

# *In Defence of the C.C. Draft*

## I

### 'Left' Phrase-Mongers Expose Their Utter Bankruptcy

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S DRAFT FOR IDEOLOGICAL discussion is being discussed by the various State Plenums and will be soon placed for decision before an all-India Plenum. While it consolidates the Party ranks by clarifying the many issues on which there was some confusion, it has also served to expose the utter bankruptcy of the Party's critics from the Right and the 'Left'.

The 'Left' phrase-mongers in West Bengal, whose main contribution to the revolutionizing of the situation is a forthright condemnation of the democratic movement against the Ghosh-Congress gang as a counter-revolutionary movement, have in particular exposed themselves as a bankrupt crowd which does not know what it is defending and what it is attacking. Of course, they show great consistency in attacking our Party, but none in defending any basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, nor the international line which they profess to advocate. Contradicting themselves at every step, using ecclectical arguments, uttering confused words and ideas, they not only make themselves ridiculous but in the bargain reveal themselves as nothing but people who have ceased to have an international outlook or any idea of the international revolutionary movement.

The *Deshabrati* Editorial Board's statement on our document appearing in the *Liberation* begins with our definition of the New Epoch.

Our document states : "Ours is certainly a new epoch, an



epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch when the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development, an epoch of national liberation and socialist revolutions, an epoch of the rapid decay and disintegration of colonialism—an epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism and communism on a world scale.”

No person who calls himself a Marxist-Leninist will have anything to say against our formulation. But our phrase-mongers consider that the formulation is saturated with revisionism, is dripping with revisionist juice. And they furiously object to the sentence “an epoch when international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development”.

With a serious mien they argue: “How did the formulation ‘an epoch when the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development’ creep into the Madurai document in connection with the definition of the characteristics of the contemporary era? Readers can see for themselves that the Moscow Statement of 1960 referred to this aspect like this—‘a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems’.

“To formulate this as a characteristic of the contemporary world as has been done in the Madurai document, viz., that this is ‘an epoch when the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor determining the course of world development’ is to relegate all other factors to a secondary place.”

It is obvious that to these gentlemen the rest of the description of our time—transition of capitalism, national liberation and socialist revolutions—have no meaning. They have so little respect for the socialist revolutions of the world, including the Chinese, for the significance of one-third of the world, forming the socialist camp, that they hotly deny and repudiate the very suggestion that the socialist world is becoming a decisive factor determining the course of world development.

This is all revisionism, they say. By implication, they suggest that it is the capitalist world that is exercising a decisive influence on the course of history while the socialist world is just a helpless spectator of world revolutionary struggle. This is

where all phrase-mongering leads.

What does document (the 1960 Statement) say about the characteristics of our epoch? After the opening para, which describes the content of our time, the Statement says: “It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.” This is stated in black and white and no party in the world, whatever its pretensions, has dared repudiate this truth, nor challenge it. It was left only to the phrase-mongers in West Bengal to find fault with it and advertize their bankruptcy. It was only these phrase-mongers that found in this Statement a source of opportunism, a design for relegating all other contradictions to the background.

It is true that this correct formulation has been given a reactionary meaning by the revisionists of all shades, who demand that the revolutionary struggles the world over should be disbanded and everything should be left to peaceful competition between the two worlds or reliance should be placed on peaceful struggles and peaceful methods of transition. To fight this opportunist interpretation, it is not necessary to throw out the rich and correct formulation that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of society.

Our document, while accepting the formulation, hits out against the opportunist distortions. It says: “Modern revisionism while pretending fidelity to this new definition of the epoch conveniently and deliberately underplays certain salient features of the epoch while exaggerating and laying lopsided emphasis on certain other aspects of the same. It paints a picture as though colonialism is more or less dead, that imperialism, more or less, is rendered ineffective and a period of more or less peaceful transition has set in. . . Instead of making such a militant use of the new possibilities in the new epoch, that did open out in the post-second world war years, modern revisionism builds a new dream world in which imperialism has ceased to be the monster which has to be annihilated to achieve freedom and lasting world peace; on the other hand, it is disrupting the world socialist system, and the unity of the international communist movement, is undermining the national liberation struggle and the revolutionary working class.”



