



Volunteers from Komsomol and mass fronts presenting guard of honour on 24th April in Calcutta.

## HISTORY IS MAKING APPROACH TO US TO DISCHARGE A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

—Nihar Mukherjee

## 24th APRIL

24th April returned three weeks after the open session of the First Congress of the party. Participants in the Party Congress had barely returned home when they plunged into activity for the observance of the foundation day of the party. In every part of the country, wherever there is organisational activity of the party, 24th April has been observed with solemnity, emotion and dedication as befit the occasion.

In Calcutta the West Bengal State Committee organised a massive rally at Saheed Minar maidan where thousands of workers, peasants, students, youths, teachers, office employees and other sections of the toiling people from the districts and the city itself gathered, coming in long processions from different directions.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, senior member of the Central Committee, was the main speaker. Comrade Pravas Ghosh, member, Central Committee, and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, presided. The DYO music squad sang *the Great Leader of the Proletariat*, and thereafter volunteer squads from Komsomol, MSS, DYO, AIKKMS, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), AIDS, Medical Unit, followed by 40 rear guards drawn from the party wing and mass fronts presented a guard of honour. After speeches by Com. Chanda and Com. Pravas Ghosh the meeting ended with the singing of the *Internationale*.

# Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (Fortnightly)  
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary, addressed a meeting of members and applicant members of the Singhbhum district unit of the party on 24th April last at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts at Ghatsila in Bihar. An edited and abridged English version of his speech is given below. For any lapses in editing and rendering the speech the responsibility lies with the Board of Editors.

—Editor, Proletarian Era

'The observance of 24th April with due solemnity every year throughout the country, wherever there is organisational activity of the party, is not a ritual. On this day, 40 years back, our most beloved departed leader and teacher, an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded the SUCI, the only genuine communist party on this soil. 24th April returns every year, and on this day we try to realize our specific task in the background of the specific international and national situations.' With these words Comrade Nihar Mukherjee began his address.

'As you all know, the first all India Congress only a few days back, in the last week of March, Calcutta. The party's

Constitution and its theses on the international and national situations were adopted at the Congress. You are all aware why the party had not formally adopted a Constitution until now. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh followed the Leninist method of party building and evolving the party Constitution instead of mechanically imposing a Constitution from above. In order that the Constitution becomes the objective reflection of the party life, reflection of the fusion of proletarian democracy and centralism, which means achieving organisational centralism through attainment of ideological centralism and entails upliftment of the level of consciousness, tastes and culture of

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**24th April in Calcutta**

# NOT PARLIAMENTARY ALTERNATIVE BUT UNITED DEMOCRATIC MASS MOVEMENT—PEOPLE'S REAL ALTERNATIVE

—*Pritish Chanda*

Comrade President, Comrades and Friends!

This mass rally has been convened by the West Bengal State Committee to commemorate the 40th anniversary of our beloved party, the SUCI. You all know, less than a month back, on the 4th April last, Calcutta witnessed one of the most massive rallies of recent times when a veritable ocean of humanity converged to the Brigade Parade Ground on the occasion of the Open Session of the First All India Congress of our party. I wish to touch upon a few points on the basis of the analyses made and conclusions drawn at the Party Congress about our base political line and the important developments and events in the international and national spheres.

If we look at the world of today, we find that not only capitalism attained its most developed stage of imperialism long back, the days of imperialism-capitalism are numbered, it is moribund. All-out crisis envelopes the world imperialist-capitalist system surpassing all earlier crises and snuffing out even the relative stability it once enjoyed. Even in the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries, the ruling capitalist class, gripped by ever-increasing crises, is trying to pass the burden of the capitalist crisis on to the shoulders of the common people through mounting attacks on the working class.

In Great Britain, many a factory is closed down, many a ship-building yard idle. The unemployed are coming out on to streets in processions. In France too, many factories are closed, the workers are agitating and the students and the youth have come out in their support. Even the USA, the doyen of the imperialist-capitalist camp, is rocked by endemic crises. There is serious crisis in their automobile industry and railway strikes of long durations have become common occurrences. Japan and West Germany have, on the one hand, emerged as competitors to the USA while on the other they are clubbing up with the same USA in the common inte-

rest of the imperialist-capitalist camp.

