

A STATEMENT BY ASHIM CHATTERJEE

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(1) Offering suggestions and opinions from inside jail is not proper, particularly for one who indulged in a number of serious mistakes not so long ago. How can I arrogate myself to the position of advising, let alone directing, our brave comrades who are fighting heroically against innumerable odds for the cause of the people? These are only some of my personal opinions which repeated requests from some comrades as well as objective necessity compel me to register. Sometimes silence speaks.

(2) A few days ago, I came to learn that Comrade Satya Narain Singh had been subjected to a vicious slander campaign concerning my arrest at Deoghar. The responsibilities for my arrest had been placed at his door by some quarters. Revolutionaries have to put up with all sorts of slanders and efforts of character assassination and they do survive them. But, as a comrade, I think it is my duty to help to remove even those minor irritants that so often blur our views, during the suffocating periods of doubtism and mistrust in particular, and stand in the way of a revolutionary unity of all revolutionary forces. All these are products of lack of political clarity and are part of the process of establishment of a correct political line. Forging a revolutionary unity on the basis of a correct line is the crying need at present.

At the very outset let me make it clear that Comrade S.N.S. cannot be connected, even remotely, with the responsibility for my arrest. To accuse anyone, not to speak of a leading comrade, on the basis of wild conjectures only, is wrong, irresponsible, harmful. "No investigation, no right to speak". The responsibility for my arrest is entirely mine. One has to pay for one's every political mistake. My arrest cannot be judged in isolation from the political mistakes, we indulged in for a pretty long period; it is the result of a political process.

(3) Reorganisation of the party is the prime task at present. This cannot be done without summing up our past experiences. The appeal made by Comrade Kanu Sanyal and other comrades in the concluding part of their revolutionary letter from jail is to be given due importance. Any attempt to indulge in the politics of 'Organisation in command' without doing proper ideological struggle is sure to be an exercise in futility. At best these attempts can give birth to some temporary conglomeration of groups and worthless high-sounding committees. "Reorganisation is a process". At the same time, the anti-Leninist concept of reorganisation from below exclusively must be discarded. To perpetuate the existence of groups neglecting the task of reorganisation of a real all-India centre is suicidal. The concept of reorganisation is not an abstract one; it must be done concretely. In this task, the special role of all the Central Committee members, both former and present, must be realized by themselves and recognised by others. Two lessons are important in this context. First it is the political line that matters ultimately. Lin Biao had everything in his command including both organization and army. Yet he could not retain anything, only because of a wrong political line. This is one of the major lessons of the great 10th Congress of the great, glorious and correct CPC. We should be vigilant regarding the political line; but uniting on the basis of a correct political line is the urgent task of all who love the people and the party. The second lesson can be learnt from our heroic people. In spite of all the previous betrayals, the people never hesitated to have faith in our party. Comrades, just recollect,

how many times the people were betrayed and the tremendous price they had to pay for all these betrayals! Yet they unhesitatingly rallied and, in spite of all our mistakes, are still rallying under the red banner of our great party. We, Marxist-Leninists, have faith in the people, in our great party, in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and in the ultimate victory of our just cause. In order to serve the people better, we Marxist-Leninists, dare to create a revolutionary centre on the basis of our political line and dare to submit ourselves consciously to the discipline of one centre. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought never goes hand in hand with cynicism or fatalism. Revolutionary unity never comes out of spontaneity; only conscious efforts to combat all subjective, one-sided, bourgeois world outlook can develop revolutionary, unity. Crisis of faith would be the greatest triumph of our enemies that would make their temporary military success pale into insignificance.

(4) Revolutionary unity is principled unity. Even after the publication of the report of the 10th Congress of the great, glorious and correct CPC, a handful of people have tried vainly to uphold Lin Piao. They are supporting the black conspiracy of Lin Piao and, in actuality, registering their approval of the vile attempt on the life of Chairman Mao. Our party, whose hundreds of best comrades laid down their lives for the people in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao, will never suffer these people. In spite of all their demagoguery and revolutionary pretensions, these people are, in reality, serving social-imperialism and have come out of their caves to bark at the instance of their social-imperialist masters. The concept of unity with these people is monstrous. On the other hand, some people have declared their intention of confining their activities within 'democratic limits'. This is betrayal, pure and simple. Differentiation between conscious agents and unconscious victims is necessary.