The great decisive role which the socialist system is destined to play is being undermined by the revisionist policies of the leadership of certain parties, including the CPSU. That does not do away with the decisive importance of the world socialist system and its revolutionary significance. On the other hand, the struggle to defeat revisionist policies and make the socialist world play its destined role must be carried on determinedly.

We hope it will be of some interest to the Editorial Board of the *Deshabrati* that the Communist Party of China does not take a stand against this role of the socialist world, but only demands, and correctly demands, that revolutionary policies should be pursued to fulfil this role. It says: "All Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp owe to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands. By fulfilling these demands, the socialist camp will exert a decisive influence on the course of human history." Is it now clear, gentlemen, that the idea about the socialist camp exercising a decisive influence is not a revisionist idea, and that, correctly understood, it does not relegate the other factors to the background?

Having shown its lack of faith in the victories scored by the world proletariat, the Editorial Board displays its own special variety of dialectical wisdom. Read this gem: "Three among the four fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradictions between the oppressed nations and imperialism and the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly groups are contradictions within the imperialist camp. According to the dialectical method, further collapse of imperialist camp and further development of the socialist camp, that is transition from capitalism to socialism, can take place only as the results of the actions of the internal contradictions of the imperialist camp" (emphasis ours).

The phrase-mongers have made a new contribution to Marxist thought. They forget that the contradiction between imperialism and the system of socialist states is a product of the accentuation of all the contradictions and itself intensifies all of them. It is a fundamental contradiction of the modern world.

While the revolutionary movement in each country will ripen to the point of revolt on the basis of the maturity of the class struggle in each country, its consciousness and organization, it is absurd and anti-revolutionary to regard the contradiction between imperialism and the socialist system as an external contradiction in relation to the world revolutionary movement as a whole. The socialist world is itself the product of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat on a world scale—the contradiction of modern society. With the overthrow of the capitalist class, of the imperialists, and the establishment of the socialist world, the contradictions get heightened many times more, the capitalist crisis gets deepened, and all the antagonisms of capitalist society flare forth, throwing millions into the direct fight against the imperialists and capitalists. The socialist world plays an active role in exacerbating the contradictions of capitalist society the world over and is a potent factor in accentuating the process of the revolutionary movement. The 'Left'-opportunists seek to minimize its importance and bring grist to the mill of bourgeois nationalism.

It is this warped outlook that leads the 'Left'-opportunists to make the following absurd formulation: "According to the dialectical method, further collapse of imperialist camp, that is transition from capitalism to socialism, can take place only as the result of the actions of the internal contradictions of the imperialist camp." Mark the words 'only as a result of the actions of the internal contradictions of the imperialist camp'. The socialist camp has no role to play, the victorious proletariat organized in the socialist states have nothing to do—only the internal contradictions will decide the thing. In fact, the plea is for leaving the working class of the capitalist world, and the peoples of the oppressed countries to their fate—with the socialist world busy with "peaceful competition" and watching the effects of the struggle from side-lines. This is the dialectical wisdom of the Editorial Board.

It is perfectly correct to state that the main burden of the actual revolutionary movement must be borne by the people and the working class of each country, hence the necessity of developing their organization and consciousness; that in each country the revolutionary crisis will mature in accordance with

the situation obtaining at any given time and no imagined or real world centre can call a revolution at its command; that internal contradictions will have to mature in each country before the final overthrow of the oppressor takes place. With all this, the socialist camp and the world working class have to play an active role in helping, guiding, promoting the revolutionary movement and, when necessary, rendering it direct armed help.

The role assigned to the socialist camp is well expressed in the following lines: "This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries, headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces, and isolating the reactionary forces. This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the world proletarian revolution forward to the end." □