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# Liberation

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Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In these years [ the eighteen years since the founding of the Party ] the development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars ; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood.

—CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

*Introducing "The Communist"*

(October 4, 1939)

## NOTES

### *AT THEIR OLD GAME*

"Firstly, we must emphatically state that the Communist Party of India has accepted Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as the authoritative sources of Marxism. *It has not discovered new sources of Marxism beyond these. Nor for the matter of that is there any Communist Party which declares adherence to the so-called theory of new democracy alleged to be propounded by Mao and declares it to be a new addition to Marxism. ....It is impermissible for Communists to talk lightly about new discoveries, enrichment, because such claims have proved too often to be a thin cloak for revisionism (Tito, Browder, etc.)"*

Who was writing this, rejecting "the so-called theory

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of new democracy alleged to be propounded by Mao" and suggesting that Comrade Mao Tsetung was another Tito or Browder? It was Ranadive writing on behalf of the Editorial Board of *Communist*, the central organ of the CPI, in its issue of June-July 1949. His infamous article "Struggle for People's Democracy and Socialism—Some Questions of Strategy and Tactics" is strewn with many such pearls of wisdom.

About one year after, faced with the revolt of the ranks, Ranadive confessed in his self-critical report that he had been a conscious pedlar of Titoite ideology when he was branding Comrade Mao Tsetung as another Tito. Then he admitted: "*The arrogant and conceited attack on Mao was part of this repudiation of Marxism-Leninism....* My pose to accept Stalin and C.P.S.U. (B) only and at the same time attack on Mao was nothing but a subtle repudiation of Marxism-Leninism...."

When did Ranadive and his clique, leading the CPI, subtly repudiate Marxism-Leninism by launching a vile, open attack on Comrade Mao Tsetung? It was the period when the Chinese Revolution led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tsetung was rapidly advancing towards its earth-shaking victory over U.S. imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capital along the path of People's War indicated by Comrade Mao Tsetung. It was the period when the victorious Chinese Revolution was causing a vast upsurge of revolutionary struggles, particularly in Asia, where people, guided by the theory of People's War, took up arms to overthrow the imperialists and domestic reactionaries. In India, despite the sordid betrayal by the Joshi clique during the mighty post-war upsurge, the revolutionaries in Andhra rightly declared that the Indian revolution must follow the path along which Comrade Mao Tsetung was leading the Chinese revolution to its epoch-making victory, started People's war in Telangana and liberated more than 3,000 villages.

At such a historic time, imperialism and domestic reaction badly needed the services of its agents lurking within the communist movement to stab the revolutionary people in the back. The revisionists, who represented a counter-revolutionary current within the world revolutionary movement, proved to be such agents. In India, the Ranadive clique, like Joshi and Ajoy Ghosh and Dange, acted as the faithful agents of imperialism and domestic reaction. Their method was to malign Comrade Mao Tsetung and his great party, to create a barrier between the revolutionary people of India and the revolutionary people of China and to lead the Indian people away from the path of People's War charted by the great Marxist-Leninist genius.

Today, the same old cliques are playing the same old game. Once again they have openly ranged themselves against the CPC, against Chairman Mao Tsetung, to serve the interests of imperialism and domestic reaction and to sabotage the Indian people's revolutionary struggle that has already broken out and is spreading despite their fierce opposition. A bunch of scabs who have openly declared war against Marxism-Leninism (the charge-sheet that the Namboodiripad government of Kerala has framed against revolutionaries who took part in the Kerala revolt is a formal declaration of this war against Marxism-Leninism) has the effrontery to say: "With due regard and respect to the Communist Party of China and its great achievements, the P.B. cannot but state that the political-ideological line that has been worked out at the Ninth Congress suffers from dangerous left-opportunist and sectarian errors, making serious departures from the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and world analysis, made by the 1957 Declaration, the Statement of 1960 and the General Line expounded in the June 14 Letter of the Communist Party of China." ("Statement of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of India [Marxist] on the Ninth Congress of

the Communist Party of China'). These lackeys of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and domestic reaction are furious because in his historic Political Report before the Ninth National Congress, Comrade Lin Piao described the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist country. Who does not know that the Soviet Union under revisionist rule has gradually changed its character? Only the revisionists refuse to admit that under the rule of the Khrushchovs and Kosygin-Brezhnevs capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union has changed from a socialist country into a social-imperialist country. Mousing the theories of "international division of labour" and "limited sovereignty" for its satellites, the Soviet social-imperialists have turned most of the East European states into their neo-colonies. In pursuit of their social-imperialist policies they did not hesitate to invade Czechoslovakia last year. Who does not know that much of what is contained in the Declaration of 1957 or the Statement of 1960 has long ceased to be valid?

In their lengthy statement the scabs have felt it unwise to pay even lip-service to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, as they hypocritically did some time ago. They have said: "Notwithstanding the great contribution made by Mao Tsetung in guiding the 'New Democratic Revolution' to its victory in China, the P.B. neither sees the justification to add the word 'Mao Tsetung Thought' to Marxism-Leninism, a concept which adequately defines the science, nor does it deem correct that all that is being thought by Mao Tsetung shall necessarily be infallible Marxism-Leninism". In this era when imperialism is heading rapidly towards its final, total collapse and when socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory, Mao Tsetung Thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism—the guide to action of the Marxist-Leninists all over the world. And it is no doubt a red rag to renegades and reactionaries everywhere. No wonder that in the name of

rejecting Mao Tsetung Thought the scabs who call themselves 'Marxists' are repudiating Marxism-Leninism.

The scabs have also complained that the CPC has called them "scabs, imperialist stooges, servitors of Indian monopolists"; they accused the CPC of interfering in the affairs of another communist party. The fact is, the scabs are not entitled to the privileges of a fraternal party and there is nothing wrong in branding traitors as traitors. Lenin did it before and in the struggle against modern revisionist scabs who are led by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung has played a great role.

It is good that Ranadive, Sundarayya, Namboodiripad and Co. have come out openly against the great CPC. It is the crisis facing them and their masters that has forced them to do so. All over the world revolutionary struggles are forging ahead, imperialism is threatened with rapid collapse, the revisionist camp is in complete disarray; in India itself, revolutionary struggles are advancing rapidly, the genuine Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been formed to lead them to victory, and the enemies are confronted with an unprecedented crisis. At such a time the scabs are at their old game. As running dogs of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and domestic reaction, they must drop their masks and range themselves against the Indian revolution, the CPC and Chairman Mao Tsetung.

But 1969 is not 1949. Modern revisionism, that counter-revolutionary current within the international communist movement, has been exposed and isolated. However fierce may be the attacks of the revisionist scum, they will fail to sabotage the many Naxalbaris that are arising in different parts of India. Instead, the revolutionary armed struggles of the people will soon sweep them away to the garbage-heap of history.

### THEY ARE WADING THROUGH THE BLOOD OF THE PEOPLE

To serve their masters—foreign monopolists and Indian reactionaries—loyally, the neo-fascists of today, who call themselves 'Marxists', are wading through blood, the blood of workers, peasants, students and other youth. Killing is their job when they fail to hoodwink the masses with their glib social-democratic phrases. As the people refuse to be deceived and increasingly resist the offensive of the ruling classes, the neo-fascists and their U.F. partners have started a campaign of ruthless suppression of the people. Lathi-charge and shooting by the police are almost daily occurrences, as in the Congress days. Workers have been fired upon and killed at Durgapur, cold-blooded murder of workers has taken place at Cossipore in Calcutta. But what happened at Durgapur on June 2 has surpassed all previous records of counter-revolutionary violence.

On June 1 there was a collision between a state bus and a lorry at a street-crossing. Following this, there was an altercation between two students of the Durgapur Regional Engineering College and the police who are reported to have arrested, beaten and tortured them. Other students came to the near-by police outpost to demand their release. There was a clash between the students and the police. On the intervention of the Principal and the S.D.O. the students were released.

It is reported that throughout the night of June 1-2, large numbers of policemen were brought from places like Bankura, Kharjora, Burdwan. On the morning of June 2, four trucks of armed policemen were brought from Asansol. All these preparations were made not without the knowledge of the District Magistrate, the S.D.O. or the S.P.

So at 10 A.M., Jyoti Basu's police (not Chavan's Central Reserve Police this time), several hundred strong and armed with lathis and rifles and led by a Deputy

Superintendent of Police, invaded the College campus neither with the Principal's permission nor with his knowledge and let loose a veritable hell. The invading army of policemen first attacked the students in the hostels and the members of the staff working in the College workshop. Later, the invaders forcibly broke open the main door of the College building and savagely beat up the students and staff there with lathis, bayonets and rifle-butts. At the time most of the students of the College were taking their annual examination and were stunned by the sudden attack. But when they tried to resist with whatever they could lay their hands on, the invading police fired upon them, killing at least two students and injuring more than a hundred. They did not spare the teachers. They raided the teachers' room and several teachers were beaten up. More than 150 students were injured and about seventy were admitted to different hospitals. The invaders dragged away 153 students and teachers and put them under 'arrest'. Many students cannot be traced even now. They forcibly took away pens, wristwatches and other things belonging to the students.

*Ananda Bazar Patrika* of June 4 reported that several portraits hanging on the walls of the College building from the ground floor to the third floor had been riddled with police bullets. This only shows the enormity, the indiscriminate nature, of the firing.

How did the neo-revisionist scab of a police minister named Jyoti Basu react? He said that on Monday (June 2) students again attacked the police outpost. A police picket, he continued, was also besieged within the College campus and its members were assaulted. An inspector and a constable were seriously injured. To disperse the rioting students, he added, the police fired (See *Statesman*, June 3). This statement the neo-revisionist scab made to justify the police atrocities was proved false by the Principal of the College, who said that the students were taking their

examination when the attack came. The scab's statement was such a travesty of truth that it could not even be repeated in the government press note published on June 4.

According to press reports, the Teachers Association of the College has adopted a resolution denouncing the "brutal and indiscriminate" police firing and lathi-charge of last Monday and said the "inhuman actions" of the police had caused the loss of life and serious injuries to a large number of students and members of the staff.

As usual, the neo-revisionists are playing a dual role. When their leader comes out openly, unashamedly, in defence of the police atrocities, their local agents and their U.F. partners in crime are using all their hypocritical ingenuity to divert the wrath of the people against an imaginary bogey. They issued a call for Durgapur *bandh* on June 4 "to protest against police atrocities and the conspiracy to discredit the U.F. government by the reactionary police and anti-U.F. forces". Such trickery to deceive the people has been resorted to for too long a time. Is not the U.F. itself a conspiracy against the people, a conspiracy hatched by the imperialists and domestic reactionaries to befool the people with the hoax of providing relief at a time when the Congress has outlived its purpose, when the entire social and economic structure is crumbling? The truth is gradually dawning on the people.

Why did Jyoti Basu stage this performance at Durgapur? A large number of students of the Durgapur Regional Engineering College had spurned the neo-revisionists and rallied under the banner of Naxalbari. This had infuriated the neo-revisionists. They wanted to create terror to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideology and politics. But fascist methods are doomed to recoil on the neo-fascists. These will stiffen the resolve of the revolutionaries and isolate the counter-revolutionaries

from the people. As the press reported, very, very elaborate police arrangements were made on June 4 to protect Jyoti Basu from the wrath of the people. By their fascist methods the counter-revolutionaries are kindling a flame from which they will not be able to escape.

### THE REAL FACE OF THE U.F.

The neo-revisionists are reported to have decided to raise a volunteer force of 50,000 in West Bengal by September. (See *Statesman*, May 26, 1969). Answering the charge levelled against them by their U.F. partners that the neo-revisionists are harbouring anti-social elements, the Secretary of their West Bengal Committee and Polit Bureau member, Promode Das Gupta, said: His party was "aware of the fact that many anti-social elements so long given protection by the Congress party, would seek shelter in the United Front parties." He complained that while his party did not allow anti-social elements to enter it, many other parties of the U.F. "in their jealousy over the rapid expansion of the CPI(M)'s political influence have not hesitated to harbour anti-social elements and attack CPI(M) workers." Then followed a very significant revelation. The *Statesman's* special representative writes: "He (Promode Dasgupta) referred to a recent representation by leaders of a party, including a Minister, to Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Home Minister, for the release of an anti-social element arrested under the P.D. Act in the State's coalfield areas. *Even if Mr Basu showed them the long list of crimes the arrested man had been indulging in for quite some time, the deputationists insisted that the man belonged to their party and should, therefore, be released. Mr Basu had ultimately to yield to their pressure.*" (*Statesman*, May 26, 1969).

All this is straight from the horse's mouth. The neo-revisionist chief admits two important things: first, many parties of the United front are harbouring anti-social

elements who previously served the Congress party; second, the neo-revisionist Home Minister yields to the pressure of the U.F. parties and releases criminals who have committed various crimes because they belong to U.F. parties. In other words, criminals are cherished and protected by the U.F. government.

Promode Dasgupta also said that "he was convinced that the CIA had 'a big hand' in the recent inter-party clashes."

The leaders of the CPI(M), CPI, Bangla Congress, P.S.P and Forward Bloc recently met to discuss the causes of the frequent clashes taking place between their party members and to stop them. Then, too, they admitted that "*since the mid-term elections there has been an influx of anti-social elements—former Congress supporters, jotedars, hoarders and other vested interests—and of people having links with organizations like the CIA into the ranks of almost all the Front constituents.*" (Statesman, June 1, 1969)

What is this influx due to? It would be strange if the vested interests and CIA elements embraced the U.F. while the U.F. was a revolutionary organization carrying on a grim struggle against them. Actually, it is the policy of the U.F. that is inviting all the enemies of the people into its folds. Far from being afraid of the U.F., which is playing a counter-revolutionary role, the vested interests, criminals and CIA agents consider it to be their own organization. They know quite well that its role is to serve them while pretending to serve the people.

Naturally, the volunteers that the neo-revisionists are raising are fascist bands out to terrorize revolutionaries and toiling people. Already, in various places, they have been active not against the class enemies but against the Marxist-Leninists.

A few weeks ago, Jyoti Basu started with a fanfare a police hunt against what he termed "anti-social elements".

Actually, it is directed against the revolutionary youth who today are holding high the banner of Naxalbari. It will appear from the admission of the neo-revisionists and their partners that they themselves are the patrons of the *genuine* anti-social elements. And are they not themselves anti-social when their crimes against the people are on a much vaster scale than those of ordinary criminals?

The arch criminals have been meeting recently to devise their strategy against the people and build up closer unity in action. Prodded constantly by the Soviet social-imperialists, the leaders of the revisionist and neo-revisionist parties met recently in Calcutta. They decided to come closer to each other and to eliminate the conflicts between them. No real political or ideological differences but only factional quarrels and the need to hoodwink the revolutionary ranks led to the split between the treacherous leaders. Today, in the face of the mounting crisis and at a time when the revolutionary ranks have rejected the neo-revisionists, the urge for unity between the two factions is very real. Similarly, the urge for improving relations with other social-democratic and reactionary parties is also real, for they must all swim together or sink.

But the question is, can the counter-revolutionaries unite to present a solid front against revolution in this hour of unprecedented crisis? The urge for disunity among them is also very real, for it has a material basis. The front that the reactionary classes have propped up as a substitute for the Congress is both united and disunited. It is sure that the various ruling-parties constituting this 'united front' will both collaborate and contend for obtaining a few crumbs from their masters' table—and then perish.

—June 6, 1969

## Srikakulam Struggle Continues to Spread and Develop

Srikakulam : May 26. The heroic revolutionary armed struggle of the Girijans and the peasants of Srikakulam, led by the Communist revolutionaries, has continued to develop and, spread to newer areas in the Andhra State. In response to the call given by the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (since organised into the newly formed CPI(M-L), the Party of the Communist revolutionaries) to extend the Srikakulam type of struggle to other areas, the revolutionaries in Andhra took immediate necessary steps to carry out the instruction. Their efforts have already begun to bear fruit. Under their guidance the revolutionary peasants of Khammam, Warangal, Krishna and Vishakhapatnam districts have already started armed guerrilla actions against the feudal landlords, seizing their property, crops and guns.

Some of the innumerable facts of the struggle are given below.

