

*Proletarian
Era*

Long Live GREAT NOVEMBER REVOLUTION



Be Disciplined, Take Initiative And Acquire Revolutionary Audacity

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's clarion call

[On the occasion of the 51st anniversary of the Great November Revolution, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and guide and one of the foreranking Marxist thinkers of the era, delivered a speech in Bengali in a general body meeting of our party workers held at Muslim Institute Hall, Calcutta on 15th November 1968. An English version of the speech, which provides invaluable analyses on some aspects of the teachings of November Revolution was published in our November Revolution Anniversary special issue, 1982. The speech has immense political-organisational importance and there have been requests from our readers to reprint the same. Considering this, we republish the speech below with minor editing.

Any inadequacy in editing and rendering into English and any faulty expression that might have crept in, are our responsibility. — Ed. P.Era]

Comrade President and Comrades!

So long, you have listened to discussions on many aspects of the significance of the November Revolution and its teachings. The teachings of November Revolution cover a wide range, there is many a lesson that we have to take from the same. Some aspects of these teachings have been dwelt upon by the other leaders. There are many other points too which need to be critically examined and discussed and in particular, there is a necessity of reviewing the position of communist movement in that perspective. As I am not keeping well, I do not intend to go into such a lengthy discussion. I shall confine myself to a few points and aspects of immediate and utmost importance to us.

Revolution is not possible by blindly copying others

Among the many teachings of November Revolution there is a very important one which

now needs to be remembered anew by the masses, the revolutionary workers, the communists in our country : quite often, it is found that many of those who come into communist movement, come with the tendency, the habit of copying. Even if they think that they will not copy, still they have the bad habit of copying in toto the leaders, the veterans and the authority and of parroting their words. This has been manifested in the world communist movement again and again right from the beginning, and the true Marxist-Leninist leaderships had to fight against this repeatedly. Once, Lenin too had to combat this. At the time of the Russian Revolution, a strong tendency like this appeared there when some intellectuals wanted to do the revolution, wanted to "manufacture" revolution by quoting from Marx and Engels in a bookish manner and by copying them mechanically. Lenin stressed and pointed out to them that revolution is a stream of events, a process that grows out of waves of movements, as

the culmination of movements. We cannot manufacture it at will, like goods in a factory.

We must correctly grasp the revolutionary theories the propounders gave birth to as the essence of the sum-total of their experiences, who developed, enriched and brought to a new height the understanding of those theories while applying them to organise revolutionary movements.

But each revolution has some specific characteristic features, its distinctive form. Every revolutionary theory is the theory of this or that particular revolution which developed through analysis of the given international situation and through its concrete application in a concrete situation. But we all know, conditions are ever changing and the situations in different countries are not identical. Therefore, the complex processes of revolution in different countries are not and can never be wholly similar. Had it been so, it would have been against the essence of dialectical materialism. That is why, warning those who were fond of quoting Marx, Engels and other authorities of standing, Lenin said: "We do not by any means regard Marx's theory as something final and inviolable; we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstones of science which the socialists must advance in all directions if they do not want to be behind the times. We hold that an independent elaboration of Marx's theory is especially necessary for Russian socialists, since this theory provides only general guiding principles which are applied in particular differently to Britain than to France, differently to France than to Germany, differently to Germany than to Russia." (Vol.IV, pp.191-192, Collected Works) That is, though the Russian revolutionaries had before them the theories and general teachings of Marx, Engels or other revolutionaries, what they required was the concretisation of those general teachings of Marxism to suit the very purpose of Russian revolution. That is to say, the treasure house of teachings of Marxism, its general truths and the analyses were before them. The theories and teachings grown out of the experiences of the Marxist revolutionaries of different countries, too,

were before them. But if the Russian revolutionaries wanted to make the theories suitable and adequate for giving concrete shape to the Russian revolution, then they would have to concretise, elaborate and develop those theories in such a manner so that those could concretely influence the process of Russian revolution. In this context, Lenin highlighted a few other things. He showed that due to uneven development of capitalism, and even according to the general principles and conclusions of dialectical materialism, no two phenomena are identical. Therefore, the revolutions in the different countries, which take place within their respective national boundaries are not identical, although there are some similarities between them, some common features. There are many differences between them on matters of detail, each has specific characteristic features. If we can apply the theories by understanding these specific characteristics and by grasping correctly the given national and international situations, then in practice the theories themselves would get elaborated, developed and enriched — they would no longer remain exactly what Marx or other revolutionaries propounded. This is how all revolutionary theories get elaborated and developed.

General principles of Marxism are to be concretised in concrete situations

It was Lenin who first held aloft the teaching that without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolution and this revolutionary theory is a theory as can influence the concrete process of revolution; it is not for showing off pedantry by quotation-mongering, nor for writing books, nor for copying blindly. Therefore, the science of Marxism that Marx and Engels left to us, the teachings contributed by Lenin, the contributions of Stalin at a later time and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung — all these theories and teachings will have to be grasped, concretised, elaborated and developed by the revolutionaries of the different countries who are yet to achieve revolution if they want to concretely influence the processes of

revolution from their respective positions in their countries, so as to suit the very purpose of their own revolutions. Revolution cannot be achieved in any country by copying or repeating verbatim the existing theories and teachings. Among some, this habit was there at the time of the Russian revolution too. By waging struggle against it vigorously, Lenin concretised and elaborated Marxism, developed it further to become adequate and suitable for the then international situation and applied it in the Russian revolution. Later on, Stalin did the same thing, as did Mao Tse-tung in China. Each one of them succeeded to the extent he was able to concretise, elaborate and develop the theories in a manner adequate to influence and accelerate the process of revolution in the contemporary situation. Where even leaders like them failed to elaborate and concretise the theories, their limitation stood out.

History of so-called communist parties in India is the history of blindness

In our country, the two parties calling themselves communist, the CPI and the CPI(M), are suffering, right from their birth, from the same ailment of blind copying which Lenin had to fight against in pre-revolution Russia. This disease of theirs is not yet cured. If there is no treatment at the outset, then with passage of time, the disease reaches the very bone marrow and attacks the nerves. Then it becomes very difficult to cure, perhaps it becomes incurable. If a disease is attended to as soon as it is detected, there is a chance of cure through treatment. But if the treatment is neglected and the disease is allowed to be pampered and nurtured to become chronic, it gets entrenched and reaches the very marrow — there can be no cure then.

These two parties named communist that you see, sprang up from division of the original single party. Again, their number is about to increase to three by further splitting. And if the third faction gets stabilised, the fourth will not be far off. There is no end to this process because when the disease originally started, there was no attempt to detect the same. Rather, when some tried to point

it out, they did not listen to the criticism with the attitude of learning and did not try to rectify themselves. That is, they did not conduct themselves like dialectical materialists, like Marxists. Whether the criticism contains elements of truth or is appropriate or valid, whether, even if it is adverse, there is really anything to be learnt from it; or whether, the whole of it is just abuses for maligning motivatedly? Even if the latter is true, one should reject it after trying to understand it and examining it earnestly. But if there is no mind to learn, one cannot gain anything from the criticism even if it contains something good or positive.

These two parties are not ready to learn from the criticism of others. From the very beginning, they have developed such a mental make up among their party workers that they do not feel the necessity of reading the literature of other parties. They do not feel the need to know the views of others. Whatever they say, whatever analyses they place, are correct and gospel truth! What has been the result of this? When there was no rift or difference of opinion in the international communist movement despite whatever faults and shortcomings it might have had, these two parties, because of their mechanical concept about leadership in communist movement, repeated verbatim what Stalin or the Soviet party said and copied them blindly.

It is one thing to take lessons from the analyses and experience of Stalin or the Soviet party, but it is an altogether different matter to think that they will formulate the theory of revolution in our country. Recently, some of the internal affairs of these parties have come out in the press. Reportedly, even such a thing happened once that they approached Stalin and requested him to draw up the thesis for them! As if, their attitude is : We run into all sorts of trouble, we muddle up whatever we lay hands upon; since you are a great revolutionary, omniscient and are amidst us like Lord Brahma Himself, since you are infallible, please formulate the theory, the strategy of our revolution, so that we can go back to our country and do the revolution like good

boys! But Stalin was not devoid of sense. like them. He is reported to have told them to the effect: Look, since you will do the revolution, this work will also have to be done by you; I cannot do this for you; you may have consultations with me, there may be exchange of opinion, but I cannot formulate the strategy of your revolution; I am not that powerful — you will have to find someone else!

