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Communist Party of India (Marxist - Leninist)



Commemorating the memory of Comrade Stalin.

Today, 21st December, mark the 98th birthday of comrade Stalin. We celebrate this day along with the people of all countries to learn more from the teachings of comrade Stalin, for he dedicated his life like his teacher Lenin for the emancipation of the great majority of mankind. The great contribution of comrade Stalin in the treasure-house of Marxism was his work for retaining socialism in one country and enriching the colonial theses of Lenin. Backward countries, which could draw the lesson from the teaching of Comrade Stalin, became liberated from foreign bondage.

Many times comrade Stalin advised the CPI for road to liberation. But predominant section of the leadership refused to accept him. Considering its importance, we reprint here the editorial commemorating the 88th birthday of comrade Stalin from Deshabrati, published in the first year of its birth, and the organ of W B CCCR. Ref. vol. 1 No 24. Dec. 21. 1967.

Long live Comrade Stalin.

Today, 21st December, is the 88th birthday of comrade Stalin. In the present situation we remember one of comrade Stalin's saying to every communists, "National question is basically a peasant question", and along with it we remember his another saying. He said in the year 1924 that a section of Indian bourgeoisie had left the revolution and gone over to compromise with imperialism. Even today neo-revisionists utter the name of Stalin. But they have ignored the advice of Stalin, they have neglected the peasants, they have betrayed the peasant movement, they never gave importance to the role of peasants in democratic revolution, they never tried to draw the greatest majority of the masses the peasantry close to the party. They did not transform the great peasant uprising of Bengal during 1946-47 to the struggle for seizure of power, shamelessly betrayed the historical peasant revolution like Telengana for parliamentary cretenuism. Today also these disguised Trotskyites counter revolutionaries are betraying revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari, have been nullifying Mao-Tse-Tung thought and Stalin's contribution to revolutionary theory of the East. But their effort must come to failure. Sparak kindred in Naxalbari will start a priori fire, revisionist neo-revisionism must be crushed.

Long live Comrade Stalin!

"Unity of views on program, tactics and organization is the basis on which our party is built. Only the unity of these views can unite the party members in one centralized party."—Stalin

Press Communique

The representatives of the four organisations of the C.P.I. (M-L) have met to review inner-party situation, politically and organisationally, and thus to find out a solution of inner-party crisis. We met in a situation which is characterised by polarisation of political forces in two vastly clear camps of Marxism and revisionism. The splittist and liquidationist forces within the revolutionary camp clearly stand identified in the eyes of Communist revolutionary rank. In this situation a great possibility has opened up for unification of party forces and other Communist revolutionaries under a unified Marxist-Leninist Centre of CPI (M-L). We have resolved to make unified and central efforts to accomplish this unity.

The basis of this unity is, the fundamentally correct aspects of CPI (M-L)'s political resolution (22nd April, 1969) and rectification of its errors in the light of the last ten years experience of revolutionary practice, and lessons of two-line struggle in the party and thus to develop the party line making it more complete and comprehensive.

We call for all the sincere Communist revolutionaries to unite on the aforesaid basis and **re-establish the over all party centralism**. i. e. re-establish 8th Central Committee of the Party. Let all the sincere Communist revolutionaries attain the basic political unity and work for advancing the cause of India's new Democratic revolution under a unified party centralism. We hold that in this effort for party unification we will have to reject the capitulationist SN-clique and 'Unity Committee' and wage a relentless fight against these forces.

"The party represents unity of will, which precludes all factionalism & division of authority in the party. Hence, Lenin demand for the "Complete elimination of all factionalism" & the "immediate dissolution of all groups, without exception, that have been formed on the basis of Various program" on pain of" unconditional & immediate expulsion from the party,"—Stalin.

