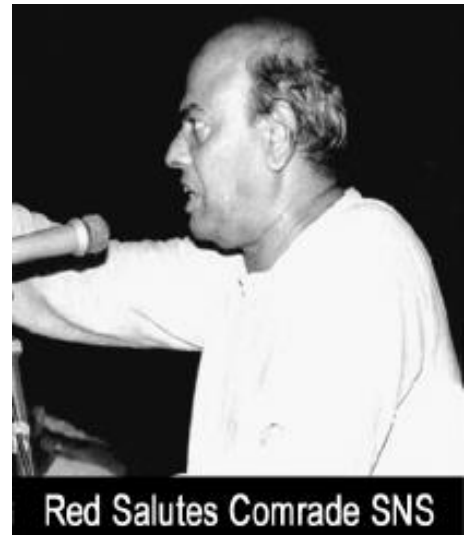


Comrade SNS Dedicated his Life for the Revolutionary Movement

This year (2023) is the centenary birth anniversary of Comrade Satyanarayan Singh (SNS). On this occasion, the revolutionary political role of SNS must be remembered. Comrade SNS who adopted Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought as his world outlook emerged as a revolutionary of working class.

Com. SNS was born on 30th January 1923 in Dhamar village, Arrah district of Bihar and he died on 21st October 1984 due to renal failure in Vishakhapatnam of Andhra Pradesh when he went there to hold unity talks with CC, CPI (ML).



Com. SNS joined communist party during Second World War while he was working in the Air Force of British India. While he was in service in 1946 he refused to salute British Union Jack. On this charge he had to serve two years of punishment in prison. After coming out from jail he became a professional revolutionary in the Communist Party of India (CPI). As a party worker he was placed in charge of Shahabad dist. organization of Bihar and later was deputed to the organization of South Bihar districts.

In 1952 Com. SNS led a historical struggle of workers in Jamshedpur against Tatas. For that he along with three other leaders of CPI were arrested in 1958 in Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case and remained in jail for 5 years. In 1962 he was again arrested as he opposed war with China and remained in jail for 4 years. In the split with Dange revisionists in CPI, he remained with CPI (M). When historical Naxalbari upsurge occurred he firmly stood with Naxalbari struggle and severed ties with CPI (M). After Naxalbari he led the Mushahari peasant upsurge in Mazaffarpur district of Bihar. He was Convener of Bihar Unit of AICCCR, predecessor of CPI (ML). One of the founder members of CPI (ML), Central Committee and Politburo member of undivided CPI (ML) and General Secretary of Revived CC of CPI (ML) later on formed the PCC, CPI (ML).

He led many exemplary struggles of working class and other sections of the people which general masses still remember like struggle in Sindri Fertiliser, struggle of CISF jawans in Bokaro, struggle in Rakha Copper mines of Singbhum, struggle in Uranium mine workers in Jadugoda etc. He was a very capable leader in organizing working class not only in small factories but in big Industries.

He was a very popular leader loved by the people. Wherever he went he came in touch with the people. In personal life he had a simple life style with communist ideals, very agile, open hearted.

Historical Role of Comrade SNS

Comrade SN Singh played a historical role in fighting and correcting Com. Charu Majumdar's ultraleft line of "Annihilation of Class Enemies", and the "Theory of Quick Victory" of revolution in India by saying that the 3rd world war had begun after overthrow in patriotic rule of Prince Sihanouk in Kampuchea. And due to the world war the speed of war will be fast and swift and by the end of 1970's most part of India will be liberated. Com. SN Singh cited the 20 May 1970 statement of Com. Mao Tse Tung that "the threat of 3rd war exists", and the people of the world should unite and fight US imperialism's effort to start the 3rd world war.

After breaking out from CPI (M), as a member of the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR), SNS was a part in the formation of the CPI(ML) and served as a member of the Central Committee. He identified left sectarian policies in the CPI (ML) when the party was suffering serious losses due to left adventurism. Acknowledging his participation in formulating that policies, prepared a self-critical review report; the self-critical report discussed in the CPI(ML) Central Committee and dissociated itself from the aggressive policies of the CPI(ML).

