

5

VOL. 2
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Liberation

TIME TO FORM THE PARTY

WHY MUST WE FORM THE PARTY NOW?

SRIJAYAKULAM—INDIA'S YENAN TO BE?

PATH OF TREACHERY

PL 480 AND INDIA'S FREEDOM

SOVIET PROVOCATION AGAINST CHINA

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

THAI CP'S STATEMENT

Release All Political Prisoners!

LIBERATION

It Is Time to Form The Party	...	3
Resolution On Andhra State Co-ordination Committee	...	8
Why Must We Form the Party Now ? —Charu Mazumdar	...	10
Notes :	...	14
—Soviet Social-Imperialism's Criminal Provocation Against China		
—The Path of Treachery		
—The Murder At Iddiki		
—Release All Political Prisoners		
—Death of a Valiant Comrade		
Dictatorship of The Proletariat Is Dictatorship By The Masses— <i>Peking Review</i>	...	17
Take The Road of Stalin— <i>Red Flag</i>	...	25
Neo Colonialism At Work In Biafra — <i>Peking Review</i>	...	30
P I C A— <i>Nishad</i>	...	32
Statement of The Communist Party of Thailand Supreme Command of Thai People's Liberation Army Set Up	...	43
PL 480 And India's Freedom— <i>Satyakam</i>	...	46
Al-Fatah Clarifies Position	...	57
Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Strengthens Collusion With Japanese Reactionaries	...	62
Srikakulam—Will It Be The Yenana of India ? —Charu Mazumdar	...	66
Flames of Armed Struggle In India	...	70

Editor-in-Chief :
Sushital Ray Chaudhury

All India Co-ordination Committee Denounces Soviet Provocation Against China

The following wire has been sent by Comrade Sushital Ray Chaudhury on behalf of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries to the First Secretary, Embassy of the People's Republic of China, New Delhi :

First Secretary
Embassy of the People's Republic of China
50D, Santipath
Chanakyapuri
New Delhi

All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries condemns Soviet social-imperialists' armed border provocations against Socialist China in collusion with U.S. imperialists and their Indian and other accomplices against whom Committee pledges to rally revolutionary Indian people.

—Sushital Ray Chaudhury

A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people ; an army under the leadership of such a Party ; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

—Mao Tse-tung

IT IS TIME TO FORM THE PARTY

Following is the full text of the resolution adopted unanimously by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries on February 8, 1969 :

A little over 18 months has passed since the revolutionary peasant struggle was launched in Naxalbari under the all-conquering banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. And it is more than a year ago that the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was formed under the inspiring leadership of the Naxalbari comrades.

During this period, though brief, the Co-ordination Committee has, no doubt, made significant achievements in dealing powerful blows at all reactionary ideology, including revisionism and neo-revisionism, and in spreading the flames of agrarian revolution. This period has witnessed the victorious march of Chairman Mao's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, which is winning new adherents every day. It is during this period that the flames of agrarian revolution have spread out from Naxalbari to Srikakulam in the south and to Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri in the north. It has been the period when the peasant revolutionaries of Kerala have staged a heroic revolt that has shaken the whole of India. It has also been the period of the bursting forth of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Adibasi people in

Chotanagpur and its uninterrupted advance. It is also in this period that the national liberation struggles of the Nagas, the Mizos and the Kukis have entered a new phase. The reactionary Indian Government has become a stooge of U.S. and Soviet imperialism and a dead-weight on the Indian people. And so the resistance of the Indian people both in the countryside and in the cities—among the working class and the petty bourgeois masses—is growing fast and is creating a new upsurge in the agrarian revolution which is the main content of the Democratic revolution in India to-day. The revolutionary struggle of the Indian people to achieve emancipation from the yoke of imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital has now reached a new height.

In this excellent revolutionary situation when the people of India have finally embarked on the road of revolution, all the parties of the ruling classes, including the various revisionist parties, are feverishly trying to strengthen the parliamentary illusions. The call of "Boycott Election" issued by the Co-ordination Committee has exposed the hollowness of parliamentarism and the counter-revolutionary character of the revisionist and neo-revisionist parties.

It is a heartening fact that within the last one year revolutionaries from Assam to Maharashtra have united under the banner of the All India Co-ordination Committee and all the centres of revolutionary peasant struggles are linked with one another through this Committee. The reactionary ruling classes and their counter-revolutionary agents, including the revisionists and neo-revisionists, who pinned their hopes on the disunity within the revolutionary ranks, have been sorely disappointed. The growing unity within the ranks of the revolutionaries despite the obstacles created by the reactionaries of all sorts proves that we have overcome the main impediment to the formation of a revolutionary party in India. The Co-ordination Committee

has thus served as the first indispensable link in the chain the process of forming a Marxist-Leninist Party in India.

However, the experiences of the last one year have also made it amply clear that the political and organisational needs of the fast developing revolutionary struggles can no longer be adequately met by the Co-ordination Committees. These struggles have to be led and co-ordinated in an effective manner. The entire revolutionary forces have to be fully roused and organised to consolidate and extend the existing areas of struggle. The rich experiences of these struggles have to be analysed and assessed, generalisations have to be made and lessons drawn in order to lead these struggles along the correct line. These struggles cannot develop to a higher stage and a revolutionary authority cannot grow, if we depend merely on local initiatives. Without a revolutionary party there can be no revolutionary discipline and without revolutionary discipline the struggles cannot be raised to a higher level. Only a revolutionary party can infuse revolutionary discipline, the spirit of self-sacrifice and death-defying abandon. So, for taking these struggles forward it is essential to form an all-India Party and a centre recognised by all revolutionaries. The All India Co-ordination Committee was set up to help this process of forming a revolutionary party and this was set down in the very first Declaration. In the absence of such a Party comrades in the areas of struggle have come to look upon the Co-ordination Committees as Party committees and expect them to function in the same manner. But the Co-ordination Committees cannot fulfil the complex political and organisational tasks arising out of the present stage of revolutionary struggles. At a time when Communist revolutionaries all over the country have given priority to the task of building revolutionary bases in the rural areas, at a time when the slogan of revolutionary class struggle is rending the sky, it is our immediate duty to form a revolutionary party without which the advance of revolution is sure to be

No mention of democracy within the Party.

impeded. Chairman Mao teaches us: "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

✓ Idealist deviations on the question of party building arise as a result of the refusal to recognise the struggle that must be waged within the Party. The idea that the Party should be formed only after all opportunist tendencies, alien trends and undesirable elements have been purged through class struggles is nothing but subjective idealism. To conceive of a Party without contradictions, without the struggle between the opposites, i.e., to think of a pure and faultless party is indulging in mere idealist fantasy. ✓ Chairman Mao has taught us: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."

Revisionism is bourgeois, counter-revolutionary ideology. The inner-party struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary ideology will continue so long as classes exist. It is through an uncompromising struggle against revisionism and other alien trends that the Party shall grow and develop.

Fortunately for us, we are living in an era when the thought of Mao Tse-tung is winning victory after victory, when the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, has gained historic victory in China and has immensely enriched the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, when Chairman Mao is still living and leading the world proletarian forces in the final struggle for complete victory of Socialism all the world over.

• We are confident that with the active cooperation of all the revolutionaries of our country we shall succeed in building a Party in the revolutionary style capable of leading the Indian revolution through to complete victory.

It should be borne in mind that ours is a new great era of world revolution and that the responsibility of the Communist revolutionaries of India, a contingent of the world communist movement, is tremendous. All the imperialist powers of the world headed by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-fascists are trying to win a fresh lease of life by exploiting the 500 million people of India. They are also trying to use the Indian people as cannon-fodder in a war to destroy socialist China, the base of the world revolution. By carrying the Indian revolution to victory we shall not only end the brutal exploitation of the vast masses of our country but also hasten the collapse of world imperialism and revisionism and thus help in building a radiant future for ourselves and for all mankind. We must unite with our class brethren who are waging heroic struggles in Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia and various other countries of the world and forge that great bond of internationalism—that internationalism which has been given noble expression by Chairman Mao in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

• A stage has now been reached when the formation of the Communist Party brooks no further delay. The Party should immediately be formed with those revolutionaries as the core who are building up and conducting revolutionary class struggles. This Party composed of revolutionary cadres, steeled and tempered in the fire of class struggle, shall play its historic role in leading India's People's Democratic Revolution to victory, in carrying it forward to the completion of the Socialist Revolution and in helping to bring about the total collapse of world imperialism and revisionism.

Resolution on Andhra State Co-ordination Committee

Following is the full text of a resolution adopted by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries on February 7, 1969 :

After discussions with the representative of the Andhra Co-ordination Committee, AICCCR (All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries) is of the opinion that there are basic differences between AICCCR and the Andhra Co-ordination Committee. AICCCR therefore decides to part with Andhra Co-ordination Committee and to treat them as friends and comrades outside AICCCR.

These differences relate first and foremost to the question of loyalty to the Communist Party of China. AICCCR thinks Comrade Nagi Reddy's press statement on the Kerala incident and his failure to revise it, which is tantamount to adherence to it, even after the Chinese comrades' clear and categorical pronouncement is a clear proof that Comrade Nagi Reddy and the Andhra Committee, which supports his stand, are not loyal to the CPC.

The second question relates to the attitude to the Srikakulam struggle. AICCCR holds that instead of owning and glorifying it, the Andhra Committee simply accords it at most lukewarm support. The politics behind this attitude is basically different from the politics of AICCCR.

The third question is the question of Boycott of Elections. With AICCCR it is a basic question of revolutionary struggles for a whole period but the Andhra Committee still persists in taking it as a matter of tactics. Moreover, Comrade Nagi Raddy's failure to comply with AICCCR's resolution by not resigning from the Andhra

State Assembly within the specified time, that is, within two months from the end of October, 1968, issues out of this basic political difference.

AICCCR thinks that with this political difference all along the line, that is, difference regarding loyalty to the CPC, difference regarding people's armed struggle, and difference regarding Boycotting election, AICCCR and the Andhra Committee cannot and should not continue in the same Co-ordination. AICCCR should henceforth treat the Andhra Committee as friends and comrades outside the Co-ordination and should try to maintain non-antagonistic relations with them.

A new Andhra State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries has been recently formed by comrades representing most of the districts of Andhra.

—Editorial Board,
Liberation

Why Must We Form the Party Now ?

—Charu Mazumder

CHAIRMAN Mao has taught us : "If there is to be revolution there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

The Naxalbari peasant struggle has developed only because the party organisation of the Terai region followed this teaching of the Chairman and tried to spread it among the peasant masses. The peasant struggles in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra have broken out only by depending on the teaching of the Chairman. Revolutionary authority cannot grow if we depend only on the local initiatives for developing all these struggles along the same path and to a higher stage. As a result, the struggles will fail to develop to a higher stage. For taking these struggles forward it is necessary to build an all-India Party and a centre recognised by all revolutionaries. Self-imposed discipline is essential for building up this centre. This discipline cannot of course be imposed from the above ; it must be voluntary. The All-India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was set up with this purpose in view and this was set down in the very first Declaration. It is by following the leadership of the Co-ordination Committee that revolutionaries in different states of India have tried to build up peasant struggles on the Naxalbari line and succeeded in doing so in many parts of the country. This has led to the formation of a centre accepted by the revolutionaries. That is why the

WHY MUST WE FORM THE PARTY NOW ?

11

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international leadership has been reminding us time and again of the importance of building up a Party. We too realize today that it is no longer possible for the Co-ordination Committee to lead these struggles on the correct line. Therefore, we must have a revolutionary Communist Party which will be an all-India organisation. It is by following its lead that the revolutionary communists of the different states can advance along the path of Class struggle. The All-India Co-ordination Committee is not, of course, the perfect weapon of class struggle, for the Co-ordination Committee can function only on democratic principles, does not recognise any kind of centralism and so fails to rouse the sense of discipline among the revolutionaries. All the forces of class struggle cannot be centralised without awakening the sense of revolutionary discipline. As a consequence, the struggle loses its edge. The Chairman has taught us : "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." Unless we build up a revolutionary party, discipline will remain slack and as a result, we shall not be resolute enough to make supreme sacrifices, shall be unable to surmount the obstacles to attain victory. That is why, at a time when revolutionary communists all over the country have given priority to the task of building revolutionary bases in the rural areas and have taken up the work of uniting the entire peasantry, at a time when the slogan of revolutionary class struggle is rending the sky, it has become our urgent duty to build a revolutionary party. We shall be hindering the advance of revolution if we confine ourselves within the Co-ordination Committee and shall fail to fulfil the heavy responsibility that has now fallen on the shoulders of India's communist revolutionaries. It should be borne in mind that the world has now entered a new era of world revolution and that our responsibility in this era is very great. All the imperialist powers of the world, whether the U. S. imperia-

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lists or the Soviet social-fascists, are trying to win a fresh lease of life by exploiting the five hundred million people of India. They are not content with merely exploiting, but are trying to use the 500 million people of India as cannon-fodder in a war to destroy the great Chinese Republic, the base of the world revolution. That is why our revolutionary duty has assumed such great proportions. By making the revolution we shall be able not only to end this brutal exploitation of the vast masses of our country but also to deal a staggering blow to world imperialism and revisionism. By uniting with the great Chinese Republic we shall unite with the liberation struggles of every country of the world. This will forge the unity of the vast forces that will be able to smash world imperialism and revisionism. By completing the democratic revolution, we shall be able to march towards victory in the socialist revolution and the prediction of the Chairman will come true :

"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." The dream of the two young men dreamed in 1848 will be fulfilled at the end of the twentieth century. For mankind this twentieth century will bring a new promise—the promise of communism. The vast forces that will be unleashed will change the face of the whole world. That we are building this radiant future will awaken our sense of responsibility. Our class brothers are waging the struggle in Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia—in the various countries of the world. Uniting with them all, we too shall forge the bond of great internationalism—that internationalism which has found a glorious expression in the great proletarian revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

Refusal to recognise the inevitability of struggle within the Party will give rise to idealist deviations. Chairman

Mao has taught us : "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party ; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." As we committed revisionist deviations in the past, we shall have to wage struggles against revisionism both within the Party and outside.