Resolution

(5)

Uite to Re-Establish the Central Committee of the CPI (M-L)

In the present day world both the factor of Revolution & War are increasing and situation in our country, as well as in the world, is developing more and more in favour of revolution. The inextricable contradiction between the two super-powers in their bid for one's own world hegemony is sharply reflected in our country, resulting in further accentuation of contradiction within the ruling classes, leading to downfall of one government and rise of another, which is placed in more critical economical-political crisis. This extreme crisis within the ruling classes and their imperialist and social imperialist masters is a favourable factor for revolution, and this is further aggravating all the fundamental contradictions in our society, as well as in the world.

The economic-political crisis in the country has been growing unabated for a long time. The vast masses of the people in every walks of life are existing social order and have been spontaneously rising in great agitations and revolts for a long time. Neither the facade of 'parliamentary democracy' nor the naked use of force could contain the vast masses of the people from great agitations, confrontations and revolts. But inspite of such a long standing brilliant revolutionary situation in our country and a favourable international situation, Indian revolution could not achieve much successes and the Indian people is yet to have the taste of democracy and independence. The Chief reason, as we sincerely feel, is the weakness of the principal objective requirement of revolution, namely a well organised and a well disciplined Party organisation-armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought, with a correct political

line and Marxsit-Leninist style of work, and this alone can build up people's army and a revolutionary united front for advancing the new-democratic revolution of India, This has been proved beyond doubt by the great upsurge of revolutionary movements throughout India with the formation of the CPI (M-L) with a correct general line and path of Indian revolution.

The history of the Communist Party of India has upto now remained one of struggle between the revolutionary ranks and the central leadership. From time to time the central leadership succumbed to revisionism, betrayed the party and the revolution and became renegade. On the other hand the revolutionary ranks have been constantly waging fight against the central leadership, and had re-organised, re-established revolutionary central leadership. In continuation of this two-line struggle Naxalbari peasant revolt was the concrete practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought in the Indian revolution, for the first time. The Naxalbari peasant revolt under the leadership of the Communist revolutionary ranks played a historic role and marked a turning point in the history of Communist Movement in India. It is for the first time in the history of Communist Movement in India that Mao-Tse-Tung thought was upheld as the development of Marxism-Leninism, the stage and character of Indian revolution correctly analysed and upheld, and a correct general orientation and path of Indian revolution upheld. And above all the Communist revolutionary ranks for the first time, courageously demarcated themselves from the revisionist central leadership. The greatest contribution of the Naxalbari peasant revolt has been the re-organisation of the Communist party of India on the ideological-political foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought. In this process the C. R. ranks have had to wage ideological-political struggle

against revisionism, right and 'left' opportunism within their ranks. The great successes in this struggle resulted in the formation of the CPI (M-L) and mobilisation of vast majority of C. R.'s throughout India under its banner. Indian revolution started marching on a bright path.

The CPI (M-L) and its fundamental ideological-political orientation remains standard bearer of Indian revolution and objectively reflects revolutionary aspiration of Indian people. In spite of the serious deviations and splitting of CPI (M-L) into several fractions, the fundamental ideological-political orientation stands the test of revolutionary practice of last ten years.

But the central leadership of CPI (M-L) failed to resolve correctly certain major questions of policy regarding mass line, military line, and style of work ; i. e. regarding tactical line. Instead of devising correct Marxist-Leninist policies in the light of objective analysis, the Central leadership started devising such policies subjectively. Consequently, our revolution suffered serious damage and set-backs. And, central leadership, gradually, deviated from the very ideological-political foundation of the party. In organisational principle and policies the central leadership had a sectarian individualistic and bureaucratic trend. Due to their sectarian and individualistic trend it had earlier failed to win over and mobilize all the sincere C. R.'s in the party, through ideological-political struggle and persuasion, through out India under its banner. Though the 8th Congress (first after the re-organisation) of the party, boldly drew the clear line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism, upheld the correct general orientation and path of Indian Revolution, yet adopted certain 'left' adventurist policies on the questions of mass line, military line, and style of work, i. e. tactical line ; and authoritarian organisational policy. Consequently, immediately after the 8th party

Congress (May '70), on the one hand, the revolutionary movements under the party's leadership suffered further damage and set-back, on the other hand, the party was centrally split and central committee (8th C. C.) disintegrated.