They have worked all along like this, and this habit still persists. See, even now. After the Second World War, a new term has come into vogue in international communist movement — New Democratic Revolution or People's Democratic Revolution. These parties have no need to see how the theories of People's Democratic or New Democratic Revolution came about, what are their origins, in which countries are these applicable and how; there is no necessity of examining and understanding all these ! When the theory of People's Democratic or New Democratic Revolution was emphatically placed internationally as a line for revolution in the world communist movement, the Communist Party of India blindly copied the same in toto and started chanting: 'Our revolution is People's Democratic Revolution'. And subsequently, when the international communist leadership split into two, this party also got divided into two parts - the CPI and the CPI(M). The latter called the former revisionist and separated from it. But this row over revisionism apparently did not affect their main strategic slogan! That is why, even after the split, People's Democratic Revolution remained the slogan for both of them. Although the CPI(M) is calling the CPI revisionist and the latter, in turn, is calling the former dogmatic, that is, ultra leftist, still the main strategy for both has remained the same as before - People's Democratic Revolution for the rightist CPI and again the same People's Democratic Revolution for the CPI(M) as well. It seems, their People's Democratic Revolution is not affected by revisionism ! Actually, they have no real concern whether their base political line is revisionist or not. If you have left the party, surely you have not done so simply because you found

the behaviour of one or two leaders to be revisionist, but on the basis of examination of its main political slogan, programme and the leadership? Why do we call a party revisionist ? Surely because we find its policies and politics revisionist. Now, the political slogan of the CPI is People's Democratic Revolution and you in the CPI(M) call that party revisionist, but see, your political slogan too, is People's Democratic Revolution ! That is why I say that, their politics is not really concerned about revisionism. To them, revisionism is a matter of personal likes and dislikes about conduct and behaviour of others.

There is another possibility. A party should be judged by examining what its theory is and whether its practice is in conformity with its theory which it is claiming to be revolutionary. In that case it could have been that the CPI(M)'s theory is the same as that of the CPI, but what the CPI is practising does not follow from the theory. But you of the CPI(M) are not saying that even. You are saying that they are revisionists, there is ideological difference between yourselves and the CPI, your theories are not same. By saying this, you are trying to befool the people, and yourselves too. Or it may be that you are not succeeding in befooling anybody but yourselves. You are failing to comprehend that there is no fundamental difference between you and the CPI.

It may be that their theoretical standard is at such a low level that they are not able to comprehend that their difference with the CPI is in just some slogans, phrases and vocabulary. For example, both these parties are saying that the revolution is People's Democratic. The CPI is saying that they will establish People's Democracy via National Democracy, since the national bourgeoisie have a progressive, revolutionary role. By forming National Democratic Front unitedly with the National bourgeoisie, they will usher in National Democracy and through it, will move on to the People's Democratic Revolution and their "revolution" may come about peacefully. Those of the CPI(M) are saying : It is true that the national bourgeoisie have a progressive role, but there will

be no national front with them; we shall have a united front; at times there will be unity and struggle at other times.

Thus, the matter boils down to this that both are talking of People's Democratic Revolution and both are saying that the main enemy of Indian revolution is not capitalism but imperialism and feudalism which are to be overthrown to establish People's Democratic state. That is, both are saying the revolution will be national, anti-imperialist, and anti-feudal and the national bourgeoisie will play a progressive role in it. Now if the revolution is anti-imperialist and national, it will also be anti-feudal. But if it is anti-imperialist but socialist instead of national, then it will have to be anti-capitalist revolution. But both the CPI and CPI(M) hold that the revolution will be anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and national and the national bourgeoisie have a progressive and revolutionary role in it. Where lies the difference then? The difference between the two is what I have just said, that is, one side is saying that there will be a national front with the bourgeoisie and People's Democracy will be established through National Democracy while the other side is saying : No national front, we shall form a united front with the bourgeoisie; there will be both unity and struggle; we shall make use of the national bourgeoisie in this manner and do the revolution. Thus the total ideological difference reduces to only a tactical difference in approach to the national bourgeoisie while both the parties remain propounders of People's Democratic Revolution.

When the CPI(M) appeared on the scene, they posed as if they followed Mao Tse-tung as the authority. Now, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said many correct things. It is undeniable that today he stands out as the living inspiration of revolution in the world. Not only is he playing an important role in the communist revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles striving to free them from the basic weakness of revisionism, but he is fighting actively to that end and conducting a valuable struggle from which we have many things to learn.

But it does not mean thereby that whatever Mao Tse-tung has said will have to be followed by us blindly, uncritically and unquestioningly. This is no Marxist-Leninist methodology, no dialectical materialist understanding. Once Lenin had to fight such tendency, as I have already mentioned. Mao Tse-tung himself had to fight such tendency. When Mao was giving shape to the Chinese revolution, they had before them the teachings of Marx and Engels and all the teachings of Lenin who had emerged as a great revolutionary personality and also Leninism, which is the Marxism of the present era. Mao Tse-tung's party still holds that this is the era of Leninism, although in their recent expressions and mode of presentation there is a slightly different tone. But still they do not deny that this is the era of Leninism and that it is Leninism that will fundamentally guide the revolutionary movements of the present era. The CPC is not denying this in their analysis of international situation, whatever might be their other leanings.

However, I shall not dwell upon that aspect any more today. The point I want to stress is that in the Chinese revolution, Mao had to fight out the tendency of blindly following even Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin just as Lenin had to fight the tendency of blind copying in his time, and it is through this struggle that Mao proved that those who wanted to copy Lenin and Stalin blindly were not their true successors or disciples. While Mao was fighting this blindness, apparently it seemed that he was fighting Lenin and Stalin themselves but actually he is the true successor to Lenin and Stalin, of Marxism-Leninism on Chinese soil and he has proved it by successfully leading the revolution there.

Today the same practice is being repeated in the world centring round Mao himself. In different countries, some people are repeating the same practice, this time of blindly copying Mao and CPC. What had once happened in regard to Marx and Engels, then Lenin and subsequently Stalin, has now begun again in regard to Mao Tse-tung. And what do we see as the result? The third faction, apart from the two parties CPI and

CPI(M), who are generally called the Naxalites, does not want to pay heed to any reasoning. Their attitude is: Oh, you think you understand more than Chairman Mao? To differ from Mao means opposing the revolution.

Yes, in a sense, this is true. But the problem lies in their understanding about allegiance to international leadership. By allegiance to Mao, they mean disgorging whatever Mao ever said. And we hold that the thing is to accept his teachings and leadership, to understand the same on the basis of inter-dialectical relationship, and by drawing lessons from him, to apply these in our revolution, and if we have a contribution to make out of our own experience, then to place the same on the basis of this very dialectical process. It is only through this dialectical process that we can correctly build up the communist movement in our country, help the Chinese struggle for socialist advancement and strengthen the international communist movement as well.

Obligation to internationalism never connotes blind allegiance

Here I want to emphasise again what I have discussed many a time before. If allegiance to international communist leadership means blind allegiance, then that is harmful. I firmly hold that obligation to communist leadership never, under no circumstances, means blind obedience to it, rather it always means a dialectical relationship among the communist parties based on the principle of "unity-struggle-unity" with the common object of revolution, emancipation and social progress.

This relationship is governed by the principle of non-antagonistic contradiction i.e. the principle of struggle and unity at the same time. And when this dialectical relationship between the international communist leadership and the different communist parties takes a living form in practice, then and then only can it open up the possibility of continuous development and enrichment of the thinking and ideological standard of the international communist leadership which not only benefits the leadership but if the character of

the contradiction between the international leadership and the communist parties in different countries be non-antagonistic, that is, mutually conducive in the perspective of the struggle against the common enemy, that is, against world imperialism and capitalism, then the communist movements in the different countries can benefit from it and be conducted along correct course.