### Trial of a Reactionary Policeman In the People's Court

On May 12th, N. Jagannatha Rao, a policeman (No. 398) belonging to the Andhra Pradesh Police was captured by the village defence *dal* (squad) while he was harassing the poor peasants in the village Kakithada in the Agency area, which is within a distance of two miles from the big police camp at Elwinpet. The policeman dared to enter and harass the peasants possibly because of the nearness of the camp. The village defence *dal* handed over the

policeman to the guerrilla *dal* of that area. It was decided to bring him before the People's Court. An announcement was made accordingly. The next day several hundred people assembled to witness the trial. The trial was conducted under the guidance of the zonal guerrilla *dal*. The poor peasant masses narrated how the police committed heinous crimes including looting, beating, raping, burning of houses—against the poor people. They expressed their burning hatred against the reactionary police department as a whole and the reactionary state which they serve. One can measure the depth of their anger by the fact that not even one of the assembled peasants did sympathise with the arrested policeman. On the contrary, everyone of them felt that the policeman should be sentenced to death.

The presiding authority was fully aware of the angry mood of the masses. But they pointed out that the policeman had come of a poor peasant family and was working for his livelihood. To save his job he has been obeying the orders of his reactionary officers. As the policeman confessed his crimes and repented them, he should be pardoned. The masses were at last convinced of the justness of this opinion. Thereafter the policeman was released. He was full of great joy. He contrasted this trial at the people's court with those at reactionary courts. As he himself admitted, he had never thought he would be treated like a human being by the communists. On the contrary, his mind had been poisoned with the reactionary propaganda that the communists tortured and killed anybody and everybody they caught hold of. Overflowing with joy and gratitude, he gave Rs. 20/- towards Party fund.

His release created a great stir among the policemen. The news spread like wild-fire. The reactionary officials, it is said, put the policeman under suspension, saying that he had colluded with the guerrillas.



### A Feudal Tyrant Meets His Doom

On 11th May, a landlord named P. Jammu Naidu of Ethamanuguda of Pathapatnam taluk was punished to death by 200 people assisted by the guerrilla dal. This landlord, who was above fifty, was having seven wives, two of them little girls, and had been committing crimes of every sort. He stepped up his criminal activities especially since March 1968, when the large-scale repression was let loose by the police. He grabbed the land and other property of the poor girijans and some were forced to give their daughters to him as his wives. Not satisfied with his death, the peasants painted slogans with his blood. This demonstrates the intensity of the wrath of the masses against this notorious feudal lord. The brothers of his wives and other relatives also participated in this action.

**Sompeta Area :** On May 12th the guerrillas with the assistance of the people took possession of a shot-gun belonging to Govindanarka of Ponkali village. This rich peasant had tried to terrorise the peasants of this area showing his gun and acted as the agent of a notorious landlord of that area. The peasants were overjoyed after this incident and gave the gun to the guerrillas.

On May 19th, more than two hundred people led by the guerrillas of the zone seized the property of the big landlord, B. Venkateshyam of Borivanka, a village in Ichapuram taluk. The people, enraged at his notorious activities, punished him and his brother with death.

On the next day after this incident the police shot dead a poor dumb peasant. As the peasant was dumb he could not respond to the police orders while he was returning from the fields. The police without verification shot him dead and cooked up a story that he was shot while he was hurling bombs at the police. This incident enraged the masses and the police could not answer for their reckless brutality.

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### Flames of Srikakulam Spread to Visakhapatnam

On 14th May guerrillas with the assistance of the people punished to death a notorious landlord of Sobbaripalem in Visakhapatnam district, P. Appalanarasimhamraju by name. Furious at seeing that the peasants of Nakhavari-palem, enthused and inspired by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, refused to be exploited, the landlord tried to wreak vengeance on the peasants by organising police raids, dragging them to the courts and to getting several of them arrested. His criminal activities went on increasing till he was done away with. The peasants happily received the news of this punishment. The reactionary authorities, however, have vainly tried to belittle its importance by saying that no trace of 'Naxalite' activity is seen in this incident.

## Tamilnadu—The First Sparks

The sparks of Naxalbari and Srikakulam have now reached Tamilnadu State, far in the south. On the night of May 23, revolutionary peasants led by Communist revolutionaries raided the house of a landlord Kittu Gounder at Nellithurai, about 30 miles from Coimbatore, and seized a gun, some ammunition and his all other articles and food worth Rs. 2,500. This has struck fear in the hearts of the reactionaries who are intensifying police and other measures to attack the revolutionary masses.

## Armed Peasant Struggle Develops In Punjab

AFTER peasants' armed action in two villages in Bhikhi and Samaon in Bhatinda district, the Naxalbari flames have spread to three districts—Rupar, Sangrur and Hoshiarpur—the areas where the contradiction between the landlords and the landless peasants is very sharp. Especially in Rupar district the waves of peasant revolt are taking a new shape. The enemy is fear-stricken. Hence more aggressive and repressive methods are being adopted to terrorise the masses but the revolutionary people of Punjab have recognised the genuine communists and have begun to imbibe the essence and truth of Mao Tsetung Thought.

### Attack on Police Station Chamkaur Sahib :

#### Background of the Movement

A five thousand acre Birla Farm is situated at a distance of two miles from Rupar on the river-bed of the Sutlej. Quite adjacent to the Rupar district, hilly and mountainous regions of Himachal Pradesh stretch for hundreds of miles. This land, usurped by the Birlas, includes custodian property, *shamlat* (collective land) of four villages and the land of poor and middle peasants of these villages. Agricultural labour of about 25 villages, numbering several hundreds, is being exploited by the Birlas as work-charged labour and much lower rate is being paid to them than the wage paid everywhere else in the State.

For the last several years the peasants have been struggling to take possession of their land under the leadership of revisionist and reactionary parties but without

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## Report To The Ninth National Congress Of The Communist Party of China

(Delivered on April 1 and Adopted on April 14, 1969)

### LIN PIAO

Comrades !

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be a congress with a far-reaching influence in the history of our Party.

Our present Congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with Liu Shao-chi as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism ; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat of our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and thus prepared ample conditions for this Congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

#### I. On the Preparation for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country is a genuine proletarian revolution on an immense scale.

I—June 2

Chairman Mao has explained the necessity of the current great revolution in concise terms :

**"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."**

In order to comprehend this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's fully, we should have a deep understanding of his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1957, shortly after the conclusion of the Party's Eighth National Congress, Chairman Mao published his great work *"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"*, in which, following his *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, he comprehensively set forth the existence of contradictions, classes and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set forth the thesis of the existence of two different types of contradictions in socialist society, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like a radiant beacon, this great work illuminates the course of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and has laid the theoretical foundation for the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In order to have a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's great historic contribution, it is necessary to review briefly the historical experience of the international communist movement.

In 1852, Marx said :

**"Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove : 1) that the existence of classes**

**is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production ; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat ; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."** (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Chinese ed., p. 63.)

Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat clearly distinguished scientific socialism from utopian socialism and sham socialism of every kind. Marx and Engels fought all their lives for this theory and for its realization.

After the death of Marx and Engels, almost all the parties of the Second International betrayed Marxism, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin. Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. The struggle focused on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In denouncing the old revisionists, Lenin time and again stated :

**"Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists..... Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."** (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 25, p. 399.)

Lenin led the proletariat of Russia in winning the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founding the first socialist state. Through his great revolutionary practice in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin perceived the danger of the restoration of capitalism and the protracted nature of class struggle :

**"The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration."** (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 28, p. 225.)

Lenin stated :

"...the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 31, p. 6.)

Lenin's conclusion was : "For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." (*ibid.*)

Lenin also stated that "the new bourgeoisie" was "arising from among our Soviet government employees." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 29, p. 162.)

He pointed out that the danger of restoration also came from capitalist encirclement : The imperialist countries "will never miss an opportunity for military intervention, as they put it, i.e., to strangle Soviet power." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 31, p. 423.)

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed these brilliant teachings of Lenin's. From Khrushchov to Brezhnev and company, they are all persons in power taking the capitalist road, who have long concealed themselves in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As soon as they came to power, they turned the bourgeoisie's "hope of restoration" into "attempts at restoration," usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and, through "peaceful evolution", turned the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark, fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution

and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in the positive and negative aspects and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As early as March 1949, on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in his *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party* : After the country-wide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction is "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." The heart of the struggle is still the question of state power. Chairman Mao especially reminded us :

"After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns ; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes."

Having foreseen the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao set the whole Party the militant task of fighting imperialism, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres.

Our Party waged intense battles in accordance with the Resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee and the Party's general line for the transition period formulated by Chairman Mao. In 1956, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was in the main completed. That was the crucial moment for the question

of whether the socialist revolution could continue to advance. In view of the rampancy of revisionism in the international communist movement and the new trends of class struggle in our country, Chairman Mao, in his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, called the attention of the whole Party to the following fact:

**"In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership... there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started."**

Countering the fallacy put forward by Liu Shao-chi in 1956 that "In China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved," Chairman Mao specifically pointed out:

**"The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."**

**"The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."**

Thus, for the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, it was pointed out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, and that the proletariat must continue the revolution.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao led the broad masses in carrying on the great struggle in the direction he indicated. From the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 to the struggle to uncover Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting in 1959, from the great debate on the general line of the Party in building socialism to the struggle between the two

lines in the socialist education movement—the focus of the struggle was the question of whether to take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road, whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Every single victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, every victory in every major campaign launched by the Party against the bourgeoisie, was gained only after smashing the revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-chi, which either was Right or was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

Now it has been proved through investigation that as far back as the First Revolutionary Civil War period Liu Shao-chi betrayed the Party, capitulated to the enemy and became a hidden traitor and scab, that he was a crime-soaked lackey of the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and that he was the arch-representative of the persons in power taking the capitalist road. He had a political line by which he vainly attempted to restore capitalism in China and turn her into an imperialist and revisionist colony. In addition, he had an organizational line to serve his counter-revolutionary political line. For many years, recruiting deserters and turncoats, Liu Shao-chi collected a gang of renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power. They covered up their counter-revolutionary political records, shielded each other, colluded in doing evil, usurped important Party and Government posts and controlled the leadership in many central and local units, thus forming an underground bourgeois headquarters in opposition to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. They collaborated with the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and played the kind of disruptive role that the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries were not in a position to do.

In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan and

for National Liberation led by Chairman Mao was vigorously surging forward, Liu Shao-chi dished up his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*. The core of that book was the betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It did not touch at all upon the questions of defeating Japanese imperialism and of waging the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, nor did it touch upon the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of seizing state power by armed force; on the contrary, it urged Communist Party members to depart from the great revolutionary practice and indulge in idealistic "self-cultivation," which actually meant that Communists should "cultivate" themselves into willing slaves going down on their knees before the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when the U.S. imperialists were arming Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary troops in preparation for launching an all-out offensive against the liberated areas, Liu Shao-chi, catering to the needs of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, dished up the capitulationist line, alleging that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy." This was designed to oppose Chairman Mao's general line of **"go all out to mobilize the masses, expand the people's forces and, under the leadership of our Party, defeat the aggressor and build a new China,"** and to oppose Chairman Mao's policy of **"give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land,"** which was adopted to counter the offensive of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Liu Shao-chi preached that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has changed from armed struggle to non-armed and mass parliamentary struggle." He tried to abolish the Party's leadership over the people's armed forces and to "unify" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, predecessors of the People's Liberation Army, into Chiang Kai-shek's "national

army" and to demobilize large numbers of worker and peasant soldiers led by the Party in a vain attempt to eradicate the people's armed forces, strangle the Chinese revolution and hand over to the Kuomintang the fruits of victory which the Chinese people had won in blood.

In April 1949, on the eve of the country-wide victory of China's new-democratic revolution, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was preparing to cross the Yangtse River, Liu Shao-chi hurried to Tientsin and threw himself into the arms of the capitalists. He wildly opposed the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming the private capitalist industry, a policy decided upon by the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party which had just concluded. He clamoured that "capitalism in China today is still in its youth," that it needed an unlimited "big expansion" and that "capitalist exploitation today is no crime, it is a merit". He shamelessly praised the capitalist class, saying that "the more they exploit, the greater their merit," and feverishly advertised the revisionist theory of productive forces. He did all this in his futile attempt to lead China onto the capitalist road.

In short, at the many important historical junctures of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Liu Shao-chi and his gang always wantonly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engaged in counter-revolutionary conspiratorial and disruptive activities. However, since they were counter-revolutionaries, their plots were bound to come to light. When Khrushchov came to power, and especially when the Soviet revisionists ganged up with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of India and other countries in whipping up a large-scale anti-China campaign, Liu Shao-chi and his gang became all the more rabid.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi and his

gang. At the Working Conference of the Central Committee in January 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out the necessity of guarding against the emergence of revisionism. At the Working Conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao put forward more comprehensively the basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao pointed out:

**"Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period.**

**In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."**

This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is the lifeline of our Party.

Following this, in May 1963, under the direction of Chairman Mao, the *Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work* (i.e., the *10-point Decision*) was worked out, which laid down the line, principles and policies of the Party for the socialist education movement. Chairman Mao again warned the whole Party: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten,

**"then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!"**

Thus Chairman Mao still more sharply showed the whole Party and the whole nation the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

All these warnings and struggles did not and could not in the least change the reactionary class nature of Liu Shao-chi and his gang. In 1964, in the great socialist education movement, Liu Shao-chi came out to repress the masses, shield the capitalist-roaders in power and openly attack the Marxist scientific method of investigating and studying social conditions initiated by Chairman Mao, branding it as "out-dated." He raved that whoever refused to carry out his line was "not qualified to hold a leading post." He and his gang were working against time to restore capitalism. At the end of 1964, Chairman Mao convened a Working Conference of the Central Committee and, under his direction, the document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* (i.e., the *23-Point Document*) was drawn up. He denounced Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and repudiated Liu Shao-chi's absurdities, such as "the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party" and "the contradictions between the 'four cleans' and the 'four uncleanes'." And for the first time Chairman Mao specifically indicated: **"The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road."** This new conclusion drawn by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, domestic and

international, set right the course of the socialist education movement and clearly showed the orientation for the approaching Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Reviewing the history of this period, we can see that the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the participation of the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people has by no means occurred accidentally. It is the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in socialist society. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is

**“a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.”**

The heroic Chinese proletariat, poor and lower-middle peasants, People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, who were all determined to follow the great leader Chairman Mao closely in taking the socialist road, could no longer tolerate the restoration activities of Liu Shao-chi and his gang, and so a great class battle was unavoidable.

Just as Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in February 1967:

**“In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.”**

Now we have found this form—it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big-

character posters and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power who have wormed their way into the Party can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed. It is precisely with the participation of the broad masses in the examination of Liu Shao-chi's case that his true features as an old-line counter-revolutionary, renegade, hidden traitor and scab were brought to light. The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party decided to dismiss Liu Shao-chi from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to expel him from the Party once and for all. This was a great victory for the hundreds of millions of the people. On the basis of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is indeed **“absolutely necessary and most timely”** and it is a new and great contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

## II. On The Course Of The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Our aim is to smash revisionism, seize back that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure including all spheres of culture and strengthen and consolidate the economic base of socialism so as to ensure that our country continues to advance in giant strides along the road of socialism.

Back in 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the



Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out:

**"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."**

This statement of Chairman Mao's hit the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary revisionist clique right on the head. It was solely for the purpose of creating public opinion to prepare for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat that they spared no effort to seize upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, violently exercised counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spread poisonous weeds. To overthrow them politically, we must likewise first vanquish their counter-revolutionary public opinion by revolutionary public opinion.

Chairman Mao has always attached major importance to the struggle in ideology. After the liberation of our country, he initiated on different occasions the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*, etc. And this time it was Chairman Mao again who led the whole Party in launching the offensive on the bourgeois positions occupied by Liu Shao-chi and his gang. Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* and other documents, in which he criticized Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics, criticized the departments of literature and art under Liu Shao-chi's control as being **"still dominated by 'the dead'"**, criticized the Ministry of Culture by saying that **"if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Prime Ministers, the Ministry of Scholars and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies"** and said that the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the **"Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords"**.