During the last 7 years, a complex and widespread ideological-political confusion prevailed among the different organisations of CPI (M-L) and among the C. R. ranks at large. Due to this complex and widespread ideological-political confusion and the splittist and liquidationist activities of some self styled leaders, the CPI (M-L) could not re-unite and re-established a unique Marxist-Leninist central leadership. Whatever efforts were made in this direction, resulted in certain different centres becoming bigger or smaller, but to real unification of CPI (M-L) has yet been accomplished.

But now the situation has changed. The 'left' and right opportunist trends had developed into anarchism and capitulationism respectively ; and thus the splitting and divisive forces clearly stand identified in the eyes of the C. R. ranks in general and organisations of CPI (M-L) in particular. So, we now have arrived at a potentially favourable condition in the history of our party, in unity under a single party centralism.

In the light of our experience of the last ten years, of our revolutionary practice, experience of two line struggle in the party and of unifying the CPI (M-L) for re-establishing the centralism in the party ; we have arrived at a unique point of view regarding the party line, its deviations and necessary rectifications. Above all we arrived at a unique resolve to reorganise and reunite the CPI (M-L) centrally. We have further arrived at unanimous resolution regarding the process of the unification.

We hold that, the Political Resolution at its foundation (22nd April '69) is the basis of the CPI (M-L) and the fundamental aspects of that resolution were correct and errors are to be rectified on the basis of the fundamentally correct aspects.

To attain party unity and re-establishing party centralism, we will have to attain unity about the main lessons of our experiences (of last ten years revolutionary practice) of the 'left' and right deviations and the lessons of the two lines struggle in the party. In the light of this experiences, we will have to attain unity on the major questions of political line-strategy, tactics, land policy, military line and style of work ; and organisational line.

We will have to wage uncompromising struggle against the liquidationist line, which previously in the name of rectifying the errors of the party line was trying to revise the very fundamentals of the party line ; and at present openly denouncing the party line and have deserted the party ; they are the Satyanaryan Singh Clique and 'Unity Committee'.

We the following organisations of the CPI (M-L) have attained unanimity on the above basis. The differences among ourselves, that yet to be resolved, mainly concerning emphasis on this or that policy and which arise from our different partial practical experiences. A through and all pervading review of the past ten years struggle on the basis of the party's fundamental line, under a unique guidance, can only resolve these differences and this can be finally accomplished in the 9th party congress. But we resolve that, these differences cannot and should not hinder the re-unification of the CPI (M-L) and re-establishing a unique central leadership, i. e. the 8th central Committee.

We, the following organisations of the CPI (M-L), have achieved great unity and hence resolve to make united efforts for the re-unification and re-organisation of CPI (M-L), centrally.

We further suggest a process which we will henceforth carry out for re-uniting the CPI (M-L) and re-establishing a strong Marxist-Leninist central leadership.

In our efforts for centrally unifying the CPI (M-L) these organisations and individuals will jointly have to adopt a political-organisational resolution, in the light of lessons of the

past experiences. A central team is to be formed on that basis. We understand that this Central Team can not initially represent the overall centralism of the party and hence is not to be viewed as the Central Committee of the CPI (M-L). Rather our motto is to re-establish party centralism to the extent possible at the movement and thus make central efforts for re-uniting all the party forces through ideological-political struggle against alien trends. In our efforts for unifying the CPI (M-L), we must not overlook the Communist Revolutionaries who remained and remain outside the CPI (M-L) to this day. We must keep the door open for all C. R. 's to unite in the party, on the above ideological-political basis. Thus the central team, when it will be formed, will act as the centralism of the party forces that will be united on the basis of the aforesaid political-organisational resolution. This central team will be entrusted with the task of mobilising different sections and scattered forces of the party, and all the C. R.'s that can be united, under a single centralism through ideological-political struggle ; And thus ideologically, politically and organisationally consolidating party forces through special state level conferences. After these special state level conferences, the central team will convene a special central conference or plenum. That conference or plenum will finalise a (rectified or amended) strategy, and tactical line, military line, land policy, working policy and organisational line ; on the basis of party's fundamental ideological-political line and will re-establish a unified central committee ; i. e. will re-establish the 8th Central Committee.