In this age revisionism is counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the inner-party struggle—the struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary-ideology—will continue. "Unity, struggle, unity" —this means that counter-revolutionary revisionism must be fought and defeated. Only then unity is possible but that unity is not lasting. New contradictions will arise, revisionism will try to appear in new forms. That is why struggle has to be waged at a new level.

The All India Co-ordination Committee played an important role in uniting communist revolutionaries and in building up revolutionary struggles. But if there is any vacillation to form the Party after that stage is over, the source of it must be traced to idealist thinking. Under the influence of idealism we want—consciously or unconsciously—to wage a struggle against opportunism and to form a Party that has already rid itself of revisionism. This outlook is wholly idealistic and has nothing to do with dialectical materialism. The Party will develop through constant struggles—both against the enemy outside and against alien trends within. Through these struggles the Party will grow in strength, act as the vanguard of the revolution in order to serve the people, transform itself and transform the whole society.

Notes

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS' CRIMINAL PROVOCATION AGAINST CHINA

The new Tsars of the Kremlin are stepping up their aggressive activities against Socialist China. On March 2 large numbers of fully armed Soviet soldiers flagrantly intruded into the area of Chenpao island, an indisputably Chinese territory in north-east China, and killed or wounded many Chinese soldiers guarding the border. The Chenpao island forms a part of China even according to the unequal Sino-Russian treaty of 1860 and has always been under Chinese jurisdiction and patrolled by Chinese frontier guards. It is an extremely grave border conflict that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has provoked in the interest of the U.S.-Soviet strategy for joint world domination. One perhaps remembers that the revisionist rulers of the Soviet Union started subversive activities within the Chinese territory as far back as April 1962 when all their efforts at pressurizing China to join their neo-colonial empire failed. In April and May 1962, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique used its organs and personnel in Sinkiang, China, to carry out large scale subversive activities in the Ili region and enticed and coerced several tens of thousands of Chinese citizens into going to the Soviet Union. One may also recall that it was at this time that India's reactionary rulers became increasingly belligerent towards China. Egged on and assisted by both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, they entered into large scale clashes with China. It is not surprising that among all her neighbours it is only the Soviet revisionist renegades and the Indian reactionary rulers who have deliberately created border disputes with China. The Chinese Government has satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions, which were legacies from the

past, with all other neighbours. Like the Indian reactionaries, the Soviet revisionist rulers refuse to settle the border disputes with China. The new Tsars of the Kremlin are determined to maintain their rule over large parts of Chinese territory which the old Tsars grabbed by force of arms. They refuse to renegotiate the unequal treaties of 1858 and 1860 under the terms of which China had to cede large territories to Tsarist Russia. The new Tsars do not hesitate to trample underfoot the famous Declaration of Lenin's Government issued on July 25, 1919; "The Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics declares as void all the treaties concluded by the former Government of Russia with China, renounces all the annexations of Chinese territory, all the concessions in China, and returns to China free of charge, and forever, all that was ravenously taken from her by the tsar's Government and by the Russian bourgeoisie."

Since 1962 the new Tsars of the Soviet Union, no less ravenous than the old ones, have been guilty of frequent breaches of the *status quo* on the border and large scale subversive activities in Chinese frontier areas. These social-imperialists have become particularly reckless since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. These aggressive activities point to not the strength but the weakness of the Soviet social-imperialists. Like the U.S. imperialists, they too are beset with contradictions, both at home and abroad. They want to whip up anti-China sentiments in order to divert the attention of the Soviet people from the grave problems that face them. Like the U.S. imperialists, they are alarmed at the growing might of Socialist China, the bulwark of world revolution, and at the tremendous advance of the national liberation struggles. They are also alarmed at the sharpening of the contradictions within their own camp and the growing instability of their regimes. Together with the U.S. imperialists and

the Japanese, Indian and other reactionaries, they have formed a political and military ring round Socialist China—a combination of all reactionary forces in a vain bid to destroy the base of world revolution.

It is no accident that on the day the Soviet troops violated the Chinese territory, Soviet Defence Minister Marshal A. A. Grechko was meeting his Indian counterpart, Swaran Singh, and India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. It is also significant that the Soviet delegation led by Grechko includes General N. G. Lyashchenko, General Officer Commanding, Turkestan Military District (bordering China), besides Col. Gen. I. F. Halipov, member of the Political Council, Air Defence Force, Vice-Admiral N. I. Smirnov and other senior officials.

This country of ours is being used by the imperialists as a base, as a centre, of their counter-revolutionary activities the targets of which are the people of China, the people of South-east Asia and the people of India. About six weeks ago, the Yugoslav Chief of the General Staff, Col. General Milos Sumonja (a U.S. lackey), came to India and visited various military establishments at Bangalore, Agra, Patiala and Dehra Dun. He was followed by Britain's Chief of the General Staff, General Sir Geoffrey Baker. These visits are no mere courtesy calls. The purpose is obvious. The Soviet social-imperialists and their allies are feverishly trying to fit India into their counter-revolutionary military strategy to harass and weaken socialist China and to put out the flames of the agrarian revolution in India. The steady rise in India's Defence budget and the recent disclosures by the Indian Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies that the India Government are perfecting chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare have sinister implications.

Will the enemies of mankind succeed in their purpose? No, they shall not. Already the imperialist ring round

(Continued on page 75)

Repudiating China's Khrushchov

The Dictatorship Of the Proletariat Is Dictatorship By the Masses

by Proletarian Revolutionaries of the Political
Academy of The Chinese People's Liberation Army

OUR great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively: they will continue to make trouble and may stage a come-back."

This teaching of Chairman Mao's most penetratingly and profoundly expounds the relationship between proletarian democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. With genius and creativity, Chairman Mao here sets forth the theory of dictatorship exercised by the masses under the leadership of the proletarian political party. This has greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

Practising Democracy Towards the People and Exercising Dictatorship Over the Enemy

Chairman Mao teaches us: "During the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end if the restoration of capitalism is to be prevented, socialist construction carried forward and the conditions created for the transition to communism."

This wise thesis of Chairman Mao's has been fully

borne out by the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are both dictatorships exercised by one class over another. But the dictatorship of the proletariat is the revolutionary dictatorship exercised by the proletariat and the broad masses of the people over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is the dictatorship exercised by the overwhelming majority over a small minority. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a counter-revolutionary dictatorship exercised by the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. It is a dictatorship exercised by a small minority over the overwhelming majority.

Referring to this question not long ago Chairman Mao pointed out profoundly: "To protect the masses or to repress them—here is the basic distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

The dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy form a unity of opposites. Democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while dictatorship is exercised over the enemies of the people; the unity of contradiction of these two aspects is the dictatorship of the proletariat. To rely on the masses of the people and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat are two sides of one and the same question. Proletarian democracy cannot, in any sense, be set absolutely against the dictatorship of the proletariat or confused with bourgeois democracy.

Representing the interests of imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries, the bourgeoisie, and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, China's Khrushchov wildly opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat. He babbled about the

"democratic spirit" being tantamount to the spirit of complete equality for all mankind" and "no man has the right to oppress or exploit another." With ulterior motives, he set democracy absolutely against dictatorship and confused proletarian democracy with bourgeois democracy.

Is the "democratic spirit" the "spirit of complete equality for all mankind"? In class society, there is only democracy in the concrete sense, class democracy, and there has never been an abstract "spirit of complete equality for all mankind," which transcends classes. This so-called "spirit of complete equality for all mankind" is a trick played by the bourgeoisie to deceive the working people and cover up the bloody rule of capitalism.

As Lenin pointed out, bourgeois democracy is "restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor," whereas proletarian democracy "will for the first time create democracy for the people, for the majority, along with the necessary suppression of the minority—the exploiters."

When there is democracy for the bourgeoisie there is no democracy for the proletariat, and vice versa. There has never been "democracy" which ensures "complete equality for all mankind." In advocating the "democratic spirit," China's Khrushchov was actually advertising bourgeois democracy.

"No man has the right to oppress or exploit another." This is utter humbug! Without oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and other working people, the bourgeoisie cannot exist for a single day. Before the proletariat and other working people can be emancipated, the proletariat must smash the bourgeois state apparatus by violence, rely on the strength of proletarian political power to seize the means of production from the bourgeoisie and put down the resistance of the bourgeoisie. Kindness to the enemy is cruelty to the people. If you do not oppress the exploiting

classes, they will oppress you. In advocating "no oppression," China's Khrushchov was in fact trying to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Negating the fundamental difference between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy is a feature common to all counter-revolutionary revisionists. Kautsky, the rank scab of the Second International, hoisted the threadbare flag of "pure democracy" to prettify imperialism and cover up the festering sores of capitalism. Khrushchov, the arch renegade from the international communist movement, put up the signboard of "democracy for the entire people" to cover up the rule of the new aristocrats in the Soviet Union, and thus restored capitalism in the country where the dictatorship of the proletariat was first established. China's Khrushchov, Kautsky and Khrushchov are jackals from the same lair.

The Masses Are the Source of Strength of the Proletarian Dictatorship

Dictatorship by the masses has been a consistent idea of our great leader Chairman Mao. Shortly after the founding of New China, he pointed out that, in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, it was necessary to combat working behind closed doors and in a "mysterious" way and instructed that security committees should be organized by the masses throughout the country.

Since 1957, Chairman Mao has pointed out again and again that in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries and in public security work it is necessary to rely on the masses, mobilize them fully and carry out the mass line.

In 1962, in his speech at a 7,000-strong rally, Chairman Mao profoundly expounded the great significance of the exercise of dictatorship by the masses.

In 1965, Chairman Mao made mobilization of the masses to supervise the class enemies conscientiously and

remould them on the spot one of the criteria for judging whether the socialist education movement was being conducted well.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out again with deep wisdom that dictatorship meant dictatorship by the masses.

These brilliant ideas of Chairman Mao's have greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Taking the counter-revolutionary revisionist stand, China's Khrushchov openly opposed Chairman Mao's all-illuminating idea of dictatorship by the masses. He babbled: "Do not let the masses deal as they like with counter-revolutionaries and criminal offenders." "The security and judicial organs alone can be depended on to deal with them." He did his almost to advocate close-doorism and working in a "mysterious" way.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the masses are the source of strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be made effective by depending solely on the public security organs and without the direct participation of the masses of the revolutionary people.

Only by relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses, is it possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Party, to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, effectively put down sabotage and disturbances by domestic and foreign class enemies, defeat the attacks of the bourgeoisie, overcome the spontaneous forces of capitalism, consolidate and develop the socialist economy and build China into a great socialist country.

Since the founding of New China, the land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the struggle against the Rightists, all led by our great leader Chairman Mao, were vigorous revolutionary mass movements in which

dictatorship was exercised by the masses and one victory after another was won.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat proves that after the proletariat has seized political power, class struggle, far from coming to an end, becomes more widespread, acute and complex. The overthrown exploiting classes are not reconciled to defeat. They engage in sabotage and make trouble in all kinds of ways, and in particular, do all they can to find agents inside the Communist Party to achieve their aim of restoring capitalism.

Chairman Mao teaches us that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main targets of revolution are the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Since they are counter-revolutionary double-dealers who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag and form the bourgeois headquarters hidden inside the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is all the more necessary for the masses to be fully mobilized and that dictatorship be exercised by the masses in order to ferret them out of their hiding places.

The "great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution is a most extensive and deep-going revolutionary mass movement under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses of the people in their hundreds of millions have created an extensive socialist democracy never before known and given great play to the might of the dictatorship exercised by the masses. They smashed the criminal conspiracy of the handful of Party capitalist roaders represented by China's Khrushchov to restore capitalism, and have greatly consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The exercising of dictatorship by the masses does not reduce the role of the security and judicial organs. During the entire historical period of socialism, our organs of dictatorship should not be weakened but should be strengthened. However, such specialized organs can be effective only when they rely on the masses.

By opposing the exercise of dictatorship by the masses and advocating "dependence on the security and judicial organs alone," China's Khrushchov aimed at putting these organs under the control of his bourgeois headquarters and turning them into counter-revolutionary tools to shield and connive with the class enemies and to suppress the masses of the people.

China's Khrushchov opposed the exercise of dictatorship by the masses on the "ground" that "the masses are backward." He clamoured that the Chinese people "do not understand democracy." This is a big slander against the Chinese people.

During the period of the democratic revolution, the Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, feared no sacrifice in their struggle to win victory for the revolution.

During the period of the socialist revolution, the Chinese people have in all their political movements made full use of their democratic rights to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people have grasped extensive proletarian democracy in the form of airing their views, arguing things out, using big-character posters, debates, and criticism and repudiation, and have won decisive victory in their heroic struggle against the handful of class enemies represented by China's Khrushchov.

All these facts fully demonstrate that the Chinese people have the clearest understanding of democracy. They also know best how to exercise dictatorship over their enemies.

By uttering the slander that the Chinese people are "backward" and "do not understand democracy", China's Khrushchov was in fact showing his fear of the masses of the people and vainly trying to use this slander as a pretext to exercise a bourgeois dictatorship over them.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "Having close ties with the masses is most fundamental in reforming state organs." This is the basic guarantee that our proletarian political power will bring its effectiveness into full play and never change its political colour. The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee, which embraces representatives of the revolutionary masses, the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary leading cadres, is able to maintain close links with the masses, greatly develop socialist democracy and represent the interests of the proletariat and other working people to the fullest extent so that our political power strikes deep root among the masses.

The broad representative character of the revolutionary committee, particularly the direct participation of the representatives of the revolutionary masses, make the revolutionary committee a brand-new form of organization for the effective exercise of dictatorship by the masses.

The closer links between state political power and the masses of the people will help mobilize the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions to concern themselves with the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and take an active part in exercising dictatorship over the class enemies so that they cannot escape the masses. This strengthens our proletarian dictatorship and ensures that our country will always maintain its bright red colour.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 44, 1968.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long.