At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the spheres of Peking Opera, the ballet and symphonic music, spheres that had been regarded as sacred and inviolable by the landlord and capitalist classes. It was a fight at close quarters. Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, the proletariat finally scored important successes after arduous struggles. A number of splendid model revolutionary theatrical works came into being and the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers finally rose aloft on the stage. After that, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* and other poisonous weeds, directing the spearhead right at the den of the revisionist clique—that impenetrable and watertight "independent kingdom" under Liu Shao-chi's control, namely, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The *Circular* of May 16, 1966 worked out under Chairman Mao's personal guidance laid down the theory, line, principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution and constituted the great programme for the whole movement. The *Circular* thoroughly criticized the "February Outline" turned out by Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters for the purpose of suppressing this great revolution. It called upon the whole Party and the whole nation to direct the spearhead of struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party and to pay special attention to unmasking **"persons like Khrushchov.....who are still nestling beside us."** This was a great call mobilizing the people of the whole country to unfold a great political revolution. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the *Circular*, has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian

revolutionary line, the broad revolutionary masses plunged into the fight. In Peking University a big-character poster was written in response to the call of the Central Committee. And soon big-character posters criticizing reactionary bourgeois ideas mushroomed all over the country. Then Red Guards rose and came forward in large numbers and revolutionary young people became courageous and daring pathbreakers. Thrown into a panic, the Liu Shao-chi clique hastily hurled forth the bourgeois reactionary line, cruelly suppressing the revolutionary movement of the student youth. However, this did not win them much time in their death-bed struggle. Chairman Mao called and presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. The Plenary Session adopted the programmatic document *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (i.e., the *16-Point Decision*). Chairman Mao put up his big-character poster *Bombard the Headquarters* thus taking the lid off Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. In his letter to the Red Guards, Chairman Mao said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards

**"express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you."**

Afterwards, Chairman Mao received 13 million Red Guards and other revolutionary masses from all parts of the country on eight occasions at Tien An Men in the capital, which heightened the revolutionary fighting will of the people of the whole country. The revolutionary movements of the workers, peasants and revolutionary functionaries developed rapidly. Increasing numbers of

big-character posters spread like raging prairie fire and roared like guns; the slogan **"It is right to rebel against reactionaries"** resounded throughout the land. And the battle of the hundreds of millions of the people to bombard Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters developed vigorously.

No reactionary class will ever step down from the stage of history of its own accord. When the revolution touched that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, the class struggle became all the more acute. After Liu Shao-chi's downfall, his revisionist clique and his agents in various places changed their tactics time and again, putting forward slogans which were "Left" in form but Right in essence such as "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all", in a futile attempt to go on hitting hard at the many and protecting their own handful. Moreover, they created splits among the revolutionary masses and manipulated and hoodwinked a section of the masses so as to protect themselves. When these schemes were shattered by the proletarian revolutionaries, they launched another frenzied counter-attack, and that is the adverse current lasting from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967.

This adverse current was directed against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Its general programme boiled down to this: to overthrow the decisions adopted by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, reversing the verdict on the overthrown bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, reversing the verdict on the bourgeois reactionary line, which had already been thoroughly repudiated and discredited by the broad masses, and repressing and retaliating on the revolutionary mass movement. However, this adverse current was seriously criticized by Chairman Mao and resisted by the broad revolutionary masses; it could not prevent the main current of the revolutionary mass movement from surging forward.

The twists and reversals in the revolutionary movement further brought home to the broad masses the importance of political power: the main reason why Liu Shao-chi and his gang could do evil was that they had usurped the power of the proletariat in many units and localities and the main reason why the revolutionary masses were repressed was that power was not in the hands of the proletariat in those places. In some units, the socialist system of ownership existed only in form, but in reality the leadership had been usurped by a handful of renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power, or it remained in the hands of former capitalists. Especially when the capitalist-roaders in power whipped up the evil counter-revolutionary wind of economism after failing in their scheme to suppress the revolution on the pretext of "grasping production", the broad masses came to understand still better that only by recapturing the lost power was it possible for them to defeat the capitalist-roaders in power completely. Under the leadership and with the support of Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, the working class in Shanghai with its revolutionary tradition came forward courageously and, uniting with the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, seized power from below in January 1967 from the capitalist-roaders in power in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council.

Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the January storm of revolution in Shanghai and issued his call to the whole nation: "**Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!**" Following that, Chairman Mao gave the instruction: "**The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.**" He went on to sum up the experience of Heilungkiang Province and some other provinces and municipalities and laid down the principles and policies for the establishment of the

revolutionary committee which embraces representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the People's Liberation Army and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary three-in-one combination, thus pushing forward the nation-wide struggle for the seizure of power.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure and counter-seizure of power was a life-and-death struggle. During the one year and nine months from Shanghai's January storm of revolution in 1967 to the establishment of the revolutionary committees of Tibet and Sinkiang in September 1968, repeated trials of political strength took place between the two classes and the two lines, fierce struggles went on between proletarian and non-proletarian ideas and an extremely complicated situation emerged. As Chairman Mao has said:

"In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war."

"The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out."

Nevertheless, relying on the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we finally overcame this difficulty. In the summer of 1967, Chairman Mao made an inspection tour north and south of the Yangtse River and issued extremely important instructions, guiding the broad revolutionary masses to distinguish gradually the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and to further bring about the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and guiding people with petty-bourgeois ideas onto the path of the proletarian revolution. Consequently, it was only the enemy who was

thrown into disorder while the broad masses were steeled in the course of the struggle.

The handful of renegades, enemy agents, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, active counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois careerists and double-dealers who had hidden themselves among the masses would not reveal their colours until the climate suited them. In the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968, they again fanned up a reactionary evil wind to reverse correct verdicts both from the Right and the extreme "Left". They directed their spearhead against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, against the People's Liberation Army and against the new-born revolutionary committees. In the meantime, they incited the masses to struggle against each other and organized counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques in a vain attempt to stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. However, like their chieftain Liu Shao-chi, this handful of bad people was finally exposed. This was an important victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

### III. On Carrying Out the Tasks of Struggle-Criticism-Transformation Conscientiously

As in all other revolutions, the fundamental question in the current great revolution in the realm of the superstructure is the question of political power, a question of which class holds leadership. The establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country (with the exception of Taiwan Province) marks the great, decisive victory achieved by this revolution. However, the revolution is not yet over. The proletariat must continue to advance, "carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously" and carry the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure through to the end.

Chairman Mao says :

"Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages : Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee ; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation ; purifying the class ranks ; consolidating the Party organization ; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops."

We must act on Chairman Mao's instruction and fulfil these tasks in every single factory, every single school, every single commune and every single unit in a deep-going, meticulous, down-to-earth and appropriate way.

Confronted with a thousand and one tasks, a revolutionary committee must grasp the fundamental : it must put the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought above all work and place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything. For decades, Mao Tsetung Thought has been showing the orientation of the revolution to the whole Party and the whole nation. However, as Liu Shao-chi and his gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists blocked Chairman Mao's instructions, the broad revolutionary masses could hardly hear Chairman Mao's voice directly. The storm of the present great revolution has destroyed the "palaces of hell-rulers", big and small, and has made it possible for Mao Tsetung Thought to reach the broad revolutionary masses directly. This is a great victory. This wide dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought in a big country with a population of 700 million is the most significant achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In this revolution, hundreds of millions of people always carry with them *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*, which they study and apply conscientiously. As soon as a new instruction of Chairman Mao's is issued, they propagate it and go into action. This most valuable practice must be maintained and persevered in. We should carry on in a deep-going way the mass

movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, continue to run well the Mao Tsetung Thought study classes of all types and, in the light of Chairman Mao's *May 7 Directive* of 1966, truly turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought.

All revolutionary comrades must be clearly aware that class struggle will by no means cease in the ideological and political spheres. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by no means dies out with our seizure of power. We must continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tsetung Thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticize revisionism and all kinds of Right or extreme "Left" erroneous ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to criticize bourgeois individualism and the theory of "many centres", that is, the theory of "no centre". We must continue to criticize thoroughly and discredit completely the stuff of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi such as the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and must firmly establish among the cadres and the masses of the people Chairman Mao's concept of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts", so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao points out :

**"The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" and organize itself into a revolutionized leading group which maintains close ties with the masses."**

This is a basic principle which enables the superstructure to serve its socialist economic base still better. A duplicate administrative structure divorced from the masses, scholasticism which suppresses and binds their revolutionary initiative, and a landlord and bourgeois style

of formality and ostentation—all these are destructive to the socialist economic base, advantageous to capitalism and disadvantageous to socialism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, organs of state power at all levels and other organizations must keep close ties with the masses, first of all with the basic masses—the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres, old and new, must constantly sweep away the dust of bureaucracy and must not catch the bad habit of "acting as bureaucrats and overlords". They must keep on practising frugality in carrying out revolution, run all socialist undertakings industriously and thriftily, oppose extravagance and waste and guard against the bourgeois attacks with sugar-coated bullets. They must maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. They must be concerned with the well-being of the masses. They must themselves make investigation and study in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, dissect one or several "sparrows" and constantly sum up experiences. They must make criticism and self-criticism regularly and, in line with the five requirements for the successors to the revolution as set forth by Chairman Mao, "fight self, criticize revisionism" and conscientiously remould their world outlook.

The People's Liberation Army is the mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has pointed out many times : From the Marxist point of view the main component of the state is the army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army personally founded and led by Chairman Mao is an army of the workers and peasants, an army of the proletariat. It has performed great historic feats in the struggle for overthrowing the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and in the struggles for defending the motherland, for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and for smashing aggression by imperialism, revisionism

and the reactionaries. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of "three supports and two militaries" (*i.e.*, support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionization of the army, and made new contributions to the people. And this is also the best preparation against war. We must carry forward the glorious tradition of "**supporting the government and cherishing the people**", "**supporting the army and cherishing the people**", strengthen the unity between the army and the people, strengthen the building of the militia and of national defence and do a still better job in all our work. For the past three years, it is precisely because the people have supported the army and the army has protected the people that renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road and counter-revolutionaries have failed in their attempts to undermine this great people's army of ours.

Departments of culture, art, education, the press, health, etc., occupy an extremely important position in the realm of the superstructure. The line "**We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class**" was decided upon at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. And now, at Chairman Mao's call that "**the working class must exercise leadership in everything**", the working class, which is the main force in the proletarian revolution, and its staunch ally the poor and lower-middle peasants have mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. From July 27, 1968, mighty contingents of the working class marched to places long dominated by the persons in power

taking the capitalist road and to all places where intellectuals were predominant in number. It was a great revolutionary action. Whether the proletariat is able to take firm root in the positions of culture and education and transform them with Mao Tsetung Thought is the key question in carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao has attached profound importance to our work in this connection and personally grasped typicals, thus setting up a brilliant example. We must overcome the wrong tendency among some comrades who make light of the ideological, cultural and educational front; we must closely follow Chairman Mao and consistently do arduous and meticulous work. "**On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle,**" sum up the experience in leading the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and win the battle on this front.

#### IV. On The Policies Of The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In order to continue the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, it is imperative to carry out conscientiously all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies.

Policies for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were early explicitly stipulated in the *Circular* of May 16, 1966 and the *16-Point Decision* of August 1966. The series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions including "**serious attention must be paid to policy in the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**" have further specified the various policies.

The main question at present is to carry them out to the letter.

The Party's policies, including those towards the

intellectuals, the cadres, "the sons and daughters that can be educated" (the sons and daughters of those who have committed crimes or mistakes.—*Translator*), the mass organizations, the struggle against the enemy and the economic policy—all these policies come under the general subject of the correct handling of the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.

The majority or the vast majority of the intellectuals trained in the old type of schools and colleges are able or willing to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They should be "re-educated" by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, and encouragement should be given to those who have done well in the integration and to the Red Guards and educated young people who are active in going to the countryside or mountainous areas.

Chairman Mao has taught us many times: "Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack" and "carry out Marx's teaching that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation."

With regard to people who have made mistakes, stress must be laid on giving them education and re-education, doing patient and careful ideological and political work and truly acting "on the principle of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient', in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." With regard to good people who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist-roader in power but have now raised their political consciousness and gained the understanding of the masses, they should be promptly "liberated," assigned to suitable work and encouraged to go among the masses of the workers and peasants to remould their world outlook. As for those who have made a little progress and become to some extent awakened, we

should continue to help them, proceeding from the viewpoint of unity. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out:

"The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them."

In the struggle against the enemy, we must carry out the policy "make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one" which Chairman Mao has always advocated. "Stress should be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and to give them credence." We must implement Chairman Mao's policies of "leniency towards those who confess their crimes and severe punishment of those who refuse to do so" and of "giving a way out." We rely mainly on the broad masses of the people in exercising dictatorship over the enemy. As for bad people or suspects ferreted out through investigation in the movement for purifying the class ranks, the policy of "killing none and not arresting most" should be applied to all except the active counter-revolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence of crimes such as murder, arson or poisoning, and who should be dealt with in accordance with the law.

As for the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, we should either criticize them and see, or criticize them and give them work to do, or criticize them and provide them with a proper livelihood. In short, we should criticize their ideology and at the same time give them a way out. To handle this part of the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in the manner of handling contradictions among the people is beneficial to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the disintegration of the enemy ranks.

In carrying out the policies of the Party, it is necessary

to study the specific conditions of the unit concerned. In places where the revolutionary great alliance has not yet been sufficiently consolidated, it is necessary to help the revolutionary masses bring about, in accordance with revolutionary principles, the revolutionary great alliance on the basis of different fields of work, trades and school classes so that they will become united against the enemy. In units where the work of purifying the class ranks has not yet started or has only just started, it is imperative to grasp the work firmly and do it well in accordance with the Party's policies. In units where the purification of the class ranks is by and large completed, it is necessary to take firm hold of other tasks in keeping with Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the various stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. At the same time, it is necessary to pay close attention to new trends in the class struggle. What if the bad people go wild again? Chairman Mao has a well-known saying: "**Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless.**" If the class enemies stir up trouble again, just arouse the masses and strike them down again.

As the *16-Point Decision* indicates, "**The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country.**" Our country has seen good harvests in agricultural production for years running and there is also a thriving situation in industrial production and science and technology. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working people both in revolution and production has soared to unprecedented heights. Many factories, mines and other enterprises have time and again topped their production records, creating all-time highs in production. The technical revolution is making constant progress. The market is flourishing and prices are stable. By the end of 1968 we had redeemed all the national bonds. Our country is now a socialist country with neither internal nor external debts.

"**Grasp revolution, promote production**"—this principle is absolutely correct. It correctly explains the relationship between revolution and production, between consciousness and matter, between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. Chairman Mao always teaches us: "**Political work is the life-blood of all economic work.**" Lenin denounced the opportunists who were opposed to approaching problems politically. "**Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism.**" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 32, p. 72.) Lenin again stated: To put politics on a par with economics also means "**forgetting the A B C of Marxism**". (*Ibid.*) Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. If we fail to make revolution in the superstructure, fail to arouse the broad masses of the workers and peasants, fail to criticize the revisionist line, fail to expose the handful of renegades, enemy agents, capitalist-roaders in power and counter-revolutionaries and fail to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat, how can we further consolidate the socialist economic base and further develop the socialist productive forces? This is not to replace production by revolution but to use revolution to command production, promote it and lead it forward. We must make investigation and study, and actively and properly solve the many problems of policy in struggle-criticism-transformation on the economic front in accordance with Chairman Mao's general line of "**Going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**" and in accordance with his great strategic concept "**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people**" and with the series of principles such as "**take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**". We must bring the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the people of all nationalities into full



play, firmly grasp revolution and energetically promote production and fulfil and overfulfil our plans for developing the national economy. It is certain that the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will continue to bring about new leaps forward on the economic front and in our cause of socialist construction as a whole.

### V. On the Final Victory of the Revolution in Our Country

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country is very great indeed. But we must in no way think that we may sit back and relax. Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in October 1968:

**"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts."**

There will be reversals in the class struggle. We must never forget class struggle and never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of carrying out our policies at present, there still exists the struggle between the two lines and there is interference from the "Left" or the Right. It still calls for much effort to accomplish the tasks for all the stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. We must closely follow Chairman Mao and steadfastly rely on the broad revolutionary masses to

surmount the difficulties and twists and turns on our way forward and seize still greater victories in the cause of socialism.