1973-74 was a time when several leaders were rethinking about the policies of the CPI (ML). The public statement of the six leaders—Comrades Kanu Sanyal, Sauren Bose, Kolla Venkaiah, Chaudhary Tejeswara Rao, Bhuvanmohan Patnaik and Nagabhushan Patnaik from Visakhapatnam Jail is in fact a statement that dissociated from the left adventurist policy. APCCCR leaders T.Nagireddy, D.V. Rao and Pullareddy dissociated earlier itself (since 1969). Also in various states, S.K. Mishra and RN Upadhyaya in UP, KPR Gopalan in Kerala and others also already dissociated. It was a very important occasion for all these forces to unite. It is necessary to examine the reasons why this occasion was forsaken.

Documents written by all these contemporaries individually were published at that time. There are documents written by Comrades DV Rao, R.N. Upadhyay, Sivakumar Mishra, Asit Sen, Parimal Das Gupta, Promod Sen Gupta, Prabhat Jana, Ban Bihari Chakraborty, Shyamal Nandi, North Zone Committee and some other state and district committees. What should be kept in mind here is that Com. Kanu Sanyal has been saying since his jail term in Visakhapatnam that he did not write the Terai Report but someone else wrote and named it after him. 'More about Naxalbari' was written in that jail only. The common aspect in all those documents is to bring to light the left adventurism and at the same time how to correct it and how to compensate for the consequential damage. Under those circumstances, they could not reach a consensus on the problem of how to formulate the perspective of the movement.

In that situation, SNS role in bringing a self-critical document is very significant. But at the same time, groups with similar understanding could not be united. There is an opinion that the reason for the lapses lies in reformulating the tasks. Later during the practice it

underwent many ups and downs. We do not think it is wrong to express some of our observations in this context.

Comrade SNS's military valour and proletariat's honest determination can be seen in the drafting of this document. We have tried to highlight the important aspects of his self-critical report as we feel it is necessary today.

Comrade SNS explained the need for this self-critical report with the help of quoting Lenin as below:

"Nevertheless the sparks could not develop into a prairie fire. On the contrary, one by one, the areas of revolutionary struggles got more and more isolated and the reactionary state suppressed our movement with comparative ease. The movement lost some of its worthiest leaders, thousands were locked up in jails, thousands became disheartened and inactive and the movement which had created high expectations and hopes among the broad masses of the Indian people failed for the time being. The ideological, political, tactical, military and organizational errors committed by the party that led to this disaster has to be discovered and lessons drawn so that party and people are enabled to lead Indian revolution to final victory.

Com. Lenin has taught:

"A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfils in practice its obligations towards its class and the working people. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification—that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its class, and then the masses." (Lenin "Left Wing Communism" collected works, Vol-XXXI, p.57)

It is only when the entire party self-critically reviews its decisions and their implementation with the aim of 'learning from the past to avoid mistakes in future' and go forward to cure the disease to save the patient, can it serve the cause of the people.

In order to attempt a serious analysis of mistakes committed and the circumstances that led to them and in order to thoroughly discuss the means of correcting mistakes, the whole movement has to be reviewed from April and May 1967 to the present period."

The report analysed the Path put forward by the Naxalbari struggle against the ruling classes for changing the system and the ideological and political struggle raised against the CPI and the CPI (M)'s political outlook.

However, the report also revealed the stark fact that these sparks of fire (Naxalbari, subsequently Srikakulam, Midnapore etc.) could not develop into a wild fire.

The review says that this first phase has been completed and the newly launched movements which were already underway in various areas were fragmented and attacked

by the enemy. It also revealed factual situation that “the reactionary state has easily crushed our movements by isolating the areas of revolutionary struggle by hitting one after the other.”

“The movement lost many worthiest leaders. Thousands were locked in jails. Thousands became depressed and dissociated from activities. The movement which had awakened great hopes and aspirations among the masses of India has failed for the (that) time being”—it concluded.