—Mao Tse-tung

Take The Road Of Stalin

Stalin Group's Call To The Soviet People

THE No. 4 (1968) issue of the Chinese journal "Red Flag" published a leaflet issued recently by the "Stalin Group" in the Soviet Union under the title "Take the Road of Stalin." The "Stalin Group" called on the Soviet proletariat and other working people to rise up to overthrow the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The content of the leaflet reads as follows:

All people can see the profound changes that have taken place in our country in the last 15 years, that is, in the years under the rule of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev upper-strata clique. However, not everybody can see the true content of these changes. The nature of the political power in the Soviet Union has changed, and so have the politics, ideology and economy of the country. The obvious consequences of these changes are the split in the communist movement, the isolation of the Soviet Union, the complete loss of its prestige, and grave situation in the country. But the Khrushchov-Brezhnev regime is trying to cover up its bankruptcy with the demagoguery of its politicians and trumpeting the non-existing victories and successes. The discontent and pressure of the workers and peasants have forced the upper-strata

ruling clique to hand out some sops to the labouring people so as to maintain its shaky position and to preserve its privileges and luxuries at the expense of the workers and peasants.

Comrades! Get at the root of the matter! Do not be deceived by Brezhnev's empty talk and by Kosygin's sops!

The fundamental result of the activities of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev regime in the 15 years of its existence is the creation of the exploiting ruling clique which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie and is based on the merging of the upper strata of the intelligentsia and those intellectuals by birth with the top persons in the Party and government institutions who have become divorced from the people. This arrogant stratum has become rich at the expense of the working class, but it puts on a false front as though it were struggling for the interests of the working class. For those who are really fighting for the interests of the working class there is no need to have privileges and luxuries by plundering the workers and peasants. The upper-strata ruling clique has long stopped serving the people; it has turned into a parasitic tumour on the body of the people and a stranglehold on them.

Workers! Fight against all privileges! Fight against exploitation by the ruling group, the group of new bourgeois "masters"!

The ruling clique is actively encouraging the spread of bourgeois ideology and culture. In so doing, this clique is not only indulging in its own pleasure-seeking, but also, and above all, it is aiming at the "remoulding" of the ideology of the workers and peasants so as to kill the revolutionary spirit of the working class, thereby "adapting" the working class for efficient management by the ruling clique in its own interest. The ruling clique is using the intelligentsia to spread the corrosive ideology of bourgeois-philistine individualism, egoism and sexualism. Intellec-

tuals in large numbers are following their "vanguard," that is, the bourgeois exploiting clique in power, and are constantly replenishing this clique. The intelligentsia is today the soil for the emergence of opportunism and bourgeois degeneration. It is the firm base and the sole reliable prop of the ruling clique. This is the reason why instead of instilling proletarian class consciousness into the intellectuals, the revisionist ruling clique is doing its best to "raise" the working class to the ideological level of the intellectuals of the capitalist class, whose ideology is closely integrated with bourgeois ideology. Therefore, our slogan is:

Uproot the ideology of bourgeois intellectuals, instil the ideology of the proletariat!

The revisionist ruling clique exerts its utmost to instil into the minds of the workers the conception that and interests of the workers seem to lie aloof from politics, that the workers have nothing to do with politics, that for the workers the main thing is personal happiness and that politics is allegedly something that concerns those who are on top but not the masses of the workers. This line, which, known as the economism of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, is a means of negating the political role of the working class, a means for putting into practice the politics of this clique, the kind of politics that has nothing in common with proletarian politics. The working class is a tremendous revolutionary force which is feared by the chieftains of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique who have lost the last iota of proletarian revolutionary spirit, class character and internationalism.

It is the glorious task of the working class to seize the political steering wheel from the hands of this clique.

The exploiting clique and the strata around it are most fearful of even the mention of support and assistance for world revolution, or of defending world revolution. This is because the strengthening of assistance and support

for the world revolutionary movement would mean that they would have to give up their own privileges. This clique is not interested in repulsing imperialist aggression, putting an end to the export of counter-revolution, and supporting the armed struggle of the peoples for liberation; instead, it pursues a policy of making "peaceful" compromises and concessions with imperialism. This capitulationist policy toward imperialism has turned Soviet Union into an obstacle to world revolution.

Down with this clique's policy of capitulation and retreat! Long live the proletarian policy of revolutionary offensive!

Any political power has its own class nature. The Khrushchov-Brezhnev upper-strata clique has actually liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and "legalized" this liquidation, thereby substituting the dictatorship of the bourgeois degenerates' clique for the political power of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only form of political power which is opposed to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeois degenerates' clique! Plunge into battle to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union!

This ruling clique is characterised by its strenuous efforts to conceal its dirty dealings from the people and cover them up with Lenin's name. For 15 years, this clique has been keeping the name of Lenin on its lips and besmirching it. It is clear enough that the line of this ruling clique has nothing in common with Leninism.

Be good at distinguishing genuine Leninists from those who camouflage themselves with Lenin's name! Boldly expose the betrayal of the revisionist ruling clique—the clique of degenerates!

While covering themselves up with Lenin's name, the upper-strata clique in authority is vilifying the great Leninist J. V. Stalin. This malicious vilification is in

itself not the real aim of the clique. Discrediting Stalin is a convenient pretext for revising Stalin's revolutionary line and replacing it with a capitulationist policy, with bourgeois ideology and with an exploiters' economy—such is the real aim of this clique.

For the smashing of Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionism!
For the restoration of Stalin's spirit, Stalin's cause and Stalin's glory!

The modern revisionists the bourgeois degenerates in the Soviet Union heap abominable curses on the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders; they support the pro-Khrushchov opposition to the revolutionary line of the Chinese Communist Party; and they try to stir up civil war in China.

Hands off People's China!

The upper-strata Brezhnev clique hypocritically declares that they want "the unity of all the revolutionary forces," while in effect they are excluding all the genuine revolutionary forces from this "unity." It is quite clear that the Brezhnev elements are working for unity around their capitulationist line, and they want to compel the revolutionary forces to abandon their struggle against imperialism—they want to convert them from forces fighting against imperialism into forces that "peacefully co-exist" with imperialism.

Fight against the hegemony of revisionism, fight for the hegemony of Marxism! For the carrying out of revolution all over the world! Workers of all countries, unite under the banner of Marxism-Leninism! The proletariat and the oppressed people of the world, unite in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism!

—22.10.1968

Neo-Colonialism at Work In Biafra

Biafra forms the eastern region of Nigeria, a big country rich in natural resources and with the largest population in Africa. Well-known for its oil deposits, Biafra has long been the hunting ground of Yankee and British imperialism. Following a policy of neo-colonialism in Africa in recent years, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has lately come on the scene. The result is a situation in which imperialism and modern revisionism are fighting as well as collaborating with each other.

Biafra was one of the four regions making up the former British colonial possession, the Federation of Nigeria. It has a population of 13 million, two-thirds of which are of the Ibo tribe. Ever since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the federal government has remained in the hands of the pro-British feudal forces of the Hausa and Fulani tribes of the Northern region. In recent years, the federal government has been fanning up and making use of tribal and religious contradictions (the Ibos are Christians, while the Hausas are Muslims) to provoke large-scale tribal conflicts. Thirty thousand Ibos were killed and two million living in other regions were uprooted and forced to go back to the eastern region. The Biafrans in the eastern region were compelled to declare their secession from the Nigerian federation on May 30, 1967.

After Biafra's secession, British imperialism gave full-scale support to the federal military government, which mounted a military attack in July 1967 to crush Biafra by force. It was London's calculations that British colonial interests, in particular, its oil supply from Biafra (which accounts for one-tenth of Britain's oil consumption),

could thus be preserved. Large amounts of military aid were granted from time to time and British officers sent to take direct part in the war.

U.S. imperialism actively supported British imperialism's armed intervention. At the same time, to keep its hands free, the former pursued a two-faced policy to preserve its political and economic interests in Nigeria and reap the spoils of victory. While courting Biafra, Washington repeatedly assured the federal military government that it recognized the federal government as the sole legal government of Nigeria. Since June this year (1968), however, seeing that the war in Nigeria was going in favour of the federal military government, U.S. imperialism gave the latter further support and pressed Biafra to surrender.

As for the Soviet revisionist leading clique, which hopes to share the spoils with U.S. and British imperialism, it has openly supported the federal military government's war to massacre the Biafran people. Shortly after the outbreak of the war last year (1967), when the federal military government suffered defeat after defeat, the Soviet revisionists, under a so-called "cultural agreement," sent an emergency delivery of 15 Mig jet fighters and large numbers of military technicians to the federal military government in August to aid and abet it in the war against Biafra. It later delivered more Migs to replace those lost in battle. Since March this year, through various channels the Soviet revisionists have again sold or given the federal military government seven "Ilyushin-28" jet bombers and large quantities of 500-pound bombs. Foreign mercenaries flying the Soviet planes have all been Soviet-trained. A federal army lieutenant captured by the Biafrans in August admitted that officers of the Soviet revisionist clique were commanding federal troops in the war.

After more than a year's fighting, the federal troops,
(Continued at the foot of page 33)

PICA

—Nishad

THE evil forces that continuously plot to maintain and extend their exploitation of the peoples of Asia have unleashed yet another demon—PICA (Private Investment Corporation for Asia). Faced with a deepening and desperate crisis that is gripping their economy, the US imperialists urgently need new fields for exploitation. This urgency finds expression in their greedy attempts:

- (1) To increasingly penetrate the economies of these countries,
- (2) To make their compradors even more dependent and
- (3) To enter into industries which have not yet felt their grabbing touch.

In 1968, the US and other imperialists were heavily attacked all along the line both in their home countries and in the countries they are exploiting. Defeated in Vietnam, put on the defensive in Thailand, Burma, Philippines, the US imperialists are concentrating more and more on the countries with submissive governments. PICA is to be an instrument in maintaining the neo-colonies.

News of PICA first appeared in *Economic Times* of 29 December, 1968 and further details appeared in the same paper of 25.1.69. Here are the facts:

1. PICA is to be on the same pattern as ADELA (Atlantic Community Development Group for Latin America) which has been operating most profitably since 1964.
2. 120 investors involving 24 major groups form PICA. While it is officially stated that 1/3 of PICA is to be US-owned, 1/3 Japanese and the balance to be shared between Western Europe, Australia and Canada, actually PICA is a

creation of U.S. initiative and U.S. monopoly capital having come into existence indirectly as a result of McNamara's visits to India, Pakistan, Russia and Western Europe. The various non-US business groups taking part in it are nothing but non-US fronts for US monopoly capital.

3. The largest participants in PICA are:

USA: *Standard Oil of New Jersey*—owned by the Rockefellers; *IBM*—which controls 70% of world computer production; *Bank of America*—owned by U.S. and Italian Catholic interests, BOA is the biggest bank in the world. The Vatican has large interests in this Bank;

Lazard Freres—New York financiers and stockbrokers; *Kuhn Locke*—New York financiers and stockbrokers—one of the 5 big US monopoly houses who together own about 2/3 of US industrial and finance capital;

Chase Manhattan Bank—owned by the Rockefellers, the second largest US Bank;

First National City Bank—owned jointly by the Rockefellers, Hunts and Mellons of USA. This bank, third largest in the world, has recently bought UK's National & Grindlays Bank (including Lloyds).

(Continued from page 31)

relying on their numerical superiority and U.S., British and Soviet arms and equipment, have captured the capital of Biafra, all its ports and two-thirds of its territory, killing Biafrans in large numbers. But the tragedy brought about in Nigeria and Biafra by the collusion between the U.S. and British imperialists and Soviet revisionists to redivide spheres of influence in Africa has provided a further lesson to the people in Biafra and the rest of Africa. Far from being subjugated, the Biafrans are fighting on courageously and stubbornly. So long as they persevere in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism, they will undoubtedly win in the end.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 42, 1968.

Japan : *Fuji Bank, Mitsui Group and Mitsubishi Group*—owned by the old Zaibatsu of Japan who were resurrected and built up by massive US 'aid' after World War II. We must also remember that the US bears the entire defence costs of Japan.

Canada : *Alcan*—the world's biggest aluminium exporter; this company has operations in 30 countries of the world, of which 15 are poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This company is actually 70% US-owned.

Europe : *U.K. Shell*—A UK-Dutch combine.

Switzerland : *Union Bank and Swiss Bank Corporation*—60% of the business of these banks is with US investors.

Italy : *Fiat*—Italy's biggest monopoly group which has built plants in collaboration with the Governments of the USSR, Rumania, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

4. The composition of PICA should make clear the threat it represents to the economies of Asia's underdeveloped lands. Its declared aims underline this threat.

AIMS OF PICA :

(i) To stimulate regional cooperation (i.e., to gather the compradors under the US financial umbrella and exploit the whole region on a larger scale.)

(ii) The stimulation is to be done by the following methods :

(a) **Finance**—Association of US monopoly capital would qualify PICA for PL 480 loans. This is the major reason behind PICA. Under the present set-up, the USA is not able to use all the vast sums lying to its credit on PL 480 account (Rs. 2088 crores in India). PICA will pump this idle money into the inflationary economies of these countries, thereby leading to further spirals of inflation, erosion of currency and devaluation. It is the huge PL 480 funds which have given PICA the boldness to float a giant consortium of its type with comparatively small paid-up capital of Rs. 12.75 crores (17m dollars). In a word, the

blood and sweat of the peoples of Asia will be bought more cheaply.

(b) **Management**—PICA will ask for minority interest with place on the Board of Directors. This is eyewash, since the companies will be so dependent financially on PICA, that the minority on the Board will actually be in a position to dictate. PICA will also provide technical and managerial know-how. With IBM on the team it does not require too much imagination to realise what sort of advice this is going to be.