### VI. On the Consolidation and Building of the Party

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has provided us with valuable experience on how we should build the Party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Chairman Mao has indicated to the whole Party,

**"The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy."**

Chairman Mao's instruction has determined our political orientation for consolidating and building the Party.

The Communist Party of China has been nurtured and built up by our great leader Chairman Mao. Since its birth in 1921, our Party has gone through long years of struggle for the seizure of state power and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by armed force. Led by Chairman Mao, our Party has always stood in the forefront of revolutionary wars and struggles. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, our Party, has, in the face of extremely strong domestic and foreign enemies and in the most complex circumstances, led the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of China in adhering to the principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**, in upholding proletarian internationalism and in waging heroic struggles with one stepping into the breach as another fell, and it is only thus that our Party has grown from Communist groups with only a few dozen members at the outset into the great,

glorious and correct Party leading the powerful People's Republic of China today. We deeply understand that without the armed struggle of the people, there would not be the Communist Party of China today and there would not be the People's Republic of China today. We must forever bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."

The Communist Party of China owes all its achievements to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and these achievements constitute victories for Mao Tsetung Thought. For half a century now, in leading the great struggle of the people of all the nationalities of China for accomplishing the new-democratic revolution, in leading China's great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries, Chairman Mao has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the political, military, economic, cultural and philosophical spheres, and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. The entire history of our Party has borne out this truth: Departing from the leadership of Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought, our Party will suffer setbacks and defeats; following Chairman Mao closely and acting on Mao Tsetung Thought, our Party will advance and triumph. We must forever remember this lesson. Whoever opposes Chairman Mao, whoever opposes Mao Tsetung Thought, at any time or under any circumstances, will be condemned and punished by the whole Party and the whole nation.

Discussing the consolidation and building of the Party, Chairman Mao has said:

"A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour."

With this vivid analogy, Chairman Mao has expounded the dialectics of inner-Party contradiction. "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." Opposition and struggle between the two lines within the Party are a reflection inside 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 struggles to resolve them, and if the Party did not get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the Party's life would come to an end. Chairman Mao's theory on inner-Party contradiction is and will be the fundamental guiding thinking for the consolidation and building of the Party.

The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the "Left" opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first "Left" and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti-Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and after long years of struggle, has shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Our Party has consolidated itself, developed and grown in strength

precisely in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggles to defeat the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi, which did the gravest harm to the Party.

In the new historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat enforces its dictatorship and exercises its leadership in every field of work through its vanguard the Communist Party. Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party building, the question of building what kind of Party and how to build it.

Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on Party building betrayed the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building. At the crucial moment when China's socialist revolution was deepening and the class struggle was extraordinarily acute, Liu Shao-chi had his sinister book *Self-Cultivation* re-published and it was precisely his aim to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When he copied the passage from Lenin on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which we quoted earlier in this report, Liu Shao-chi once again deliberately omitted the most important conclusion that **"the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential"**, thereby clearly revealing his own counter-revolutionary features as a renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, Liu Shao-chi went on spreading such reactionary fallacies as the theory of "the dying out of class struggle", the theory of "docile tools", the theory that "the masses are backward", the theory of "joining the Party in order to climb up", the theory of "inner-Party peace" and the theory of "merging private and public interests" (i.e., "losing a little to gain much"),

in a vain attempt to corrupt and disintegrate our Party, so that the more the Party members "cultivated" themselves, the more revisionist they would become and so that the Marxist-Leninist Party would "evolve peacefully" into a revisionist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We should carry on revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's reactionary fallacies.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most broad and deep-going movement for Party consolidation in the history of our Party. The Party organizations at various levels and the broad masses of Communists have experienced the acute struggle between the two lines, gone through the test in the large-scale class struggle and undergone examination by the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party. In this way, the Party members and cadres have faced the world and braved the storm and have raised their class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This great revolution tells us: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must educate the masses of Party members on classes, on class struggle, on the struggle between the two lines and on continuing the revolution. We must fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party, clear the Party of renegades, enemy agents and other elements representing the interests of the exploiting classes, and admit into the Party the genuine advanced elements of the proletariat who have been tested in the great storm. We must strive to ensure that the leadership of the Party organizations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members really integrate theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses and are bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We must see to it that the Party members will always keep to the style of being modest, prudent-

and free from arrogance and rashness and to the style of arduous struggle and plain living. Only thus will the Party be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us :

**“Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people ; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses.”**

The study and spread of the basic experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the study and spread of the history of the struggle between the two lines and the study and spread of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be conducted not just once but should be repeated every year, every month, every day. Only thus will it be possible for the masses of Party members and the people to criticize and resist erroneous lines and tendencies the moment they emerge, and will it be possible to guarantee that our Party will always forge ahead victoriously along the correct course charted by Chairman Mao.

The revision of the Party Constitution is an important item on the agenda of the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Central Committee has submitted the draft Party Constitution to the congress for discussion. This draft was worked out jointly by the whole Party and the revolutionary masses throughout the country. Since November 1967 when Chairman Mao proposed that basic Party organizations take part in the revision of the Party Constitution, the Central Committee has received several thousand drafts. On this basis the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party drew up the draft Party Constitution, upon which the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary

masses throughout the country once again held enthusiastic and earnest discussions. It may be said that the draft of the new Party Constitution is the product of the integration of the great leader Chairman Mao's wise leadership with the broad masses ; it reflects the will of the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country and gives a vivid demonstration of the democratic centralism and the mass line to which the Party has always adhered. Especially important is the fact that the draft Party Constitution has clearly reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking. This is a great victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in smashing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on Party building, a great victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The Central Committee is convinced that, after the discussion and adoption of the new Party Constitution by the congress, our Party will, in accordance with its provisions, surely be built into a still greater, still more glorious and still more correct Party.

## VII. On China's Relations With Foreign Countries

Now we shall go on specifically to discuss China's relations with foreign countries.

The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world always support each other. The Albanian Party of Labour and all other genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, the broad masses of the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world as well as many friendly countries, organizations and personages have all warmly acclaimed and supported the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country. On behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Ninth National Congress of the

Party, I hereby express our heart-felt thanks to them. We firmly pledge that we the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are determined to fulfil our proletarian internationalist duty and, together with them, carry through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The general trend of the world today is still as Chairman Mao described it: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily." On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward. The armed struggles of the people of southern Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are steadily growing in strength. The truth that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is being grasped by ever broader masses of the oppressed people and nations. An unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out in Japan, Western Europe and North America, the "heartlands" of capitalism. More and more people are awakening. The genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations are growing steadily in the course of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in their own countries. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises, beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and find themselves in an impasse. They collude and at the same time contend with each other in a vain attempt to re-divide the world. They act in co-ordination and work hand in glove in opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people, in suppressing the national liberation movement and in launching wars of aggression. They scheme against each other and get locked in strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies,

important strategic points and spheres of influence. They are both stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, each trying to realize its own ambitions.

Lenin pointed out: Imperialism means war. ".....imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exists." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 22, p. 182.) Lenin further pointed out: "Imperialist war is the eve of socialist revolution." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 25, p. 849.) These scientific theses of Lenin's are by no means out of date.

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out, "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." This is because there are four major contradictions in the world today: The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution. According to the historical experience of World War I and World War II, it can be said with certainty that if the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries should impose a third world war on the people of the world, it would only greatly accelerate the development of these contradictions and help arouse the people of the world to rise in revolution and send the whole pack of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries to their graves.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." "Strategically we should despise all our enemies,

**but tactically we should take them all seriously.**" This great truth enunciated by Chairman Mao heightens the revolutionary militancy of the people of the whole world and guides us from victory to victory in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

The nature of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger has long since been laid bare by the people throughout the world. U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world, is going downhill more and more. Since he took office, Nixon has been confronted with a hopeless mess and an insoluble economic crisis, with the strong resistance of the masses of the people at home and throughout the world and with the predicament in which the imperialist countries are disintegrating and the baton of U.S. imperialism is getting less and less effective. Unable to produce any solution to these problems, Nixon, like his predecessors, cannot but continue to play the counter-revolutionary dual tactics, ostensibly assuming a "peace-loving" appearance while in fact engaging in arms expansion and war preparations on a still larger scale. The military expenditures of the United States have been increasing year by year. To date the U.S. imperialists still occupy our territory Taiwan. They have dispatched aggressor troops to many countries and have also set up hundreds upon hundreds of military bases and military installations in different parts of the world. They have made so many airplanes and guns, so many nuclear bombs and guided missiles. What is all this for? To frighten, suppress and slaughter the people and dominate the world. By doing so they make themselves the enemy of the people everywhere and find themselves besieged and battered by the broad masses of the proletariat and the people all over the world, and this will definitely lead to revolutions throughout the world on a still larger scale.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a paper tiger,

too. It has revealed its social-imperialist features more and more clearly. When Khrushchov revisionism was just beginning to emerge, our great leader Chairman Mao foresaw what serious harm modern revisionism would do to the cause of world revolution. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging resolute struggles in the ideological, theoretical and political spheres, together with the Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha and with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world, against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre. This has enabled the people all over the world to learn gradually in struggle how to distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism from sham socialism and brought about the bankruptcy of Khrushchov revisionism. At the same time, Chairman Mao led our Party in resolutely criticizing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line of capitulation to imperialism, revisionism and reaction and of suppression of revolutionary movements in various countries and in destroying Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. All this has been done in the fulfilment of our Party's proletarian internationalist duty.

Since Brezhnev came to power, with its baton becoming less and less effective and its difficulties at home and abroad growing more and more serious, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been practising social-imperialism and social-fascism more frantically than ever. Internally, it has intensified its suppression of the Soviet people and speeded up the all-round restoration of capitalism. Externally, it has stepped up its collusion with U. S. imperialism and its suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, intensified its control over and its exploitation of various East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia, intensified its contention with U. S. imperialism over the

Middle East and other regions and intensified its threat of aggression against China. Its dispatch of hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and its armed provocations against China on our territory Chenpao Island are two foul performances staged recently by Soviet revisionism. In order to justify its aggression and plunder, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique trumpets the so-called theory of "limited sovereignty", the theory of "international dictatorship" and the theory of "socialist community". What does all this stuff mean? It means that your sovereignty is "limited", while his is unlimited. You won't obey him? He will exercise "international dictatorship" over you—dictatorship over the people of other countries, in order to form the "socialist community" ruled by the new tsars, that is, colonies of social-imperialism, just like the "New Order of Europe" of Hitler, the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" of Japanese militarism and the "Free World Community" of the United States. Lenin denounced the renegades of the Second International: "**Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism.**" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., vol. 29, p. 458.) This applies perfectly to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique of today which is composed of a handful of capitalist-roaders in power. We firmly believe that the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in the Soviet Union with their glorious revolutionary tradition will surely rise and overthrow this clique consisting of a handful of renegades. As Chairman Mao points out:

"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 the 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."

Now that the Soviet government has created the incident of armed encroachment on the Chinese territory Chenpao Island, the Sino-Soviet boundary question has caught the attention of the whole world. Like boundary questions between China and some of her other neighbouring countries, the Sino-Soviet boundary question is also one left over by history. As regards these questions, our Party and Government have consistently stood for negotiations through diplomatic channels to reach a fair and reasonable settlement. Pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained and conflicts avoided. Proceeding from this stand, China has satisfactorily and successively settled boundary questions with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Afghanistan. Only the boundary questions between the Soviet Union and China and between India and China remain unsettled to this day.

The Chinese Government held repeated negotiations with the Indian government on the Sino-Indian boundary question. As the reactionary Indian government had taken over the British imperialist policy of aggression, it insisted that we recognize the illegal "McMahon line" which even the reactionary governments of different periods in old China had not recognized, and moreover, it went a step further and vainly attempted to occupy the Aksai Chin area, which has always been under Chinese jurisdiction, thereby disrupting the Sino-Indian boundary negotiations. This is known to all.

The Sino-Soviet boundary question is the product of tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China. In the latter half of the 19th century when power was not in the hands of the Chinese and Russian people, the tsarist government took imperialist acts of aggression to carve up China, imposed a series of unequal treaties on her, annexed vast expanses of her territory and, moreover, crossed the boundary line stipulated by the unequal

treaties, in many places, and occupied still more Chinese territory. This gangster behaviour was indignantly condemned by Marx, Engels and Lenin. On September 27, 1920, the Government of Soviets led by the great Lenin solemnly proclaimed: It "declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and for ever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie." (See *Declaration of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the Chinese Government*.) Owing to the historical conditions of the time, this proletarian policy of Lenin's was not realized.

As early as August 22 and September 21, 1960, the Chinese Government, proceeding from its consistent stand on boundary questions, twice took the initiative in proposing to the Soviet government that negotiations be held to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In 1964, negotiations between the two sides started in Peking. The treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese people by the tsars, but out of the desire to safeguard the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people, we still maintained that these treaties be taken as the basis for the settlement of the boundary question. However, betraying Lenin's proletarian policy and clinging to its new-tsarist social-imperialist stand, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique refused to recognize these treaties as unequal and, moreover, it insisted that China recognize as belonging to the Soviet Union all the Chinese territory which they had occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties. This great-power chauvinist and social-imperialist stand of the Soviet government led to the disruption of the negotiations.

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has frenziedly stepped up its disruption of the status quo of the boundary and repeatedly provoked border incidents, shooting and killing our unarmed fishermen and peasants and encroaching upon China's sovereignty. Recently it has gone further and made successive armed intrusions into our territory Chenpao Island. Driven beyond the limits of their forbearance, our frontier guards have fought back in self-defence, dealing the aggressors well-deserved blows and triumphantly safeguarding our sacred territory. In an effort to extricate them from their predicament, Kosygin asked on March 21 to communicate with our leaders by telephone. Immediately on March 22, our Government replied with a memorandum, in which it was made clear that, "In view of the present relations between China and the Soviet Union, it is unsuitable to communicate by telephone. If the Soviet government has anything to say, it is asked to put it forward officially to the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels." On March 29, the Soviet government issued a statement still clinging to its obstinate aggressor stand, while expressing willingness to resume "consultations". Our government is considering its reply to this.

The foreign policy of our Party and Government is consistent. It is: To develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with socialist countries on the principle of proletarian internationalism; to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed people and nations; to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and to oppose the imperialist policies of



aggression and war. Our proletarian foreign policy is not based on expediency; it is a policy in which we have long persisted. This is what we did in the past and we will persist in doing the same in the future.

We have always held that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people. The relations between all countries and between all parties, big or small, must be built on the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. To safeguard these Marxist-Leninist principles, the Communist Party of China has waged a long struggle against the sinister great-power chauvinism of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. This is a fact known to all. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique glibly talks of "fraternal parties" and "fraternal countries", but in fact it regards itself as the patriarchal party, and as the new tsar, who is free to invade and occupy the territory of other countries. They conduct sabotage and subversion against the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties. Moreover, when any party or any country in their so-called "socialist community" holds a slightly different view, they act ferociously and stop at nothing in suppressing, sabotaging and subverting and even sending troops to invade and occupy their so-called "fraternal countries" and kidnapping members of their so-called "fraternal parties". These fascist piratical acts have sealed their doom.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are always trying to "isolate" China; this is China's honour. Their rabid opposition to China cannot do us the slightest harm. On the contrary, it serves to further arouse our people's determination to maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands, rely on our own efforts and work hard to make our country prosperous and powerful; it serves to prove to the whole world that China has drawn a clear line between herself on the one hand and U.S. imperialism

and Soviet revisionism on the other. Today, it is not imperialism, revisionism and reaction but the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries that determine the destiny of the world. The genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries, which are composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, are a new rising force that has infinitely broad prospects. The Communist Party of China is determined to unite and fight together with them. We firmly support the Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; we firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America; we firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth and the masses of the Black people of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique; we firmly support the proletariat and the labouring people of the Soviet Union in their just struggle to overthrow the Soviet revisionist renegade clique; we firmly support the people of Czechoslovakia and other countries in their just struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Japan and the West European and Oceanian countries; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries; and we firmly support all the just struggles of resistance against aggression and oppression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, unite and form the broadest possible united front and overthrow our common enemies!