The report categorically stated that in order to lead the Indian revolution towards the ultimate victory, the party and the people should find out the ideological, political, military and organisational mistakes made by the party which led to this terrible failure and must learn lessons.

The report was reviewed by Comrade SNS Committee with the time frame divided into three phases

1. From May 1967 to November 1967.
2. From December 1967 to March 1969
3. From April 1969 to November 1971

With their own movement building experience and the instantaneous activities carrying out, they conducted political discussions and built mass movements in some areas and developed them to the point of confronting the exploitative class.

Among them, the movement of the Naxalbari region of Darjeeling district in Bengal is one. In the area where local subdivisions Naxalbari, Kharabhari, Phansideva were united, under the leadership of Kanu Sanyal, Jangal Santal, Keshab Sarkar, Kudan Mallick, Khokan Majumdar, the communist ranks started efforts to build a movement from the 1950s among peasants, tribals and others. These efforts were carried out amid criticism from the CPI and CPI(M) leadership.

This movement reached from the stage of occupying the lands of the landlords to distributing them among the cultivators and seizing the crops grown on those lands (March 1967). While the program suffered severe repression in the form of police cases and raids; the movements were intensified in some districts of Bengal, the peasantry in tribal areas, the middle class in the Calcutta city and the students. This movement of Naxalbari region had been going on utilizing the participation in the form of the electoral struggle.

On May 24th, in a clash between the people and the police forces, sub inspector Wangde was shot dead by an arrow and the police had retreated. But on May 25th, in retaliation police forces attacked and opened fire on peasants who were holding a meeting in Prasad Joti in which 11 people were killed. These two incidents have been specifically publicized together. The peasants of Naxalbari area were seizing the lands/crops with a united force and facing the police (State) forces with their arms, protecting the reclaimed

lands/crops, and its propaganda created sensation all over Bengal and in distant parts of the country that this is the way to get rid of the exploitation and oppression.

Though Naxalbari created a sensation within and outside the Communist movement, the CPI(M) leadership instead of discussing the issue of path of mass movement took disciplinary action against the leaders of the Naxalbari movement and those who supported it. And even labeled them as left adventurists.

In these circumstances 'Naxalbari Krishak-O-Sangram Sahayak Samitis' were formed in Bengal. They campaigned condemning the restriction and oppression that took place and ongoing in Naxalbari. Solidarity programs reverberated "Your path/ My path/ Our path – is Naxalbari path". Discussions about the Naxalbari struggle, the halted Telangana struggle, liberation of the Country and the Path to achieve the New Democratic Revolution continued and took a concrete shape.

An effort for Coordination started with the initiative of Sushital Roy Chaudhary who was till then a member of the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M) and the Editor of 'Desh Hitaishi' along with Parimala Das Gupta, Promod Sen Gupta, Asit Sen, Utpala Dutta. In the second week of Nov 1967, Sushital Roy Chowdhary organized a meeting with the comrades from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Bengal etc. who were supporting Naxalbari movement.

Before that meeting, Comrade Charu Mazumdar, who is a part of the Communist Organisation and leader of Darjeeling district Committee took a short time to speak in the meeting at Presidency College Auditorium held under the auspices of Naxalbari Krishak-O-Sangram Sahayak Samiti. CM said that Com Kanu Sanyal is the face of the Naxalbari struggle and that struggle is paving the way for the Indian revolution. But the comrades, who were conducting an ideological and political struggle under the leadership of Amulya Sen and Kannai Chatterjee, against the leadership of the CPI (ML) after the 1964 split while remaining in the communist movement did not participate in this meeting. Neither joined AICCCR. These comrades, the 'Dakshin Desh Group' who were bringing out the magazines 'Chinta' and 'Dakshin Desh' formed MCC in October 1969. Even the Kerala comrades led by the Com. Kunnikal Narayana did not join the AICCCR.

This conference issued a declaration with four points.