(iii) The sort of industries PICA will be interested in is demonstrated by PICA's enquiries to industrialists in West Bengal. "In West Bengal PICA is looking for private enterprises in agro-based industries." While the ruling classes of India and their revisionist agents are madly trying to stamp out the sparks of agrarian revolt, US imperialism is going to move into the countryside and try to strengthen its collaborators. PICA is the US answer to Naxalbari on the economic plane. That is why we find McNamara (the spirit behind PICA) urging the Indian compradors of the US to invest MORE in West Bengal rather than to take their money out. If they followed his order McNamara promised that "foreign private investors would be forthcoming". The Indian comprador feeling the hot licking flames of revolt wants to withdraw, but his master wants him to stay so that he may better supervise his master's domain. PICA's interest in West Bengal is a "vindication of McNamara's assurances". No doubt its progress in India will be watched with interest by a great many people.

Resolutely Carry Out People's War to Oust U.S. Imperialism and Overthrow the Traitorous Clique

Statement of the Communist Party of Thailand on Present Policy

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand has recently issued a "Statement of the Communist Party of Thailand on Present Policy." The statement calls on the people of Thailand to resolutely carry out people's war so as to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of Thailand and overthrow the traitorous Thanom-Praphas clique which brings calamity to the people and the country.

The statement cites numerous facts to expose the heinous crimes of the traitorous Thanom-Praphas clique in willingly serving as a docile flunkey of U.S. imperialism, selling out the country to U.S. imperialism and oppressing and massacring the people of Thailand. It says that where there is oppression there is resistance. The people of Thailand, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, have taken up arms to fight resolutely against the U.S.-Thanom clique.

The statement says: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher of the revolutionary people of the whole world, has taught us that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun' and that 'the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution.' Our Party has a particularly profound understanding of these truths through the experience of our own struggle.

"More than three years have passed since our Party began to lead the people to form patriotic armed forces

and fight courageously and unswervingly against the enemy. From the very beginning of the establishment of the people's patriotic armed forces, the U.S.-Thanom clique has shown intense hatred for them and become greatly alarmed. It has resorted to frantic 'mopping-up' operations and suppression against the people's patriotic armed forces. However, under our Party's correct leadership, the people's patriotic armed forces have bravely attacked and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, while they themselves have developed and grown in strength through fierce battles, with the result that the sparks kindled in the northeastern part of the country have become a prairie fire raging through the southern, central and northern parts of the country. The victories and growth of the people's patriotic armed forces have made the U.S.-Thanom clique more frightened. It has mobilized the police, army and air force and, with the participation of U.S. troops, used all kinds of modern weapons to carry out cruel suppression. However, thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, the exemplary role played by the Party members, the revolutionary spirit displayed by our fighters in daring to struggle, make sacrifices and win victory, and the wholehearted support of the people, particularly the peasants in the vast rural areas, we have again and again defeated the enemy, and the people's patriotic armed forces have scored one victory after another.

"The existence, victories and growth in strength of the people's patriotic armed forces under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand in the past three years or more have promoted the development of the situation in our country and brought about its unprecedentedly great changes. This has dealt U.S. imperialism and the Thanom clique a heavy blow politically, militarily and economically, utterly exposed their true features of a paper tiger before the people and shaken their reactionary rule. At the same time, the people's patriotic armed forces have become an

example for the people of the whole country to follow in their struggle, greatly inspired their fighting will and become their guarantee and hope in winning victory."

"The Communist Party of Thailand," the statement says, "has been waging a heroic struggle for 26 years. Our Party makes the great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the guidance in all our work. At present, our Party is the important mainstay of the political forces fighting against the U.S.-Thanom clique. Our Party has developed and grown in strength; it enjoys support from the broad masses of the people, and its prestige is rising day by day. Having led the people in armed struggle against the U.S.-Thanom clique for more than three years, our Party has become stronger and more powerful than ever before. The political consciousness of our people is now being raised rapidly; units after units of the people's armed forces have been formed, and they have won repeated victories in fighting. Although for the time being the U.S.-Thanom clique is stronger than we and is in a superior position, we are the progressive forces and our cause is just and our future is bright. On the contrary, the enemy is reactionary and unjust. It is decaying and declining with each passing day. Therefore, we firmly believe we can certainly become stronger than the enemy and win final victory through persistent and unyielding struggle."

The statement says: "To meet the present situation in our country, the Communist Party of Thailand hereby proclaims to our compatriots its present policy as follows:

"1. Resolutely carry out people's war, drive U.S. imperialism out of Thailand, and overthrow the fascist dictatorial and traitorous government of the Thanom clique which brings ruin to the people and to the country. Establish a people's government which consists of representatives of the working class, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and of the patriotic and

democratic personages and which genuinely carries out an independent and democratic policy.

"2. Abolish all laws, notices, orders and regulations detrimental to the people and the country. The people have the rights of freedom of speech, writing, publication, holding meetings, organizing associations, maintaining religious belief, and preserving their customs and habits and livelihood which are not harmful to the people and the country.

"3. Confiscate all property and land of the U.S. imperialists, the Thanom clique, counter-revolutionaries and tyrannical landlords, and distribute them for the benefit of the people and the nation. Resolutely punish counter-revolutionaries and reactionaries who have done evil deeds to the people according to the seriousness of their crimes; the opportunity to turn over a new leaf will be given to those who have done evil deeds and admitted them and are willing to repent.

"4. Abolish all traitorous and unjust agreements and treaties; unite with all the countries which support the Thai people's revolution; together with the world's revolutionary people, oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction; support the just struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over; promote friendly relations with various countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"5. The various nationalities shall enjoy the right of autonomy within the big family of Thailand; they shall enjoy equal rights, respect each other, support and help each other; religions, languages, culture as well as customs and habits which are not harmful to the people shall be respected; oppose national oppression and racial discrimination; economy, culture, education and public health shall be developed generally in the areas of all the nationalities.

"6. Abolish the feudal system of exploitation step by step; reduce rents and interest; abolish all unjust debts; the agrarian revolution shall be carried out according to

the conditions of various places, so that peasants shall be given land to earn a livelihood. Develop irrigation, improve production, raise the standard of living, and bring the role of the peasants into full play in the revolutionary movement.

"7. Promote and develop state industrial and commercial enterprises; protect private industrial and commercial enterprises which are not detrimental to the national economy; assist handicraft and small commercial enterprises which are still beneficial to the people.

"8. Ensure the worker's employment, wages and security; workers doing the same kind of work and with the same productivity shall get the same wages without distinction of sex, age and nationality; bring the role of the working class into full play in the revolutionary movement.

"9. Women shall enjoy equal rights as men in the political, economic, cultural, educational and vocational fields; bring the role of women into full play in the revolutionary movement and production; promote fully welfare work among women and children; ensure education and work to the youth; foster the youth to love the motherland, democracy, the people and labour, to actively participate in revolution and to have the spirit of sacrifice for the collective.

"10. Weed out the reactionary and corrosive U.S. imperialist and feudal culture which poisons the spirit of the people; promote and develop revolutionary culture; inherit critically the cultural heritage of the nationalities of Thailand and of other countries; promote and develop education which is patriotic, democratic, scientific and of a mass character; promote and develop public health, especially in the entire countryside."

"The present policy of our Party," the statement says, "represents the urgent demand of the people of the whole country and the common objectives of their current struggle. On the basis of this present policy, our Party is ready to co-operate with all forces which are patriotic

and cherish democracy in carrying on the struggle for independence and democracy through to the end. Our Party is fully confident that the proclamation of our current policy will rally the patriotic forces in a resolute fight against the enemy, thus promoting the development of the situation in our country in a direction more favourable to the victory of the revolution."

The statement continues: "The current international situation is most favourable to the revolutionary struggle in our country. In China, the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung has won decisive victory. The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has made tremendous achievements and successes by smashing the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi and expelling the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi from the Party once for all. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line and a victory for the great Chinese people as well as all revolutionary people throughout the world. It has further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and guaranteed that socialist China will never change its political colour and will become a stronger bulwark for world revolution. At the same time, this victory is a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegades, and has smashed the scheme of imperialism and modern revisionism to restore capitalism in China. It is a most powerful support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

"Albania, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, has also won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The courageous Albanian people, who persist in a resolute struggle against

imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, have become an example for the revolutionary people of the world. Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe.

"In Vietnam, the Vietnamese people are waging a heroic struggle for national salvation against U.S. imperialism. We firmly believe that so long as the Vietnamese people unswervingly carry the war through to the end, they will be able to win final victory."

The statement then points out the excellent situation in the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries of Asia and elsewhere in the world, as well as the plight of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism which are riddled with crises. It says, "The situation at home and abroad is just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: 'The world revolution has entered a great new era' and 'The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily.' The revolutionary movement of the people of all countries is rapidly growing in scope. We are full of confidence in our victory. At the same time, we must realize that the closer the enemy approaches its doom, the more desperate its struggle. Therefore, we should maintain high vigilance against U.S. imperialism and the traitorous dictatorial Thanom clique. Our struggle is still acute, complicated and protracted. So long as we hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, persist in armed struggle, resolutely overthrow the rule of the U.S.-Thanom clique, closely unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries and the revolutionary people the world over, and thoroughly oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, final victory will surely belong to our people.

"Drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of Thailand!"

"Overthrow the traitorous, fascist dictatorial Thanom"

(Continued at the foot of page 43)

Supreme Command Of Thai People's Liberation Army Set Up

Proclamation and order published on January 1 call on commanders and fighters to study and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, develop people's war extensively and fight to the end to eliminate U.S.-Thai reactionaries.

THE Supreme Command of the Thai People's Liberation Army on New Year's Day published a proclamation and issued an order to all commanders and fighters in the army.

The proclamation says that more than three years have passed since the founding on November 19, 1965 of the first combat unit of the people's armed forces to fight oppression and aggression. In this period, the people's armed forces have steadily grown in strength through fighting the enemy. They fought over 1,000 battles and wiped out large numbers of enemy troops, repeatedly defeating the latter's "mopping-up" and suppression operations and performing many nationally known heroic deeds in their valiant fighting.

It says that since the people's armed forces are fighting in various parts of the country and guerrilla activities are widely scattered across the land, the scale and intensity of the fighting will increase daily. In these circumstances,

(Continued from page 42)

clique which brings calamity to the people and the country

"Long live the unity of the people of all nationalities of Thailand!"

"Long live the Thai people's armed forces!"

"Long live the Communist Party of Thailand!"

"Long live the great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

"Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher of the revolutionary people of the world! A long, long life to him!"

the setting up of the Supreme Command of the Thai People's Liberation Army is hereby proclaimed so that it may exercise unified and effective command of the fighting.

The proclamation points out that the Thai People's Liberation Army, which is led by the Communist Party of Thailand and is growing in strength through struggle and which comes from the masses and enjoys their support, is an army of fighters with a high level of revolutionary consciousness, a true army of the sons of the people and an army which serves the people wholeheartedly, is closely linked with them, has a high sense of discipline and maintains unity between officers and men.

The Thai People's Liberation Army, it says, has three major tasks: fighting, mass work and production. It is our important political task that we must do propaganda work among the masses, organize them, arm them and help them to establish revolutionary political power. This army acts in accordance with the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and is under the absolute leadership of its founder, the Communist Party of Thailand. Therefore, it can be said with certainty that this army will grow from small to big, from weak to strong, and march from victory to victory.

The proclamation says that the Thai People's Liberation Army is ready to co-operate with people in various fields who oppose U.S. imperialist aggression against Thailand and oppose the fascist dictatorial rule of the traitorous Thanom clique, a running dog of U.S. imperialism in Thailand. The Thai People's Liberation Army will resolutely eliminate the U.S. imperialist forces of intervention and aggression and the reactionary armed forces of the traitorous Thanom clique as well as the handful of persons who collaborate with the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs.

At present, the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the traitorous Thanom clique have collaborated and completely

destroyed Thailand's national independence and people's democracy. They ruthlessly oppress and exploit the people and brutally suppress and massacre them, and have thus roused the wrath of the patriotic people. The U.S.-Thanom clique is bound to perish in the gunfire of people's war, the proclamation says.

The Thai People's Liberation Army fighters are now courageously fulfilling the glorious task entrusted to them by history and the nation and they have pledged to persist to the end in fulfilling this glorious task. Although the enemy of the nation and of the people still appears strong at present, it is only a passing phenomenon. Although there are still many obstacles and difficulties in the path of advance, they, too, are temporary. The Thai People's Liberation Army is resolved to seize victory by sparing no sacrifice in the fight to restore national independence and people's democracy. We have faith in the Party and in the strength of the masses. We are firmly convinced that people's war will triumph, the proclamation declares.

The order of the Supreme Command of the Thai People's Liberation Army to all commanders and fighters points out that all units of the army must carry out the following tasks: study and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought; establish strong political work in the army; serve the people wholeheartedly and maintain close unity and contact with the masses; develop people's war extensively; take more initiative to attack the enemy in a planned way; persist in smashing the enemy's "mopping-up" and suppression operations; raise the tactical and technical level of fighting; do away with liberalism and the slackening in vigilance and always be vigilant.

The order also stipulates the discipline which must be strictly observed in order to successfully accomplish these tasks.

In conclusion, it calls upon all commanders and fighters in the army to "be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

PL 480 And India's Freedom

—Satyakam

Is India a free, democratic, sovereign republic? After years of silence this debate now rages openly. On one side are ranged the imperialists, who exploit India, and their Indian agents. On the other side are the revolutionaries who characterise India as the showcase for neo-colonialism. The Americans pronounce India to be the 'citadel of democracy in Asia', the imperialist answer to China. Swatantra, Congress, Jana Sangh, S.S.P., agree to this and join the anti-China chorus; the revisionists and the neo-revisionists prance behind this procession and issue ringing calls for the defence of the Republic, the democracy and the Constitution.

This characterisation of India as a free, democratic republic is a result of the collusion with imperialism that these parties practise, no matter what they say in words. Out of this are born the absurdities that confuse the Indian people.

Super-patriots (Swatantra, Jana Sangh, S.S.P.) want to make India a protectorate of the USA.

So-called anti-imperialists (the revisionists of different hues) depict imperialism as a benevolent force, which for 20 years allows India to fall into its clutches, lean heavily upon it, mortgage its economy, yet lets India remain a free republic led by an independent big bourgeoisie.