On no account must we relax our revolutionary vigilance because of victory or ignore the danger of U.S. imperialism

and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. In short, we must be prepared.

Chairman Mao said long ago: **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish. The Chinese revolution won out on the battlefield. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and with full confidence in victory, the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are determined to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan and **resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out** all aggressors who dare to come!

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out:

**"Working hand-in-glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun."**

Whether the war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents the war, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not last long! Workers of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! Bury U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys!

### VIII. The Whole Party, the Whole Nation Unite to Win Still Greater Victories

The Ninth National Congress of the Party is being held at an important moment in the historical development

of our Party, at an important moment in the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and at an important moment in the development of the international communist movement and world revolution. Among the delegates to the congress are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and also a large number of fresh blood. In the previous congresses of our Party there have never been such great numbers of delegates of Party members from among the industrial workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and of women delegates. Among the delegates from the Party members in the People's Liberation Army, there are veteran Red Army fighters as well as new fighters. The delegates of Party members from among Red Guards are attending a national congress of the Party for the first time. The fact that so many delegates have come to Peking from all corners of the country and gathered around the great leader Chairman Mao to discuss and decide on the affairs of the Party and state signifies that our congress is a congress full of vitality, a congress of unity and a congress of victory.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

**"The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities—these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."**

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution our motherland has become unprecedentedly unified and our people have achieved a great revolutionary unity on an extremely broad scale under the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. This great unity is under the leadership of the proletariat and is based on the worker-peasant alliance; it embraces all the fraternal nationalities, the patriotic democrats who for a long time have done useful work for the cause of the revolution and construction of our motherland, the vast numbers of patriotic overseas Chinese and our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and

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Macao, our patriotic compatriots in Taiwan who are oppressed and exploited by the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, and all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland. We are convinced that after the present national congress of our Party, the people of all the nationalities of our country will certainly unite still more closely under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and win still greater victories in the struggle against our common enemy and in the cause of building our powerful socialist motherland.

Chairman Mao said in 1962 :

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

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

**Let the whole Party unite, let the whole nation unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory !**

Long live the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution !

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat !

Long live the Ninth National Congress of the Party !

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China !

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought !

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao ! A long, long life to Chairman Mao !

## The Constitution of the Communist Party of China

*(Adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on April 14, 1969)*

### CHAPTER I

#### GENERAL PROGRAMME

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

The Communist Party of China is composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it is a vigorous vanguard organization leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.

For half a century now, in leading China's great struggle for accomplishing the new-democratic revolution, in leading her great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of

various countries, Comrade Mao Tsetung has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Comrade Lin Piao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Tsetung's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Piao is Comrade Mao Tsetung's close comrade-in-arms and successor.

The Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Tsetung as its leader is a great, glorious and correct Party and is the core of leadership of the Chinese people. The Party has been tempered through long years of class struggle for the seizure and consolidation of state power by armed force, it has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines, and it is valiantly advancing with supreme confidence along the road of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and modern revisionism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the Marxist theory of continued revolution and on practice under its guidance. Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The whole Party must hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and lead

the hundreds of millions of the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, in strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance and hard struggle and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to overthrow imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and the reactionaries of all countries, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man on the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

## CHAPTER II MEMBERSHIP

**Article 1** Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of 18 and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organization and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

**Article 2** Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

**Article 3** Members of the Communist Party of China must:

- (1) Study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way;
- (2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world;
- (3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;
- (4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;
- (5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

**Article 4** When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organizations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures—warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member who becomes politically apathetic and makes no change despite education should be persuaded to withdraw from the Party.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record. When necessary, this should be made public to the masses outside the Party.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted.

### CHAPTER III

#### ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE PARTY

**Article 5** The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels are elected through democratic consultation.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members have the right to criticize Party organizations and leading members at all levels and make

proposals to them. If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is essential to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The organs of state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the People's Liberation Army, and the Communist Youth League and other revolutionary mass organizations, such as those of the workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the Red Guards, must all accept the leadership of the Party.

**Article 6** The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of Party organizations in the localities, in army units and in various departments are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party Committees elected by them. Party congress at all levels are convened by Party committees at their respective levels.

The convening of Party congresses in the localities and army units and their elected Party committee members are subject to approval by the higher Party organizations.

**Article 7** Party Committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dispatch their representative organs in accordance with the principles of unified leadership, close ties with the masses and simple and efficient structure.

## CHAPTER IV CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

**Article 8** The National Party Congress shall be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

**Article 9** The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a number of necessary organs, which are compact and efficient, shall be set up to attend to the day-to-day work of the Party, the government and the army in a centralized way.

## CHAPTER V PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE LOCALITIES AND THE ARMY UNITS

**Article 10** Local Party congresses at the county level and upwards and Party congresses in the People's Liberation Army at the regimental level and upwards shall be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they may be convened before their due date or postponed.

Party committees at all levels in the localities and the army units elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries.

## CHAPTER VI

### PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

**Article 11** In general, Party branches are formed in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighbourhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units; general Party branches or primary Party committees may also be set up where there is a relatively large membership or where the revolutionary struggle requires.

Primary Party organizations shall hold elections once a year. Under special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed.

**Article 12** Primary Party organizations must hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, give prominence to proletarian politics and develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses of the people and practising criticism and self-criticism. Their main tasks are :

(1) To lead the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way ;

(2) To give constant education to the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses concerning class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy ;

(3) To propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state ;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle within the Party so as to keep Party life vigorous ;

(5) To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline, constantly consolidate the Party organizations and get rid of the stale and take in the fresh so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

## List of the 279 Members and Alternate Members of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

The 170 members of the Central Committee

**Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao,**

*(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes of the surnames)*

Ting Sheng, Yu Sang, Ma Fu-chuan, Wang Chen, Wang Pai-tan, Wang Chin-hsi, Wang Hung-kun, Wang Hsiu-chen (female), Wang Ping-chang, Wang Kuo-fan, Wang Hung-wen, Wang Shu-sheng, Wang Shou-tao, Wang Hsiao-yu, Wang Huai-hsiang, Wang Chao-chu, Wang Hui-chiu, Wang Hsin-ting, Teng Tzu-hui, Teng Ying-chao (f), Wei Kuo-ching, Tien Pao, Kung Shih-chuan, Yeh Chun (f), Yeh Chien-ying, Lung Shu-chin, Kuang Jen-nung, Tien Hua-kuei, Shen Mao-kung, Pi Ting-chun, Liu Feng, Liu Wei, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Po-cheng, Liu Chun-yi, Liu Hsien-chuan, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Chieh-ting, Liu Ke-ping, Liu Sheng-tien, Liu Hsi-chang, Chiang Ching (f), Chiang Li-yin, Chiang Yung-hui, Chiang Hsieh-yuan, Chu Teh, Hua Kuo-feng, Hsu Shih-yu, Jen Ssu-chung, Nien Chi-jung, Chi Teng-kuei, Chen Yun, Chen Yu, Chen Kang, Chen Yi, Chen Shih-chu, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsien-jui, Chen Po-ta, Chen Chih-an, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Chiang, Li Chen, Li Ta-chang, Li Tien-yu, Li Shui-ching, Li Ssu-kuang, Li Hsien-nien, Li Tso-peng, Li Shun-ta, Li Su-wen (f), Li Hsueh-feng, Li Fu-chun, Li Jui-shan, Li Teh-sheng, Wu Tao, Wu

Teh, Wu Ta-sheng, Wu Fa-hsien, Wu Kuei-hsien (f), Wu Jui-lin, Lu Yu-lan (f), Chang Tsai-chien, Chang Tien-yun, Chang Yun-yi, Chang Ta-chih, Chang Chih-ming, Chang Ti-hsueh, Chang Kuo-hua, Chang Heng-yun, Chang Chun-chiao, Chang Fu-kuei, Chang Fu-heng, Chang Ting-cheng, Chang Yi-hsiang, Wang Tung-hsing, Chiu Chuang-cheng, Chiu Hui-tso, Chiu Kuo-kuang, Yang Chun-fu, Yang Teh-chih, Yang Fu-chen (f), Tu Ping, Su Ching, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Yu Chiu-li, Chou Hsing, Chou Chih-ping, Chou Chien-jen, Chou En-lai, Cheng Wei-shan, Paojihletai (f), Fan Wen-lan, Tsung Hsi-yun, Hsien Heng-han, Hu Chit-sung, Yao Wen-yuan, Nan Ping, Jao Hsing-li, Keng Piao, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Hai-tung, Hsu Ching-hsien, Nieh Jung-chen, Tang Chi-shan, Tang Chung-fu, Chien Chih-kuang, Kuo Mo-jo, Yuan Sheng-ping, Ni Chih-fu, Hsia Pang-yin, Mo Hsien-yao, Kao Wei-sung, Liang Hsing-chu, Kang Sheng, Huang Chen, Huang Yung-sheng, Tsao Li-huai, Tsao Yi-ou (f), Wei Feng-ying (f), Lu Tien-chi, Tseng Shan, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Kuo-hua, Tseng Ssu-yu, Peng Shao-hui, Lu Jui-lin, Han Hsien-chu, Su Yu, Wen Yu-cheng, Tung Pi-wu, Tung Ming-hui, Cheng Shih-ching, Hsieh Chia-hsiang, Hsieh Fu-chih, Lai Chi-fa, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tan Fu-jen, Saifudin, Tsai Chang (f), Tsai Hsieh-pin, Tsai Shu-mei (f), Teng Tai-yuan, Teng Hai-ching, Pan Shih-kao, Pan Fu-sheng, Wei Ping-kuei.

#### The 109 Alternate Members of the Central Committee

Chilinwangtan, Ma Tien-shui, Wang Ti, Wang Hsin, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Kuang-lin, Wang Chih-chiang, Wang En-mao, Wang Wei-kuo, Fang Ming, Fang Yi, Teng Hua, Wei Tsu-chen, Yu Tai-chung, Wen Hsiang-lan (f), Shih Shao-hua, Feng Chan-wu, Yang Tsung (f), Liu Hsi-yao, Liu Chun-chiao, Liu Hao-tien, Liu Chen-hua, Chu Kuang-ya, Hua Lin-sen, Ta Lo, Joutzutuerhti, Juan Po-sheng, Chen Jen-chi, Chen Hua-tang, Chen Li-yun, Chen Ho-fa,

Chen Kan-feng, Li Li, Li Hua-min, Li Shu-mao, Li Tsai-han, Li Shou-lin, Li Ting-shan, Li Yueh-sung, Wu Chung, Wu Chun-jen, Wu Chin-chuan, Lu Ho, Lu Tsun-chieh (f), Chang Jih-ching, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Ling-pin, Chang Yen-cheng, Chang Chiang-lin, Chang Hsi-ting (f), Chang Hsiu-chuan, Chang Ssu-chou, Chang Ying-tsai, Chang Chi-hui, Wang Chia-tao, Yang Chun-sheng, Yang Huan-min, Sung Shuang-lai, Tsen Kuo-jung, Lo Yuan-fa, Lo Chun-ti (f), Lo Hsi-kang, Cheng San-sheng, Chin Tsu-min, Yi Yao-tsai, Hu Wei, Hu Liang-tsai, Yao Lien-wei, Chao Feng, Chao Hsing-yuan, Chao Chi-min, Keng Chi-chang, Hsu Chih, Nieh Yuan-tzu (f), Tang Liang, Chien Hsueh-sen, Kuo Yu-feng, Kuo Hung-chieh, Liang Chin-tang, Kang Lin, Kang Chien-min, Huang Wen-ming, Huang Cheng-lien, Huang Tso-chen, Huang Chih-yung, Huang Jung-hai, Tsui Hsiu-fan, Tsui Hai-lung, Yen Chung-chuan, Pan Mei-ying (f), Lung Kuang-chien, Tseng Yung-ya, Peng Chung, Peng Kuei-ho, Lu Ta-tung, Han Ying, Fu Chuan-tso, Chiao Lin-yi, Shu Chi-cheng, Chiang Fao-ti (f), Hsieh Chia-tang, Hsieh Wang-chun (f), Lan Yi-nung, Lan Jung-yu, Tan Chi-lung, Pei Chou-yu, Fan Hsiao-chu (f), Fan Teh-ling, Li Yuan.



# Press Communique Of the First Plenary Session Of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

April 28, 1969

The Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its first plenary session on the afternoon of April 28.

The great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and all the other members of the Central Committee attended the session. All the alternate members of the Central Committee were also present.

Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over this session and made an extremely important speech.

The central organ was elected at the session. The result of the election is as follows :

Chairman of the Central Committee :

**Mao Tsetung**

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee :

**Lin Piao**

Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee :

**Mao Tsetung**  
**Lin Piao**

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes of the surnames)

Chen Po-ta  
Chou En-lai  
Kang Sheng

Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee :

**Mao Tsetung**  
**Lin Piao**

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes of the surnames)

Yeh Chun	Yeh Chien-ying	Liu Po-cheng
Chiang Ching	Chu Teh	Hsu Shih-yu.
Chen Po-ta	Chen Hsi-lien	Li Hsien-nien
Li Tso-peng	Wu Fa-hsien	Chang Chun-chiao
Chiu Hui-tso	Chou En-lai	Yao Wen-yuau
Kang Sheng	Huang Yung-sheng	Tung Pi-wu
	Hsieh Fu-chih	

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee :

Chi Teng-kuei	Li Hsueh-feng
Li Teh-sheng	Wang Tung-hsing

## An Investigation into the Nature and Forms of Exploitation :

### A Report of Class Analysis of A Village

—A Peasant Organizer

OUR beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar has asked us to develop peasants' class struggle through class analysis and study and investigation of the concrete conditions in the rural areas. This is because only by making a thorough investigation and analysis of the concrete conditions of the rural society can we differentiate between our enemies and friends in the anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle in the countryside, know the nature and concrete form of exploitation in the countryside, understand the attitude of each class at every stage of struggle, work out correct tactics suitable for the concrete conditions and provide correct leadership in the struggle.

We are giving below a report of an investigation into the nature and concrete forms of exploitation in the rural areas and of the class analysis of a village in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal. It is natural that our report will have shortcomings. We hope comrades will surely offer their criticism of those shortcomings.

Here, in Murshidabad district, the exploitation in the countryside is basically feudal in character and exists in four concrete forms : (i) exploitation through land rent (in kind or money); (ii) exploitation through labour rent, that is, exacting of unpaid labour; (iii) exploitation through various taxes; and (iv) exploitation through exorbitant rates of interests.

Feudalism took firm roots and was consolidated in this district, since the reign of the Nawabs and during the

British rule. The *rajahs* and zemindars, who grew like mushrooms as a consequence of the so-called "Permanent Settlement" introduced by the British, continue to this day to be the main exploiters in the countryside. This has been so during the Congress regime and this is so during the current UF regime. There are quite a few *rajahs* and zemindars in this district who own between five thousand and ten thousand bighas (a bigha =  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an acre) of land each. The *rajahs* of Kandi and of Kasimbazar, the *maharajah* of Lalgola, the successors to the Nawabs of Murshidabad, the Palits of Kanthalia are quite well-known among them. It is said that the owner of the Ramnagar Sugar Mill has about 40 thousand bighas of land. They hold vast tracts of land legally and illegally, which they rent out to local jotedars or rich peasants who either give a part of the crops to the owner or obtain tenancy rights. This is how a two or three-tier hierarchy of landlords is imposed on the peasants. In addition, these sharks obtain on lease rights to collect levies and rents from big market places, *hats* (market places, where transactions are made only on certain fixed days of a week or a month), canals, tanks and, in some places, from rivers even. They collect the rents themselves or lease out the rights to intermediaries. The Congress-brand 'land reform' did not even touch these sharks. There are quite a large number of persons owning hundreds of bighas of land. Many of them live in the nearby towns. Landless peasants constitute approximately 40 per cent of the rural population of the district, poor and lower middle peasants constitute 30 per cent, middle peasants 20 per cent, rich peasants and middle class non-cultivating landowners 7 per cent and jotedars and zemindars 3 per cent.

