highland peoples, the main forces as well as the regional forces, have all performed outstanding military feats. The whole South Viet Nam is fighting very well, gaining more strength and winning greater victories in the process.

I am very elated at this, and I ask the President and the members of the National Front for Liberation Central Committee to convey my best regards and warmest congratulations to all the compatriots in South Viet Nam, to officers and men of the patriotic armed forces on all battlefields. I send my regards to all patriotic personalities, all foster-mothers of the armymen. I praise the youth and young pioneers for their enthusiasm in resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country, and for their many exploits.

The victories won by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people are very big, all-round victories which are gladdening the people across the country and our friends on all the five continents. The cause of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation followed by our entire people is making tremendous progress, and is speeding steadily towards complete victory.

Our people love peace very much, but there cannot be genuine peace unless there is independence and freedom. Peace

will come directly after the U.S. imperialists have put an end to their war of aggression in Viet Nam, brought home all their troops, and let Vietnamese people decide their own destiny themselves.

The U. S. imperialists at present are losing heavily in Viet Nam, and are caught in isolation and confusion both in the world and at home. Yet they keep acting obdurately and cunningly. They are talking of peace negotiations while stepping up the war.

Our compatriots and fighters, therefore, should unite more closely, sharpen vigilance and increase the resolve to fight and to win, develop their strong points and correct their weakness, brave all hardships and sacrifices, fight continuously and on all battlefields in order to win still bigger victories.

North and South Viet Nam being of one mind and emulating each other in annihilating the enemy and saving the country, it is a certainty that the U. S. aggressors will be completely defeated.

The day will certainly come when the compatriots in South Viet Nam are liberated.

It is certain that our Fatherland—Viet Nam—will have complete independence and freedom, will surely be reunified and enjoy peace.

Forward!

Complete victory will be ours!

My cordial greetings of determination to fight and to win.

“All For the Defeat of the U. S. Aggressors”

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has issued the following appeal to all compatriots and fighters in South Viet Nam:

Dear compatriots and fighters,

The gunfire of our simultaneous attacks has again rung out in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and many other towns and cities, in district capitals, and at military headquarters, key organs, military bases, airfields and storages of the United States and its puppets, on all battlefields from Quang Tri province to the Cape of Ca Mau.

Our army and people are dealing thunder blows at the United States and its puppets and have performed new, extremely glorious exploits, meting out due punishment to the perpetrators of countless crimes against our people.

The whole South Viet Nam inspired by the fresh victories, is dashing forward.

The whole South Viet Nam is, rocking under the gunfire of the offensive and rising up in a seething determination to fight and win.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

Since the start of the general offensive and widespread attacks mounted by our armed forces and people early this spring, the U.S. oppressors' ultimate defeat has become a foregone conclusion. But, obdurate as they are, the U.S. aggressors have not given up their aggressive designs against our country.

Along with their crafty manoeuvres, they continue to intensify their war of aggression by sending in additional troops and weapons, pouring in more money, feverishly drafting more

troops, and conducting a series of operations to massacre our people and destroy our villages and towns.

However, the determination of our entire people and army remains unshakable. So long as the U.S. goes on with its aggression in South Viet Nam, we are resolved to fight and defeat them.

We decidedly refuse to be enslaved again and lose our country again. Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. The goal of the just struggle of the Front is quite clear. The situation is developing in our favour.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen—the Thieu-Ky clique are being driven into ever tighter straits. The complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors, the collapse and disintegration of the Thieu-Ky puppet army and administration are unavoidable.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

In this hour of the valiant and glorious struggle of our entire people, let us clearly grasp firmly our revolution's objectives. With our iron-like determination and limitless efforts, let us courageously overcome all difficulties and hardships, and brave all sacrifices. Let us mount repeated attacks and fight vigorously to defeat the U.S. aggressors, overthrow the puppets, win back total power for the people, wrest back independence, national sovereignty and freedom, and bring happiness to the entire people.

Let the officers and men of the Liberation Army launch fierce and repeated attacks, wipe out as many U.S. and puppet effectives as possible, destroy as much of their means of war as possible, score new victories every day and every hour, overcome the aggressive designs of the U. S. aggressors, smash the puppet army, and resolutely win complete victory.

Let our compatriots in the towns and those rural areas still under enemy control rise up in arms. Let them take up whatever weapons at their disposal: Guns, knives, axes. Let them coordinate with the Liberation Armed Forces in eliminating cruel enemy agents, round up the spies, topple the

puppet administration, and establish revolutionary power. Let them organize themselves, assist the Liberation Armed Forces, resolutely beat off enemy counter-attacks, defend the revolutionary power, protect the people's life and property and firmly maintain their control.

Let our compatriots in the liberated zone carry out the slogan "All for the front! All for the defeat of the U.S. aggressors!"

Let the officers and men of the Saigon puppet army and police, and personnel of the Saigon puppet administration definitely take the path of an honourable life. Let them rise up, wipe out the cruel agents, serve the Fatherland, dissociate themselves from the enemy ranks and cross over to the people's side with weapons to save the country and their own families.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

The unprecedentedly great and all-round victories we have recorded since the start of the general offensive and widespread attacks early this spring have eloquently testified to the invincible strength and unequalled wisdom of our armed forces and people.

The fight between us and the enemy has entered a crucial phase. The U. S. aggressors and the puppet traitors are resorting to every possible cruel manoeuvres—looting, arson, rapes, and massacre. But no reactionary force can resist the solidarity and dauntless fight of our army and people.