At the time of the Chinese revolution, some of those who were in the leadership prior to Mao, by copying from blind allegiance everything that Lenin said and by quoting Lenin, tried to show as if the process of transformation of the peasantry into Kulaks (rural bourgeoisie) was already on in China like in Russia in Lenin's time. Mao Tse-tung said that such people were fit to be boxed in the ears. Since a section of the Russian peasantry had become transformed into bourgeoisie, Lenin had termed them bourgeois. Now as because Lenin had said that a section of the peasantry had been transformed into rural bourgeoisie, therefore the peasants in China had also become rural bourgeoisie! What kind of a theory is this? Is it not sheer foolishness? The Naxalites at present are arguing just like this. Mao Tse-tung had opined that those in China who talked of peasants having been transformed into rural bourgeoisie, were reactionary and lackeys of imperialism. By quoting him the Naxalites say that in India too, those who hold that a section of the peasants have been transformed into rural bourgeoisie, are stooges of imperialism and reactionary! What can be done with such people? Nothing much, really. But we have a task to perform and that is, we must painstakingly explain to the people this practice of blind copying and the harm done by it in a manner easily understood by them. The attitude we should take up while combating the Naxalites ideologically shall be: The slogan that to disavow Mao or to oppose the CPC or Mao is to strengthen international reaction is correct, but the way you are using this slogan, you are actually going against the main political aim and object of this slogan. That is, the manner in which you are invoking the name of Mao in season and out of season in utter disregard of how to project an

international leader, when and to what extent, and without keeping the concrete situation in view — through all these you are objectively denigrating such a great leader and his image before the Indian masses; you are providing the reactionaries with the opportunity to create wrong impression about the revolutionary leadership and to spread confusion among the masses. Secondly, to master Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary theory and to apply it creatively in practice itself means recognising the revolutionary role of Mao and the CPC and certainly not opposing them. If Mao's theory is followed blindly, it cannot conform to the reality here and if by doing this you create hindrance to the process of revolution in India, then whatever may be your assertions that you are adherents to the CPC and the revolutionary theory and thought of Mao Tse-tung, you will be strengthening the hands of reaction in practice. A leader is not strengthened by blind support. Rather, the leadership is weakened by this. Therefore, you will have to critically examine this point.

All of us know how rich in revolutionary teachings, experiences and heritage are Mao Tse-tung and his party. No less rich in revolutionary heritage are the Soviet Communist Party, founder of the first Socialist State in the world, and Comrades Lenin and Stalin. The teachings of all of them and the teachings and analyses of Marx and Engels are before us. But what are these analyses? There are the products of deep understanding gained through application of Marxist dialectical materialist outlook to concrete situations and events. Now, the situation is changing and new events crop up all the time in this ever-changing world. Whenever we apply the dialectical science in this material world subject to the process of continual change, the analyses and conclusions derived are bound to keep on changing from time to time. Such changes do not mean that the new analyses and conclusions are opposed to the earlier ones. The contradictions between them are naturally conducive, and although apparently antagonistic, these are actually not antagonistic in nature. The contradiction that appears between one such

conclusion and another, is non-antagonistic and naturally conducive. If Marxism is applied scientifically in different situations then there will be difference between the conclusion arrived at by applying it on a particular stage of development of a process and that arrived at by applying it on a somewhat different stage of development of the same. But the contradiction arising out of this difference between the two is mutually conducive.

From one conclusion to another, and from there to yet another conclusion — this is how Marxism develops. Just as there are differences between the conclusions drawn at different stages of development of science from say, Copernicus to Einstein. But each of these conclusions has helped in the growth and development of the next conclusion. Again, that next conclusion, in its turn, has helped to arrive at a yet more developed and advanced conclusion. The contradiction between them is mutually conducive and therefore, non-antagonistic in nature.

As I was saying, the development of Marxism too takes place in this manner. But those who fail to see this contradiction while concretely applying Marxism, the concrete contradiction arising from difference of situations and the contradiction between the general and the particular, do not view or analyse the matter with dialectical materialist approach. What happens as a result? The result is, while trying to follow the general truth blindly, they actually oppose the very political aim and object of that general truth at some point of time. Perhaps, they do this not consciously but unknowingly; but the effect is the same. This phenomenon of unwittingly doing wrong can be viewed with compassion in a psychiatric clinic, but how can we show sympathy for it in the arena of political battles? Here, we are not treating a psychic patient. Here, grievous damage inevitably follows from the mistake. Whether you do it knowingly or unknowingly, innocently, if as a result of your mistake the revolution suffers a setback and reaction is strengthened then the damage is done anyway. This harmful effect of wrong application of Marxism by copying will have to be pointed out

and exposed in this manner. With this in view, we have clearly stated our party's stand many a time in writings and discussions.

We have had many a discussion earlier on the questions of conditions in pre-revolution China, the then international situation and the specific characteristic features of Chinese revolution like the character of state, the character of economic system, that is the stage of development of agrarian economy and capitalism there, class correlation of forces and who constituted the national bourgeoisie there, etc.

Indian economy is capitalist

If side by side with these are compared the character of Indian state and its structure and form, the character of Indian agrarian economy, the present stage of development of Indian capitalism and who constitute the national bourgeoisie in India etc. then it will be seen that there are some common features of the two countries like vastness of the peasantry and vastness of the land. When there will be armed uprising and protracted battle in this country, there will be some features common with those of China. But there are basic differences between China and India in regard to the main strategy of revolution, the revolutionary situation, characteristics, basic class disposition, etc. Pre-revolution China was a semi-colonial state. Although there was a central government in Nanking on paper, China used to be administered as a country territorially divided into the spheres of influence of different imperialist powers and the areas ruled by various feudal warlords. There was no central administration, no single central national government functioning in a centralised manner.

Take the case of India. The centralised character of a national government, that is a countrywide centralised administrative machinery of modern type comprising unified, well-knit chain of communication, administration and military from the remotest village level up to the capital that we have in India—which is not of pre-capitalist, localised or decentralised loose

medieval type and not divided into territories of local rulers and spheres of influence of this or that imperialist power—these were not there in China. Therefore, whereas the Indian State is modern, national and capitalist in character, the Chinese State was pre-capitalist, medieval and semi-colonial. Such is the difference in character of State between India and China. Secondly, by the term national bourgeoisie, Mao Tse-tung has meant the urban middle class in China. As a matter of fact, there had been practically no growth of capitalism, industrial capitalism in China. Chinese economy was essentially a localised agricultural economy. And here in India, capitalism has developed as a national capitalist system. It has given birth to state monopoly capital and already there is a growing tendency of militarisation of economy. Indian monopoly capitalists have today become junior partners of international imperialist trusts and cartels. Indian capital has already given birth to finance capital and financial oligarchy through merger of banking capital and industrial capital and through export of finance capital it has acquired imperialist character. And the localised agricultural economy in India broke up even while the Britishers were here. Whatever remnants were there, were shattered through the Second World War. Even a lay man knows this. If you go through the works of Saratchandra which were penned a long time back during independence movement, you will find that while describing the conditions in villages, he is saying that there is no milk, or eggs, or fish or anything in the villages. Vegetables are grown in the villages but the villagers hardly see these. Milk is produced in villages, but the villagers cannot consume the same. Everything goes away to the markets in towns and cities. Such is the state of 'localised agricultural economy'! Village artisans of different trades like weavers, potters are finding it difficult to keep body and soul together. The oilmen (*Kolis*) have become virtually extinct. Distinctive rural community life and self-sufficient rural economy are for long matters of the past in India. Such is the situation. Now come the questions : What are the structure

and character of Indian agrarian economy and agricultural production system, the character of agricultural produce? What sort of land-relation is prevalent? What is the character of the labour power engaged in agricultural production? We have discussed these many a time earlier.

We have repeatedly shown that in the rural economy of our country, production is carried on on the basis of capitalist relation of production, land has been transformed into an instrument, a means, of capitalist production like a factory. And this land is gradually going out of the hands of 85 per cent of rural population who are coming down to swell the ranks of proletariat or semi-proletariat, and is being concentrated in the hands of a few. 55 to 60 per cent of total land is now concentrated in the hands of only five to six per cent of rural population. The produce of rural economy, the agricultural produce, have today become commodities in the national capitalist market. This agricultural produce which the owners are producing by investing capital on land and agriculture, is being produced on the basis of owner-worker relationship, that is, capitalist production relation. About 85 per cent of rural population are landless peasants and agricultural labourers who are essentially proletariat like the workers of factories in the cities, and they constitute the main labour force in agricultural production. Now this continuous growth in number of agricultural labourers, more and more concentration of land in the hands of a few, transformation of land into a means of investment of capital, organising of production on the basis of owner-worker relationship, acquiring of proletarian character by agricultural labour and above all, the transformation of agricultural produce into commodities of the national market—all these prove that Indian agricultural economy is basically capitalist in nature.