Monopolists of 'national freedom' (the Congress) allow imperialism to devalue our currency, choose the cabinet, dictate policies and shape the plans.

Puzzling indeed are the differences between the slogans shouted and the policies pursued! It is therefore, the duty of revolutionaries to present basic facts about the Indian state to the people and analyse these so as to

arouse a passion for political exposure. "Political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for *disintegrating* the system we oppose, as a means for diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, as a means for spreading hostility and distrust among the permanent partners of the autocracy." (*What Is To Be Done?*—Lenin). In this article we hope to politically expose that most powerful weapon of US imperialist penetration—PL 480.

The Beginning

During World War II farm mechanisation in the USA was greatly speeded up and agricultural output increased by as much as 30-40%. But as Europe bought less and less of US food-grains after the end of the war, large surpluses began to pile up. Characteristically, the first measure taken by the US ruling classes to meet this crisis was to curtail production.

The US Government started paying huge subsidies to farmers for NOT cultivating their lands. (This subsidy amounted to more than Rs. 250 crores in 1967. If anything glaringly reveals the waste involved in the capitalist system it is the fact that in a world where 70% of the people suffer from malnutrition, that in a country—USA—where 20% do not get enough to eat, the ruling classes pay Rs. 250 crores of public money to stifle production of food!). In order to satisfy the rich farmers, however, the US Government was also forced to subsidise inflated agricultural prices. This inflated price rapidly outstripped world food-grains prices and the US export of food-grains fell. Worse still, cheaper foreign food-grains began to be imported into the USA.¹

Unable to pass their crises on to the American people,

(1) Economic Development—Underdeveloped World & US Economic Interest by Walter Krause, 1961, p. 446.

the US ruling classes unleashed Public Law 480 in 1954. The aim of the law was described in the Year Book of American Agriculture 1964 as follows:

"Exports of agricultural products could be increased substantially if they were sold for local currency (instead of Dollars) and the proceeds used to develop new markets for U. S. agricultural commodities, purchase strategic materials and secure military facilities." (p. 492)

In other words, the US ruling classes would use their surplus grains to

- (1) dump the surplus at prices higher than world prices;
- (2) use the funds so received to tighten their grip over the buyer country;
- (3) use this grip to force that country to buy more at higher prices and sell more at lower prices;
- (4) use this grip for political and military advantages.

An American economist has rightly described PL 480 to be a "domestic problem shifted to the world market under the guise of charity." (H.G. Johnson in Economics & Policies For Less Developed Countries, 1967, p. 4)

The Terms of P. L. 480 sale

- (1) The materials are to be bought at US prices, which are much higher than world prices. In 1962 the US price for foodgrains was 50% more than world prices. (H. G. Johnson: Ibid, p. 25).

Also, we must realise that had these commodities "arrived" normally on the world market, the world price itself would have come down. We must also remember that the USA has used its power to force down the prices of agricultural commodities like jute, coffee, rubber, sugar, cocoa it buys from the poor countries of the world.

Will an independent country allow itself to be robbed thus?

- (2) At least half the PL. 480 purchases have to be

shipped on US vessels. The freight rates on these ships is 43—113% higher than ruling international rates.² Moreover, the entire ocean freight rates have to be paid in foreign exchange, as required by a modification of the PL 480 made by the US imperialists some years back.

Which democratic country will accept such terms?

- (3) To qualify for PL 480 "loans" the buyer country must buy at least 20% of the same commodities for hard cash from the U.S. i.e., for every 100 tonnes of PL 480 wheat we must buy another 20 tonnes for dollars.

Does a free buyer accept such terms?

- (4) The US Government gives dollars to the purchaser to buy in the US market. The buyer must deposit an equivalent amount in local currency to the account of the US government. This deposit is repayable over a period of time earning an interest of 2½ to 4%. The US Government sells India US wheat for 100 US dollars which sells on the world market for 62 US dollars. The Indian Government puts Rs. 750 in the US Government account with the Reserve Bank of India. After paying interest at Rs. 30 per year for 40 years, the Indian Government makes a total payment of Rs. 1950 for the original 100 US dollars (Rs. 750). During these 40 years the US Government can use the deposit money for various purposes:

- (a) To develop markets for US goods,
- (b) To buy Indian goods,
- (c) To finance purchase of Indian goods by its "allies" (such as Japan, South Vietnam or South Korea),
- (d) To give loans to the Indian Government, to Indian companies with U.S. interest or to US-owned Indian companies,
- (e) To pay for the activities of the US Embassy, finance publications, aid activities and projects outlined by the US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948.

(2) Mahbul ul Haq: "Tied Credits—A Quantitative Analysis", quoted by H.G. Johnson.

In short, the US have free access to the country's economy, politics and culture. The bigger the "loan", the greater the penetration.

Let those who defend the big bourgeoisie's "democratic and progressive tendencies" in this epoch of crumbling imperialism answer: Can a free bourgeoisie so abjectly allow its currency, markets, finance, culture to be at the mercy of the imperialists?

PL 480 in India

There was no food shortage in India when, in 1956, the Indian Government first began to import PL 480 wheat. The harvest in India had been particularly good in 1952, '53 '54 and '55 and owing to the "years of good agricultural output prices in May 1955 were the lowest in recent years". (V.M. Dandekar, Food and Freedom—*Mainstream*, 25.3.'67) Why then did "free" India have to buy this wheat? Because it was necessary for US imperialism which was faced with crises at home and abroad: PL 480 would allow the US ruling classes to use India at will as a market, as a base for Asian operations, as a source for cheap raw materials, as anything they wanted. Along with economic power PL 480 would confer upon the Americans ever greater political power which in turn could be used for further increase of economic power—and so the vicious circle would go on! That is why India HAD to buy PL 480 wheat in 1956.

Once the process was started, it had to be sanctified as policy. For this purpose the US imperialists used an agent of impeccable liberal leanings, Ashok Mehta³—the

(3) Ashok Mehta is an interesting example of how imperialism uses its loyal socialists. Having helped in Devaluation and "opening India's womb to US capital," and after being finally branded as the traitor that he is, Ashok Mehta has now been thrown on the dung-heap of history. This is the way liberals and socialists have always been used by the ruling classes. This is how they continue to use B.M.S. Nambudiripad and Jyoti Basu.

darling of the Indian Left. Chaired by the renegade, the Food Grains Enquiry Committee (1967) made PL 480 a cornerstone of Indian politics: "Assurance of continued imports of certain quantities of foodgrains will constitute the very BASIS of a successful food policy...We feel that it would be to our advantage to take fairly large quantities of wheat and some quantities of rice from the USA under PL 480."

Beginning in 1956, agreements were entered into in 1958 and successive years to maintain the stream of PL 480 imports. Rice, wheat, cotton have been imported in vast quantities. The only change in circumstances has been the increasingly harsher terms imposed by the American imperialists. Defeated in Vietnam, Thailand and elsewhere, with gold reserves dwindling, the US is milking its remaining cattle mercilessly. In order to impose these terms, the US threatened to stop the PL 480 sale. Suddenly, various US officials began to make statements about being unable to supply India's needs. (Even though the US had unmanageable farm surpluses in 1966-67—see *Economic Times*, 22.10.68; the Asst. Director of Development Policy of USAID wrote, "To-day there is no food surplus either in the US or elsewhere." —Directory of Foreign Collaborations). On the other hand, in spite of their "wheat revolution," "bumper crops" and other tall claims, the Indian ruling class took the cue from their masters, begged and cringed, and finally, the US most generously (!) agreed to sell PL 480 wheat. Only now India will have to pay 40% cash down with dollars. To mark this act of generosity PL 480 sales were renamed Food for Freedom.

It is of course true that the US imperialists do not wish to carry the burden of feeding India. They merely want a captive market for their high-priced wheat. So they are encouraging their agents to oppress the rural poor through levies and procurements and thereby strengthen

the compradors. But we must also remember that under no circumstances would the US imperialists want to hurt the feudal landowners. Payment of high procurement price will satisfy both groups and this—Punjab-pattern, is being increasingly adopted. The Foodgrains Policy Committee (1966) has obligingly rubber-stamped this scheme for putting more burden on the people in order to help imperialism and maintain its Indian agents. By the same measure, the crisis of the US ruling classes has become the crisis of the Indian ruling classes.

The Effects of PL 480 in India

From 'Mukta Mela' to milo, from power generation to pornography (as representative of US imperialist culture), from devaluation to education, the effects of PL 480 are wide and menacing.

1. Depletion of national wealth by the twin-edged saw of high-priced sale of surplus goods and low price purchase of iron, jute, tea, manganese, mica, cotton goods.

2. PL 480 helps Indian feudalism and comprador capital to maintain themselves in state power. On the other hand, it is they who are perpetuating the agricultural crisis in India by allowing semi-feudal relations of production to exist. Their absolute dependence on PL 480 even to feed the cities is proved by the fact that in 1965 74% of the food requirements of the public distribution system were met by imports.

3. Whereas on 31.3.67 the total money supply with the public was Rs. 5,003 crores, the PL 480 deposit was Rs. 2070 crores. This gives the US life and death power over Indian economy and politics. It can flood India with inflation or starve it with recession and either way bankrupt the Indian state and the ruling classes. This power of US imperialism actually extends to cover all those who have substantial investments in India, i.e.,

those who have a stake in maintaining the present system based on exploitation and oppression in India. For if the Rupee should lose its internal value through inflation, many a loan or company share would become worthless.

The Soviet ruling clique will also lose a lot because all its dealings with India are in terms of rupees. These dealings are large and most profitable for the USSR. Soviet investments in India are large, so are the annual repayments which it gets from India (about Rupees 150 crores in 1961). Therefore, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique must have an understanding with the USA to ensure that they can continue to exploit India for mutual benefit. The fact that the Russians are continually increasing their stakes in India proves that they have an assurance from the Americans that the PL 480 funds will not be used by them in any way which goes against Russian interest. This is a part of the world-wide collaboration between US imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism for joint exploitation of the under-developed countries of the world. Both Russia and America are using the predominantly agricultural economy of India for agro-based exploitation. This makes the Soviet revisionists as much a sworn enemy of agrarian revolution in India as are the American imperialists with their PL 480 deals. The United Kingdom which is the largest foreign holder of shares in Indian companies has similarly become dependent on the United States to maintain the value of their investments.

With its vast Rupee holdings the US Govt. has become :

- (i) A major contributor to the various projects which, by improving power, communication, irrigation etc. are strengthening the basis for imperialist, comprador and feudal exploitation of India. Of course, this is not a one-way charity. For example, by aiding the development of 56% of India's power generation capacity the US imperialists quite naturally sold US machines to India, made us

dependent on them for technology and spares and also built up a whole cadre of bureaucrats who are quite loyal to Washington. Also US 'experts' became associated with every phase of national life, no information was too secret for them, no plans too strategic, no detail too trivial for these 'experts'. Besides discovering US investment opportunities these 'experts' also work for the CIA, all of course, on PL 480 money.

(ii) The most significant provider of Rupee capital to private sector Indian industry. This is being done directly through US banks in India which are expanding and branching out very fast. Or, the money is channelled through the various finance institutions. 1/3 of the working funds of the Industrial Finance Corporation comes from PL 480 loans (IFC is the biggest supplier of long term loans to Indian industry.) 60% of loans granted by the Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation comes from PL 480 funds, and 70% of the funds of the Refinance Corporation (which refinances scheduled banks and corporations—61 banks and 15 State Finance Corporations.)

Rs. 80 crores of the funds of the Industrial Development Bank comes from PL 480.

Besides the above, significant loans from PL 480 have been granted to National Small Industries Corporation and Agricultural Refinance Corporation.

PL 480 is used, not only to push India into an anti-China alliance, but also to maintain India's sham neutrality and non-alignment to peddle US goods, US politics and US imperialist culture in other countries of Asia and Africa. Nepal and Burma are recipients of India's PL 480 funds amounting to Rs. 30 crores.

On the cultural front the offensive is just as sinister. The US imperialists are creating a new servile intelligentsia steeped in Yankee culture, loyal to the USA (with this in view they buy up intellectuals and set up educational patterns, just as the British devised their educational system-

to create clerks). PL 480 funds are used to finance and assist 5 Engineering Colleges, 14 Regional Engineering Colleges, 2 IIT, 2 Mining Colleges, 1 Agricultural University, 7 Medical Colleges, 4 Regional Teachers' Training Colleges, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Indian Institute of Public Administration, National Institute of Education, 2 Institutes of Management, Administration Staff College, Hyderabad, Institute of Strategic Studies, Universities. USIS, Council for Cultural Freedom, magazines.....it is a never-ending list. Each time one is exposed another takes its place, masquerading now as a liberal, a censorative, a religious fanatic, an art lover...anything.

The total amount of PL 480 balance was Rs. 2070 crores. Of this, according to the agreement,

Project aid to Govt.	could be 21.9% i.e. Rs. 453 crores
Loans to Govt. of India	57.5% i.e. Rs. 1190 ..
Loan to private sector...	6.8% i.e. Rs. 140 ..
Uses of US Govt....	13.8% i.e. Rs. 287 ..

The total rupee funds which have accrued to the US imperialists from PL 480 transactions leapt to Rs. 2088 crores by December 31, 1968.

It is time for those who love freedom to recognise PL 480 for what it is and also to realise the extent and depth of the treachery of the Indian ruling classes—Congress or so-called "Communists." It is time for us to understand that PL 480 has become a fetter on the Indian people.

As in the case of the British, the instrument for acquiring a market has become a weapon for conquering an empire. But within this situation of naked economic and military force on one side and a chained people led by traitors and agents on the other, there is the contradiction which will destroy the oppressors and their agents and unchain the people. In their desperate crises (in 1968 US trade surplus was 1/5 of 1967—lowest since 1937). US imperialism needs to squeeze India much

harder. Therefore, it faces revolt. Just as PL 480 ties the Indian people to the chariot-wheels of US imperialism, so too when the Indian people start pulling the other way, those wheels will come off. That very weapon—PL 480—will dissolve like a mist once the Indian state begins to crack. The US ruling classes will be crippled when their stake in India is liquidated by an agrarian revolution. That is why they are harsh unpromising enemies of the Indian Revolution. Therefore the efforts of the US ruling classes to pass on their burden to the Indian people through their Indian compradors and agents are bound to end in only one possible way. Where they sought profit, US imperialism shall find armies of liberation.