The district can be divided into two regions in respect of production and nature of the soil :—(1) The *Rahr* region : here, the soil is fertile and the yield of paddy is between 8 and 10 maunds (1 md. = 37.32 kg.) per bigha. Partly

irrigated. Cultivation of wheat and winter crops (pulses, grams, mustard etc.) has been taken up recently. (2) The *Bagrhi* region : yield of paddy, which is grown in August-September, is not good—about 4 maunds a bigha. But the yield of jute and winter crops is very good. Grams, wheat, barley, pulses etc., which are harvested in the month of *Chaitra* ( March-April ), constitute the main crops.

The village which we chose for class analysis is in the *Rahr* region. By our analysis, we propose to show the economic and political position of each class, its attitude to revolution, and to expose the feudal exploitation in the villages. The village has a population of 1,150, the number of families being 211.

**Jotedars and landlords :** There are 8 such families, constituting 3.8 per cent of the total number of families. All of them, excepting one family, live in towns. (In other villages, however, there are landlords owning thousands of bighas of land who live in the village.) In general, the big jotedars rent out their land to sharecroppers or to smaller jotedars. The big jotedars show little interest in growing crops (only one crop is grown in a year) and carry on intense exploitation of the peasants through notoriously high rates of usurious interest. They exploit through high rents (grabbing a major share of the crops) and also through labour-rent. Taking advantage of the illiteracy and circumstantially handicapped position of the peasants, they force the peasants to part with their ploughs and bullocks and grab the same through fraudulent practices. The jotedars who live in the villages possess a fair number of ploughs and bullocks, agricultural implements in abundance and a large number of cattle and poultry. They employ labourers on an annual basis to work their fields. Many of them also own husking machines. Such families are non-labouring families because apart from supervising agricultural operations they do not do any essential labour. Jotedars living in the villages all possess guns. Some

among the feudal lords who live in the towns engage in money-lending business there, while quite a few among them, following the example of old-time feudal lords, live a fast life of waste, as can be seen in the towns of Kandi, Jangipur, Jiagunj and Lalbagh.

The jotedars and feudal lords are the main exploiters in the countryside ; they are the pillars of imperialism and the source of counter-revolutionary conspiracies. They have closest connections with the *anchal panchayats* and all the departments of the state machine. It is their normal practice to illegally occupy lands vested in the government, to evict sharecroppers and variously oppress the peasants. Wherever the peasants stand up to resist all this, the jotedars and the feudal lords suppress them with guns, set their hired goondas upon the peasants and kill them, as happened at Borhat and Hijal. A little more than two years ago, the *chota rajah* (known also as *Tiku rajah*) of Kandi brought in goondas armed with guns from outside and perpetrated a murderous attack on the peasants at Hijal.

These are the people who have been the pillars of the Congress Party in the countryside. Lately, since the appearance of the 'united front' as the new agent of the reactionary ruling classes, many of them have overnight shifted their loyalty to the 'united front.' During the recent mid-term election some *rajahs* and landlords of this district contested with the support of the reactionary parties of the UF. For instance, *Rajah* Biren Roy of Lalgola, supported by CPM, Nawab Kazem Ali Mirza contested from two constituencies on UF ticket, Kumaresh Maulik, a jotedar, contested from Khargram as an RSP candidate supported by UF.

It is possible to win complete victory in the anti-feudal struggle only by overthrowing by force of arms the counter-revolutionary feudal exploiters in the countryside, and this is the pre-condition for winning final victory in the anti-imperialist struggle.

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**Rich peasants :** 13 families, that is, 6.2 per cent of the total number of families. Possess considerable land, ploughs (many have a pair) and bullocks, other farm implements, and a large number of cattle and poultry. <sup>^</sup>Themselves work in the fields, and employ labourers, generally on an annual basis, for doing the heavy manual jobs. <sup>^</sup>Also employ casual labour when the pressure of work is heavy. Major portion of income is from exploitation. Well-off all through the year, have a surplus which is ploughed into money-lending business. <sup>^</sup>Obtain loans from co-operatives, which they themselves dominate, and then lend the money thus obtained to poor and landless peasants at high rates of interest. This is how they utilize funds obtained from government to carry on feudal exploitation. <sup>^</sup>Also act as intermediaries and undertake to work the lands of jotedars living in towns by engaging poor and landless peasants, and thus carry on intense feudal exploitation. <sup>^</sup>Run small shops etc. <sup>^</sup>Many have guns.

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**Social and political relation :** The rich peasants unite with jotedars to dominate the social life and aspire to become jotedars. Basically, they are enemies of the struggle against feudalism and feudal exploitation. As Comrade Charu Mazumdar has correctly pointed out, the relation between the revolutionary peasants and the rich peasants in our country will be, basically, one of struggle. The rich peasants have no desire to change the existing social system, which makes them, naturally, opponents of the revolution. However, under certain circumstances they support the revolution. The so-called scheduled communities like the Mals, the Kolais, the Rajbanshis, are oppressed under the existing social order. Because of this, rich peasants belonging to such communities support revolutionaries in their struggle to change the present social system. Moreover, the rich peasants are dissatisfied with the government on account of levies. While they have close connections with the state apparatus,

they cannot evade these levies as the jotedars do by using their much greater influence and power of money. In another respect too, the rich peasants differ from the jotedars. Unlike the jotedars, they themselves work in the fields. We should unite with them whenever they support the peasants' struggle against the jotedars. At other times, that is, when they act as enemies of the anti-feudal struggle, we must carry on an uncompromising struggle against them. So, we must also see if they can be neutralized on the basis of the principle of struggle and unity.

Those who say that the rich peasants are to be fought uncompromisingly from the beginning to the end, will commit 'Left' deviation; those who advocate that rich peasants should be included in the broad front for struggle against the jotedars commit Right deviation. We must avoid these two deviations. On the whole, the rich peasants support the UF.

**Petty bourgeois non-cultivating owners of land :** 4 families, i.e., 1.9 per cent of the total number of families, <sup>^</sup>Engaged in professions <sup>^</sup>teachers, doctors or small businessmen. <sup>^</sup>Get their annual requirement of rice from the land and, <sup>^</sup>a surplus, in a year of good harvest. Some engage in money-lending on a small scale, but lack the means of doing so on a large scale. Very little is left after meeting the cost of education of their children and maintaining a certain standard. <sup>^</sup>Get their land worked by employing casual labour or hiring labourers on a yearly basis. Their condition is similar to that of a well-to-do middle peasant or a rich peasant. Though not directly connected with production, their labour is to be recognised as essential labour.

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**Social and political position :** <sup>^</sup>Do not generally engage in cultivation themselves. Social convention forbids people belonging to higher castes, both Hindu and Muslim (Kayastha, Brahmin, Mian or Molla), from engaging in cultivation. Relation with the peasants is not close, and



support revolution, though their class hatred against the landlords is not so intense. The revisionist parties take advantage of their anti-Congress sentiment and confuse some of them.

It will not be possible to win victory in the anti-feudal struggle in the countryside without uniting with the middle peasants under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants.

**Poor peasants and lower-middle peasants:** 66 families, that is, about 31.3 per cent of the total number of families. They are the semi-owner peasants or the semi-proletariat. The little land that they have—a few have ploughs, bullocks and some pieces of farm implements—sustains the poor peasants for about six or seven months; for the remaining months of the year they have to sell their labour power which, however, enables them to get only about half the food required.

The poor peasants, in general, can be divided into two categories: (1) Those who have very little land (say 2 or 3 bighas each) which can sustain them for only about 4 months. They have to work as labourers for the jotedars and the rich peasants for the rest of the year. Their condition is almost similar to that of the landless peasants. There are 31 such families among the 66 families mentioned above. (2) Those who have a little more land (5 or 6 bighas each), which sustains them for about half the year. For the remaining months, they either work as sharecroppers in other people's land, run small shops or trade in cattle, sheep etc. They may be called the lower-middle peasants. There are 35 such families, of which 20 families may be called semi-tenant peasants because they work as sharecroppers in addition to working on their own land.

The poor peasants are, in general, victims of intense exploitation through the exorbitant interest charged by the usurers. But before we go into it we may, at first, reveal how they are exploited through land rent by the jotedars.

The semi-tenant peasants of this village who work as sharecroppers on the land rented out by the jotedars who live in towns, have to bear all the cost of cultivating the land; they have to buy fertilisers and seeds, employ labourers for transplanting and harvesting. Yet a major share—60 to 70 per cent of the crops—is taken by the jotedars as rent, though they spend nothing for the same. Of late, a new contract system is appearing. According to this system, the tenant peasants have to give a fixed amount—5 maunds per bigha—as rent. As this region suffers from water scarcity the tenant peasants often have to sell their land in order to pay the contracted rent to the jotedars.

Secondly, there is the exploitation through usurious interest. The peasants are worse off during the few months preceding the winter harvest. How the jotedars take this opportunity to bleed the peasants can be seen from an example. A sharecropper borrows, say 2 maunds of paddy in the month of *Aswin* (mid-September to mid-October), when the price per maund is Rs. 50. So, he has borrowed paddy worth Rs. 100. Normally he would be required to pay off this loan with an interest of 50 per cent as soon as the harvesting is done, that is, in the month of *Agrahayan* (November-December) or in *Poush* (December-January). So, for a loan of paddy worth Rs. 100, he is to pay back in two months' time paddy worth Rs. 150. The rate of interest per year thus works out to 300 per cent. Actually, however, the borrowing peasant has to pay back many times more than even this. The point is that, at the end of the winter harvest the price of paddy is the lowest, that is, around Rs. 30 per maund. At this price, the peasant has to part with 5 maunds of paddy (worth Rs. 150) to redeem a loan of 2 maunds taken two months before! So the rate of interest, in terms of paddy, works out to not 50 but 150 per cent for 2 months or 900 per cent per year! As a result of this, the peasant is forced to take a further loan in the next year and this process continues till his

land, ploughs, bullocks etc. are mortgaged to the jotedars, and he becomes a landless labourer.

In other cases, the poor peasant borrows in emergencies or in order to meet the expenses of social functions (marriage etc.) from the landlord by mortgaging the little land he possesses. The landlord, before he lends the peasant, say, Rs. 100 against the land which is worth Rs. 500, forces the peasant to sign a deed stating that he has sold out his land. In order to get back the land the peasant has to pay up his loan within a fixed time limit, during which period he is to give, the money-lender, over and above the loan and interest, 60 per cent of the crops produced by him on that piece of land. The result is that he is never able to get back his land. This is how the jotedars swallow up the land of the poor and the lower-middle peasant, who have also to pay labour-rent to him, like carrying the crops to the master's house at his own expense, planting sugar-cane etc. without any payment, either in money or in kind.

With the spread of sharecroppers' movement the jotedars have now resorted to the method of forcing the poor and the lower-middle peasants who work as sharecroppers to sign deeds by which their ploughs and bullocks are transferred to the jotedars, and the peasants are shown as labourers employed by them. Quite often the sharecroppers have to pay *salami* (feudal tribute) to the jotedar in order to obtain the right to work on his land. All this is rapidly depriving the poor and the lower-middle peasants of their land and intensifying feudal exploitation over them.

Since the poor and the lower-middle peasant have experienced how the jotedars have robbed them of whatever little they had, their class hatred is extremely intense, and they are eager to overthrow the feudal exploitation. From the very initial stages of organization they show utmost eagerness and realise that, for them, there is no other alternative but to make revolution. They have great influence over the landless peasants, and fight in the front rank alongside the landless peasants.

(To be concluded).

"'Have a head for figures', that is to say, we must attend to the quantitative aspect of a situation or problem and make a basic quantitative analysis."

—Chairman Mao Tsetung

## More On The Central Budget

—Manish Basu

A budget is both a statement of policy in concrete terms and a tool with which instruments of state power are adjusted to put that policy into action. The state is a special machine for suppression of the exploited. It follows, therefore, that the budget of the Government of India, if correctly examined, will not only reveal the class character of the Indian state, but also expose the plans hatched by the ruling classes to further suppress and exploit the people of our country. Judged from this point of view, the budget ceases to be a "current topic"—something discussed in March and forgotten in April. The effect of the budget lasts a long time. It demands deep, scientific analyses. We, therefore, owe no apologies for continuing to deal with a subject which the Indian collaborationist press—ranging from *Statesman* to *People's Democracy*—have cursorily fried in the fat of cant and cliches and thereafter forgotten.

In our last article we have given an outline of the levies imposed by the budget. In the present article we propose to analyse the resource mobilisation (i.e. the extent and manner in which the Indian people are to be forced to pay for their exploitation) planned in the budget as well as to examine some features of the Indian state for the defence of which the 1969-70 budget provides Rs. 1,110 crores—nearly 7% of the Gross National Product (GNP).

**The Squeeze on the People :** In our last article we have already pointed out how the state coddles the landlords and feudals by leaving their vast wealth and holdings out of reach of any significant taxation. Since, more than 50% of India's GNP is produced in agriculture, who then bears the massive cost of maintaining the neo-colonial Indian state machine? The obvious answer is—the toiling masses. How are they made to pay? The ruling classes use—economic weapons :

(a) Indirect Taxes—which the people bear **directly** in the shape of additional costs of salt, cloth, kerosene, oil, sugar etc. These indirect taxes form 45% of the total income of the Indian government. The fresh indirect taxes (excise and customs duties) imposed by the 1969-70 Budget amount to well over Rs. 120 crores. The total amount of indirect taxes imposed on our people in 1969-70 by the central government is about Rs 2,000 crores compared to only Rs. 360 crores in 1948-49.

(b) Direct Taxes—which are borne **indirectly** by the people. Having control over the police, military, courts and other instruments and institutions of the state, the ruling classes pass on this burden to the toiling people in various forms—by cutting or denying bonus, by raising interest rates, fees, charges, rent, by lowering salaries and through retrenchment etc. Even so the burden of direct taxes is very slight compared with the enormous indirect taxes the people have to pay. The total direct taxes on individuals and companies come to about Rs. 700 crores. Here also, the salary-earners, the persons or institutions with small incomes, have to bear the main part of the burden. Direct taxes serve to grind the middle classes, who can neither pass on much of the burden to the poor, nor can they effectively avoid the taxes, while the upper classes can do both. The burden on the middle classes is most effectively exposed by two recently published facts :

(i) Companies with incomes of Rs. 5—10 lakhs per

year have to set aside nearly 70% of their income to pay taxes, whereas those earning 1 crore or above need to set aside only 40% or less. (Journal of the Institute of Chartered Accountants)

(ii) The **only** increase in direct tax imposed by the 1969-70 Budget affects those earning Rs. 800—1600 a month, this is expected to yield Rs. 21.5 crores.

(c) Deficit financing and government UN<sup>production or</sup> NON-developmental expenditure pumps in money without increasing goods; this leads to inflation which in turn reduces the **real** income of the people. A man earning Rs. 100 when the price of rice is Re. 1 per kg. loses nearly half his income when the price of rice goes up to Rs. 2 per kg. The rise in the price of necessities reduces **real** income (Dearness Allowance **given** by the employers is merely an effort to sustain the Iron Law of Wages by which the worker must be kept alive to keep on production. That is why D.A. becomes a matter of whim or fancy, or is totally absent in all industries where labour is semi-skilled or unskilled *i.e.*, expendable). The instrument of deliberate inflation is a deadly one. The revisionists and neo-revisionists' false theories about the "public sector" and state (*i.e.*, bureaucratic) control actually aid the ruling classes in the use of these weapons. The 1969-70 budget provides for Rs. 350 crores of deficit financing. Actually, the deficit is larger if we consider the deficits that the state government budgets would add to that of the Centre—Rs. 369 crores (*Economic Times*, 5.4.69). That is, a total budgeted deficit of Rs. 719 crores. Should the imperialist masters of the Indian ruling classes not come forth with what the government is begging for, the deficit will be even greater. 14 per cent of the total budgeted expenditure is begged from the imperialists. The government consumption expenditure planned by the 1969-70 budget comes to Rs. 1,359 crores (a rise of 600% over 1950-51). We are all familiar the vast, anti-people, soul-destroying



bureaucracy that this money goes to support. Add to this the Rs. 1,110 crores on defence—which is certainly unproduction. Thus the total contribution of the 1969-70 budget to heighten the inflationary spiral would be about Rs. 3,188 crores. In other words, we are putting up the storm signals of unprecedented economic crises.