In this connection, I wish to remind you about a valuable teaching of Lenin regarding infiltration of capitalism in agricultural economy. While explaining as to how to conclude that there has been infiltration of capitalism into agricultural economy, Lenin in his famous treatise, *Agrarian*

Question in Russia at the end of 19th century enumerated the symptoms of this development as follows: More and more concentration of land, legal or illegal, in the hands of a few, growth in the number of landless agricultural labourers, more and more farming on the basis of freely hired agricultural labour, growing control of capitalist trade and commerce over agrarian economy and transformation of agricultural produce into commodities of national capitalist market.

Now you compare this evaluation of Lenin with the structure and character of our agrarian economy which I have just discussed. Does this not clearly prove what I have told you, that our agrarian economy is basically capitalistic in nature? By explaining these points, we have to show that on the question of determining the stage of revolution, there is no basic similarity between India and China. But as I have already said, there are some similarities like the vastness of land and in the fact that the peasantry comprise a very large section of the population. Therefore, from the point of view of the tactics of conducting revolutionary struggle in India, there are similarities with China, Vietnam and such other relatively backward countries. These too are to be explained to them.

Failure of parties named communist in our country to establish dialectical relationship with international leadership

And the most important thing is that by reiterating Lenin's teachings of the November Revolution, we have to exhort upon them: Please discard the habit of blind copying. Otherwise, you will denigrate Mao Tse-tung and the CPC. As it is, you are doing enough damage. Through your practice, you are harming the cause of world revolution and the revolution in our country. Revolution cannot be brought about in any country by copying. First, you should master whatever revolutionary theories have developed in different countries. Then you must have the ability to concretise these on Indian soil. Revolution cannot be achieved unless you can first master Marxism-Leninism, revolutionary theory,

general revolutionary teachings developed through struggles in different countries and then concretise them, develop them so as to suit the purpose of your own revolution, to suit the specific peculiar characteristics of your own country. So, every revolutionary theory, revolutionary science, requires development. Without developing it, concretising it, you cannot have revolution. This is to be explained to the Naxalites.

While discussing the theories of revolution of the CPI and the CPI(M) and also regarding the Naxalites, I have repeatedly shown that whatever decisions they have taken or conclusions arrived at till now were all done by invoking the international leadership. All along, they have tried to interpret the Indian society blindly and mechanically, copying in toto the formulations made either by the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party or any general line accepted at the international conferences. Here I would raise another point which all these parties have totally missed. When a general line evolves through conflict, exchange and interaction of ideas, opinions and experiences between the communist parties of different countries, then that becomes the fundamental general line in the given international situation. But nowhere and in no country can revolution be organised by copying in toto that general line even if it is correct in the given international situation. Because, whenever you try to apply this general line in a country, certain differences, certain contradictions are sure to crop up depending upon the specific concrete conditions, particular situation and peculiarities of that country. And if you are able to resolve these contradictions correctly, then and then only can you formulate the particular line of revolution by correctly analysing the particular conditions of that country and that becomes the particular line of that particular revolution. Although the contradiction between the fundamental general line, even if it has been adopted unanimously, and the particular line of revolution of a particular country, are mutually conducive to each other in character, yet there is no doubt that such conflict and contradiction between the two are bound to

appear and will appear again and again. Neither the undivided party under the name 'Communist Party' nor any of its present three factions, has in the past or even today been able to grasp the nature of this conflict and contradiction between the general and the particular. To them, abiding by the decisions of the international communist leadership means copying the same in toto, to impose the general line, after at best making certain additions, alterations or changes in the mode of expression, on the particular situation of our country. If you analyse the strategies of revolution of the CPI, the CPI(M) or the Naxalites — the CPI's strategy of People's Democratic Revolution via the intermediate stage of National Democratic Revolution forming a National Democratic Front with the national bourgeoisie through the process of national democratic movement (which, in reality, reflects a bourgeois democratic trend and nothing else), the CPI(M)'s strategy of People's Democratic Revolution straightway, the Naxalite strategy of encircling the towns creating liberated zones in the countryside based on the interpretation that the Indian state is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial one — you will find that all these parties have, in fact, although failed to take cognizance of the realities of Indian society by blindly copying, in toto, the general line adopted at the international communist conferences or sittings or the formulations made by the Soviet or the Chinese leadership and imposing them on the objective condition of India. So what do we find? We find that the practice of all these parties is to make subjective formulations first with regard to the strategy of revolution and then cook up and marshal such data and arguments as would suit their subjective and fanciful formulations.

Utmost importance of revolutionary code of conduct and sense of discipline

Let me now discuss another aspect. It has become customary these days to remark that our theory is good, very good. We too hear this all the time, like a lullaby. Not only our own

workers, but the common people, people outside the party and even the so-called communist parties say like this. Our opponents who do not really try to understand our party and what it stands for, our politics — many of their leaders do not want to be drawn into discussions with us even after persuasion, admit readily that our theory and analyses are excellent and shut off the discussion at that lest their shallow knowledge and low level of understanding get exposed. Our workers too chant : Our analyses are perfect, our theory correct, very correct. I ask them: Just because our theory is correct, can you go for a sound sleep? Since our theory is correct, our political analyses perfect, nothing else remains to be done? Because our theory is correct, will revolution materialise automatically, come about spontaneously?

No, it does not work that way. That is why I like to stress a very important point : The teachings of November Revolution should be grasped in entirety and put into practice. See, many of us are learning about revolutionary theories, lofty ideals, values and ethics. Why are they doing so? They are learning in order to equip themselves with the revolutionary politics of the working class and to educate the workers and the common people in order to mobilise them in the revolutionary organisation. Otherwise, what is the use of acquiring values, ethics and culture? Values, culture, knowledge, scholarship, wisdom — what are all these for if there is no understanding of the proletarian politics and culture, of the base political line of the party, and of the struggle between this line and the other political lines in a given situation? What use are all these if we lack the ability to conduct this struggle not only in victory but amidst failure, frustration and difficulties? Learning about culture, values, philosophy is for acquiring the capacity to shape out this politics not only when we are on the road to victory but also while fighting against obstacles, facing successive setbacks and defeats. Is it not so?

And to achieve this, we need revolutionary conduct and the sense of revolutionary discipline. In the military, discipline means discipline

enforced by wielding of the stick. Willy nilly, they are to carry out the orders. Otherwise, they do not get paid, they lose their jobs. Not only that. Once enrolled, they cannot desert. They will be forced to come back or put behind the bars. So, they have to maintain discipline under compulsion. But the sense of discipline in a revolutionary party is not like in an army. The discipline here is voluntary, self-imposed. Sense of discipline in a revolutionary party springs from our own recognition of its necessity. Since it is not imposed by force and the concept of discipline is not mechanical, should anyone take advantage of that? Should anyone consider this to be a privilege? But these days I am worried, I feel disturbed by the conduct of some of our comrades. I find some leading comrades, let alone ordinary comrades about whom I shall speak later, often not doing their job but wasting the time in gossip. They do not care to think what responsibility they are entrusted with, what their specific tasks are. But they show keen interest in gathering information about the happenings around the world. Their heads are crammed with world revolution but they do not spare a thought even for their own specific responsibility. They do not ask themselves: What about my personal initiative? Am I discharging my responsibility? If not, will not this habit of mine infect others ? And if this goes on, then there would be no such thing as discharging one's specific task in the party, the whole party work would be subject to the personal whims and mood of comrades. No party unit can be allowed to function like this. But I have noticed of late many important comrades behaving like this. Secondly, many leading comrades do not learn how to maintain discipline. There are some basic principles to guide our conduct. If I don't observe these, if I myself lack in discipline, then of what use will be the struggle by those people whom I have mobilised? Wherefrom will they acquire the ability and get the training to bear with everything in hours of difficulty, during a sudden turmoil if it comes?

If something is not to my liking, I react to it at once; if some difference of opinion crops up, I

lose balance and start talking irrationally; if things are not to my liking, I start whispering behind the back. Such are the petty bourgeois bad habits, the negative aspects of our character acquired from this society. There is no reason to be afraid of these. One should understand that these are aspects of our weakness, our defects—the negative side of our character. These negative aspects should be eliminated. Wherefrom shall we get the strength to overcome these if we don't learn discipline, if our conduct is not befitting to revolutionary workers? Surely, we need this training in the interest of revolution?