The USA is perpetrating neo-colonialism on a global scale. It is holding out threat of nuclear war, providing arms and military hardware to bolster up anti-people reactionary governments in many a country, creating war-psychosis, mounting armed attacks on governments it dislikes, triggering off local wars directly or by proxy and unleashing imperialist mercenary troops and bands of hoodlums on the fighters in liberation struggles from country to country. It is resorting to export of capital through a new technique, through providing loans to the relatively backward capitalist countries on extremely unfair and stringent terms and conditions in order to exploit these countries and to ensure that these remain in its clutches. They would stoop to any and every means in their bid to extend the lease of life of decadent, moribund capitalism.

Only a concerted mighty final thrust by the world proletariat is now needed to make the whole edifice of imperialist-capitalist system collapse and crumble down. But today, modern revisionism stands as the stumbling block in the path of conducting all out struggle against imperialism - capitalism. The

Party Congress has clearly analysed and shown this. We know what is the character of revisionism, of fascism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh analysed and showed these long back. We know that from the very beginning, revisionists like Bernstein, Kautsky, Earl Browder etc. tried to corrupt Marxism. Modern revisionism assumed serious proportion when, after the demise of Stalin, the revisionists headed by Khrushchov usurped power in the party and the state in the Soviet Union. And now, after the demise of Mao Zedong, the revisionists headed by Deng have usurped power in the party and the state in China. It is because of this modern revisionism that the working class of the world has been denied a clear cut direction and correct guidance, danger has arisen in many a country and there have been widespread set backs in the international communist movement.

Taking advantage of the situation, the USA, as the leader of the imperialist camp, is creating tension and providing arms and military hardware to different countries, instigating wars and is now holding the threat of Star-War over the humanity. The USA has been providing massive military aid to Pakistan, but Rajiv Gandhi cannot deny that at the same time, USA is providing arms to India as well. The relatively backward capitalist countries where the bourgeois governments have not been able to fulfil even the minimum needs of the people, the people do not get two square meals a day, there is no drinking water shelter over head for the people, clothing to protect the decency of women and food for the children — what for do such countries need armaments and militarization, atomic bombs?



But the bourgeois governments in these countries are striving for precisely these, while the imperialists and revisionists keep on instigating.

Ever since the transfer of power in 1947 through which the capitalist class came into state power in this country, Indian capitalism has been consolidating itself rapidly. As an index of its maturity, it has been for years revealing its growing imperialist character through export of finance capital as distinct from export of commodities establishing manufacturing units in foreign lands and setting up joint ventures with imperialist international finance capital, the multinationals, in third world countries. Through merger of industrial and banking capital, Indian capitalism has given birth to state monopoly capital, the rock-bottom economic foundation of fascism. The aspirant Indian bourgeoisie now looks upon South Asia as its sphere of influence and would not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of the surrounding countries, if need be, to preserve its dominant position. The recent unwarranted interference in Sri Lanka is the latest example of this.

While capitalism in the country has thus consolidated itself and matured and is now poised to take off to move into the 21st century, the people face hunger, destitution and misery. Bulk of the total

labour force of the country is rural. Most of them have no employment round the year, no food, clothing or shelter. Due to the crisis of the capitalist system, unemployment, soaring inflation, erosion of real wages and pauperisation are rampant in the country. There is an all-out crisis engulfing all spheres of life including culture and ethics—a crisis which is a creation of capitalism. There is widespread disaffection among all sections of the toiling masses against the capitalist onslaughts, strikes and sporadic movements are breaking out. People are restless and pine for a change. Wrath against exploitative capitalism and the Government which protects its interests, is accumulating in the society. If this wrath crystallises into concerted, sustained movement, capitalism itself would be endangered and ultimately destroyed. So, they are out to disrupt the people's fighting unity at any cost. Successive governments at the Centre, while paying lip-service to national unity and national integration, have all along fanned up communal, casteist, linguistic, parochial and separatist sentiments in this country inhabited by diverse religious communities, castes, linguistic and ethnic nationalities and groups because they know that if the people become united and get organised under leadership of a correct revolutionary party, they are doomed and along with them their mentors,

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## 24th APRIL AT GHATSILA

## COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S SPEECH

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the comrades and their acceptance of the Constitution habitually, ethically, happily and voluntarily, Comrade Ghosh evolved, stage by stage, the three-tier party structure on the Leninist model in course of conducting the party activities in the conventional method through relentless and painstaking struggle over the years.'

