

# CP(ML) Report

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THE political report passed by the Bihar State CPI(ML) at their last Conference deals with the fundamental tasks of the Indian revolution, with special reference to Bihar. It was the first conference since the CPI(ML) was formed in April 1969.

The first two pages deal with the geographical phenomenon of Bihar—a province inhabited by 50 million people. Bihar can be divided into two regions: the plains area which is known as the 'orchard of India' and the plateau area known as the 'Ruhr of India'. While presenting in brief the history of ceaseless struggles by the people of the province against imperialism and feudalism, the report points out as the causes of their failure that the struggles were neither inspired by a revolutionary theory nor was the revolutionary class at the helm of the leadership nor was any united front of revolutionary classes formed. For the failure during 1950-66, the leadership of the CPI along with the Gandhite leadership was responsible. The Conference declared that despite the so-called reforms carried out during the last 22 years of 'freedom', the character of the society in Bihar is semi-feudal

and semi-colonial and there has been no fundamental change in its essence. Zamindari has been 'abolished' but the landlords got a heavy compensation of Rs. 115 crores. The government was able to realise the total revenue from peasants, i.e. Rs 18 crores, further increased by Rs 2.20 crores through imposition of fresh cess annually. "Such a land 'reform' can be called progressive only by the landlords of Bihar."

Apart from this, peasants were evicted from land so long tilled by them to such lengths that the population of landless peasants rose to 40% from the pre-1947 figure of 30% of the total rural population. Two-thirds of the total cultivable land is under various forms of share-cropping, which is the principal form of semi-feudal exploitation after the abolition of zamindari. The land has been further concentrated in a few hands so that now 3% of the rural households own slightly less than 40% of the land and 40% of the households are landless.

Another most cruel form of semi-feudal exploitation is debt slavery, which has turned into semi-slaves 70% of the rural population who

have to take loans in the lean months at exorbitant interest.

The classes in rural areas of Bihar can be categorised as landless peasants 40%; poor peasants 30%; middle peasants 20%; rich peasants 7%; and landlords 3%. The primitive wooden implements of production, ownership of 40% of the land by 3% of the population, two-thirds of total cultivable land under the system of share-cropping, debt-slavery, the social oppression based on the caste system, the social status of Harijans, all these are solid and clear proof that the society in Bihar is semi-feudal in character.

### Semi-colonial

"India is like Draupadi," said the other day a Naxalite leader. "She has to please so many husbands, Yankees, Russky, Britons, Japs Germans etc."

Even a cursory glance at the country as a whole would prove that even after 22 years of so-called freedom, our economy is semi-colonial, besides being semi-feudal in character. One aspect is the tremendous increase in foreign investments in India. Other examples are the more than 2000 collaboration industries and the absolute control of imperialists over the import-export trade as a result of which every year more than Rs 250 crores are pumped out of the country as profit.

In Bihar, copper, aluminium, tin-plate, cable, iron ore, manganese, light railway etc are controlled by foreign interests. But imperialism has changed its policy. It controls industries which hang national signboards. For example there is TISCO, the oldest steel industry in India, where for each rupee invested by the Tatas, the World Bank (an efficient instrument of neo-colonialist exploitation in the hands of the USA) has invested Rs 1.40. In Telco too the German capital is 65% of the total investment. All these illustrate foreign liquor in native bottles. Modern machines, better designs, repairs, spare parts and provision of technical know-how are also used by the imperialists to extend their control. Another

phenomenon is the dependence on Americans and Russians for markets.

While dealing with the State sector—a "new colonial device"—the Bihar State CP(ML) attacks the USSR vehemently. It should be noted that Russians control 1/4 of the iron and steel industries, 1/2 of oil refineries and 1/5 of electric power. Pushing aside the CPI's plea that the Soviet help to the Indian State sector would reduce our dependence on imperialism, the report says that if the construction of iron and steel industries in the State sector is to be taken as a step towards eliminating imperialist exploitation then one will have to agree that the British and German monopolists who are helping our State sector are trying to commit suicide or else they have turned socialist! It is only a clear device to exploit our cheap labour-power and raw materials. The State sector is, in fact, a form of State monopoly capitalism i.e., bureaucratic capitalism.

The "four big mountains" from which our people have to be emancipated are Imperialism—the chief of which is American imperialism modern revisionism—the centre of which is the Kremlin—feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism. The global strategy of America and Russia is to encircle and destroy China, suppress and destroy the national liberation struggles and redivide the world among themselves. For the purpose, war-preparations are going on. In Bihar several industries, such as the HEC, TELCO, Indian Tube Cable Company, are already producing war requirements. Old airports are being modernised (such as Ranchi) for the use of supersonic jets while several new airports are being constructed.

Quoting Lin Piao, the report maintains that the situation is ripe for revolution. The Mushahari peasant struggle (1968) was the turning point in the political situation in Bihar. Since then armed peasant struggles have spread in waves in five districts of Bihar, particularly in two districts of North Bihar. Within the last one and a half year, the guerilla struggle in Muzaffarpur district has

spread in seven thanas and entered a new level, i.e., the level of guerilla zone. It has reached the contiguous areas of Dwarbhanga and Champaran districts, developed in South Monghyr and been initiated in Purulia district. Vigorous preparations are being made in Singbhum, Ranchi, Palamau and Shahabad districts.