It may happen at times that while taking a decision in a body, there is difference among the comrades on a particular point. In such cases, any one of us may be in the wrong. May be I am correct, but the decision is to the contrary. The attitude should be such that even then I shall abide by the decision. In these cases the only point in deciding on our approach and attitude should be that we must not fail to differentiate between the major and the minor, to examine whether the question involves anything fundamental or concerns something minor or temporary in nature. Even if the decision by a party body does not correspond with one's opinion, his attitude and mental makeup should be such that he would still happily abide by it and maintain discipline so that his conduct can serve as an example in the party. So that others may realise: See, this comrade carried on fight for what he thought to be correct, but once a decision was arrived at, he submitted to it happily ! If any comrade wants to sympathise with him on such occasions, he should react : Did I fight on the issue to establish my personal opinion? Was the fight a personal one? As I understood the issue, so I fought. Now that the decision has been arrived at, it is a collective decision and all of us are party to it. Why have you come to sympathise with me? Do you expect that, being pleased, I shall encourage you? Such should be our attitude and approach. If one does not do this, if he lacks this discipline and self-control, what will the other comrades learn ? What will be their reaction if they find a leading comrade,

despite his theoretical attainment, grumbling, venting out grievances and behaving irrationally?

Many workers of the party are undergoing all sorts of hardship. The party has now grown comparatively bigger, people of all types and with different backgrounds are coming into it. Some are employed and relatively well-off, some may have developed the organisation to an extent that ensures reasonably good food and lodging for them. But most workers who come from workers', peasants', or lower middle class families and who because of their poor economic condition, cannot even afford two square meals, are working for the party and developing organisations at such places where either because of their own limitations or because of the situation obtaining, they have not yet been able to create means for a little better living. Workers of all these types are in the party and will be there in future. The bigger the party grows, the greater will be their multiplicity. What should be our approach in such situations? It should be like this : Those who are not well-off, should not have any hankering for the good living condition of other comrades, they should be indifferent to this. And those who are a little better off should have no attachment to good living. They should develop an attitude of sharing the stresses, strains and sufferings with others if need be. In a word, they should be able to give up their all at a moment's notice. This is by no means an easy task. They should be capable of restraining any desire if it arises and they should do it not as a matter of show but because they have no particular greed or attachment for anything. In working for the party, they do not count upon their good living. Only if their attitude is like this, will the comrades from poor families accept them as comrades from the core of their heart. Even a good comrade who suffers hardships, if not determined enough, may get frustrated at times owing to the negative aspects or weaknesses in his character. Now, if a leading comrade grumbles over his difficulties every moment how can the comrades who work amidst poverty keep up their morale?

Does the party work mean delivering some speeches only? Or the ability to mix with people?

Can one be a good worker or a revolutionary simply through these? The most important thing about a revolutionary is that he understands well the party's political line and maintains discipline voluntarily. He knows how to restrain himself, has self control and acts in a disciplined manner. As the party is gaining strength, we are facing the problems more and more. It is no longer possible for the leadership to pay individual attention to each and every comrade. We understand this. When the party was small, confined within a small circle, it was possible to pay attention to each and every comrade. But as the party has grown bigger, the attention which can be given to those who have to remain in close contact with the leadership, cannot be given to those whose nature of work does not permit close association with the leaders. Again, the attention which could be paid earlier to even those who were in close contact with the leadership cannot be given now as the party has expanded. That is why the whole environment in the party should be such that the conduct and style of work of each worker, organiser and leader serves to instruct others, the sense of discipline of one induces others to be conscious about discipline.

During serious discussions, many of us often indulge in chatting with one another, in cutting jokes as if the whole thing is a fun. Revolutionaries can of course have jokes — but does joking mean frivolity? Frivolity stems from a different mentality that loosens discipline. Sometimes, it so happens that while being spoken to or criticized by a leader, a worker winks at another or smiles meaningfully as if to say : We have had enough of such talks and criticisms . That is, criticism does not really matter, it is a habit with the leaders to criticize. There are workers given to this kind of thinking. If this is what is happening right before my eyes, one can imagine the actual magnitude of the problem. Again, there are some who are more clever. Perhaps they put on a grave look and consider that the leaders will think thereby that they have taken the matter seriously. But the leadership understands what is what. The party leadership is

mature enough to see through all this.

I am making all this criticism because we are in a transitional phase today. The party has reached a stage when it can take big stride forward, we should now plunge headlong into action . Cadres we have in plenty but many of them lack individual initiative and self-confidence. When revolutionary workers discuss among themselves, they should do so to provide courage to one another, to plunge into work and to be equal to their tasks. There is another kind of discussion which magnifies the reasons why and what for the tasks cannot be accomplished and furnishes excuses for the same. This kind of discussion dampens the initiative of the workers, impairs their working ability and undermines the prospects opening up before the party. Should this be the purpose of our discussion, our association? The purpose of association is to overcome the weaknesses so that we can boldly face and take up the challenge — however difficult the task might be. Even when we meet and talk in spare time, we should do so to encourage one another, to provide confidence and to overcome lack of initiative. Without this, the term 'collective initiative' loses meaning. It becomes formal, mechanical, something lifeless, if it is not based on individual initiative. An individual — whatever his level of consciousness — if he has developed into a revolutionary then it means that he dares to change his environment and realises that as a conscious man he has to struggle to mould it, to change it and to shape it . He cannot give excuses or shy away from the task. He has to take on the responsibility to remould the environment because individual initiative is the base of collective work. All of us should think like this.

To say one is conscious means, one is prepared to act consciously to change the present environment. Otherwise, he is not really conscious. In the literal sense, he may be taken to be educated, an intellectual, but he lacks true consciousness. A truly conscious man cannot be a man without initiative. He not only discusses things but bears a specific responsibility which he discharges with dedication. On that, he never indulges in giving

excuses. He may lose in a struggle, may fail while putting theory into practice or experimenting, but he can proudly tell the world all about his failure because he has not shirked his responsibility, has been true to his conscience. He has not just discussed things idly, has not tried to rationalise and justify his failure. He has striven, has fought, has attempted but failed. This is how true revolutionaries view the matter. Remember, we started in the midst of failures. You too may have to meet failure after failure. We do not know how many more setbacks await us, but we are confident that ultimate victory will be ours because we are on the right course. If we can draw correct lessons from the failures, ultimate victory is certain. This is how revolution has succeeded in different countries — failure followed by failure and so on, and then the ultimate victory. There is a famous observation by Mao Tse-tung in this regard: "The failures of the revolutions in history cannot and must not be allowed to repeating themselves, the situation must be turned into one of victory." (*The Orientation of the Youth Movement* — Selected Works, Vol. 3, Page 12)

Revolutionary character can only develop through political struggle based on correct theory

Now, many people even think that our revolutionary theory is correct but perhaps the method of training cadres is not. I have talked to some groups who came for discussion. They think like this. Now this seems strange to me. I have tried to understand them and found that they missed an important point. They think that if one just adheres to the Leninist code of conduct then every thing will automatically turn out all right — we will acquire the ability to analyse, interpret and grasp politics correctly.

The Leninist code of conduct, no doubt, is necessary to develop the revolutionary character of the cadres without which revolution can never be achieved. But the point is, how can the revolutionary cadres and their character be shaped? Can it be through mere thinking, wishing or praying intently? No. You will have to strive for

it. What does it mean? Do you realise in how many ways you act to the contrary while thinking that you are following the correct code of conduct? And you will not acquire the capacity even to realize that you are acting to the contrary or harbouring adverse attitude unless you develop your theoretical understanding and knowledge through struggle following a correct methodology.

So, if we are to apply the qualities of revolutionary character correctly in life then we shall have to take active part, with all sincerity, in conducting political struggles developed on the basis of correct base political line. Otherwise, we may merely talk of revolutionary code of conduct but in practice, that would remain a far cry. Following the code of conduct would be reduced to nothing but code mongering.