(d) "Development" planned by a ruling class such as that of India, by feudals, comprador and bureaucratic bourgeois, is bound to be farcical or anti-people or both. It is this 'public sector', however, that the revisionists and neo-revisionists pin their hopes on. As in the case of the Agricultural Wealth Tax, the treachery of the CPI & CPI (M) will go down in history as one of the most terrible negative examples of revisionist, counter-revolutionary betrayal of revolution. These renegades who do not fear to call themselves 'communists', who sully the red flag by carrying it and attempt to stain the names of Marx-Engels Lenin-Stalin and Mao Tsetung by using them to put forward their own opportunistic, treacherous line, have systematically defended the semi-colonial semi-feudal Indian state by their support of the 'public sector', by their praise for the 'socialist' element in the policies of the Congress, by their constant cries of nationalisation. Whom does nationalisation strengthen? Does it not strengthen those that rule the state? Are not those in state power enemies of the people?

"Development" and "public sector" as practised by the Indian ruling classes is nothing but another weapon to exploit and suppress the people and enrich themselves and their imperialist masters. The people pay for the projects, bear the enormous losses that bureaucratic capital necessarily entails; the people are forced to buy and use the expensive, shoddy and useless goods produced by their 'projects.' The imperialists profit from the sale of machinery, technology, spares and maintenance goods as also from the sale of raw materials. They further earn massive interest from their

"aid." Finally, these "aids" give them a growing stranglehold on India's economy, politics, culture and society, thereby allowing them to increase the acuteness of the vicious circle of AID—DEPENDENCE, MORE AID—MORE DEPENDENCE etc. The feudals, compradors and bureaucrats living parasitically off the people, enjoying the bones thrown by the imperialists, use the 'projects' as points to get their pay off (commission, salary, small share of profits). Declaring these 'projects' to be 'key' industries, 'priority' industries or "essential" services the ruling classes use the instruments of state power **directly** to suppress the workers. Since the people bear the losses "earned" by these 'projects', whenever a concern or an industry starts <sup>making</sup> losses, or appears unprofitable, the state 'takes over' in a fanfare of pseudo-socialist rantings. Thereafter, the people directly pay for what the private owners would have had to bear. The cases of Saxby & Farmer, Calcutta Tramways Company, Jessop & Co., all point to this conclusion.

Since India's economy is open to the raids and rapine of world imperialism, the economic crises with which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are beset, are bound to hit us. They have thus the recession and inflation. The seemingly perverted tendency of India's bourgeoisie to speculate and blackmarket rather than manufacture and trade (see the reactions of the Indian share markets at the announcement of the Central budget *Economic Times*, 1.3.69—and also Prof. Bettelheim's *India Independent*: "Indian capital rapidly becomes unproductive since profits are withdrawn from industry and pumped into trade, commerce and speculation.") Under these circumstances, the only method by which the essential manufactures and services ('essential' for the ruling classes and their imperialist masters) can be carried on is by directly charging the people for capital and losses, by **directly** using the repressive instruments of the state to suppress the demands of the workers, by **directly** pledging the state and

the country to the imperialists. This is the fact behind the so-called 'public sector'—comprador, feudal, state monopoly capital of India—bureaucratic capital.

# For those that are misled by the Congress and revisionist propaganda about the state-public sector, we place the following facts :

**Size of Public Sector**  
as % of gross national product

Chiang Kai-shek Bandit Regime in Taiwan	1956	18
	1964	20
US. neo-colony of Philippines	1956	9
	1965	10
Neo-colony of Malayasia	1962	22
INDIA	1955-56	9
	1962-63	12

(*Economic Times*, 30. 4. 69)

According to the logic of the revisionists of different hues, Chiang Kai-shek's fascist regime and puppet Tunku are building socialism in Taiwan and Malayasia.

The 'public sector' in India is growing. So also grows the burden on the Indian people. The total investment in the public sector is Rs. 3,500 crores in 80 units. The total accumulated loss is not known. It is known, however, that the Rs. 1,180 crores invested in steel lost Rs. 19.8 crores in 1966-67 and Rs. 37.5 crores in 1967-68. It is to protect these "national treasures" that the CRP fires at Durgapur, the army fires at Cossipore and Messrs. Jyoti Basu and Co. appeal to the workers to avoid violence and struggle peacefully.

The 1969-70 budget provides for Rs. 679 crores of expenditure on the 'public sector'. The total 'development'

expenditure is budgetted at 17.2% of the total expenditure. Needless to say, not a word was uttered against this by any of the parties of the 'opposition'.

The 1969-70 budget, of course, lays much stress on exports. But if the people remember the low prices India receives for her exports, the wealth that is drained out of India by these unequal and damaging exports, the corrupt racket by which the term 'export' is used to cover up hundreds of tax evasions and under-invoicings, a racket which covers everything from sophisticated cheating to blunt robbery, the Indian people will see through the blatant fraud that is practised upon it. The 1969-70 budget reveals the semi-feudal semi-colonial character of the Indian state through the export policy it seeks to carry out. The Indian people are to pay more for their sugar, so that the imperialists can buy it at 40 paise per kilo. The agro-based (not engineering) industries have been relieved of export duties to the extent of Rs 23.0 crores. Does this not aim at continuing to provide imperialism with cheap raw materials? Finally, the budget seeks to reward the colonial-collaborationist intellectual by exempting 25% of his foreign income from tax. The above discussion should confirm the character of the Indian state and also expose the future plans of the ruling classes to sell out more cheaply to imperialism and exploit the people. This budget is a part of the inevitable historical process. As such it should encourage the revolutionaries. For the bankruptcy of the ruling classes could scarcely be better revealed. This is perhaps not the last budget of the crumbling and corrupt Indian neo-colonial state, but is certainly one of the ominous indications of what is coming in the future. The total alienation of the ruling classes from the people, the grinding down on the middle classes—all these point to one fact—it is the beginning of the end.

One other aspect of the budget needs to be discussed. It is also the most striking feature of the budget—its outlay on

"defence". 34% of total revenue and more than 25% of the total budgetted expenditure is to be spent on "defence". Our "sovereign, democratic, republican, commonwealth, independence" is very expensive indeed. The longer we are 'independent' the more it seems to be costing us. In the last six years the cost has more than doubled—from Rs. 474 crores in 1962-63 to Rs. 1,110 crores today. In short, each 'working' (as per 1961 census report, "Working" does NOT mean employment, it signifies ability) Indian is paying approximately Rs. 50 per year for an army which is intended to shoot him rather than his enemy. That is, the 3.5 crores of agricultural labourers with an estimated average annual income of Rs. 100-120 per year deliver up Rs. 50 per year each for "defence" of the 'republic' (for which the neo-revisionists are terribly concerned and agitated—see *People's Democracy*, 26.1.69). Does the agricultural labourer or the average Indian, with an average annual income of Rs. 321 (*Statesman*, 26. 4. 69. The 1967-68 per capita income was exactly the same as in 1960-61 at fixed prices) cough up Rs. 50 per year for this 'defence' voluntarily? No fish likes to be fried in its own fat. But the fish have little choice in the matter. It is the sharks that hold state power that forces the people to pay. The ruling classes of India have arrived at two conclusions:

1. "Defence" is becoming more and more urgently necessary.

2. There is much to defend.

We must remember that the "defence" is quite separate from the money spent on the police, who, in times of 'normal' exploitation are better 'defenders' than the army. After all, the police of "free" India has the distinction of killing more people than the army of "free" India, precisely 1,875 Indians in the 20 years upto December 1967 (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 17. 4. 69). The ruling classes have shown their appreciation by increasing the police expenditure to 77 times of what was being spent in 1947.

'Defence' does not also include the money the ruling classes spend to bribe, pervert and buy over the political pimps and traitors that masquerade as 'socialists', 'Marxists' and 'champions of the people' (A recent example of this most nakedly sordid trade is the increase in allowances and facilities for MP's; see *Ananda Bazar*, 17. 5. 69).

Even after having the revisionists as the first line of defence and the police and BSF, CRP, Special Armed Police etc. as the second line, the ruling classes feel the need for a third line and this is what passes for "national defence". What are the ruling classes of India defending?

1. They are defending imperialism's stake in our country. As the stake increases, as the people of our country and all the oppressed and exploited of the world struggle harder for revolution and socialism, the need for "defence" becomes more urgent. Tangibly, this stake is:

(a) Foreign Debts of the Central Govt.:

1950-51	Rs. 32 crores
1969-70	Rs. 6570 crores <sup>1</sup>

The 1969-70 figure represents 36% of the total assets of the Government. Till 1965-66 the major part of the debt was due to the US imperialists. But as the Russian social imperialists became the chief arms suppliers to India and the main prop of India's bureaucrat capital, they have become joint masters of our country, though the US imperialists' stake is still the largest.

(b) Foreign Banks' stake in our country as at November, 1966: Rs. 377 crores.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Foreign Private Investment in our country:

1948	Rs. 265 crores
March 1965	Rs. 936 crores <sup>3</sup>

This directly controls 19% of the total factory output of our country.

(1) ECONOMIC TIMES, 2. 3. 69  
1966 (3) COMMERCE 23. 11. 68.

(2) RBI Bulletin December

2. They are defending imperialism's exploitation of our people. The vast income which imperialism squeezes out of the Indian people is something we cannot accurately assess. For every rupee taken out openly, there are hundreds, even thousands of rupees worth of goods and services which travel out unseen, unnoticed but not unfelt. Here are some random facts :

(a) Imperialism's directly-owned companies invariably earn more profits than the Indian compradors. They also earn more in India than they do in their home countries.

Table 1

	1965-66 <sup>4</sup>	
	Foreign Company	Indian Company
Average Gross Profit as % of Sales	12.2%	8.5%
Profit after tax as % of Net Investment	12.3%	7.8%

Table 2

Name of Company	Average Profit as % of Net Investment for a 5 year period <sup>5</sup>	
	In India	In its Home Country
Unilever : Hindustan Lever	20.9	14.1
Imperial Chemical Industries	13.1	7.2
Metal Box	17.5	9.8

(b) Vast sums are paid by India for "technical collaboration". These sums include dividends, royalties, technical fees. These have increased phenomenally since 1960-61. Dividends remitted abroad per year have increased by more than 100%. Royalty has increased by more than 560% (Reserve Bank of India—*Survey of Foreign Collaborations 1968*)

And what good is all this doing to us ?

Our industry lies idle, our imports go on rising. A 'developing' country, we use only 4% of our capacity for producing road rollers and only 26% of our capacity for making heavy steel structures while 70% of our capacity for manufacture of cranes lies idle.

But we do use 95% of the capacity for making tooth-paste, 74% of the capacity to produce face powder, 148% of the capacity to manufacture household refrigerators.

Beauty Parlours and plush hotels open for American and Russian tourists (with foreign collaboration) while retrenched workers march along the streets in search of survival. Where else would the imperialists find such a splendid pleasure arena, place for plunder, playground for mischief ? India must therefore be 'defended'.

Not content with this blood-sucking income—an income which allows the imperialists to recoup their investments in India many times over in a very short time—these foreign 'collaborators' impose hundreds of restrictions on the use of the technique supplied—on production, management, finance and marketing. 40% of the collaboration agreements restrict exports. India pays all this for obsolete techniques (see recent questions in Parliament ; See also *Liberation*, Feb. 1969—article on "Soviet Social-Imperialist Stranglehold Over India"), second hand machines and a crippling sense of dependence that makes India a happy hunting ground for a desperate and moribund imperialism. And what do the Indian people get ? Debt, dishonour and of course 'defence'.

(c) For every rupee borrowed by the ruling classes in the name of the people of India, the people are having to pay more and more. Even the village moneylender would feel ashamed to initially deduct Rs. 61 as interest and instalment from every Rs. 100 given by him as loan. But that is precisely what the imperialists are doing. During the so-called 4th Plan, the ruling classes expect to borrow Rs. 4,100 crores from the imperialists of which Rs. 2,500 crores will

(4) COMMERCE, 23. 11. 68 (5) ECON. WEEKLY, 26. 6. 65

be taken back for "debt servicing" i.e., interest and instalment. India indeed is a rich source of income for the US imperialists and the new tzars of Russia. This income must be 'defended'.

(d) There is our raw material and our large, cheap ("a small family is a happy family"!) labour force. A paradise for imperialist lust and greed. Since 1960, Rs. 59,000 crores<sup>6</sup> has flown out of what the imperialists are pleased to call 'developing' lands into the hands of the imperialists. With their stranglehold on the world markets and economy, these greedy monsters have priced down the the prices of precisely those goods which countries such as ours can export. And they have raised the prices of the shabby, second-hand goods and services they peddle to us as fruits of their "advanced technology". On an average, goods priced at Rs. 100 in 1951, exported by "underdeveloped" countries to the "developed" countries, are being exported now (1966) at Rs. 77<sup>7</sup>. The burlap sold by India at 27.22 dollars per 100 yards in 1951 was selling in 1966 at 14.55 dollars per 100 yards. This instrument alone, in the hands of the imperialists, is enough to break any "independent" regime which displeases the imperialist master. The case of Ghana has abundantly illustrated this.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, what cost India Rs. 100 to import in 1951 is costing Rs. 122 or more now.

3. The Rs. 1,110 crores to be spent this year on "defence" will also defend the feudals of India. These parasites who have exploited the Indian people for thousands of years, who in the name of religion have perpetuated the most savage social system of caste to preserve their right of exploitation, who fell into the arms of successive conquerors, licked their feet and delivered the country to them (for a price, of course), have long been impotent. The peculiar historical, geographic and economic factors of

(6) COMMERCE, 23. 11. 68. (7) ECONOMIC TIMES, 1. 2. 68, UNCTAD Special issue. (8) "Ghana the End of An Illusion", MONTHLY REVIEW July 1966.

India can alone excuse their continued existence. But they do exist. The 1969-70 budget provides for Rs. 4.84 crores as Privy Purse to the bigger feudals, 60% of which shall go to the top 11 feudals like the *rajahs* of Mysore, Patiala, Bikaner, Jaipur, Baroda and Gwalior. Of the above, 3 have been *Raj Pramukhs* and Governors, one is a minister (Baroda), the rest are all MPs. The diplomatic corps, the army, the bureaucracy are stuffed with the sons, nephews and retainers of these feudals. In the Congress Party alone, 40 of these feudals are MPs. Four are in the Central Ministry, one of them a pet of the Russians. One is a chief minister (Orissa), another makes chief ministers (Gwalior), a third can become chief minister any day he chooses to be so (Patiala). These are but some **tangible** manifestations of their power. Behind what the people find in the newspapers lies an intricate web of links and connections, between feudal and feudal, between feudal and imperialist, between feudal and comprador-bureaucrat—a whole field of reptilian conspiracy which has dug deep into India to rob her of her treasures. Going by tangibles alone, the feudals have much to defend:

(a) By treaty they enjoy:

Tax-free privy purse; huge land, investments and property rights which cannot be infringed upon. Restrictions regarding export, import, foreign travel, customs duty, applicable to ordinary individuals, do not apply to them.

All their cars, palaces, jewellery, investments, funds, built up through long years of rapine and robbery, toadying up to the British and pillaging the people, were given to them for personal enjoyment.

They rank higher in precedence to the chief ministers of states.

(b) They hold and control vast amounts of land and practically run state governments to suit their advantage. As a result, there are situations when the 'Land Reform Act' of West Bengal declares 25 acres to be the ceiling

in land to be held by individuals, the land legislation in Andhra fixes the ceiling at 324 acres, in Gujrat at 132 acres, in Madhya Pradesh at 75 acres, in Mysore 216 acres. Not that the ceiling matters. These laws were subverted even before they were enacted. But the dissimilarity between the states is an indication of the pulls exerted within the states by the landed gentry.