Let us overcome all hardships and difficulties and march forward bravely.

Complete victory will certainly be ours!

A New Assessment of The History of the C.P.I.

—Bande Ali Khan

Chapter II : 1929-39

II. Workers' and Peasants' Party

Following Roy's previous instructions, the Indian Communists had been forming Workers' and Peasants' parties in different provinces. At the time of the Sixth Comintern Congress, the Workers' and Peasants' Parties had already been formed in Bombay and Bengal, and preparations were being made to form it in some other provinces. The question of WPP also involved much debate. British delegates wanted to continue with it, while the Russian delegates asked for its liquidation. The Thesis said: "Special 'Workers' and peasants' Parties', whatever revolutionary character they may possess, can too easily, at particular periods, be converted into ordinary petty bourgeois parties, and accordingly, Communists are not recommended to organise such parties. The Communist Party can never build its organisation on the basis of a fusion of two classes, and in the same way also it cannot make it its task to organise other parties on this basis which is characteristic of petty bourgeois groups.The union of all Communist groups and individual Communists scattered throughout the country into a single, illegal, independent and centralised party represents the first task of Indian Communists."

The Comintern recommended that an "illegal, independent and centralised party" should be formed and that the WPP should be liquidated. But three months after that decision the CPI was still forming "open" WPPs! It was formed in the Punjab in September and in UP in October 1928. Then

the All-India WPP was formed at a conference presided over by Sohan Singh Josh in Calcutta on 21-24 December. At this conference it was decided that all policies must be directed to strengthen this "open" legal mass organisation of the Party. In a thesis the conference confidently declared that the WPP was "the only organisation which has a correct policy and can unite and lead all the mass revolutionary forces of the country." It also said that the WPP will function not within the Congress, but as an independent body. This thesis, strangely enough, was published in the *Labour Monthly*, the theoretical organ of the CPGB¹. R. P. Dutt and Page Arnot also wrote articles in support of WPP.

CPGB was actually openly supporting the CPI's efforts to organise WPP even 6 months after the Comintern decision. CPGB also insisted that the WPP must not make any alliance with the Independence for India League. Clemens Dutt wrote that the League was "a challenge to the Workers' and Peasants' Party, an attempt to regain the ascendancy of the Nationalist bourgeoisie over the masses, which were in danger of escaping from bourgeois influences."²

Roy still continued to write articles in the Comintern press and still exercised some influence on the CPI. In one of them Roy began with the assertion that class differentiations in the nationalist movement was remote, but at the end he said just the opposite that there was a "regrouping of class forces". Then again, Roy said (as Varga was saying) that the petty bourgeoisie was still "largely under the influence and control" of the bourgeois leaders, but this did not prevent him to add contradictorily at the end that one section of the petty bourgeoisie was advancing toward a revolutionary alliance with the working class (as Dutt said). In fact, Roy had attained a stationary position, he refused to move either direction. Roy

1. "The Political Situation in India: the thesis of the WPP of India", *Labour Monthly*, March 1929.

2. "The Indian League for Independence": *Labour Monthly*, January, 1929.

concluded by saying that "the development of independent political action by the working class is splitting the petty bourgeois radical nationalists into two ever diverging tendencies. One advanced towards revolutionary alliance with the working class in Workers' and Peasants' Party; and the other moves rapidly toward Fascism" under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose.¹

In two more articles Roy saw the radicalization of the Indian petty bourgeoisie and therefore he urged the working class to give the lead. He chastised the WPP for not supporting the Independence League just the opposite of what Dutt said.²

The question is—even after being discredited how could Roy continue to write such confusing and self-contradictory articles or the CPGB defy Comintern decisions? The explanation probably is—the ideological struggle between Stalin and Bukharin which continued about a year after the Sixth Congress. Bukharin remained editor of Pravda until February and head of the Comintern until April, 1929. Roy was in friendly terms with Bukharin. Roy himself was not expelled until November that year.

III. Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case.

Immediately after the WPP conference in Calcutta, the leaders of the CPI met on December 27-29 to reconstruct the Central Executive Committee. Ghate again became General Secretary and Dange, Mirajkar, Joglekar, Nimbkar, Muzaffar Ahmad, Abdul Halim, Shamsul Huda and Abdul Majid constituted the Central Committee. The Committee decided to ask the Comintern for affiliation.

On March 17-19, 1929 the CC met again in Bombay and decided to reorganize the CP as "the basis of all Communist work".

1. "The Indian Constitution," *Inprecor*, Aug. 14, 1928.

2. "Indian National Congress" (*Inprecor*, Dec. 27, 1928), and "Conference of Workers' and Peasants' Party of India" (*Inprecor*, Feb. 1, 1929.)

The day after the Bombay meeting police arrested 31 Communist and trade union leaders from all over India and took them to Meerut and started the Meerut Conspiracy Case. As a matter of fact, all the important leaders from all over India were rounded up and were taken to Meerut. Eight of them were also members of the Congress Central Committee—an indication of the Leftist influence inside the Congress. One of the accused R. S. Nimbkar, was the secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Among the accused there were three Englishmen—Bradley, Spratt (who was expelled from the Party later on) and Hutchinson (a non-Communist).