(5) When fighting a deviation "left" deviation in particular, the content and source, specially the latter, should be emphasized. It would be a mistake to forget that in today's world, social imperialism has become the fountain-head of inspiration for opportunists of every hue in its futile attempt to wreck the revolutionary parties the world over. The relationships between the advocates of Lin Piao and social-imperialism should be made clear. Simultaneity of the counter-revolutionary attempts of Lin Piao and the dismemberment of Pakistan signifies an international conspiracy. The international aspect of the 'left' deviation in our party should be studied to unmask its true nature. At the same time, we should remember that "one tendency covers another". On the question of evaluation of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, there are two deviations. Some comrades place his honesty of purpose above his serious political mistakes. This is not putting revolution in command. Some other comrades take into account his political mistakes without paying any heed to his honesty of purpose that urged him to court the heroic death of a martyr. These comrades also fail to consider the question in its entirety. To make Comrade Charu Mazumdar a symbol is wrong. To call him a renegade is to speak in the language of the CPI(M). Comrade Charu Mazumdar was an unconscious victim of an international conspiracy.

The fight against any deviation is neither abstract nor confined to words and documents only. Success in combating deviations is always reflected in the development of armed struggle. For a party within armed struggle, increase in the number of combating units and the total area of struggle should be a pointer in determining the extent of success. We are inside armed struggle; this is the greatest achievement of our party.

(6) With the tacit approval of U.S. imperialism, the encirclement of China has become the cornerstone of social-imperialist foreign policy. As is apparent from the notorious Indo-Soviet "Friendship" Treaty and subsequent dismemberment of Pakistan, the Indian expansionists will be compelled to play a special role in this conspiracy as dictated by the two super-powers. In spite of solemn utterances of the Indian Government, the record high increase in the military budget is a clear pointer to the shape of things to come. The sudden and suspicious concern of the Indian expansionists for the Nepali language and the people of the hilly regions bordering China along with the increasing frequency and prominence with which the notorious Dalai Lama is being projected through the puppet newspapers etc., reminds one of the sudden and not so mysterious concern for the people, language and culture of the then East Pakistan and the desperate efforts to arouse Bengali chauvinism through all the media at the command of the India expansionists for a period of more than two years prior to the dismemberment of Pakistan. The resemblance is sinister. One may wonder as to the implications of granting political asylum to U Nu along with B.P. Koirala and the Dalai Lama. Possibly preparations for the unfolding of the next scene after the dismemberment of Pakistan are already afoot. Those who being a prey to national chauvinism garbed in "abstract humanism", judged the creation of Bangladesh in isolation, thereby willingly allowing the Indian expansionists to exploit the mistakes of the then Government of Pakistan, may prepare themselves for facing the vile conspiracy of using more of our countrymen as cannon fodder in an anti-China war in addition to the 30,000 already sacrificed at the altar of super-power interests. The only silver lining is the increasing realisation regarding the senselessness and futility of the war. Very soon many are going to learn how much tile war was against our national interests. History is not only a cruel judge, it inevitably makes us face unpalatable realities. The revolutionaries of India led by the CPI(ML) must rally to safeguard the interests of tile people by frustrating this black conspiracy against the red bastion of the world people. The formation of tile Sino-Indian Friendship Association is welcome.

However, in spite of all the thunders of 'detente', a Diego Garcia is still the answer of U.S. imperialism to the additional advantage gained by the social-imperialists through utilization of Visakhapatnam and Chittagong and the possibility of opening of the Suez Canal.

(7) The international situation is excellent. The negative lessons of Chile have shattered the myth of peaceful transition. The national situation is excellent. A very strong revolutionary tide is engulfing the whole country very rapidly. The tremendous significance of the revolt of the PAC in U.P. should be understood properly. The history of our country tells us that a revolt in the armed forces always acted as a harbinger of change. Tile revolt of the PAC in U.P. and the recent incidents in Gujarat are like slaps on the cheeks of those who shout from house-tops that the objective condition for revolution is not yet ripe in our country. In future, more such incidents are going to fail their wish and politics increasingly, obstinately.

(8) For a revolutionary party, there can be no permanent setback. As is natural, the temporary setback that we suffered actually steeled our party. The CPI(ML) will always keep the tradition of taking all these temporary setbacks in its great stride towards final victory. The general organisation in the party is, as always, correct. The party will, as always, continue to march militantly along the bright path of red Ching Kang – the path of liberation of our people. History has placed a great responsibility on our party. CPI(ML) is the only hope of India.

With revolutionary greetings.
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