Recalling the arduous struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had to wage to build up the party, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee observed: 'Today it is difficult even for many comrades to imagine how difficult was the situation and how painstaking struggle Com. Ghosh had to wage along with a handful compatriots to build up the revolutionary party and activities on this soil in those early years. How could he realize the historical necessity of building up a genuine communist party in this country? Comrade Ghosh had realized that political independence had been achieved from the British imperialist rule through the long-drawn freedom struggle, but the people's emancipation could not be won through it because of the absence of a genuine revolutionary party of the working class. Transfer of the Indian State power took place from the hands of the representatives of the British imperialists to the hands of the representatives of the Indian capitalist class, but that did not put an end to oppression and exploitation of the people. Emancipation remained a far cry for them. With the quitting by the alien rulers stepped in the Indian bourgeoisie as the new rulers of the exploitative capitalist order that had built up under the aegis of the British imperialist rule. So, at this stage, proletarian revolution was the historical necessity to win true emancipation of the exploited masses of India. And to lead this revolution through to success a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat was an essential pre-requisite. Parties moving under the signboard of communist

parties were none a genuine communist party. So, however painstaking and arduous might be the course, a genuine communist party had to be built up on this soil—with this firm pledge Comrade Ghosh began his historic mission. Through relentless struggles of 40 years since then the party reared and trained by him has emerged today as the revolutionary vanguard in the country.'

Discussing the international and national situations Comrade Mukherjee observed: 'Today the world is divided into two sides. On one side are the imperialist countries and on the other side are the socialist countries. The State powers of nearly all socialist countries have been usurped by the revisionists, but the division of the world into these two opposing sides is a reality. The Indian State and the Indian social system are part and parcel of the world capitalist-imperialist system. The Indian society, too, is divided into two opposing sides. On the one side are the capitalists or owners of the factories and jotedars or rich peasants, that is the owning class of towns and villages. On the other are the toiling people—the workers - peasants - employees, etc. who work in the factories, in the fields and elsewhere. This division of the society into classes and subclasses is no fanciful creation of us, the Marxist-Leninists. This class-division has come about in course of evolution of the society. What Marxism has done is to reveal this reality of class division of the society, basing itself on the truth verified by scientific experimentations. From this Marxist teaching, we also know that like nature society is also law-governed. You all know of the regularity of the sunrise and sunset, the regularity with which the seasons come and go. There is a law in operation behind every natural phenomenon. It is for this that we speak of the 'law-governed nature'. Likewise society, too, is law-governed. The capitalist system in which we are living today has also its

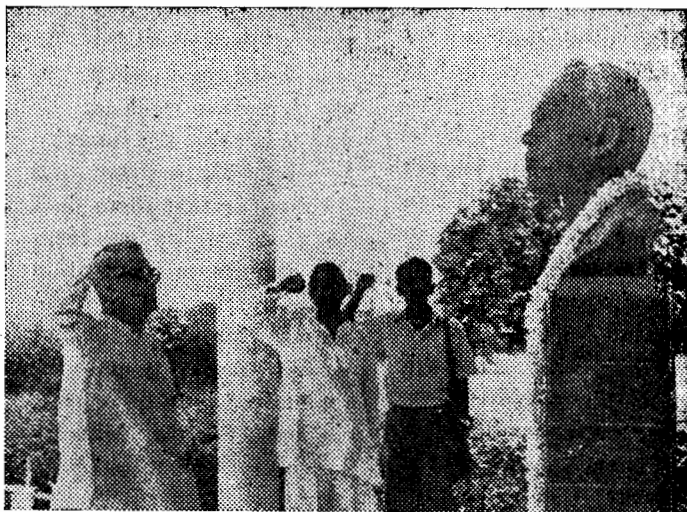
law of development. If we want to know this capitalist society, understand it properly and understand why the misery, poverty and afflictions like unemployment are increasing day by day then we must understand the intrinsic law of this society. But, remember, this understanding must not be for the sake of knowing it merely. We want to know and understand it because we want to change this social system.

In the first place, we should understand the motive of production in this society, the motive force working behind all production. A little careful examination is sufficient to reveal that in every field of production, whether under State ownership or individual ownership, the object or motive is to earn profit, maximum profit. It is the law of maximum profit which is at work behind all production in this society. If there is no profit, there is no production—even if it means starvation for the people or want of bare necessities for them, want of the barest clothing for our mothers and sisters, want of vital medicines for our children. This law of production is the law of capitalism—the law of maximum profit of monopoly capitalism. The correct realisation of this capitalist law will make clear that all crisis in the political-economic-cultural spheres are stemming from this capitalist production system. The world capitalism and the Indian capitalism as part and parcel of it are plunged in an acute and allout crisis, being decadent and moribund today. This crisis, you should realize, has appeared as the inevitable outcome of the operation of the law of maximum profit of the capitalist production system. It cannot be otherwise.