Palestine National Liberation Movement

Al-Fatah Clarifies Position

The following article is the complete text of the first international communique of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Al-Fatah, issued in January, 1968. Al-Fatah stated that "the following press release is issued...in order to clarify its stand vis-a-vis the Israeli occupation forces and enlighten world public opinion as to the present dimensions of its struggle for the liberation of Palestine."

THE Palestine Revolutionary Liberation Movement (Al-Fatah), in this first general international communique to the world press, wishes to clarify certain misunderstandings concerning its operations and the nature of the struggle now being waged by the Arab Palestinian people against the Israeli invader.

The Palestine problem is essentially the problem of an entire people, the Arab majority of Palestine, uprooted and expelled from their homeland in order to permit the establishment of Israel. As a result, before the June aggression, nearly a million and a half Arab Palestinians were being forced to live as refugees in numerous camps throughout the Arab World, surviving on United Nations subsistence rations. The remaining 300,000 inside Israel have been grossly discriminated against by that regime and denied jobs and educational opportunities and every human right. For two decades Israel has denied the Arab refugees' continual requests to return to their land.

At first the expelled, suffering Palestinian people looked to the United Nations to resolve their tragedy. However, in 20 years this international organization has failed to resolve their problem. Moreover, its many resolutions stating that refugees should be allowed to return to their

country or receive compensation were never implemented. All this time, Israel continued to elaborate and perfect its expansionist plans. These were expressed in the 1956 Tripartite aggression when Israel occupied Sinai and the Gaza Strip for four months in defiance of the U.N.'s admonition to withdraw. They were revealed beyond a doubt once again after the June aggression when Israel occupied and boasted of its unlawful annexation of the Western Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, the southern portion of Syria and the Holy City of Jerusalem in defiance of all international law and in complete contempt of the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Conventions and the Declaration of Human Rights. Today the United Nations has revealed its inability to impose a just solution to the Palestinian tragedy, by failing to reach an agreement concerning the withdrawal of the aggressor from the occupied territories.

It must be admitted that over the years several Arab leaders have exploited the Palestine problem for their own benefit. Moreover the successive Arab Summit Conferences have failed to give the Palestinian people their due support. Similarly, it must be acknowledged that the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) headed by Ahmed Shukairy failed to liberate Palestine. Although progressive Palestinian elements genuinely wanted the latter organization to represent the Palestinian people, certain reactionary forces tried to use it to dominate the Palestinians. Today the PLO, this pseudo-liberation organization, is no longer playing any significant role in the liberation of Palestine. The reason being that it did not spring from the masses themselves but was artificially imposed from above.

The suffering and frustration of the Palestinian people over the years gave rise to a new, truly popular dynamic Palestinian liberation movement which expressed the people's revolt against the Israeli invader. Al-Fatah (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) which was forced

to operate clandestinely in the occupied land, began in 1965 to carry out overt guerrilla operations sabotaging Israeli military and strategic installations in order to weaken and unnerve the oppressor who was threatening our people's very existence as a nation as well as menacing the entire Arab World. Until the June 1967 aggression, these operations—which received immediately the enthusiastic support of the Palestinian Arabs throughout the Arab World—had to be waged from outside. However, the Six-Day War and the catastrophic effects it had on the entire Palestinian population inside and outside Israel brought about new conditions in their struggle to liberate their homeland. Ironically enough, due to the new borders which Israel now claims for itself, the Palestinians found themselves confronting a common Zionist enemy entirely within the territorial boundaries of former Palestine. Moreover, the fascist type repression which Israel began to implement against the Arab inhabitants after the ceasefire engendered a resistance movement similar to that in Vietnam. This popular rebellion against repression is being admitted by Israel. Its proportions and concrete manifestations can no longer be ignored or denied by Israeli spokesmen.

Immediately after the aggression, Al-Fatah began clandestinely organizing the Arab people in the newly occupied as well as formerly occupied territories and encouraged them to have confidence in their own ability to liberate their homeland. Led by their vanguard, the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Al-Fatah), they are now resisting a vastly superior militarily enemy in their midst by every means at their disposal: strikes, non-cooperation, boycotts of Israeli goods, denunciation of repressive measures and annexations, etc. Under Al-Fatah's coordination, political and religious personalities have refused to implement the enemy's decrees, teachers are refusing to reopen the schools and school children are

staying away from classes so long as their homeland is dominated by this hostile power.

During this post-aggression period, Al-Fatah's armed wing, Al-Assifa, has also been intensifying its military and sabotage operations against Israeli installations including military camps and stores, electric power plants and railways in order to undermine the enemy's economy and weaken its ability to dominate our people. Israel's industrial plants, printing-presses, administrative centers and para-military kibbutzim now being implanted in the newly occupied zones are also being attacked by Al-Fatah's commandos causing great damage and casualties and increasing tension in Israel. Our people have realized that no other course is open to them if they are not to live in slavery.

The occupation of all Palestine by Israel made possible one of Al-Fatah's most important long-range objectives—the transference of all its military bases into the occupied homeland. This transference has now been completed. From these many well-hidden, well-stocked bases, Palestinian commandos—most of them dedicated peasants and students—are now operating dozens of times daily throughout the old and newly occupied areas. No part of Israel, no Israeli installation, no Israeli target is out of their reach and that regime may henceforth expect the steadily increasing disruption of its colonialist existence in the weeks and months to come. This undermining of the Israeli Zionist existence will continue until Palestine has been restored to its rightful owners, the Palestine Arabs, who have lived on this land alongside the Jewish minority uninterruptedly for 4,000 years.

Al-Fatah, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, wishes to point out, however, that its operations—which today enjoy the support of the entire Palestinian people—are in no way aimed at the Jewish people as such with whom they lived in harmony in the past for so many

centuries. Nor does it intend to "push them into the sea." This resistance and the liberation movement Al-Fatah is coordinating is aimed solely at the Zionist-military-fascist regime which has usurped our homeland and expelled and repressed our two million people, condemning them to a life of destitution and misery.

Al-Fatah also wishes to correct once and for all the Zionist insinuation that this "terrorist" movement is inspired and directed from outside by such countries as Syria, Jordan and Algeria. Under the conditions existing in the Middle East today, no such foreign-imposed "movement" could long survive, for it would soon be rejected by the people. On the other hand, the Palestinian people's liberation movement has arisen out of their desperate frustration and deep aspirations for liberty, justice and dignity in their own self-administered historical homeland. To this it owes its strength.

The world should recall that those who have suffered most of all from the Israeli existence for the last two decades are the Palestinian people. And the world should note that those who are today taking up arms to engage wholeheartedly, unitedly and courageously in combating the brutal Israeli oppressor in guerrilla warfare, under the leadership of Al-Fatah, are the Palestinian people. Their reaction to the napalm bombings, strafings, evictions, summary executions, plundering, brutality, imprisonment, desecration, violations and countless other crimes of fascist Israel in recent months has been this spontaneous people's armed upsurge in defense of their dignity and their usurped rights.

The movement Al-Fatah is leading is the organized expression of this people's liberation struggle whose counterparts are to be found throughout the world, wherever fascist and imperialist aggression is being waged—in Vietnam, South Africa, Angola, Bolivia or elsewhere. In occupied Palestine as in these countries the humble, ordinary, subjugated people are taking up arms in self-defense and for the eventual liberation of their homeland.

Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Strengthens Collusion With Japanese Reactionaries

This article reprinted below, was published in the *Peking Review*, No. 52, 1968, under the heading "Renegade Features of Soviet Revisionists Once Again Exposed." The article reads :

This year has seen a further strengthening of the political collusion between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Japanese reactionaries. Soviet revisionist party and government chieftains N. K. Baibakov, M. A. Suslov, and N. S. Patolichev followed one another on visits to Tokyo where they contacted U.S. imperialist flunkey Eisaku Sato for counter-revolutionary purposes and talked glibly about "good neighbourly" relations.

After the Soviet revisionist armed invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Sato government promptly announced that the policy of "Japan-Soviet co-operation" would not change. The Soviet revisionist clique was extremely grateful for this declaration by the Japanese reactionaries. Kosygin immediately sent a message to Sato, saying: "Though an unfortunate event occurred in East Europe, it can be said with certainty that the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Japan will not change and this makes me very happy."

Later, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, taking the opportunity of attending the U.N. General Assembly autumn session, held talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Takeo Miki. Gromyko obsequiously pleaded with Japan to make a list of "concrete proposals for preliminary measures

leading to a peace treaty." This was an attempt to promote political collusion between the Soviet Union and Japan on a bigger scale.

Parallel with all this, the Soviet revisionist clique has speeded up its economic collaboration with the Japanese reactionaries. A typical case is the "development" of Siberia by Japanese monopoly capital at the request of the Soviet revisionists. The latter not only let the Japanese monopolists exploit Siberia's timber resources, but also its natural gas, oil, coal, copper, iron and other underground wealth as well as aquatic resources. They have even allowed Japanese aircraft to make trans-Siberian flights. In a word, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is throwing the door of Siberia wide open to Japanese monopoly capital, letting it freely exploit the Soviet people.

Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev servilely told the Japanese *zaibatsu* that "it is indispensable" for the Soviet Union to have the "co-operation" of Japan, a geographically nearby industrial power, in developing its far eastern region. M.V. Nesterov, President of the Presidium of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce, assured Japan that "we will give full consideration to the things the Japanese quarters are concerned about when drafting an overall development plan of the Soviet Union."

The sell-out of state sovereignty and the people's interests by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique shows that, besides relying on the economic strength of the Japanese monopolies to carry out an all-round restoration of capitalism, this clique is attempting to intensify its political collusion with the Japanese reactionaries through "economic co-operation" so as to tighten their encirclement of China under the pretext of "developing" Siberia.

Forming a military cordon around China in alliance with the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is an important component part of the counter-revolutionary strategy of

the Soviet revisionist clique. When Mikoyan flew to Tokyo in May 1964 for wide-ranging activities, he had a letter from Khrushchov to the Japanese Prime Minister. In the letter Khrushchov said nothing against the Japan-U.S. "security treaty", which is pointed at China, but went so far as to declare that the Soviet Government "is prepared to discuss any proposal put forth by the Japanese side on the question of strengthening peace and security in the Far East." Gromyko later explicitly stated that "any measure detrimental to the relations between Japan and the Western powers is not for the enhancement of Soviet-Japanese friendship." Thus, the Japan-U.S. military alliance has been connived at and encouraged by the Soviet revisionist chiefs in actual word and deed.

Since coming to power, Brezhnev, Kosygin and their kind have further increased their collusion with the Japanese reactionaries. Takeo Miki visited the Soviet Union in the summer of 1967. Kosygin made use of the opportunity and on his own initiative proposed "co-operation" with the reactionary Sato government in the "organization of counter-attack against aggression." Instigated by the Soviet revisionist clique, the Japanese reactionaries gradually changed their emphasis in military deployment from Hokkaido, which is near the Soviet Union, to Kyushu, which is near China. There was a corresponding military deployment by the Soviet revisionist clique. While making more and more threats of aggression against the East European countries, the Soviet revisionists have increased their armed provocations against China. In collaboration with U.S. imperialism, they have gone all out in forming an encirclement around China. They are stationing large numbers of troops on the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders, have stepped up their efforts to send aircraft to intrude into China's air space and constantly created tension in the border areas.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique will surely come

to no good end in colluding with the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to encircle socialist China. Tempered and steeled in the great proletarian cultural revolution and armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the 700 million Chinese people are invincible. The Soviet revisionist clique's rabid opposition to communism, to China and to the people will arouse the peoples of Japan and the Soviet Union and all those peoples oppressed by imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries to a higher political consciousness. Together with the Chinese people, they will form a broad anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist united front, carry on the struggle against imperialism and revisionism to the end and completely bury U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism as well as the reactionaries of all countries who follow them.

Srikakulam—Will It Be The Yen'an of India ?

—Charu Mazumdar

Not even full two years have passed since the Naxalbari struggle started; yet, within this period, its sparks have spread to different States of India. And in Srikakulam in Andhra, the fire they have started is fast developing into a forest-fire.

Here, in the midst of a jungle surrounded by hills, I am sitting in a room on a hill-top and before me are seated about a score of young men. They are not well-known or renowned men, nor men who enjoy an all-India fame. But they are men who are young, men who dream. They dream of liberating the tens of crores of peasants who have been exploited and oppressed through the ages, they dream of liberating them from the yoke of exploitation, from the murky depths of ignorance, from grinding poverty, from hunger. They believe in making revolution. They are firmly convinced that only an armed peasantry can make the revolution victorious. They have come from various districts of Andhra—from Srikakulam, from Nalgonda, Warangal and Adilabad districts in Telangana, and from the districts in Rayalaseema, and they represent the majority of the districts of Andhra. They dream dreams, but they are no idle day-dreamers. All of them have left their hearth and home and live and work among the peasants and observe secrecy. It is they who have built up the Srikakulam struggle,—the struggle that has filled the hearts of the revolutionaries of India with joy and confidence. The events of Srikakulam have made the conviction firmer than ever that India will create her own Yen'an in no distant future. It is they who have built up the peasant struggle in the Koraput district in

Orissa. The brutal repression carried on by the frightened reactionary government failed to suppress the struggle. Nor could they touch the leaders of the struggle. And it is they who constitute the Andhra State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries.

A report prepared by the Srikakulam District Committee was placed at the meeting. It is not for me to judge whether there are errors and shortcomings in the report. The comrades of Srikakulam have published that report and placed their experiences before the Communist revolutionaries of the whole country. They are men who have no interest other than that of the revolution. That is why they do not fear criticism; on the contrary, they have invited criticism. In this report they have recorded their valuable experiences of the Srikakulam struggle and have tried to draw conclusions from them. In the report they have forcefully asserted that there can be no compromise with opportunism. Such compromises with opportunism do not add to the strength of the revolutionaries, but, on the other hand, weaken them. A firm class-unity can be built only through struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism.