The Trial lasted for more than four and a half years; 320 witnesses were examined; 3000 exhibits were entered as evidence. Government of India was very generous in spending Indian taxpayers' money to conduct the case. The chief prosecutor Langford James, a Calcutta barrister, for instance, was getting everyday 87 guineas (one guinea was Rs. 17 at that time) as his fee, apart from his hotel and other expenses. James was drawing a total of Rs. 34,000 per month. The total cost of the case came up to the phantastic sum of Rs. 1,500,000.¹ The judgement was in two printed volumes covering 676 pages of folio size.

For a time it was thought that Jawaharlal Nehru himself will be included among the accused. It is very likely that Nehru at that time maintained a direct relation with the CPI and with the League Against Imperialism. During the trial a startling disclosure was made when a letter from the CPI to Nehru was produced by the prosecution in the Court. The letter told Nehru: "If you are organizationally prepared, you will be able to strike a blow just as Gandhi was able to do in 1921".² When Nehru first visited the accused in the Meerut jail, he said: "How little do these accused persons know about

1. Overstreet and Windmiller: *Communism India*, p. 136.

2. Quoted by A. C. Underwood: *Contemporary Thought in India*.

the Communist International. I know a lot more than they."¹

Widespread sympathy was expressed in India and abroad for the Meerut prisoners. Congress set up a Defence Committee with Motilal Nehru as president and Jawaharlal as secretary. Only the Nehrus and Dr. Ansari contributed to the fund; other leaders promised to make handsome contributions, but never made. After sometime, this Defence Committee lost all interest in the case. Nehru wrote to Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British TUC General Council, that it is only "one phase of the offensive which the Government here has started against the Labour movement. There is a lot of shouting about Communists and Communism in India, but it is equally certain that this cry of Communism is meant to cover a multitude of sins of the Government."²

The Meerut prisoners got tremendous publicity not only in India but also abroad. Mass meetings were held and defence committees were formed in Soviet Union, England, Germany, France etc. Romain Rolland's campaign for the defence of the prisoners and for the struggling masses of India became a noble example of the international solidarity of the proletariat and of the progressive intellectuals.³ Similarly effective was also the appeal of Albert Einstein in favour of the prisoners. Everywhere the Meerut prisoners were regarded as martyrs for the cause of oppressed humanity. As Harold Laski said: "The Meerut trial belongs to the class of cases of which the Mooney trial and the Sacco-Vangetti trial in America, the Dreyfus trial in France, the Reichstag fire trial in Germany, are the supreme instances."⁴

Towards the commencement of the trial, through Jawaharlal,

1. Muzaffar Ahmad's introduction to the *Meerut Communist Case: General Statement*, Calcutta, 1967, p. VII.

2. *Meerut Trial; Facts of the Case*, London, National Meerut Prisoners' Defence Committee, 1929, p. 10.

3. Romain Rolland: *I Will Not Rest!* see also *Kalantarar Pathik Romain Rolland* (Bengali) by Promode Sengupta.

4. Laski's Preface to Hutchinson's *Conspiracy at Meerut*, p. 8.

Congress advised the accused that they should plead guilty, so that they would get only light sentences and the case would be over soon. But the accused decided to turn the Court into a propaganda platform for Communism by making political statements.¹

Gandhi in his typical manner protested against the Government for instituting the case. The Government wanted to strike terror among the people, he said. At the same time he denounced Communism because it meant seizure of power and property by violent means. As usual Gandhi equated Communism with violence. But he was shrewd enough to see the widespread sympathy for the victims of foreign imperialism. So, for the sake of his own popularity he visited the prisoners in the jail and gave them encouragement. But after that was done, he did not take any further interest in the case.

To enable the prisoners to defend their defence, Government allowed them all Marxist literature, even those which were banned. The *General Statement* that the Communist accused prisoners prepared and signed is a historic document which more or less enunciated the general Marxist-Leninist principles.² The accused had plenty of time to study in prison. In a way it was a boon in disguise. But what did they do with that opportunity? After these party leaders were released from the prison, none of them have contributed anything of value to Marxist literature. Discussions of Marxist-Leninist theory, development of Marxism-Leninism

1. Muzaffar Ahmad writes in his introduction to the *Meerut Communist Case: General Statement*, p. 1: "how deeply sorry I was for not having made a similar use of the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case."

2. All the accused communists whether belonging to the Party or not signed the *General Statement*, except Dange. "The reason was that Dange had been expelled from the Party earlier for carrying on from jail factional activities in Bombay." (Muzaffar Ahmad, *Introduction p. VI*). But Ahmad in his book *Communist Party of India and its Formation Abroad*, which was written before the split in the Party does not mention this fact, although he deals with many petty, insignificant details. The fact is that not only Dange, but Muzaffar Ahmad and other leaders have spent all their lives in factional activities against each other and did not let the Party grow as a Communist Party.

in Indian conditions, have always been grossly neglected by the CPI leaders, and that has been one of the main weaknesses of the Party.

The accused had very little fund to conduct their case. The main contribution came from the British Defence Committee. Indian contribution was very little. (This only shows Party's organisational weakness and its dependence on others.) Contributions from Russia, France, Germany, America etc. were not allowed to come by the Government.