The re-establish 8th central Committee will mobilise all the party forces and C. R.'s in the party on the basis of the aforesaid ideological-political line, strategy, tactical line, land policy, military line, working policy and organisational line ; and will lead the revolutionary movements in a planned way and convene the 9th congress of the party at an early date.

Date : 8th December '77

1. Punjab-Himachal State Unity Committee, CPI (M-L)
2. West Bengal State Organising Committee, CPI (M-L)
3. Maharashtra State Organising Committee, CPI (M-L)
4. Provisional Centre, CPI (M-L).

"Explanation To The C. C. Resolution"

AN APOLOGIST'S PLEA

From Edward Bernstein to Nikita Khrushchev through Karl Kautsky, revisionism was pushed further to thwart and subvert Marxism. Aforesaid men indeed could work as stumbling block to its growth; but for a while. But there after a set of buffons have appeared to trail behind the footwork of their masters, who start and fret for an hour and are seen no more. These hangers-on are not worthy a name but caricature, Such what Mr. Satyanarayan Singh is. An article appeared in "Communist Review", the mouthpiece of Mr. Singh and his C.C. in August 1977 issue, in which a defensive explanation is given for his turnout politics.

The article bears the heading, "Explanation to the C. C. resolutions." It deals with "three resolutions, 'New situation, and our tasks' 'On the boycott of elections', and 'on the coming Assembly elections.'" In defensive explanations of these three resolutions many points, viz. international contradictions, domestic situation, present change and the tasks of CPI(ML), are raised. All these are judged superficially without going into its root i.e. foundation. In this lengthy article, alignment or re-alignment, inter or co-relation of social forces are not shown anywhere, what communists usually do to understand the change. It would be pertinent, before dealing several aspects of the article, to start with some fundamental concept of the society, the state and the party. If there at all occurs any change in any country, then one would try to see its nature. Mr. Singh and his CC indeed saw a change in our country. "recent election is a great change in the history of our country" (p. 12). And along with other factors, activities of, CPI(ML) warranted this change, such what is said,, "Our party, the CPI(ML)...have contributed for the victory of the Janata party, for the present change of situation in the country." (p. 13) we do not say that we do not see any

change, rather we do see this change. But the question what we want to raise is the nature of this change and wheather CPI(ML) had worked for it? Every communists know that bourgeois work for a change, but that they work for a change of the government. They, by their drum-beating, tell it a revolution. As they called it,, 'peace full revolutione', 'second independence' and etc. Whereas, communists work for a change, but they work for a change of the society, for change of the social order, abolition of present system.

The elementary knowledge of Marxism teaches us that the society, the state and the party are not equal and identical. These three institutions have distinct and different performance. There existed the society before the state evolved. And in course of its development, when growing contradictions of the society could not be resolved within the society, by its members, a group of members constituted themselves as a force with arms, alienated from the society and there appeared the state. So, the State is not appeared, isolated from it but is to be placed above it. It reveals from it that it is the members of the society who by alienation from the state and place it above the society. Therefore, it is the society which governs the State. Social contradictions which become inextricable are placed before the State to resolve. So the change occurs in the government. Indian bourgeoisie do not work for the change of the State but for the Government. By that they want to resolve their irresolvable contradictions. This is the work of the alienated members of the society, and not the work of the communists. Communists work for the people. But while doing so communists indeed utilise every change, every shift, every drift, if that helps people's cause. Communists work for a social change, for social revolution.