They have analysed the nature of opportunism in Andhra, marked out those who represent this opportunism and have taken upon themselves the responsibility of carrying on struggle against them.

At this meeting they have resolved to build up a revolutionary Party in the whole of Andhra—a Party that bases itself on the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They have declared that everything that is happening in Srikakulam today is based solely and entirely on the thought of Chairman Mao. That explains why Srikakulam has become the sole criterion for the people of Andhra to judge who is a revolutionary and who is not. And Srikakulam serves today as this yardstick not merely for the people of Andhra but for the people of the whole of India.

As I said before, these comrades are no idle day-dreamers. So, they are not thinking of winning victory the easy way. They realise that attacks are sure to come and that they may even have to suffer serious set-backs. They are quite aware of that danger and are preparing to face such eventualities.

They are convinced that to carry on revolutionary struggle, they must have a revolutionary Party. That is why they have put the task of building such a Party before everything else. At the same time they also realise that a task of such a revolutionary Party will be to imbue the Party members and the people with the spirit of sacrifice. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence."** So, in order to win victory in the revolution, the revolutionary cadres must be able to make sacrifices. They must sacrifice their property and belongings, sacrifice comforts, sacrifice old habits and aspirations after fame, rid themselves of the fear of death and give up ideas of seeking the easy path. Only in this way shall we be able to train and prepare the revolutionaries to conduct a hard, difficult and protracted struggle. Only in this way can we inspire the masses to make great sacrifices, which then, with tremendous bows will smash all the power and might of imperialism, revisionism and the Indian reactionaries and thus win victory for the revolution.

It is after a long time that I have attended a meeting like this of Communist revolutionaries where they have taken the vow to sell out their properties and donate the entire sum thus obtained to the Party fund. In this meeting alone promises were made to raise about a lakh of rupees in this way. The slogan: "Let us build Srikakulams in the different areas to support the Srikakulam struggle!" instantly changed the atmosphere of the meeting and the very air in the room seemed to have been electrified. All the comrades present resolutely declared

that they would build Srikakulams in Telangana, in the districts of the Rayalaseema region, in the whole of Andhra. At that moment, throbbing as it was with the vigorous, bright spirit of revolutionary ardour, one thought repeatedly haunted me—the thought of the heroic revolutionaries of Telangana who lay down their lives fighting. I was thinking that the sacrifice of those glorious fighters has not been in vain; for, India's Yenana will be created here. The meeting ended in the midst of great enthusiasm.

As the time came for me to leave, I suddenly felt sad. Who knows whether I shall again meet these comrades. They are revolutionary comrades who are dedicated and not afraid to make even the supreme sacrifice. They are going back from this meeting to plunge into the struggle again, and nobody knows who would survive. But one thing I know—the people of India will never forget them.

Suddenly the India that is enveloped in darkness vanished, and I saw before me my motherland India—a vigorous, throbbing India, sparkling in the bright sunshine, —People's Democratic India, Socialist India!

Srikakulam is fighting valiantly, tomorrow the whole of Andhra will join the fight. Confirmation of this I received on the morning I was coming back. Newspapers on that day reported that one class enemy was killed in an attack by the peasant guerrillas.

Srikakulam forges ahead—irresistibly.

March 6, 1969

Flames Of Armed Struggle In India

PEOPLE'S armed struggle against their exploiters and the reactionary Indian rulers is raging unabated in various parts of the country. Moreover, sparks of this struggle have already appeared in many other areas. The conviction is steadily gaining ground and growing deeper among the oppressed masses that to oppose the cruel exploitation and oppression which are daily being stepped up, and to overthrow the present system, the people have nothing else to depend on but their own strength and organized might. To beat back the bloody and cruel armed repression by the police and troops, therefore, the masses of the people are courageously rising in revolt arms in hand. The stage has already been reached when the armed repression by the reactionary rulers can no more go unpunished and is being challenged by the aroused armed masses in more and more areas. An aroused armed people, whose number is daily increasing, opposing the armed counter-revolution as represented by the reactionary police, military and 'volunteer force'—this has become the new, the all-important decisive factor in the development of Indian revolution. The outcome of this conflict which is the highest form and the concentrated expression of the most glaring, basic antagonistic contradictions between the peasantry and the feudal lords and between the Indian people and imperialism, will resolve these contradictions and finally and forever bury the two monsters—imperialism and feudalism and their allies who are at present oppressing the Indian people. The most important turning-point in the thousands of years-old history of India has arrived and the gigantic struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution has begun. This is a time for joy, for exuberant display of heroism, sacrifice and death-defying daring, for daring to struggle, daring to win victory. This is the time for

revolution. Let us all heartily applaud the valiant revolutionary Indian masses who have powerfully raised high the blazing red banner of revolutionary armed struggle! All glory to them! Victory belongs to them!

ANDHRA

The flame of armed struggle has spread far and wide. From the hills it has spread to the plains, in the areas of the coastal districts of Andhra, and now embraces about ten lakhs of peasants. Since the previous report new revolutionary actions of the guerrillas have taken place.

On February 1, the armed peasants led by the guerrillas raided the house of a notorious landlord K. Gangayya, sarpanch of the Wabangi village in the Seethampeta Samithi area and forcibly seized the entire stock of his hoarded paddy and forfeited his cattle. The landlord was not at home at that time. The police camp, which was quite near, was unable to do anything.

On February 6, another notorious landlord, Vithal Prasad of Mondemkhal, was killed by the guerrillas, while he was returning from a neighbouring village. Prasad went there to extract money from the peasants in connection with the usurious loans given by him. His tyranny and oppression had made the life of the peasants miserable since March last year.

On February 13, more than a hundred armed policemen raided and set fire to the village of Gangadoravalasa. As was reported in the last despatch, this is a favourite tactic of the reactionary police force. The guerrillas are, however, quickly mobilizing their forces to deal with these rampages. In the present case, the guerrillas mounted an attack on the vastly superior reactionary police force and fired eight rounds on them. The details of the incident are awaited.

With successes achieved in clearing villages of the feudal landlords, local tyrants and their agents, problems of reorganizing the social life and administration have

cropped up. The revolutionary Communists and the peasant revolutionaries have already got down to tackle these problems in right earnest.

The situation is developing fast and, on the whole, in the right direction. The wave of enthusiasm sweeping the Girijan youth has to be seen to be believed. There is no doubt that Communist revolutionaries, constantly supported by the vigorous participation of the broad Girijan masses and the non-Girijan peasants in the current struggle will be able to overcome all the problems, many of them unforeseen, that are arising and will continue to arise in the coming weeks and months.

ORISSA—The First Sparks

The flames of the Girijan struggle in the Srikakulam district in Andhra have begun to spread into the adjoining areas of the Orissa State. The first signs of stirring among the oppressed peasantry and *Adivasis* of Orissa seem to have thrown the reactionary classes and reactionary political parties, including the Dangeite renegades and the revisionists of the CPM brand into confusion, as may be seen from the following facts.

According to reports published in Calcutta's reactionary newspapers, Sri R. N. Singh Deo, chief minister of Orissa, made a statement in the Orissa Assembly on February 28. He is reported to have stated that there are about 32 active Naxalbari-type cells in the jungle areas of Gunpur in Koraput district and slogans like "Long Live Mao", "Naxalbari Zindabad", "Long Live Marxism" and "World's Workers, Unite"—in English and Oriya—have appeared in different parts of the Gunpur town since November last. According to him, the activities of the Communist revolutionaries have been increasingly noticed in the areas on the Andhra-Orissa border. He stated that they favoured peasant rebellions in the isolated pockets of the hilly regions, as

was the case in Naxalbari some time ago. He said, "terrorizing the upper class people and shaking the confidence of the common man in the established Government" are among the aims of the Communist revolutionaries.

Led by them the people of Gunpur seized **the property of landlords and even attacked police parties**. According to him, on February 14, while the Circle Inspector of Police of Gunpur was conducting certain searches, **the police party was obstructed by the peasant revolutionaries and six policemen were injured**.

According to the chief minister, apart from sporadic instances of forcible seizure of the property of notorious landlords on the Orissa side of the border, a really well-planned scheme to extend guerrilla activities inside Orissa was implemented in January this year.

The *Adivasis* on the Orissa side are organizing themselves to seize the property of the Sahukars, Sundhis and Kumutis, and to occupy forcibly the land previously sold or mortgaged.

According to the chief minister, it was a carefully drawn up 'conspiracy' of the Communist revolutionaries and a disciplined set of followers organized on para-military lines to carry on guerrilla fights.

He informed the Assembly that the police forces of both Andhra and Orissa were working in close liaison "to put an end to this menace," and combing operations had been undertaken and so far 79 people had been arrested.

The newspaper reports clearly state that while a number of arrests have been made so far, **the leaders of the movement "still remain at large."**

The Dangeite renegades and the revisionists of the CPM brand have once more exposed themselves as unashamed lackeys of the Congress reactionaries. They are quite happy that people have been arrested and police repression has been let loose. Their only "difference" with the Congress reactionaries in this matter is over the method,

the manner of suppressing the revolutionaries. A Dangeite member of the Assembly, G. Paikrai, 'demanded' an "open trial", while his political twin, Banamali Das, a neo-revisionist boss of Orissa, not even cared to 'demand' anything. Das simply juggled with words like 'legality' and 'illegality'. Believing in violent methods, according to him, was not illegal, "they would be illegal when actually committed." This shows to what depth of parliamentary cretinism, and bourgeois legalism and constitutionalism have these wretched revisionist renegades sunk.

Nagas, Mizos and Kukis Deal Hard Blows At The Reactionary Indian Troops

On February 24 Mr Chavan, the Home Minister, admitted in Lok Sabha that half the Mizo population has been "regrouped in new villages" (already reported in the previous issue of *Liberation*). Only we have to point out again that these "regrouped" villages—the so-called PPV's, as these are euphemistically called by the Congress overlords—are nothing but concentration camps modelled on the so-called "strategic hamlets" built by US imperialist aggressors in Vietnam. Chavan, however, lamented that with all these monstrous measures, the "hard core" of the Mizo rebels "is still intact." He further admitted that "in fact, there is difficulty in carrying on the civil administration" and that in insurgency areas the civil administration has been paralysed.

Clearly, the situation is far from favourable for Chavan and the reactionary ruling classes. Indeed, it is rather bad. Everything shows that it is sure to get worse for them with every passing day. But what is bad for the Indian reactionaries is good for the Indian people, and when things begin to grow worse for the Indian reactionaries, the

people rejoice, because the prospect begins to brighten up for them.

Let us cite some facts to show why things are bad for Chavan & Co. The facts were reported in the Indian press.

On the night of February 9, the Naga armed rebels blew up a portion of the railway track near Rangapahar Station on Nagaland-Assam border. There had been three such blow-ups in 1966, in the Lumding-Mariani section of the railway track.

In early February the Mizo and Kuki rebels blew up a bridge on the Dimapur-Imphal highway. They also took away and punished five reactionaries of the so-called Village Volunteer Force near the Kalapasar jungle.

On February 20 armed Mizos successfully ambushed a patrol party of the Indian reactionary army in the Nhalan area of the Mizo Hills bordering Churachandpur subdivision of Manipur. In the surprise attack one Indian Major was killed. The Indian authorities do not reveal the extent of losses suffered by them.

NOTES

(Continued from page 16)

China is being smashed in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Burma. The people of Malaya, Indonesia and Philippines are also dealing powerful blows at the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists and their stooges and weakening this ring. The heroic youth of Japan is allowing no rest to the U.S. imperialists and their Japanese puppets. In India, the long delayed agrarian revolution that is now breaking out shall foil all the conspiracies of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionist renegades and the Indian reactionaries including the revisionists and neo-revisionists, to turn India into a centre of their counter-revolutionary activities.

The aggressive activities that the Soviet social-imperialists have launched against socialist China will act as

a boomerang against them. These will rouse the opposition of the Soviet people themselves and of the entire world. The last-ditch struggle the Soviet social-imperialists are waging in collusion with US. imperialism against the people of the world will soon end in an ignominious defeat for them.

THE PATH OF TREACHERY

In his address to the joint session of 'Parliament' on February 17, 1969, Zakir Hussain, India's President, said: "Every political party should endeavour to ensure political stability which is essential for rapid social and economic development. In the meantime, we hope that with the cooperation of all the political parties, stable governments will be formed after the election which have just concluded."

It was, no doubt, the ruling classes speaking through Zakir Hussain. The above correctly reflects their hope and faith that no political party will do anything to upset their political apple-cart. On the contrary, the ruling classes are confident that every political party (not excepting the 'communist' and 'socialist' parties of different hues) will "endeavour to ensure political stability" and co-operate in forming 'stable governments' after the mid-term elections. But they are at the same time haunted by an anxiety—the anxiety that this political stability so necessary to them is being threatened by the communist revolutionaries. Zakir Hussain's address is tinged with this anxiety. He said: "The country also faces the danger of violence from certain extremist political groups. The doctrines propounded by these groups are clearly subversive of our Constitution and the rule of law, and detrimental to orderly Government and progress. There is no place in a democratic society for groups which seek to change the social and political structure by armed insurrection."

Two things, among others, are clear. First, the ruling classes feel that the stability of the present political system

is being threatened by the "extremist groups" "which seek to change the social and political structure by armed insurrection." Second, they have confidence that all the established political parties will do nothing to subvert the constitution and the 'rule of law', will rather co-operate with them and observe the rules of the parliamentary game, and thus ensure 'political stability'. India's President is also pleased to hold out an open threat for the "extremist groups." And it is no empty threat: his government means business. In a written reply Shukla, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, informed Parliament on February 21 that the Government proposes to discuss with the leaders of political parties in Parliament the question of any legislation to be enacted to deal with the activities of of the 'extremists.' We are sure that the Congress, the Swatantra, the Jana Sangh, the PSP, the Dangeites and Sundaraya-Ranadive-Namboodiripad-Ramamurty clique will soon arrive at a broad consensus about measures intended to suppress the communist revolutionaries who are endangering political stability.