The Sessions Court gave heavy sentences on the prisoners. Appeal was made to the Allahabad High Court. "In deciding to appeal to the High Court we counted wholly on the special funds collected by this Defence Committee" [of Great Britain].¹ Dr. Kailashnath Katju, a leading lawyer and a Congress leader, conducted the appeal, but he charged his full fees. Sentences were much reduced. Muzaffar Ahmad's was reduced from transportation for life to 3 years, Dange's from 12 years to 3 years, Usmani's from 10 years to 3 years, Spratt's from 12 years to 2 years, Bradley's from 10 years to 1 year. Sentences of Ghate, Nimbkar, Sohan Singh Josh, Joglekar, Mirajkar, Abdul Mazid, Dharani Goswami were reduced to 1 year each.²

IV. CPI in the Wilderness.

By staging the Meerut Trial, the British Government wanted to wipe out Communism from India altogether, and for the moment it thought it had succeeded in doing that. It is true that due to the arrest of all the important leaders, organisationally the Party suffered a good deal for the time being. Work in the WPP and in other fields almost came to a stand still.

But the set-back was only temporary. The bold statements made by the accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case

1. Muzaffar Ahmad: *Introduction* p. XII.

2. "The sentences were reduced later, under the pressure of the British Trade Union Congress and others." (Peecher: *Nehru*, p. 136)

and their bold challenge to the imperialist oppression made a lasting impression on the Indian people. Their courageous statements in the Court got wide publicity in the press which immensely helped to propagate Communist ideas in the country. Moreover, the international solidarity that was expressed during the trial for the Indian liberation struggle also impressed the Indian people. There is no doubt that the Meerut Trial greatly helped to place Communism permanently in the mind of the workers and peasants of India.

Bhagat Singh's trial (1926-31) also increased Party's prestige. In his statement to the Court he called for a revolution that would establish the "sovereignty of the proletariat". He became a Communist while he was under trial. Ajoy Ghosh was a co-defendant in the Bhagat Singh's case. At the Amritsar Congress, Independence resolution was passed, and on April 18, 1930 some bold revolutionaries raided the Chittagong Armoury which caught the imagination of the youth. Finally in 1930 the Civil Disobedience movement started. In short, 1930 was a year of great awakening of the Indian masses. But was the Party able to take advantage of this excellent situation ?

While the leaders were in prison, some promising younger comrades came to the forefront of the Party—Bharatdwaj, Ranadive, Doshpande etc. But instead of taking advantage of the favourable situation for quickly building up the Party, these leaders, specially Ranadive and Doshpande immediately plunged into factional quarrels.

At this time, the Comintern carefully studied the lessons of the Chinese Revolution and based on those lessons it stressed three things for India: 1. Building of a centralised illegal Communist Party, 2. Exposure of the treacherous character of the Indian bourgeoisie, i.e., of the Congress leaders of both left and right, 3. Building up of revolutionary peasant organization. Stalin emphasised all these points in his famous address at the 16th CPSU Congress in 1930.

When the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International met on July 3-19, 1929, Stalin's line was already established and Trotsky was expelled. This Plenum expelled M. N. Roy from the Comintern (it was announced in the *Inprecor*, Dec. 13, 1929). From 1920 to 1929 the Comintern had not only been remarkably tolerant to Roy in spite of his basic differences with it, but had placed him on its highest policy making body—the ECCI.

At this Plenum Kausinen, while urging the CPI to work on the Leninist line, said "not the two-class character of these parties [WPP] was the worst thing, much worse was the fact that hardly any practical revolutionary work had been done yet among the peasantry."¹ Then again, in An Open Letter to the All India Youth Congress, the Young Communist International stated that the Indian National Congress retards the revolutionary movement and it was their main task to build a revolutionary party, to organise strikes and to help the peasants *seize the land*. As a matter of fact Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern had all the time been stressing the agrarian character of the Indian revolution and the need for organizing and revolutionizing the peasantry—a task which the Party consistently neglected not only at that time, but also subsequently.

In 1930 the CPI was formally affiliated to the Comintern.

On July 31, 1930, the *Inprecor* published a message from The All-China Labour Federation to the Indian working masses, in which it said: "The Indian nationalist party under the leadership of Gandhi is just like the Kuomintang in China. Both are the tools of imperialism. We must not have the slightest illusion towards Gandhi. On the contrary, we must oppose him in order to guarantee the victory of the revolution."

On Dec. 18, 1930, an important document entitled *Draft Platform of Action of the CPI* was published in the *Inprecor* as a primary directive for the Indian Communists. It was

1. *Inprecor*, August 20, 1929.

also published in *Pravda* and *Daily Worker*.¹ It said that "the greatest threat to victory of the Indian Revolution" was the illusion which the Indian people were harbouring about the Indian National Congress and its leaders; that the masses have not realised that the Congress "represents a class-organisation of the capitalists working against the fundamental interest of the toiling masses of India."

Emphasizing the need for an agrarian revolution, the *Draft Platform* clearly pointed out that:

"The system of landlord ownership by the landlords, native princes and money-lenders and the relics of serfdom in the land system of India (and consequently in all India's social and political institutions) represent the main bulwark of British supremacy. In order to destroy the slavery of the Indian people and emancipate the working class and the peasant from the poverty which is crushing them down, it is essential to win the independence of the country and to raise the banner of the agrarian revolution which would smash the system of landlordism surviving from the middle ages and would cleanse the whole of the land from all this mediaeval rubbish. An agrarian revolution against British capitalism and landlordism must be the basis for the revolutionary emancipation of India."