Now, it is natural that lots of problems face us. For instance, the problems concerning the cadres, of educating and training them. There are many aspects to discuss in this connection, but right now, I cannot go into all those. All that I say and surely you will all agree that our theory of revolution is correct. But three types of serious defects are observed among us. Many among us have different types of ability but they do not make use of these because they do not know what their specific tasks are, nor do they know what responsibility they can discharge satisfactorily, not to speak of actually doing the same. Such things may happen, often, in a party. But if you are alert, have initiative and make serious efforts then any fault or mistake committed today will get corrected tomorrow. But this does not mean that all comrades will commit mistakes.

So, since there is no difference on fundamental theoretical and ideological questions, you make a start on some work, any work on your own initiative; discharge your own responsibility sincerely. The main thing is whether everybody is discharging his own responsibility or not.

I find many a comrade performing no specific tasks of their own, concerned more about the responsibility of the whole party. Well, in that case such a comrade should better be in our position. Who would do his work then? Should

we, therefore, move to his position? Now, he may retort : "I am too good for my present work. Please take up my position and let me move up to yours." In that case, what he says may make some sense. Otherwise, what does it indicate?

Every comrade in our party can put forward suggestions. That is one thing. But he must first be doing his job. That is, his own duty and responsibility should come first with him and he should perform them well; only after that, from the experience he gains, may he make some suggestions to the party, may make various suggestions on the party's general line and policies. That is good. But strangely, many, constantly worried about which move of the party is correct and which is not, bother least about whether they perform any specific task or not.

Whereas, every party worker should feel: 'However little, however limited, I have got a specific responsibility, I have a definite sphere of activity. By performing my duty in that sphere, I am proving my worth. I am not just floating around. My job is not to waste time, gossiping with comrades and friends. Such discussions may be purposive only if they bring newer and newer people into the party, at least closer to the party. That is, I should recruit new workers in this way. This is the responsibility entrusted to me by the party. This is my task.'

But these comrades are not doing even this much. They just go on talking. They keep themselves busy the whole day, with this only. As a result, many competent comrades who could provide leadership are wasting their capabilities. This is the number one defect.

Secondly, there are many important comrades who do good work; when they work they do it well. But it all depends on their mood whether they will work or not. They are in the habit of uttering expressions like "I am in no mood now" anywhere they like, although they hold responsible positions. The ordinary comrades too watch them and hear them saying such things.

These comrades holding even responsible position seem not to care for once how such behaviour adversely affects the ordinary workers,

party life and the mass movement. They forget what damaging effect it can have on ordinary workers who are constantly afflicted with the vices of the present society. On many occasions, unknowingly, they do disservice to the party by such careless expressions, outweighing the service they render. But they do it unconsciously. They do not intend to do anything harmful because they joined the party inspired by its revolutionary ideology and the nobility of the cause it upholds. But they lack this self restraint, this balance. They do have difficulties, but if they lack the ability to bear with that then what will the ordinary comrades learn from them?

Revolutionaries shouldn't think for a moment that they will not have to face trials and tribulations. One can be in the revolutionary movement only if the situation can be kept trouble free to the last — such thinking helps neither revolution nor a worker to become a revolutionary. So one is to be ready for any situation. Yes, it may take time to get so prepared, but comrades must make efforts towards it. And the efforts should be such that one does not move opposite to the intended direction through these in practice. The first step should be to effect a break with the past conduct, at least forsaking the habit of giving vent to one's feeling here, there and everywhere. One should give vent to such feelings only if it becomes unbearable otherwise, and that too, before the leadership and not just anywhere.

The attitude should be: So long as I am in the party, so long as I am in a leading position at any level enjoying some authority, the rank and file comrades look up to me as a leader; naturally, my conduct and behaviour cannot but affect them; if I am aware of my weakness or defect I shall bring it up as a matter of discussion for rectification but not before all those comrades who cannot help me in this regard, who would rather do harm by showing sympathy; it is better to resolve the matter with the appropriate leadership.

Now, there is another set of comrades among whom there are two types. Those of one type, if asked to do some work, would do it. Those of the other type would do the work sometimes, but at

other times, would say, "I am not in mood for it" and sit tight. These comrades should realise that there are many jobs which we may not like but if we behave thus when we do not like a job then we cannot become an ordinary disciplined political worker even, not to speak of becoming a worthy revolutionary. The point to be grasped here is that realisation of theory does not mean picking up some lofty sayings. Theoretical discourse becomes meaningless if it does not inculcate sense of discipline and create the urge for work in a disciplined manner. Correct realisation of theory teaches one disciplined conduct. But if one does not learn how to behave properly, rather he behaves undesirably, how can he possibly consider that he has understood lofty theories and ideals? It would only mean that his understanding is all muddled up. He thinks he knows much but in reality he has learnt nothing. To the extent one's understanding develops correctly, he becomes self-restrained, his conduct reflecting it, and to that extent will his conduct become correct and sense of proportions developed. The more the understanding develops, the more will develop this sense, one's self-restraint, self-control and endurance. Such is the process of learning and its fruit.

Again, there are some comrades whose enthusiasm flags after putting in some effort during, say, a fund collection drive. Such conduct may dampen the spirit of those others around who carry on collection from morning till night unflinchingly even when overexhausted. What happens if the leadership does not keep a constant vigil on such erring comrades and guide them and they do not acquire the minimum base of revolutionary character?

Soon, they are seen to while away more time than the time they spend for work. They lack in doggedness and determination in pursuing the work. They are seen to break away from collection after a while and take rest for long in a park. It is all right that young men and women enjoy leisure at times but it is annoying if they spend time on this when they should work. Why leave your job and enjoy leisure? Finish your job first then enjoy.

Enjoy as long as you can. Who objects? Perform your duty first, then spend time in enjoying leisure. It is quite likely that a boy and a girl comrade would like each other's company to talk. But why on the plea of doing work - why this deception? We find, contact occurs between the two behind others' backs. Somehow, without the knowledge of others, an appointment gets fixed between the two. If there is some party work at the appointed hour, timely indisposition comes handy. Why this? Because one desires to meet the other just at that time. Well, should you want to be together, why do you need to get "indisposed" for that? You tell straightaway that you desire to meet such and such and go to a park for the purpose. No, indisposition is to be feigned! This degrades one's character, one cannot develop into what he could have become. It is not that his character gets totally spoiled due to this recourse to secrecy, but certainly he cannot develop to fulfil his potential, much damage is done. No, this will not do. Nobody here obstructs you to love each other. But have it out straight and bold as befits a man. You become more responsible, more developed and happier thereby. What happens if you fail to take this approach? Nobody will view such conduct favourably. Even your comrades-in-arms who are ready to sacrifice their lives for you, will not look to you with respect.

Do you think it a healthy relation which makes you forget your tasks and responsibilities, and teaches you to offer false excuses and behave irresponsibly? Or is it not an unhealthy relationship? Is it really a relationship befitting a man? It is no better than an animal relationship. A human relationship ought to elevate. If it be true love, it ought to broaden men and women, ennoble them and free them from pretensions, endow them with courage and character and teach them to be straight forward in conduct.

Revolution demands discipline, individual initiative, leadership quality and daring of the revolutionaries

So, as I was saying, recruitment and training up of cadres indeed pose problems. Leaders

should seriously look into it. The rank and file comrades too, should never indulge in indiscipline. An indisciplined organisation, even if it becomes a million strong, is like a motley crowd, it does no good to the country nor can accomplish revolution.

Even if you rally a million people but do not change yourselves, I tell you, will never be able to bring about revolution. On the other hand, it is my firm belief that a revolutionary party can accomplish revolution with far less number of people, if it is well-knit and disciplined, if every member of it is disciplined and takes individual initiative, if every worker in it maintains revolutionary conduct, is spirited and has leadership quality, if they can undertake risks and do not lose their bearings in any situation, if the workers have prepared themselves politically, theoretically, mentally and physically to face the challenging tasks under all circumstances. I earnestly urge you to direct your thoughts to this goal.

You realise, I am criticizing my own party; not any other party. I have told you about my deep concern and what I feel you should do about it. Every comrade should respond to this. If you do not, you will be in disarray, you will not accomplish revolution. Plagued by inertia, you cannot accomplish the revolutionary task. Every one participating in revolution has to act with discipline.