These struggles have taught the peasantry, especially the landless and poor peasantry, that annihilation of the class enemy is a necessary step to rouse and organise the whole peasantry, smash feudal authority and establish revolutionary authority in rural areas. Armed guerilla struggle must be spread to lay the foundation of a people's liberation army and a revolutionary united front and to prepare the necessary prerequisites of a base-area.

A feature to note is the "powerful upsurge" of the industrial workers, students and middle class employees, which proves that the limits of economism are becoming clear to more and more people in the towns and industrial areas. Further development of revolutionary peasant struggles would draw "ever widening sections to the path of revolution."

The crisis within the ruling classes has entered a permanent stage. The legislature—the most powerful weapon for duping the masses—has been thoroughly exposed and in Bihar its ugly face is there for all to see in the reports of the Aiyar and Mudholkar Commissions.

Another feature of the situation is the revolt by the rank and file of the CPI against their leadership and the withering away of the CPM. Cadres are being drawn towards Naxalites irresistibly. The report boasts: "They admire us, help us and are moving towards us step by step."

The report notes the total failure of the Government in crushing the revolutionary peasant struggles by the most savage repression employed in Bihar so far. But winning new successes, "the people and party have grasped the truth that no matter what difficulties they have to face, the final victory is theirs." The ruling classes are conducting a slander

campaign against the party and the revolutionary peasant struggle and in this they are most faithfully served by the CPI and the CPM. The CPI-(ML) vehemently attacked the other groups of Naxalites: "They are getting funds from doubtful sources and are also enjoying facilities of publishing and freedom of movement in conducting slander campaigns against us".

### Mistakes

While dealing with the "Appearance of certain mistaken ideas and their rectification", the report seems a bit proud (and perhaps dishonest). The entire responsibility for what is called 'inevitable' errors is passed on to the "hangover of revisionist ideas

and habits". Errors are in a way justified on the ground that "doing is learning".

Two of the mistakes were committed at the co-ordination stage. In relation to the Adivasi peasant struggle of Chotanagpur, it was wrong to set up the Birsa Seva Dal as a national mass organisation and expect it to initiate and lead an anti-feudal and anti-State struggle. The State leadership failed to understand that emancipation of the Adivasi from non-Adivasi exploiters and their emancipation from feudalism are not two different but integrated problems.

Regarding 'Boycott Election', the State Co-ordination Committee could not propagate the slogan in an effective manner and impart its significance to a substantial section of its cadres. As a result some units and cadres, particularly in Ranchi, Shahabad and Monghyr districts, joined the election campaign of this or that party.

During the Mushahari struggle, four mistakes were committed. In the first phase, there was manifestation of economism in the leadership and the district Committee. However, the Conference declares it an error on all-India level. The second erroneous notion was with regard to repression; when repression began, some of the leaders thought that "immediately we would not get mass support from the masses and we should wait for fair days". The third error was dependence on 'experts' and 'training' to launch guerilla warfare. The fourth erroneous notion which caused delay in going over to the second stage of the Mushahari struggle was the idea of dependence on modern weapons. The Bihar State CPI-(ML) warns: "This notion is still widespread and it is necessary that we launch a powerful campaign to eliminate it".

Regarding Purulia district, the State Conference found 'putschism' in the tendency to annihilate the class-enemy without sufficient political work. Another wrong tendency was seen in Champaran—the petty-bourgeois deviation of relying on middle peasants

and not integrating with the landless and poor peasantry. One of the most dangerous deviations was observed in Paru and Baruraj where pure economic actions were resorted to behind the back of the party.

Summing up the mistakes, the report throws the entire responsibility upon revisionism "which is still the main deviation."

The Conference has outlined the following tasks for rural and urban areas:

In rural areas, priority is to be given to developing the base-areas. Other tasks are: to propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought and politics of Agrarian Revolution; to develop political campaign and armed guerilla struggles; to annihilate the class-enemy; to concentrate on and integrate with landless and poor peasants; to firmly unite with middle peasants but not allow them to be the leader of the struggle; to rely on traditional and home-made weapons; to adopt the tactic of smaller guerilla unit; to build up village defence corps in each village.

Towns are the secondary field of activity. There, the main task is party building and sending advanced elements of the working class to work in rural areas. Other tasks are: to concentrate on industrial workers and students; to fight revisionism (the main manifestation of which are trade-unionism, economism, legalism and reformism); to fight communalism, casteism, provincialism and national chauvinism prevalent among workers and intelligentsia; to strive for bringing about active interaction of the working class and the intelligentsia in support of revolutionary peasant struggles; to strive for bringing about the active interaction of the working class and the intelligentsia on national and international political issues; to build up party organisation in the power, transport, communication, the State sector and other allied industries concerned with war preparations.

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