The *Draft* also laid down concrete tasks for the agrarian revolution in India and asked the CPI to set up immediately peasants' revolutionary committees in order to carry out those tasks: "The CPI fights for the confiscation without compensation of all land and estates, forests and pastures of the native princes, landlords, money-lenders and the British Government and their transference to peasant committees for use by the toiling masses of the peasantry.

".....cancellation of slave agreements and all indebtedness of the peasantry to money-lenders and banks. "The CP of

1. Reprinted in the *Indian Communist Party Documents 1930-1956*, Ed. Karnik, Bombay 1957.

India calls for refusal to pay debts and arrears to Government, landlords and the money-lenders in any form whatsoever.

"To ensure the victory to the Indian revolution, there is required a Communist Party of the proletariat, the leader and organiser of the toiling masses of our country. The building of a centralised, disciplined, united, mass underground communist party is today the chief and basic task, long ago overdue, of the revolutionary movement for the emancipation of our country."

Kuusinen and Radek, both Executive members of the Comintern, wrote several articles in the Comintern press on these lines. Both severely criticised Gandhi and other Congress leaders who were diverting the mass movement into wrong channels by stressing false issues like the breaking of salt laws etc. They asked the Indian Communists to build up workers' and peasants' revolutionary organisations based on the real economic and political issues which vitally concerned the masses.

Widespread mass discontent in India, mass Civil Disobedience Movement, dissatisfaction of the Congress rank and file against its leadership, general spread of Communist ideas as a result of Meerut Trial—such was the favourable situation in India just after the Meerut Trial. Did the leaders of the Party understand this situation? Did they take advantage of it? Did they try to build up the Party and revolutionary mass organisations? No, they did not.

The reason for this failure was the inner contradictions of the Party. There was an obvious growing contradiction between the "old guard" inside the jail and the new leaders who were working outside. Meerut prisoners virtually became "a Party office in jail" and tried to function as the Central Committee. The imprisoned leaders tried to guide the party in one direction, while the leaders outside the jail wanted to go another direction. Within "the Party office in jail" there were different conflicting groups, just as outside

furious factional struggle was going on. Deshpande in Bombay and Halim in Calcutta became "moderates" and wanted to move cautiously within the law confining their activities to legal publication of papers, study circles among intellectuals etc.; while Ranadive went to the other extreme and concentrated on artificially fomenting strikes, demonstrations etc. Thus right at the beginning of his Party career, Ranadive showed his talent for ultra-leftism and sectarianism. Both the groups ignored the Comintern instruction of building the illegal party and peasants' revolutionary organisations. There were groups within groups. Dange and Adhikari from the prison were instigating the rival groups of Ranadive and Deshpande. Ranadive-Deshpande factional quarrel became open scandal in Bombay. This infection of groupism and factionalism spread to other parts of India and her whole Communist movement.

REBELLION IS RIGHT !

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

[*The text of this remarkable Statement, from which, we regret, a few passages have been left out for want of space, is being reproduced.—Editorial Board, Liberation.*]

The Communists of Jammu and Kashmir will always hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism

Statement of the State Committee of the Jammu-Kashmir Democratic Conference :

The State Committee of the J. & K. Democratic Conference has unanimously decided that the Democratic Conference shall not function as a unit of the Communist Party (Marxist). Henceforth the Democratic Conference shall act as an Independent Unit and the programme, policy and constitution of the CPI (M) shall not be binding on it.

The decision is just a formality, otherwise, for all practical purposes, the Democratic Conference has been functioning in this position since the 4th general election.

Since long the State Committee has been strongly feeling that the leadership of the CPI (M) has set itself on the same path which the notorious Dange clique has been pursuing. In spite of their revolutionary phraseology they are hardly a shade different from the Dange clique, the only difference being that while the Dangeites have mostly given up their Marxist facade, the CPI (M) leaders still cling to revolutionary phrasemongering.

The Statement adds, the State Committee has felt compelled to take this decision because it firmly believes that the CPI (M) leadership has adopted the path of revisionism in ideology, politics, organisation and practice. This leadership

has given up Marxism-Leninism and turned its back to the revolution. They have renounced class struggle and taken the path of class collaboration and parliamentarianism. In brief, their path now is the path of service to American imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reaction.

Ideologically, the CPI (M) has adopted an anti-China line. In the present era anti-China line is a line of service to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Whosoever takes this course, inevitably ends up as a U.S. satellite.

Even while verbally accepting that the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party has turned into a centre of international revisionism, the CPI (M) leaders advance the slogan of united action between the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet revisionists. The 120 years old history of communist movement is a clear reminder that there is nothing common between communists and revisionists. Whosoever entered into united action with the revisionists was carried away to the gutter of revisionism. Revisionists are invariably the agents of exploiting classes in the communist movement and their only function is to deceive the working people with revolutionary phraseology. In practice, they serve the ruling classes. United action with revisionists means renouncing Marxism-Leninism for good. In Marxist-Leninist language, the revisionists are renegades who in practice renounce class struggle and the struggle to establish the rule of the proletariat. Can there be any united action between those engaged in class struggle and those opposing class struggle? It can only be possible at the peril of substituting the path of class collaboration for class struggle. Marxism-Leninism acknowledges the supremacy of practice. If communists unite in action with revisionists it would be a path of anti-communism rather than communism. The slogan of united action is the slogan of Soviet revisionists, and by propagating this slogan the CPI (M) leaders directly hire themselves to the service of Soviet renegades. By confusing public opinion through this slogan they are trying to create an atmosphere against China and

in favour of U. S. imperialism. By having united action with the Dange clique in the country they are working against communism and revolution.