For the best interest of the people, & the revolution, communists even come into alliance with the Govt. But. before doing so, they always examine the nature and character of such

governments. And in such case also they keep the wheel-of-history in their own hands. Mr. Singh, would you tell, that your "new party" "new Government" has declared any such thing? On the contrary, since its enthroned, it declared that it would follow the policy as pursued by previous government. Thus what we saw that same foreign masters rushed here one after another. Military and other heads of Soviet Social Imperialist State came here within a month or so in a state visit, what secret deal was made between two governments was not revealed to the people, but from an announcement it appeared that Indo-Soviet Pact (the other day you named it—Arms Act) would not be abrogated. Then rushed in the State head of U. S. A. thereafter Mr. Prime Minister of U. K. and other big or small foreign masters followed the pursuit. It is not appeared any where or even in bourgeois press, so that people can learn that even a single international deal, act or pact made with previous Government is abrogated. It proves that external policy remains unchanged. So your formulation of a change does not corroborate with actual fact concerning International relation.

About change concerning domestic relation, Mr. Singh and his C. C. accused that, "some revolutionaries are not prepared to properly assess the results of the recent elections. They took it as a mere change of power from one big-bourgeois ...to another. They say that there is nothing for the people to gain from this election. Our party rejects all such arguments as nothing but left sectarian and very harmful to the revolutionary cause." (p. 12) Yes, Mr. Singh, it is a justified abuse; But the abuse of a jaundiced patient! A jaundiced-eye sees the world yellow. As and when Communists in India wanted to tread the correct path of Indian revolution, they were abused. Such happened in Telengana struggle, such happened in Naxalbari struggle, and again now. Chameleons change their hue properly to suit with the situation. perhaps,

you need mercy from your masters for your past omission and commission, so this sycophancy.

The same old leeches, the vumpires are there who sucked and have been sucking blood of the people but with added exuberance. Soon after March, attack on industrial proletariat, peasantry in the field and people in general are some points of proof. Price rice of essential commodities are spiralling to sky-high, scarcity of some items and others are stock piled to trade in underworld, are daily experience of the people. And when people want to voice their just demand, the "democratic" Janata government reward them not by what they need but by bullet. Such reward people had in Rajahara, Faridabad, Gaziabad, Kanpur and in other places. So, unbridled exploitation of domestic masters of the Janata government has surpassed previous record. Even then, a change is envisaged now and that is no parties stand now behind the people to voice protest. Because, all parties who ought to do so now come into a "holy alliance". And the parties now have been gifted with their cherished aim to sit on the throne. Mr. Singh and his C. C. is kept outside till he fares well in the test. So this appeasement!

He may do whatever he might. But when he covers his act as tactics of Indian revolution, and more over, when he brings allegation against adherents of Naxalbari path and CPI (M-L), it can not escape serious attention. In the article it is said that, "The experience of this election has proved beyond any doubt the foolishness of boycotting elections at present when the revolutionary movement is weak. At present we must utilise the present parliamentary institutions in the interests of the revolutionary movement....."

One should distinguish the parliamentary path pursued by the revisionist and the utilisation of parliamentary form in the interest of revolutionary struggle.

Those who accuse us of revisionism on this score, are only mounting some left slogans without any sincere effort to build a people's revolutionary movement." (p. 38—39)

This is the third time communists of India faced the same old trick. Once on the eve of first general election when Telengana struggle was surging forward, then second time when Naxalbari armed peasant revolt shook the world, and this time when after a setback, CPI (M-L) burnt the torch for unity. First time the CPI leadership could be fool rank and file workers, second time CPI (M) leadership was able to hoodwink a section of general members, and third time Mr. Singh and his C. C. exploiting the name of CPI (M-L) is playing with the same old game.