What does political stability or stable government mean in India today? It means maintenance of the status quo. The political structure will remain unaltered, stable, if the economic system which ultimately determines that structure remains the same. It means that hunger, impoverishment, exploitation, and oppression must continue unabated and even intensified. In India today political stability or stable government means the stable regime of the exploiting classes which mint gold out of the blood and tears of the working people. So when economic and political crises are growing ever sharper every day, the ruling classes seek nothing so desperately as political stability, that is, a longer lease of life to fleece the people.

Who best serve the ruling classes at this hour of crisis? They are undoubtedly the 'communists' and 'socialists' of various brands, but chief among them are those who claim

to be 'Marxists'. Today the political philosophy of the 'Marxists' or the Dangeites is essentially no different from that of Zakir Hussain or the ruling classes. The neo-revisionist chieftain Namboodiripad declared: "I may now claim that one of the biggest achievements of our pre-election alliance and the post-election coalition Government is that we have shown that it is possible for the various non-Congress parties to come together and **establish a relatively stable alliance on which a stable coalition Government can be built.**"

The General Election of 1967 and the Mid-term Election of 1969 have shown that it is the revisionists and the neo-revisionists—especially the neo-revisionists—who can effectively build up *comparatively* stable alliances and *comparatively* stable coalition Governments to fill the breach caused by the decline of the Congress. It is the results of the mid-term election in West Bengal that alone are reassuring to the ruling classes. In Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab there can hardly be any stable alliance, though in Punjab the revisionists and the neo-revisionists are trying to bolster up the Akali-Jana Sangh alliance (the alliance of rabid Sikh and Hindu communalists). Where all other reactionary parties fail, the revisionists and neo-revisionists succeed. So, gloating over this success, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote in its leading editorial on February 16: "The Constitution provides for accession to power through the ballot box. That this provision is a political reality and not a legal fiction has now been fully demonstrated. Those who have acquired power through the ballot box and those who have lost power through it should both accept the norms of Parliamentary Government in the proper spirit so that this State might be converted into a citadel of *political stability* and progress."

In Kerala the 'Marxist'-led 'United Front' decided to observe March 6 as "Victory Day for Democracy." (See *Patrika*, Feb. 23, '69) In Kerala or West Bengal,

parts of this semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, the brutal dictatorship of the landlords and the comprador-bourgeoisie flourishes. In Naxalbari, Wynad and Iddiki the peasants and workers had and are still having a taste of it. Sundarayya, Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu, Dange, Rajeswar Rao and Govindan Nair are trying to pass off this unfettered dictatorship of the exploiting classes as democracy and are celebrating its triumph!

In West Bengal, the return of the 'United Front' to ministerial offices was celebrated by, among others, the entire big bourgeoisie. As requested by the 'U.F.' Government, they allowed their workers and employees a paid holiday on February 27 in all their establishments—factories, banks and commercial houses. They had good reasons to celebrate 'United Front' victory. Immediately after his election to the State Assembly, Jyoti Basu said the new Government was ready to help big business men to get their orders sanctioned by Delhi. They might even collaborate with foreign firms. (See *Statesman*, 15.2.69) Again, on Feb. 26, Jyoti Basu, the neo-revisionist chieftain and the mouth-piece of the 'U.F.' Government, reassured the foreign monopolists and the big bourgeoisie. He said:

"We want production to improve and do not want work to stop, we will be on the side of the workers if we feel they have genuine grievances." Jyoti Basu, the 'Marxist', feels that under the present regime the grievances of the workers may not always be genuine. He made himself more explicit when he said: "**Excesses, as in 1967,** [Jyoti Basu must be referring to the *gheraohs* which the bitterly oppressed workers organised during the first few months of the previous 'U.F.' rule to prevent retrenchment, wage-cut etc.], **will not be tolerated.**" The *Statesman's* Labour correspondent reported: "Mr Basu began the interview by saying that in a capitalist society, 'as it is in India', industrial disputes could not be eliminated

altogether. This was because the employers would try to 'exploit capital' [This theory of the capitalists exploiting capital and not labour is certainly a creative contribution to Marxism by this 'Marxist' chieftain] as much as possible and the workers on their part would want to increase *their share of the profits*. [Another wonderful contribution to Marxism—according to this great 'Marxist' leader the worker's wage is not a part of the value he creates by selling his labour power but 'a share of the profits.'] 'We have no illusions in this regard.' That private capital represents a very powerful force in such a set-up, goes without saying. **Having accepted this situation, however, our endeavour will be to find a means to harmony.**" (*The Statesman*, 27. 2. 69)

Naturally, as the *Statesman* wrote on March 1, "Industrial circles in Calcutta have generally welcomed the statement by the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, on the U.F. Government's attitude to the problem of industrial relations." Parsons, President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce which chiefly represents the foreign monopolists, and G.K. Bhagat, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, have openly complimented Jyoti Basu and the 'U.F.' Government for their attitude to industrial relations. This treachery by the leaders of the parties which claim to be parties of the working class has been acclaimed by the bourgeois press. In its leading editorial on Feb. 28, the *Statesman* wrote: "Industrial and business circles, which have reasons to feel apprehensive, may be reassured by the indications that the United Front will do its best to improve production and avoid work stoppages. Mr Jyoti Basu, who since the elections has publicly reiterated this objective twice, has again told our correspondent that 'excesses as in 1967 will not be tolerated'." The *Jugantar* was overjoyed. In its leading editorial on Feb. 24, it commented: "Compared with the previous occasion, the victory of the United Front this time is far more

'destructive'. In spite of this there is no trace of panic among the commercial circles. Though there was some feeling of uneasiness in the beginning, they have now reconciled themselves to the Front Government and are trying to carry on by making adjustments with it.... This statement made [by Jyoti Basu on Feb. 14] at the moment of attaining the summit of victory has produced the desired result. **An unwritten understanding, instead of a feeling of hostility, between the Leftist Government and the commercial circles is already being achieved. It is a very happy portent for the future.**"

The workers in West Bengal are already having a taste of this 'happy portent.' On the night of Feb. 27 the police fired tear-gas shells and made lathi-charges on the workers in the Kidderpore dock area who had been demanding that the temporary staff be made permanent. It was Jyoti Basu, the Police minister, who ordered the police "to take action according to law." (See *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 28. 2. 69). Several workers were injured and twenty-one workers were arrested.

In a country where a more or less veiled civil war is going on, the sham communist and socialists are openly preaching class harmony and the virtues of political stability. "The state," Lenin said, "is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled." But the sham Marxists are out to reconcile class antagonisms. Lenin said: "The petty-bourgeois democrats, these sham socialists who replaced the class struggle by dreams of class harmony, even pictured the socialist transformation in a dreamy fashion—not as the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class, but as the peaceful submission of the minority to the majority which has become aware of its aims. This petty bourgeois utopia, which is inseparable from the idea of the state being above classes, led in practice to the

betrayal of the interests of the working classes, as was shown, for example, by the history of the French revolutions of 1848 and 1871 and by the experience of 'socialist' participation in bourgeois Cabinets in Britain, France, Italy and other countries at the turn of the century." (*The State and Revolution*). To quote Lenin again, "The leaders of the petty-bourgeois democrats console their people with promises and assurances about the possibility of reaching agreement with the big capitalists; at best, and for a very brief period, they obtain certain minor concessions from the capitalists for a small upper section of the working people; but on every decisive issue, on every important matter, the petty-bourgeois democrats have always tailed after the bourgeoisie as a feeble appendage to them, as an obedient tool in the hands of the financial magnates. The experience of Britain and France has proved this over and over again." (*Lessons of the Revolution*).

Today, when the entire capitalist-imperialist system is proceeding towards its inexorable doom, the Namboodiripads and Jyoti Basus have come forward to serve the imperialist-feudal-comprador combine. While swearing by Marxism-Leninism, they are following in the footsteps of Nehru who too preached class harmony in the interest of the enemies of the Indian people. In no distant future the gathering class struggle will unmask them and cast these traitors together with their masters to the dungheap of history.

THE MURDER AT IDDIKI

Whether in Wynad or at Iddiki, the 'Marxist'-led 'U.F.' Government of Kerala is playing the same role as any Congress Government—the role of oppressors of peasants and workers. As watchdogs of the interests of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie—native and foreign—the

'Marxists' and their partners try as viciously as the Congress to suppress the struggles of the peasants and workers.

On February 27, the 'U.F.' Government of Kerala headed by Namboodiripad shot dead at least two workers and injured many at Kulamavu in the Iddiki Project area where the Canadians are building a Rs. 70-crore hydel project. The condition of seven of the injured workers is reported to be serious.

What led to this cold-blooded murder of the workers' by the Government run by the 'Marxists' and their 'Communist' and 'Socialist' partners?

M. N. Govindan Nair, Kerala's Electricity Minister, a Dangeite, said to newsmen (See *Patriot*, March 1, 1969) that there was wage dispute between a private contractor and workers under him. The Hindusthan Construction Company (a unit of the Walchand group), who are the contractors for the project, had been forced by their workers to reach a wage agreement with them for a 35 paise increase in the daily wages. But, according to Govindan Nair, one of the private contractors, Kumaran Nair, who had about 2,000 casual workers slaving for his profits, rejected the demand. When the contractor proved adamant the workers downed their tools and *gheraoed* his bungalow from the afternoon of February 25. On February 27, "the contractor sought police help which was promptly given." Then there was the usual story of the workers becoming restive and the police firing upon, wounding and killing the workers. According to reports in the bourgeois press, the workers put up a brave fight. They are said to have cut telephone wires and to have seized forcibly a rifle and ten rounds of ammunition from a policeman. It is also said that they smashed a jeep, three lorries and a concrete-mixing machine of the contractor.

A later report stated that additional armed reserve police had been rushed from Trivandrum, Kottayam and

Ernakulam to Kulamavu. Twenty workers including six women have been arrested.

One may not know the unendurable conditions against which the workers at Iddiki are carrying on the fight. The following lines from a report by Ramji in the *Frontier* of May 4 last year will give some idea about these conditions :

"Nearly four thousand people had been working there, clearing forests, blasting rocks, building tunnels on some of the toughest jobs, under sub-human conditions. The project attracted labour from all corners of Kerala. The terrific rush for jobs, any jobs, came in handy for the contractors to enforce the most notorious conditions for labour imaginable. Even primary, rock-bottom amenities were denied to the workers, camping and working in the inhospitable wilderness. Many cases occurred in which the bodies of workers involved in fatal accidents were disposed of without trace. The contractors wielded tyrannical power through their sword-arm represented by a tough band of men brought from Bombay, which included a hard core of professional goondas too. These 'security men' have been responsible for cold-blooded murder of local workers."

In this war that has been going on for some time between the workers on the one side and the foreign monopolists and their Indian compradors on the other, the 'Marxist'-led Government have openly come out again and again on the side of the latter. Last year they tried to smash the strike of the workers at Iddiki by beating them up and arresting about a hundred workers and their leaders. This year they have gone farther. The hands of Nambudiripad, the police minister, and his partners in crime are stained with the blood of the workers.

All talk about the 'United Front' being "the instrument of struggle in the hands of the working people" is as false as the men who make this claim. Their actions are showing up the hypocrisy of it all. As part of the

apparatus of the Indian state, which is no doubt the organ of the class rule of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, the 'Marxists' and their allies are oppressing the working people as ruthlessly as the interests of the ruling classes demand. At the same time they flaunt their 'communism' to dupe the working people, they wave the red flag to oppose the red flag. The workers and peasants of Kerala are learning, though painfully, that these are their most crafty enemies—the last reserve of the reactionary ruling classes. The day is not far off when the people will make these counter-revolutionaries repay the blood-debts they are accumulating.

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

The heroes of the historic Naxalbari struggle are still in prison. The reactionary Government broke the agreement which had been extorted by communist prisoners in 1949 from a reluctant Government and refused to accord political status to the peasant revolutionaries detained in prison. Comrades Kanu Sanyal, Jangal Santhal, Kadam Mullick and other comrades refused to submit to injustice and humiliation and went on hunger-strike. Though inhuman torture was inflicted upon them, Comrade Jangal Santhal and others were on hunger-strike for more than 121 days. Today, they have won their demand to be treated as political prisoners.

But the so-called United Front Government is yet to fulfil their promise and release the political prisoners. In their *Programme*, this 'United Front' gave the pledge :

"It will take steps for the release of all political prisoners".

More than a fortnight has passed since the 'United Front' assumed office. What has so far stood in the way of Home Minister Jyoti Basu releasing the Naxalbari prisoners? The people have a right to know. They

demand that the prisoners of the Naxalbari struggle, the path-finders of the Indian revolution, be immediately released.
—March 7, 1969

THE DEATH OF A VALIANT COMRADE

The All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and the Editorial Board of *Liberation* pay their tribute of respect to the imperishable memory of Comrade Rengim, a communist partisan, who died in Srikakulam Agency area while fighting against 200 policemen of the reactionary Government.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death." Comrade Rengim died for the people. He is one of those martyrs who have fallen in the cause of the Indian revolution. His death was a worthy death, a valiant death. It will inspire all comrades to strive hard for the cause of India's liberation for which Comrade Rengim fought and died.

The Taluq Communist Party of Bobbili, in its meeting held on 15.2.69, passed a resolution condoling the death of the guerrilla comrade Rengim, who died during his valiant fight against 200 policemen of the reactionary government in Srikakulam Agency area. While paying its tribute to the memory of Comrade Rengim the Party took a pledge to carry out the ideals for which he fought and died.

China's numerous revolutionary intellectuals must awaken to the necessity of becoming one with the peasants. The peasants need them and await their help. They should go to the countryside enthusiastically, doff their student garb and put on rough clothing, and willingly start with any work however trivial; they should learn what the peasants want and help to arouse and organize them in the struggle to accomplish the democratic revolution in the countryside, which is one of the most important tasks in China's democratic revolution.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

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