Inside the country the CPI(M) leaders are misleading the people by presenting an erroneous class analysis of our state and society. According to them the Indian state is led by the industrial bourgeoisie which is independent and not servile to imperialism.

If the Indian big bourgeoisie is free and independent as the revisionists, old and new, say, then why has it made our country completely dependent upon U. S. imperialism? Why has it entered into alliance with the feudal class? Why has it adopted political-economic policies in the interest of U. S. imperialism, completely ignoring the interests of the Indian people?

If the Indian bourgeoisie is independent then, naturally our society is a capitalist society. In a capitalist society socialist revolution is the path. Why then the CPI (M) leaders have put forward the slogan of democratic revolution in their programme?

The reality is that our society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal. The Indian state is a bourgeois-landlord state led by the comprador and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie is mainly dependent upon U. S. imperialism, to some extent on Soviet revisionists and to a lesser extent on its old master, British imperialism. It has transformed our country into a neo-colony of American imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

In the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, no bourgeois class of any dependent or semi-dependent country can be independent. It can neither develop capitalism through its own resources, nor can it arrange such resources from abroad. In order to develop capitalism it puts reliance on imperialism and gradually drifts into its neo-colonial grip.

Politically, the Marxist leaders are putting forth a misleading view of the present situation in the country. According to

them politico-economic crisis is deepening but this crisis, they say, is not favourable for the revolution. They say that being weak, the CPI(M) cannot take advantage of the situation. Hence the Party should concentrate all its activities on the parliamentary front. That is why, for the current period they have advanced the slogans of defence of parliamentary democracy—mid-term elections and establishment of united front governments.

The Statement goes on to say that factually, the basic feature of the situation in our country is that the conflict between the people on the one hand and the ruling classes on the other has increased and is sharpening day by day. When the ruling classes cannot rule in the old way and the people refuse to be ruled in the old way; when the government is in the throes of a crisis; when the Communist Party, the vanguard of the people, is fully conscious of the significance of changing the society—if this is not a revolutionary situation, what else is? When the ruling classes of our country have been caught in a severe economic and political crisis, when the contradiction between the ruling classes and the people is getting sharper day by day and when the class struggle in our country and outside is also getting sharper and sharper, just see what they are doing. These revisionist leaders are only trying to divert people's attention from struggle and preaching to them to engage themselves in elections and put the revisionists and other non-Congress reactionaries on the ministerial chairs.

By presenting an erroneous class analysis of our society, by describing the bourgeois class as independent, by shielding its character of servility to U. S. imperialism, by creating illusions among the people about bourgeois parliamentarianism and by running away from sharpening mass struggles, these revisionist leaders are openly serving the ruling classes and betraying the working people.

Organisationally, the CPI (M) leaders have launched a

crusade against communists who uphold class struggle. They are being expelled from the Party and a misleading propaganda campaign is being carried on against them. On the contrary, revisionism is being openly encouraged and practised. Just look how they deal with revisionists. While the CPI (M) leaders demand implementation of the Rann of Kutch Award, their Gujerat unit is participating in a protest against this decision in collusion with other bourgeois parties. Mr. Nambudiripad goes on making statements against China, day in and day out.

The Statement continues: organisationally, the line of the CPI(M) leaders is to end democracy inside the Party, to break its revolutionary spirit and to breed bourgeois ideology and practice among the cadres.

In practice the CPI(M) leaders are defending the interests of the ruling classes and working against the revolution. If we look at their activities of the past two years, i.e., after release from jail (April '66 to April 1968) it becomes clear that during this period neither they called upon the people to struggle, nor prepared them for it. If, however, people launched any struggle any where, these leaders tried to throw cold water on it. Throughout the last 2 years they engaged themselves in parliamentary activities and tried to keep people busy in such activities. When in West Bengal, during their tenure of government, the peasants of Naxalbari rose to assert their rights they were subjected to extreme terror by the police and army under orders from the U. F. government of which CPI(M) was the major partner.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to action. Practice enriches and vitalises it. That is why combination of theory and practice is considered to be the basic tenet of Marxism-Leninism. No one whose practice is contrary to Marxism-Leninism can claim to be a Communist. If the Marxist leaders are tested on this touch-stone, their sinister features become clear to the naked eye.

How many class struggle they waged after their separation from the Dange clique? On how many all India issues they called upon the people to wage struggle? How the mobilised peasants to bring about democratic revolution as enunciated by their own Party programme? Where and when did they organise working class struggles? How much time during the last four years did they utilize to organise class struggles? If the answer to all these questions is in the negative then it is obvious that these leaders did not adopt communist class method, but followed the bourgeois one and that they spent their times in fostering and strengthening bourgeois thinking and bourgeois pattern of work in the Party and among the people.

Keeping in view the present activities of these leaders we now realise that in their struggle against Dange clique they were more interested in personalities than politics. That is why the main reason behind their separation from the Dange clique was the Dange letters rather than any political and organisational reason.

After the formation of the CPI(M) they decided to prepare an elaborate analytical report about revisionism and distribute it in the Party but no such "survey" has seen the light of the day till now. They have not done it because it would have unmasked their own various past deeds.

On the basis of these facts, the State Committee has arrived at the correct decision that to continue our association with this revisionist leadership would be sheer opportunism. Hence the committee has decided to break from them. While taking this correct stand the State Committee requests its members and sympathizers to distinguish between right and wrong. It appeals to them to come forth to actively participate in the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and against revisionism.