Stage of development of Indian society and state determined the stage of Indian revolution, and there by its strategy and tactics, path and policy and etc. India being semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the path of Indian revolution does not correspond with that of the path of socialist revolution, but with the path of new democratic revolution. The path followed by chinese people and communist party brought victorious end. The cardinal point of this path is of an army. Because meaning of this path is to find an army with the very beginning of political activity. In China, before Communist party was formed, the rising bourgeoisie had been fighting with arms against its armed enemy. So the bourgeoisie conducted armed struggle and thereby could create its own army. And when communist party, after being formed, come into alliance with the bourgeois and participate in the government, it seized the advantage and make itself armed. The leadership of armed struggle passed from bourgeoisie to proleteriate, from Guomintang party to Communist party. Ours is the problem of finding an army. As in India, bourgeois could not conduct armed movement,

the character of their movement was not of class struggle but of class collaboration, which ultimately betrayed peoples movement. And therefore, no question of supporting bourgeois who are in the government. Therefore the hope is remote that CPI (M-L) would find an army as CPC did find. In India bourgeoisie here being compradore in nature, other section of the bourgeoisie is weak and have no role in making external and domestic policy.

So, CPI (M-L) will arouse the masses and mobilize the movement from outside parliamentary institution. Because, main task of CPI (M-L) was to find an army from the very beginning of its political activity. CPI (M-L) actually begun with that, but could not visualise to find an army with the beginning of its political activities.

Advanced section of the people rallied behind the party and in response to the call took arms and passed the path of armed struggle. Decade long leaugacy of pseudo-communists for unarmed victory was broken down. The party and the people have been treading this path uninterruptedly. Such is the real history of ten years struggle, such is the real history of eight years party life. Mr. Singh and his C. C, falsifier of history, would not learn from it. So, it is not astonishing that this type of gentleman would abjure the path of armed struggle and precipitate all nonsense.

The path of armed struggle of Indian people, the path of Naxalbari is great and glorious. It will achieve one victory after another. No power on earth shall be able to crush it.

Comrades ; Let us not be deceived with apologist's plea.

Editorial :- ROAD TO 1978

In retrospection of the days that are left behind one ought to assess the events that occurred in the past to draw the lesson for the future. Here in India, let us see, what the passing year gave to its people. Immediately after, Mrs. Gandhi, the ex PM, announced general election, political elites, from the Congress to the pseudo Communist, the ageold saviours (!) of the people, came to the fore with their respective programmes interlaced with same strings but of different colours, with the promise of bread and peace to people. Every time, on the eve of general elections, we have had such promises. It was nothing new to us. But what made us attentive was that some self styled revolutionaries, utilising the name of CPI (M-L) had joined in that soiree.

Mrs. Gandhi was dethroned and came in Mr. Dessai into the theatrical performance. The inextricable contradiction between the two Super power and their lackeys in India leads this change. Was there any dress-rehearsal? Yes, there was. In 30 years of Congress rule—thirty years of poverty to and murder of the people—when it appeared that the party had collected most hatred of the people and crumbled for its doom, the promoters decided a new programme. The "Janata" saw the light. The same national and international people—faiiters gave birth of this crippled child to protect their own interests. By that, they wanted to draw the people into their own orbit for absence of an alternative force, that was the party, CPI(ML), on a nation wide basis.

At that time, when machine had set in to unify the ~~waken down~~ centre of the party, above said self-made revolutionaries prompted to floor-crossing for a bite of the loaf that was thrown the faiiters. But true adherents of Marxism Leninism Mao Tse-Tung thought and the party have thrown them to litter-bin and came forward to their comrade-in-arms into the party centre. Fighting people of India also, at this end of the year, have realised more of their fate and future. They learnt from their life experience that all these fraud of change shall not bring bread and peace to them. If they want to determine their own fate and future, they must walk to the road crimsoned with flood of their ancestors and martyrs.

Stand-by, comrade-in-arms, never fail to study the lessons from your master, the people. That is the lesson we learnt from the womb of the past!