- Accepting and propagating Mao's Thought as a continuation of Marxism and Leninism.
- Struggle against revisionism within and outside CPI (M),
- Launch Naxalbari type of struggles.
- Mobilise forces for building a real communist party in India

A coordination committee was formed with Comrade Sushital Roy Choudhary as convener to implement the program of this declaration.

The four point declaration is very significant. The self-critical review of SNS has mentioned- the declaration as the first phase in relation to the movement and also mentioned that with this the second phase has begun.

The report also stated that those who did not accept Mao's thought in the first phase, and those with many other tendencies, were involved in the mass movements and the solidarity programs that preceded the declaration.

The All India Coordination Committee did not discuss and analyze neither the situation of the movements, the ideological and political trends in the first phase nor the situation in the second phase where the movements were going astray. The above mentioned report in the summary of first phase could not state why the AICCCR did not engage into that discussion. But following the declaration, it was decided that Com. Sushital Roy Choudhary and someone else must contact other revolutionary forces and maintain relations and hold dialogues. But according to that decision, neither dialogue nor any contact was done with Kerala, Andhra and Dakshin Desh groups.

The above report has not mentioned this aspect in its second phase summary.

Moreover, efforts were made as per their wish to mount pressure on the Andhra Committee to join the All India Forum. Even though the APCCCR comrades submitted documents (presented at the Burdwan Plenum) questioning the policies and trends of the CPI(M) leadership and asked to publish them in 'Liberation'; the AICCCR leadership did not do so. They acted in such a way as to spread suspicion on comrades of the AP leadership who were fighting against CPI(M) policies. An atmosphere of suspicion was spread in the place of fraternal relations.

The report could not mention in the summary of second phase of the analysis/criticism and self-criticism about what happened and why it happened.

Moreover, the report mentions the malicious propaganda carried out by the AICCCR from mid-1968 on APCCCR and on Com TN.

1. The report does not at least acknowledge that Com. TN said that he would resign as a member of the Legislative Assembly during the budget session.

2. The 'report' mentions only what the Srikakulam leadership comrades said -that they should start armed struggle immediately as they are facing repression with the instructions of Com. CM; putting aside what the APCCCR leadership said to the Srikakulam leadership comrades -that along with addition to the land issues, encroachments, and protecting crops they can start the armed resistance of the people and continue to move forward. It would only be justification but not correction to join the false propaganda made by Comrade CM and his followers.

The occasion which Com. SNS's could have examined mistakes is through 'Self-Critical Report'. But Com. SNS has forsaken that opportunity.

Not only before APCCCR joined AICCCR but after joining also AICCCR has taken up many indirect activities against APCCCR and against the practices of coordination relations. Any comrade of SNS stature will be able to identify those things. The report did not assume that thing.

During the third phase i.e. from the time of formation of the party was announced in April 1969 to November 1971 and till the time when Com SNS announced the formation of a CC under his leadership—the report has clearly stated throughout this period Charu Majumdar's politics were of a left sectarian adventurism, neo-Trotskyite politics; he acted contrary to the Marxist thinking and communist organisational principles to establish his individual leadership; The report makes it clear that he set aside the advice and instructions of the international leadership and went on a non-Marxist way of thinking. The report even highlighted, as a result the movements were fragmented and suffered losses.

This self-critical review has systematically revealed how Charu Majumdar, prior to the Naxalbari struggle, and in the process of transitioning of AICCCR in CPI (M) to form AICCCR, had expressed his views differently from Marxist outlook and Mao thought. It confirms how Com. Charu Majumdar went against the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought. While taking inspiration from Com. CM's personality, his commitment and sacrifice the damage done by his political views should be taken into consideration. At the same time, SNS's view that all committee members of AICCCR and CPI (M-L) should be held responsible is correct and acceptable.

An examination of the views expressed and the Paths taken by Comrades CM; SNS; SRC; TN; DV; CP; KV; Kanu Sanyal and others during the first two decades of the Indian communist revolution – this 'Self-criticism' review report can be very helpful in reorganizing the revolutionary movement.

- Vijay Kumar
- Arvind Sinha