Many times before, communists of J & K have had to grapple with revisionism and, in every trial, they came out successful. When in 1957 the former General Secretary of the

then CPI, late Ajoy Ghosh, asked us not to leave J. K. National Conference and not to form the Democratic Conference and, when again in 1960, after the rejoining of Sadiq group in the National Conference, he advised our unit to merge into the National Conference, the communists of Jammu and Kashmir refused to obey these revisionist orders and did not implement the decision to merge a unit of the Communist Party into a bourgeois party. From 1962 to 1964 the communists of Jammu and Kashmir waged a consistent fight against the revisionism of Dange clique and made it impossible for its machinations to succeed in Jammu and Kashmir. That is why when the CPI (M) was formed, not a single communist in J & K remained with the Dange clique.

Today, when, once again, the communists have to face the attack from the neo-revisionists, the revolutionaries of Jammu and Kashmir according to their tradition shall hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and defend it even at the cost of their lives.

The Jammu and Kashmir State Committee is fully aware that the communist movement in our country is passing through a new and critical phase. After emerging from this test the movement is destined to attain new heights and new vigour. For the last 46 years the revisionist leaders had been giving it wrong direction, plunging the movement intermittently in a right and left deviations. It was the result of a totally incorrect line that the leadership of the freedom movement in our country passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Had the communist leadership taken a correct class line, the leaders of bourgeois-landlord classes—Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Jinnah would never have succeeded in misleading the people. India would have remained an undivided country and the democratic revolution under the leadership of working class would have been carried out. Today when communist throughout the country are faced with the fundamental task of building a revolutionary party they are encountering many difficulties and hardships. But the

light of Marxism-Leninism and the communist spirit will enable them to surmount all these difficulties.

The opponents of Marxism-Leninism are trying to create confusion through various methods. They are raising certain questions with a view to dampen the revolutionary spirit of communists and dissuade them from taking any revolutionary step.

It is said that the split inside the CPI(M) and the formation of a new revolutionary organisation will split the communist movement further into various fragments and reduce it into a nominal entity. But the experience is the best teacher. It clearly shows that the Party never grows weak after its rupture with the revisionists. History shows that after their break with the revisionists revolutionaries became stronger. By purging opportunists from within their ranks communists bring the revolution much nearer. Wherever communists defeated revisionism they were successful in bringing about a revolution. Where they sacrificed principles for the sake of sham unity and remained united with the revisionists they not only met with failure but some times even lost their lives. The great Lenin was able to make the revolution successful after parting company with the revisionists. During the same period Rosa Luxemburg, the great leader of the German Communist Party had to sacrifice her life for remaining with the revisionists. She was advised by Lenin to break away from the revisionists but the latter did not act on this advice for the sake of maintaining unity. Consequently not only did the revolution not succeed in Germany but the communist leader lost her life at the hands of the revisionists. The Chinese revolution provides ample evidence that revolution can be made successful only after defeating the Right and the 'Left' opportunism.

It is said when all the members of Polit-Bureau and most of the members of the Central Committee have become revisionists, how the problem of leadership will be solved? Experience shows that leadership and the Party develop by

following a correct line. The present CPI(M) leaders did not attain leadership through some diplomas, they gained reputation in the name of Marxism-Leninism and due to the prestige of the international communist movement. Now when they have thrown off the mask and openly adopted the path of revisionism, their leadership too will be exposed after a short interlude. The leadership of a revolutionary party matures through struggle. Those communists who will apply correct class line according to Indian situation, transform that line into a mass line, and fight to the last to defeat the enemies of the people, will carry the revolution to its completion.

It is said that if the Communist Party could not gain strength in this country in the last 46 years what is the guarantee of its becoming strong in future? If the Communist Party could not become strong during the past 46 years the reasons for it can be found in the erroneous Party line. If proper lessons are drawn from past mistakes and these mistakes are not repeated in future, no one can prevent the Party from gaining strength.

The view is being aired that extremists are campaigning against CPI(M) leaders when the latter have adopted an 'independent line' and have refused to accept the authority of the Chinese line. This is only calling black white. The truth is that the CPI(M) leaders are being opposed because of their adopting an anti-communist rather than a communist line.

As for the question of accepting the authority of any single party in the international communist movement, communists have always tried to learn from the experiences of successful brother parties. Although all parties enjoy equal status, but those among them who have more experience to their credit are looked upon as more mature and wise. Marxism-Leninism is a science. A scientist who develops science is recognised as an authority. Similarly any one enriching Marxism with new creation is entitled to be accepted as an authority.

The Communist Party of China under the leadership of

Mao Tse-tung has made new contribution to Marxism-Leninism and raised it to new heights. That is why Mao Tse-tung's thought is called the Marxism-Leninism of the present era. Today the touch-stone of a communist is his attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The State Committee of the Democratic Conference understands that the path of our revolution is quite clear. This is the path of sharp class struggle in which the peasantry have a vital role to play under the leadership of the working class. A firm worker-peasant alliance forged through class struggle is the bed-rock of the revolution.

The Committee is of the firm opinion that the international and national situation is quite favourable. In the international arena U.S. imperialism is passing from crisis to crisis. Soviet revisionists stand fully exposed as an ally of the U.S. imperialism. Inside our country the ruling classes are embroiled in a serious political and economic crisis. The revisionism of the Dange clique and of the neo-revisionists of the CPI(M) stands fully exposed. Day to day developments point to a bright future. If communists adopt correct methods and persevere in resolute struggle the situation can be given the requisite direction.