(c) The top feudals are, of course, at the top of the hierarchy of feudal exploitation. There are many exploiters below him. The landlord, jotedar, moneylender, all who profit by the continuation of the feudal system—the feudal market, the feudal money-lending system, the feudal labour-rent system—all these have much stake in the 'defence' of India that is Bharat. We have cited certain facts about the pattern of landholding and income distribution in our previous article on the Central Budget. Feudalism, even more than capitalism, feeds off the poverty and backwardness of the people. It holds down production, limits markets, ties people to land. It is precisely for these reasons that a free bourgeois class has **antagonistic** contradiction with feudalism. But not so in India. The number of illiterates might increase to 35 crores; the share of village moneylenders in rural credit might go up from 25% to 36% of the total credit; 25% of the farm produce may rot in the fields or waste in transit; only 26% of total agricultural produce may enter the market; only 10-15% of the country may at all become a market for the bourgeoisie; still the Indian bourgeoisie does not strike at the feudals. Nothing but the comprador-bureaucratic character of the bourgeoisie can explain this.

4. Finally, the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists need the Rs. 1110 crores for "National Defence." Crippled, corrupt and cringing from birth, their survival depends upon protecting the imperialists and the feudals. If their house is not in order, if the hot wind of revolution and democracy sweeps India, their imperialist masters shall be

frightened.\* And if imperialism retreats from India and feudalism dies, our comprador-bureaucrat will evaporate like dew in the midday sun. Take the example of the Birlas. Should AID and Export-Import Bank, Washington, decide to pull up stakes from Birla's biggest company—Hindustan Aluminium—can the company survive? No, it cannot. The Rupee capital in this company is Rs 7.4 crores. The US loan is Rs 22.0 crores i.e., about 50% or more of total assets. Should the US withdraw, the company will collapse. Where one "partner" holds the power of life and death over the other, the character of collaboration changes. It is no longer a partnership, it is a master-servant relationship.

With the decline of imperialism, the retreat of British, French and other imperialists, the rising crises that grips all reactionary forces has led imperialism to realise Dulles' doctrine—use Asians to fight Asians. The rising crescendo of national liberation in South-East Asia, the thought of Mao Tsetung that is setting the oppressed nations afire, must be controlled. But who is to do it? Vietnam has made the US realise the unprofitability of its self-appointed role of world policeman. The revolts within the US are gnawing at its vitals. Britain (long fattened on imperialist extraction) is increasingly assuming the lean fascist look. She has left the Indian Ocean—a process begun with the sinking of the Repulse and the Prince of Wales in 1942. The new tzars of Russia are keen on filling the role but brown faces are needed too. Hence the eagerness of imperialism's lackeys—the rulers of Ceylon, Malaysia, Indonesia and India. Hence also the 230% increase in the expenditure on the Navy in the 1969-70 budget.

With the collusion between US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, the "defence" of India becomes a vital matter for the reactionaries and oppressors of the world. Our land is their last big base. Defeated here, they will be like a mortally wounded, mad dog—to be sought out and

destroyed. But this is precisely why they shall defend India most desperately.

The defence budget of the Government of India, the hundreds of police and para-military organisations built up by State governments, the massive arms sold by the Kosygin-Brezhnev-Grechko clique, the missions of Macnara-Laird-Rogers etc, etc., are all intended to serve the needs of the counter-revolutionary U.S.-Soviet global strategy and to keep the Indian people under subjection. But these are also a noose round the neck of the imperialists and their Indian lackeys. They are sharpening the contradictions between the people and their enemies. All the burning and killing, raping and looting, machine guns and helicopters, cannot put out the flame of the peasants' armed struggle in Naxalbari, Srikakulam, UP, Punjab, Orissa and Bihar. "The base of revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably broader—the blade must now be sharpened to a keener edge."

### Armed Struggle in Punjab

(Continued from page 16)

success. In 1967 the United Front Government promised to the people that they would cancel this Birla deal and distribute the land among the landless peasants of this area and the peasants of those four villages. But the United Front comprising revisionists, neo-revisionists and reactionary parties betrayed the peasants and served the interests of the Birlas. Several spontaneous struggles of agricultural labour started for higher wages, but owing to absence of revolutionary organisation, all these struggles were smashed. In the meantime, the armed peasant revolt started in Naxalbari area on the People's War line under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. Inspired by this historic event the communist revolutionaries started organising the landless and poor peasants in Rupar area on

Naxalbari lines. For several months the peasants were reluctant to plunge into struggle because of the bitter experience of the betrayal of the Dangeites and 'Marxists'. But our District Committee comrades tirelessly carried on mass work and propaganda through *baithak* meetings and thus established secret cells in the whole area and won the confidence of the masses by integrating themselves with them.

On 10th April the Birla Farm Khet Majdoor Union went on strike for the acceptance of their economic demands. One tout of the Birlas, who was working as *lambardar* (head of the workers) in the farm, tried to betray the workers' cause but about 100 activists among agricultural labour attacked the house of this tout, beat him like anything and fractured his one leg and one arm. The strike was hundred percent successful. The management, even with the help of the police, failed to bring labour from outside. The Action Committee of the Khet Majdoor Union passed a resolution that in case any worker of their organisation was involved in false cases or any repression was let loose, the Union in alliance with Revolutionary Kisan Committee of the four villages would continue their struggle for an indefinite period until and unless the Birla Farm was wrested from the Birlas and its land was distributed among the landless and poor peasants.

The real face of the United Front Government has been exposed before the people as fascist repression has been let loose against the workers and peasants. One student comrade and Comrade Hardev Singh were arrested on 15th April but the police did not make any formal arrest. Instead, they tortured Comrade Hardev Singh so much that his right arm was fractured and he was thrown unconscious on the river-bank of the Sutlej. But seeing the anger and mobilisation of the peasants the police took back the unconscious comrade to the police station at night and entered the F.I.R. next day. The United

Front Government deputed hundreds of armed policemen to safeguard the police station where the comrades were kept. Six more workers were arrested. This harassment and torture of peasant revolutionaries went on for 15 days.

On 30th April our armed unit attacked the house of Gurdial Singh, S.H.O. in-charge of Chamkaur Sahib Police Station to punish him for the crimes he had committed. But a few minutes before the attack, the S. H. O. in-charge moved from his house to the Police Station which is only 50 yards away. The armed unit immediately encircled the police station, entered it and fired at the hated and cruel police officer. But unfortunately the first two rounds missed the target. He shrieked and raised his hands but in the meantime the Head Constable jumped to protect him. So our comrades had to fire at him at once and three bullet shots pierced through him. The police officer got one bullet shot. Both of them fell on the floor. Simultaneously our armed unit opened fire at the policemen running from quarters towards the Police Station. There was darkness in the Police Station and the whole of the town. Guerrillas came out. Firing continued for half an hour.

Since May 1, the United Front Government, Gurnam Singh (an old faithful lackey of British imperialism), and C.M.'s police are committing crimes against the masses to protect the interests of the Birlas. Thousands of armed police and C.I.D. men have been stationed throughout the district. About a dozen of Trade Unionists, including teachers and students, peasants and workers, have been arrested and accused of attacking the police station just to show that guerrillas have been arrested. Only one underground comrade has been arrested so far. All the male members of the families of Comrade B. Vairagi, Comrade Baldev Singh and their relatives are being harassed and kept in police custody. This repression has surpassed the fascist repression by the British imperialists.

All the underground comrades and guerrillas are quite safe and are working among the masses to further channelise the anger and hatred of peasants against chief minister Gurnam Singh's police. The peasants feel that the historic deeds of Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur would be repeated against repression and realise that only C.P.I. (Marxist-Leninist) can lead the workers and peasants for their emancipation. Under the guidance of communist revolutionaries they are getting prepared for their historic role in the armed peasant revolution.

Another significant feature of the situation is that an upsurge is taking place among the youth of Punjab who are spurning the revisionists and neo-revisionists and are rallying behind the communist revolutionaries. No amount of torture can break their resolve. Aping their former British masters, the lackeys of the imperialists have set up an "interrogation centre"—a kind of torture chamber—at Amritsar. But the youth and the people refuse to be cowed and inspired by the thought of Mao Tsetung, more and more of them are joining the struggle. Everywhere it is said that in the place of one Bhagat Singh many Bhagat Singhs have come back.

## Armed Struggle Forges Ahead in Uttar Pradesh

**I**N Pallia area of Lakhimpur District in U. P., the struggle of the people has been steadily developing in the last two months. Guerrilla activities by the units have increased. With the development of these activities, the people have begun to realise more and more that this struggle is not for a piece of land or for some petty reforms, but that it is the struggle for the establishment of their raj not only in a limited area of 11 or 30 villages but in the



whole of the country. With this realisation their determination and firmness are also developing.

During the last two months, two central intelligence men have been beaten up, and the 'Lahi' of a notorious police *dalal* has been forfeited by the people, three houses of *dalals* have been simultaneously raided, and more guns have been snatched, by the guerilla units. After several failures, that were but natural, the units have learnt their lessons and are now achieving new successes. The armed units have held meetings in the villages, realised taxes from *banias* in 3 villages specially Khajuria, and celebrated Holi-festival with the people with guns on their shoulders in the presence of P.A.C. men, who had no other course but of withdrawing.

Though it is only just a beginning, the hearts of the people have leaped up with joy and those of the reactionaries filled with panic.

It is due to this panic the guns of those landlords and *dalals* who are considered weak are now being taken away by the police.

It was because of this panic, that the police dogs who could not arrest even a single revolutionary in 8 or 10 sudden raids in different villages, became mad with revenge. More than 100 police and P.A.C. men attacked the house of Comrade Vishwanath Tiwari, the most beloved leader of the people, took away or destroyed all his property in the name of 'third attachment', arrested his wife and children, prosecuted them on a decoity charge and destroyed all his standing crops. People of Khajuria village came forward to resist. There is no house, at least one member of which has not received some injury. 9 revolutionary peasants have been arrested probably on the charge of resisting the police.

But the people instead of being dismayed are becoming more courageous. "To be attacked is very good". After this attack the force of the central guerrilla squad has

more than doubled. The units have declared on the beat of drums: "You rascals, do whatever you can. Your days are numbered. 'Tit for tat' is our policy. You cannot stop the rising onslaught of the people."

A few day back, the U.P. police somehow or other got hold of the S.I. of Billaury Thana in Nepal and instigated him to take action against the people from Eastern districts of U.P., who have now settled down in the Terai Area of Nepal. At this instigation, the S.I. of Billaury thana along with police and military men of Nepal combed the villages in the Terai region, harassed the people and sent up for trial four of the peasants. The peasants were badly tortured, their bodies swelled, they were kept in *kath*, enquiries were made about comrades Vishwanath Tiwari, Tirathraj and Sanjai Vir, whose names have now become a source of inspiration to the people and terror to the enemies. But the peasants braved all the tortures, did not utter even a single word that would harm the revolutionaries—ultimately, they were released.

Now unable to crush this revolutionary movement, they are planning combing operations in the forests jointly by U.P. and Nepal police.

Whatever they may do, the movement is bound to take a new leap shortly.

#### Nainital District Rising

The flames of Naxalbari and Srikakulam have now begun to spread in Nainital, just near Lakhimpur Kheri.

The Government practically imposed total illegality on Election boycott campaign in that district. Babu Ganesh Singh, an 80-year old Baba of Gadar Party fame, who was busy in organising Khateerua area peasantry, was arrested along with another revolutionary comrade Jaggan Nath and they are now being tried Under Section 124A, the notorious section on sedition, which has been declared ultravires by several High Courts and also by the Supreme

Court. Bails of Rs. 20,000 each are being demanded. Warrants against several other comrades were issued. However, an armed squad of revolutionaries carried on its campaign and covered an area of 45 villages in 7 days. These 7 days proved to be very momentous. The electioneering Parties—Congress, Jana Sangh and Right 'communists' all got beating at the hand of the people in the villages of Bansaore, Pedrampuri and Burkherha. With each incident the P.A.C. force went on increasing, rising from 10 P.A.C. men to about 300. Despite mad hunt for the armed propaganda team, it could not be arrested.

The search continued even after election. The property of Comrade Mahendra Singh was attached. Not satisfied with the first attachment a party of about 30 policemen raided his house and looted his property worth about Rs. 8,000. The property of another comrade Bhagawant Singh Marshall was also attached. The standing crops of both these comrades have been destroyed. One of the comrades, it is said, bravely fought single-handed against five policemen, who were forced to retire. The entire unit has taken a vow to carry on its revolutionary activities to wipe out landlords and goondas from the area and never to surrender.

Because of the fear of our unit a notorious landlord Jhanjhiram has left the villages of Banskherat and Passiapur. The landlords, notorious goondas and wicked officers—all are awaiting their due at the hands of the people. Some have received their due.

#### Landlord Eliminated in Unnao

The revolutionary movement in Unnao district of U.P. also has taken a new turn. A few months back, taking advantage of our weaknesses, the landlords of Katri area in that district had organised themselves into an armed force against the people and their revolutionary leaders.

They made an armed attack with the intention of doing away Comrades Ram Swarup and Lakhpat. However, they did not succeed. Then they looted away all the belongings of Comrade Ram Swarup. One of the other leaders Comrade Jahoor was waylaid by this gang and belaboured. The police, instead of instituting cases against the landlords, arrested the peasants. But the people did not lose their heart. They, numbering about 100, tried to raid the house of the most notorious landlord leader, Shiva Shankar Lala, about one month back. But the Lala and his gang had guns in the house. The peasants had to retire. Thus they learnt the lesson that the most effective way to annihilate such landlords was only guerrilla activity. They organised a guerrilla unit. This unit attacked the landlord gang just near the market of Bidhaun village. All the companions of the landlords with guns and other weapons fled away at the sight of the unit. The notorious ringleader of the landlords, Lala, was annihilated. The people overjoyed to see their worst enemy destroyed came running to the spot. Slogans of "Mao Tsetung Zindabad" —"Blood for blood" were raised. The leader of the unit declared that all such landlords and their goonda gangs would be eliminated by the people's forces.

It is learnt that one more notorious moneylender Kashi Prasad has also been annihilated by the people in Para village.

These incidents have filled the hearts of the people with joy and enthusiasm. The enemies are trembling with fear.

#### Reality Behind The So-called Communal Riots

Recently the newspapers of U.P. are filled with the news about so-called Hindu-Muslim riot in Mau Area in Azamgarh District.

Now it has been fully established that there was no riot of any kind. It has been accepted by a Committee set up by the Government that what happened there cannot be called a riot between two communities.

What are the facts ?

At the time of the mid-term election the communist revolutionaries carried on intensive propaganda for the boycott of election and in favour of the new path. This propaganda very adversely affected the prospects of the C.P.I. candidate many of whose cadre and supporters began to support the boycott. The Congressmen threatened the

Muslim population with dire consequences in case the Muslims either voted for the BKD or boycotted the elections. The Congress and Dangeites organised goonda activity against our comrades with the result that the people got angry with these two parties. An Election boycott meeting held in Mau under the auspices of communist revolutionaries was attended by about 15,000 people. This enraged the Congress and Dangeites who with the help of the police force and Jana Sanghis began to threaten the Muslims who would boycott the elections. The result of all these foolish activities was that the BKD won and most of the Muslim population supported the BKD.

Just after elections the Congressites, Jana Sanghis and Dangeites all unitedly sought the help of police to 'suppress' the 'Naxalites.' Goonda gangs of these parties began to attack the houses of our comrades. Communal frenzy was sought to be created. But the Hindu and Muslim population knew the facts. They knew that the Communist revolutionaries were fighting for their emancipation and the line they had preached was the only correct line. They could not be swayed away. The population was prepared to face the goonda gangs organised by Congress and Jana Sangh. Then the police attacked both the Muslims and the Hindus who defended each other during the raids.

Hundreds have been arrested, houses looted and destroyed, women molested by the police. Comrade Tarakeshwar Singh, who has been arrested on the charge of "inciting the Muslims against Hindus" was three times beaten up in the police station. The cell in which he was locked up, was covered with blood stains. Warrants against almost all the revolutionaries have been issued.

The enquiry commission set up by the ruling party puts the blame on the "Naxalites" and BKD. This so-called enquiry has been 'made' only with the intention of inciting Hindus against Muslims, and the people against genuine communists.

Such tricks will not save the reactionary rulers from the people's vengeance. They are bound to fail and they have failed. With the onward march of the anti-feudal struggle of the peasantry, people will get more and more united.

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