All this may sound to some an unnecessary digression in a discussion on the teachings of November Revolution. But to us in the present situation this is the concrete lesson of November Revolution. Because, the revolutionaries who were

the product of November Revolution were no weaklings, nor sham characters. Those who accomplished November Revolution were prepared to face any situation. They did not place their love or the relationship between man and woman above the party and the revolution. We too preach this in our speeches and writings but do not always follow it in our work and conduct. So, we cannot act with responsibility always and our individual initiative gets lost.

So, my appeal to you is to train cadres. In particular, we need discipline so urgently. We have carved out a definite position for ourselves in the Indian politics today, even though we are yet a small party. But the aspects which today assume utmost urgency in my consideration are discipline, method and style of work and training cadres. With all our sound analyses and correct political line but lacking in this regard, we shall not be able to make further advance. That is, we shall not be able to advance at the pace we need at present with so many people with us, as compared to the pace with which we have advanced this far, starting with only a handful of comrades. Whereas, in the present concrete condition we can advance at a fast pace. The pseudo-progressives are disintegrating and the reactionary forces have not yet succeeded to achieve complete sway. To the revolutionaries it is now the golden opportunity to take big strides ahead. But to do it we need the correct theory and political line, and along with these we need discipline, revolutionary working style, individual initiative of the workers, revolutionary character and indomitable spirit for work. With this, I conclude my speech.

Long Live Revolution!
Long Live Great November Revolution!
Long Live SUCI!

Red Salute Comrade Biswanath Madhi



On 12th October, 2000 at about 9 a.m. Comrade Biswanath Madhi, a well-known tribal leader and SUCI organiser, was working in the field by the side of his hut at Kandaguda village in Malkangiri district. His wife, 4 daughters and son were also working in the field at a distance of about 200 metres. Suddenly a gang of armed PWG men carrying guns, axes, bows, arrows and lathis surrounded them. When the criminals raised their arms to attack Comrade Madhi and his son courageously snatched the gun from him. Just at that moment another PWG man hit Comrade Madhi on his head with a lathi from behind. Comrade Madhi fell down. Ramanna, the leader of the gang, rushed to the spot and fired at him indiscriminately. Comrade Madhi died on the spot. The gang then attacked his wife and all the daughters, tied them with rope and assaulted them mercilessly. Now they are under treatment at Malkangiri Hospital.

While attacking Comrade Madhi, they also

hit his son Rama on the head with lathi. But Rama managed to escape and rushed to the nearby police station at MV-79, 7 km away from the spot. While Rama was running away PWG men fired at him from behind, but failed to catch him. Policemen of MV-79 police station did not act immediately. They detained Rama for about two hours and then they started for Madhi's village. By that time the criminals had escaped. Till date no police action has been taken nor anyone arrested.

On behalf of the SUCI, Malkangiri, dharna was staged at the Collectorate on 14th October. On 19th October a demonstration was held and on 20th Rasta Roko was organised at Malkangiri in protest against the murder of Comrade Madhi and against police inaction.

Earlier also Comrade Madhi and his family members were attacked many times. The life of Comrade Madhi, a valiant fighter and a promising organiser, is a lesson for all of us.

Comrade Biswanath Madhi came in contact with the ideology of the SUCI in 1991. From then he accepted Marxism-Leninism and Shibdas Ghosh Thought as his philosophy of life. How the inhuman exploitation and torture on the people of Malkangiri would come to an end was his main concern. SUCI's ideology showed him the new path of struggle. Since then he engaged himself relentlessly and actively in party activities. Following the guideline of the party he built up people's movement on the burning issues of people's life in Padia and Kelimela block and other areas of Malkangiri district and through this he strengthened the party. He organised people of different walks of life particularly the Adivasi people and built up continuous movement against the ruthless oppression of vested interests, unscrupulous forest, revenue and police officers and the rural capitalists. For all these struggles he became eyesore to the entire administration.

Comrade Madhi was a dedicated party worker. He engaged himself in KKMS membership drive, fund collection for party and mass fronts. True to his party tuning and understanding, while discharging all his responsibilities he never failed to pay subscription regularly and submit proper account before the appropriate party body.

He involved all his family members in party activities. He engaged them to organise the exploited people of different villages.

When the leaders and cadres of the SUCI and more particularly Comrade Madhi organised people and built up movements one after another and SUCI started growing rapidly in that area the PWG, a Naxalite outfit, became vindictive and started their heinous attempts to wipe out the SUCI from that area from the fear that their existence in the area will be at stake. The PWG armed group attempted several times to kill Comrade Madhi and his family members. Just one day before the demonstration at the Kalimela block office on 2nd November, 1998 they ransacked the SUCI office at Tatiguda village, tied 8 comrades with chain and dragged them into dense forest and assaulted mercilessly. On the morning of 7th February 1999, PWG armed men attacked the hut of Comrade Madhi, opened fire on him and his family members. Though

Comrade Madhi survived, one of his legs was severely damaged with bullets shot by the criminals. His wife, daughters and son also sustained bullet injury. These are only a few instances of PWG's criminal activities in the area.

But all these brutal attacks could not break the morale of Comrade Madhi. He was a valiant fighter. He carried on his party activities braving all these threats and attacks. When PWG unleashed a reign of terror in MV-79 area, Comrade Madhi defied it and moved from village to village to organise people under the banner of the SUCI and the KKMS.

He used to convince them in their tribal language and became their friend in their sorrow and happiness. He was their intimate friend in their struggle. Wherever there was any family dispute or any disturbance in some family life, people used to call him to settle them.

Such a beloved and struggling man of the masses was killed by the PWG criminals in broad daylight. Time and again attention of police administration starting from the district level up to the DG and even the attention of the government and the Home Department was drawn. But neither the government nor the police administration did anything to curb these criminal acts rather their inaction indirectly helped the PWG to commit the gruesome murder of Comrade Madhi.

It is worth mentioning here that it is the SUCI alone which has been championing people's cause and building up movements one after another on the just demands of the people and is fighting to bring an end to all sorts of exploitation. The growing strength of SUCI in that area has generated panic among the unscrupulous administrative officers, police and the vested interests. All these forces have been aiding and abetting the PWG to commit such crimes against the SUCI. It is learnt from reliable sources that the paper mill owners, bamboo contractors have been paying money to PWG and it is also reported in the press that a Cabinet minister and a local Congress leader maintain close relationship with the PWG. The murder of Comrade Madhi is the outcome of this conspiracy.

Comrade Madhi, imbued with the thoughts

of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, fought valiantly for the cause of exploited people in a remote tribal area. He is no more with us. But his struggling life left for us a unique example. His character has proved that he realised the call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh — "... don't die humiliating yourself, ...when to die, die with honour... And

you have got only one surest way to live and die with honour, that is to take active part in the revolutionary struggle of the masses."

Comrade Madhi died a martyr's death and his life and struggle would inspire the exploited people to strengthen the cause of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in the country.

[Editorial Board deeply regrets the grievous mistake of naming the murdered Comrade Biswanath Madhi as Shambhunath Madhi in the last issue of the P.Era.]

Movement Against Price Hike



The SUCI stages demonstration at Surat against hike in prices of petro products on 11th October

A protest demonstration was organised against price hike in kerosine, cooking gas, diesel and petrol by the NDA government at chowk, the central area of Surat city on 11th October last. The demonstration started at 11.00 a.m. and continued for one hour. Speakers condemned the anti-people policies of the BJP government and demanded withdrawal of price hike in

petroleum products and appealed to the people to organise protest movement under the leadership of the SUCI. Comrade Ramkripal Maurya, Satendra Singh, Prabir Nayak and Mahendra Singh delivered their speeches. A large number of local people supported the demonstration by shouting slogans with the SUCI demonstrators.

People Mourn Flood Victims in West Bengal at the Call of SUCI

SUCI had appealed to the people to observe 24th October as a day of mourning by keeping 2 minutes silence and garlanding memorial columns at 11 a.m. in memory of the thousands of flood victims who met a helpless death, many of whom may for ever remain unknown. For who can tell how many were swept away by the mad flood torrents, helpless, old or invalid; how many frantic mothers trying to save their children; or how many died, slowly, painfully — clinging to a tree branch or perched on a dry patch of land amid the vast expanse of menacing water currents — waiting in vain for days on end for relief that never arrived, or too late. With entire villages wiped out, there may not remain a single person from these to tell of their tragedy, or to count and report the dead or alive. They all had the same right and desire to live on this earth as we do, but could not. When all the means to prevent such shocking deaths exist, one shudders to think of the inhuman negligence of the rulers, who shirked their responsibility even after the disaster, and for which thousands met a cruel end, unknown and unwept.