The State Committee is of the opinion that immediately the communists of our country face the following tasks :

1. Propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Marxism-Leninism of the present era ;
2. Firm and consistent struggle against new and old revisionism ;
3. Formation of a new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party ;
4. A correct analysis of classes and the political situation in India and the formulation of programme and policy on its basis ;
5. Launching of revolutionary struggles of peasants under the leadership of the working class ;

6. To organise working class struggles, to end the ideology of economism in the working class and to develop their class consciousness.

The State Committee takes the solemn pledge that shoulder to shoulder with other communists in the country it will contribute its share in fulfilling these tasks and will exert all its energies for this end.

Though the path of our revolution is full of difficulties we firmly believe that the Indian people will certainly succeed in carrying out the revolution. The rule of the exploiting classes shall come to an end and the People's Democracy set up. This is inevitable and dictated by the laws of history. Nobody, however powerful, can prevent it from taking place.

KERALA

Communist revolutionaries from different districts of Kerala held a meeting at Ernakulam and set up the Kerala State Co-ordination Committee. Among other decisions the meeting adopted were the decisions to issue a Declaration, to continue publications, especially, translations of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works from Calicut, Palghat, Trivandrum and Thodupuzha, and to bring out a 50-page monthly journal in Malayalam, 40 pages of which were to be devoted to translations from *Liberation* and 10 pages to political notes relating to Kerala.

The following are extracts from the Declaration issued by the Kerala State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries :

Revisionism is much more deep-rooted in Kerala than in any other part of India. This can be attributed to the predominance of feudal petty-bourgeois ideology based on a semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy interspersed with small peasant holdings and a few scattered industries. More important than this, is the vicious and tranquilizing influence that the revisionist parties, especially the "Marxist" Party has on the broad masses of the peasantry in the countryside and on

the working class in the industrial areas. The absence of a genuine revolutionary party of the working class committed to fighting imperialism, modern revisionism and Indian reaction make the situation more poignant. The ruling non-Congress Government of Kerala headed by the "Marxist" leadership have opened the flood-gates of the state to the penetration of imperialist, especially U.S. imperialist and Soviet modern revisionist ideologies to an alarming degree.

The Declaration adds, the 1963 crisis in the Party brought about by the resurgent international onslaught against revisionism did not alter this position as expected. The revisionist leadership broke up into two factions but both pursued the same parliamentary path. These "Marxist" leaders smuggled into their Calcutta Programme that formulation from the Moscow Declaration which has been completely repudiated by the International Communist movement about the two roads—peaceful, and non-peaceful to win power, which in effect was only an excuse for clinging to the parliamentary road. There is no difference at all between such policies of these "Marxist" leaders and the renegade Dange clique.

The Declaration continues, it must be noted that the EMS-AKG brand of revisionists and their henchmen in the rightist Party have thoroughly discredited the Indian Communist Party and the Indian and world communist movement in the eyes of our people; have driven away or ostracised the militants; have disrupted the Party and basic revolutionary classes completely and opened wide the doors for the entry, into the body politic of Kerala, of the Jan Sangh which has as its ideology the most primitive, the most chauvinistic and the most reactionary concepts.

Like the rays of the morning sun, the message of Naxalbari has warmed up the hearts of our peasants, workers and the toiling people and has brought new hopes to them. On the other hand, it has unnerved the leaders, especially the "Marxist" leaders. Their cacophony has exposed their total bankruptcy. A new wave of enthusiasm is gripping our peasants and our

workers, which in turn has its rumblings inside the Communist Party.

This, coupled with the steady spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought by enthusiastic comrades inside the state and in the country as a whole, has forced the leadership of the "Marxist" Party to come out in their true colours as arch-renegades and scabs and to take resort to ever newer tricks to hoodwink the ranks and the broad masses of the people. One such trick was the convening of the party plenums, which were held with great pomp. They wish to make the party ranks and the people at large believe that these plenums are real ideological battle-grounds between the "Extremists" and the "Moderates". This is far from true. It is now crystal clear that this much-publicised battle between the "Extremists" and the "Moderates" in the party plenums were just sham battles engineered only for the purpose of scotching the rising tide of discontent inside the broad ranks of the people and party membership. The so-called "Extremist" leaders were only applying parliamentary methods inside the Party for waging their so-called battle against the revisionists. The Declaration states that this leaves no other alternative to the ranks of the Party but to rebel against the leadership—and rebel they will without any doubt whatsoever.

Comrade Mao Tse-Tung has said, "Marxism contains thousands of truths but the essence of all those truths is that it is right to rebel".

In spite of these dirty tricks by the revisionist leadership, it must be stated that the situation is excellent, very excellent, here in Kerala. Ever wider sections of our people are responding to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and yearning for its practical implementation as in Naxalbari. The spell of revisionism is fast losing its grip on our peasants and our working class. The students—the precursors of all revolutions in modern history, have already entered the fray with a thud that has its reverberations even across the borders of our state. Life itself is proving right on our soil that "once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the broad masses, it will become an inexhaustible source of strength and an infinitely powerful spiritual atom bomb." The days of revisionism are numbered and nothing can save the reactionary ruling classes and their masters, the American Imperialists, from their inevitable doom.