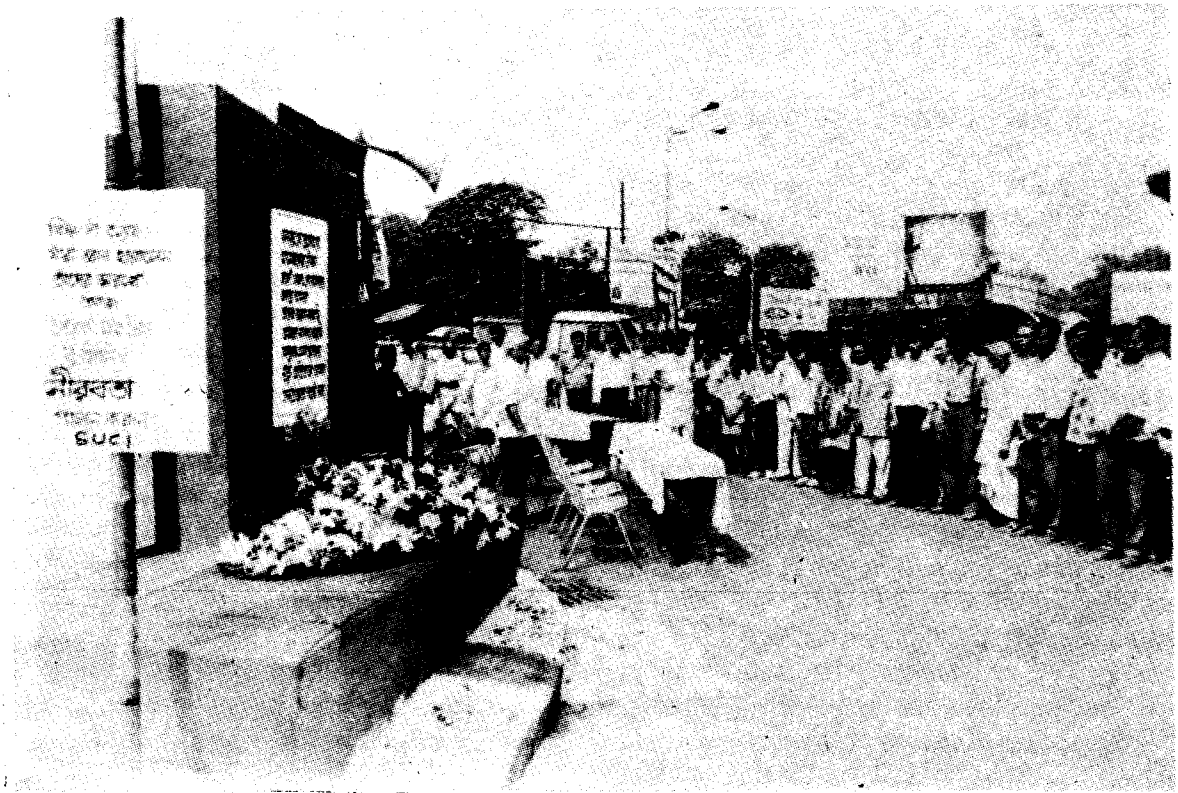
Each and every memorial column erected throughout the state carried the inscription: "Mournfully we remember the helpless people who lost their lives in this flood. We pledge, we will try utmost to prevent such pathetic helpless death of people". SUCI, in the appeal to the people said, among others: "This day of mourning will stand as the symbol of our collective pain. Garlanding of column, and observance of silence will speak for the response of our conscience — heavy with sorrow."

During the extensive campaign conducted, preceding 24 October, the overwhelming response of the people has shown that the conscience of West Bengal, the land of Vidyasagar-Rabindranath-Sarat Chandra-Deshbandhu-Subhas Chandra-Nazrul, even today is still alive. Innumerable clubs and organizations immediately expressed their eagerness to themselves take the

responsibility in raising memorial column in their locality and mobilize people or lend a helping hand: innumerable unions of bus, tram, rickshaw and auto drivers and workers, etc. pledged their support, so did hawkers and shopkeepers and a host of professional people. It quite often happened that people when approached by party activists responded: oh, 24 October, yes, yes, we know: we will certainly observe this day. Many assured: we will tell everyone to do so too. A postal employee, for example, took the appeal, folded it and put it in his pocket, saying: yes only two left. On meeting the questioning glance, he went on: it says on your leaflet to read it to 10 other people. I have read it to 8 people, so 2 still remain. Another employee in a shopping centre said: I have already made 10 photocopies and distributed them. A policeman commented: Whatever work the SUCI does, it always stands for something good. Such examples could be cited endlessly. Wherever the call of the party reached, with what deep emotion people responded, taking it up as their own programme.

24 October was centrally observed by the party at Esplanade, Calcutta, where Com. Pravash Ghosh, State Secretary and member Central Committee, placed a wreath at the memorial column. Comrades Manik Mukherjee and Prativa Mukherjee, members West Bengal State Secretariat and Central Staff, both, garlanded columns in other places.

At the stroke of 11 a.m. a hush of silence fell over Esplanade — a major and most busy street crossing in Calcutta. The roar of traffic, the hustle and bustle of busy pedestrians, the mike announcements, the garlanding of the memorial column and other activities — all came to a halt, while people stood in silence for 2 minutes to mourn the death of flood victims. This was no isolated incident but a scene repeated all over Calcutta and its suburbs at more than 60 places: indeed it was repeated throughout West Bengal, from North to South, in all the districts at more



than 21,000 locations, where memorial columns had been raised. Besides, in countless factories, offices, schools and shops, in homes and even in mosques and temples, and in relief camps — everywhere workers, employees, and people from all walks of life observed 2 minutes silence. Even traffic police on duty bowed their head in silence. Countless shopkeepers came out of their shops and stood in silence. In Howrah Railway Station, for example, both old and new, life came to a standstill for 2 minutes as thousands of people stood in absolute silence — everybody, starting from railway staff, hawkers, shopkeepers, to *coolies* and passengers, participated with deep emotion.

A host of people came forward to place flowers and wreaths at the columns. To mention but one incident: in South Calcutta, a destitute family, who lives on the footpath, and peddles some wares, brought a wreath: with tears in their eyes they said, we have lost everything in the flood, but we want to pay our last respects to those who died. In Khidderpore even police officers placed wreaths.

A relief team of doctors who returned from

Murshidabad on that day by train, campaigned in all the compartments and even approached the driver and guard before getting on the train. Sharp at 11 a.m. the train stopped while the passengers, like one man, stood up to keep 2 minutes silence. Such was the emotion among people. In their silence were reflected not only feelings of pain and compassion for the thousands of flood victims but silent protest at the cruel indifference and criminal negligence by the governments in the state and at the Centre, but for which the means exist to prevent such shocking death toll.

People are aware how SUCI party cadres are standing at the side of the distressed people; repeatedly fighting against anti-people policies of both central and state government, and in situations like these, are carrying on relief and rescue work in affected districts, at the same time waging struggles against negligence, inaction, corruption and favouritism of government. Preparations for a broader movement demanding permanent measures to control flood and drought, are already under way. In this connection, an All Bengal citizens convention will be held at University Institute Hall, Calcutta, on November 19.

" The emancipation of the oppressed classes is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class."

"... The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same : all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably *the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same : *the dictatorship of the proletariat*."

— **Lenin**

(*The State and Revolution*)

"Parliament, which is the superstructure of capitalist economy, the basis of capitalist society, cannot serve as the superstructure of socialist society. It not only cannot serve as the superstructure of socialist economy, but is also bound to obstruct the growth and development of the basis of socialist society. Thus elimination of the superstructure of the old basis is also an important condition for the growth and development of the new basis. To a Marxist-Leninist, peaceful realisation of socialist revolution in a capitalist country if at all possible ...does not mean peaceful transformation of the bourgeois state into a proletarian state through reform, which can never be done. It ... means the peaceful dissolution of parliament and replacing it by the workers' democratic political institution and not peaceful transformation of parliament into an 'instrument of people's will' which also cannot be done."

— **Shibdas Ghosh**

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Founder Editor-in-Chief : **COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : **NIHAR MUKHERJEE**

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