As a result of this division of the world into two mutually opposing sides after the Second World War, the world capitalist-imperialist system plunged into the third intense allout general crisis from which capitalism has no way out. When, with the attainment of political independence of

the country in the post-second war period, the political leaders representing the interest of the newly saddled Indian capitalist class began rhetorics on a rosy future for the common people, Comrade Ghosh had cautioned, saying that however much might the ruling bourgeoisie resort to five year plans there was no rescue for it from the allout crisis. What does the experience of the exploited common people of the country tell? After all these five-year plans, has the lot of the people changed for the better? Has their standard of living risen? Has the poverty decreased, or has it increased? Have these rulers been able to meet the bare necessities of

ment itself, militarisation of economy to give an artificial stimulation to the market by way of ever-increasing production of military hardware has become a feature of every capitalist-imperialist country. As I said, there is no way out for them. That is why even if the imperialists cannot engender a world war they are triggering off local or partial warfares in some or other parts of the globe. They are launching aggression on one country while instigating another against some other. Like the USA is doing, for instance. It is giving military aids to India as also to Pakistan and instigating either to assume a militant posture. Why is the USA doing it? Because, otherwise it cannot sell its military produce or release its stockpile of arms and ammunition.



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pays respect in Red Salute before bust of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at Study Centre, Ghatshila.

the people—food, clothing, education, health, even drinking water? Have the basic needs, the bare necessities of the people, been met? Certainly not. Then why this plea for increasing export in the interest of the industries? The reality is that there is no market in the country. In other words, most of the people do not have the purchasing power. Relentless exploitation has fleeced the people off their purchasing power. So, to earn maximum profit the capitalists are now looking for markets abroad.

You would note, the economy of the mighty US imperialism even stands on the military industries. The purchaser of military hardware being the Govern-

That is why peace is said to be the grave for the imperialists. They need war, they cannot do without war. It is an invaluable teaching of Comrade Lenin, the great leader and teacher of the world proletariat, that war is inevitable so long imperialism will be there. The modern revisionists have failed to grasp this teaching of Lenin, and that is why they have taken to the path of capitulating to the imperialists. Their line is that they will prevent war and maintain peace through talks and treaties alone. But what do you find on your part? Reagan and Gorbachov have signed a treaty to limit the US and

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Soviet missiles in Europe and eliminate all intermediate range missiles. Did that limit the arms race anyway? The US President has categorically stated that the USA would go along with its programme for 'Star Wars' and the experiments to that end. Before the ink of the treaty had dried, the US imperialists sent troops into Nicaragua to teach it a 'lesson'. The N A T O countries have started clamouring for more arms and the USA has assured them to meet their 'needs'. Then there is also a race for launching satellites to orbit the earth in which India is also a participant. What are these satellites for really? Our State leaders keep telling that this satellite launching programme is aimed at benefitting agriculture, telecommunication, petroleum and mineral exploration and forecast of weather calamities and for all such advancement of science. Today the real motive behind this artificial satellite programme has got exposed. The mission is to gather information about other countries, that is to say, spying on other countries from high up in the sky. While carrying out this mission the satellites are sending some weather data or some such data. But if gathering these scientific data were the chief mission of the satellites why should there be such hue and cry over the 'Star Wars' plan? Why is the USA unwilling to restrict its experiments on 'Star Wars' within the laboratory walls? Why are billions of dollars being spent on it? Because, the US imperialists have no other way. The truth is that imperialism and the danger of war are intertwined. But from this one should not be led to conclude that the US imperialists would be able right now to trigger off 'Star Wars' and perish the world in a nuclear havoc. Because, the object of the imperialist war, whether of the US imperialism or of any other capitalist-imperialist country, is to capture the 'market'. If a nuclear war breaks out, it will work havoc on mankind, destroying the world. Where would the imperialists get a 'market' then? They are not mad people! Failing

**24th April at Ghatsila****Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech**

to grasp this basic truth, the revisionist Soviet leadership has been spreading a nuclear war-phobia among the people in different countries, arguing that the entire world would perish in the event of a nuclear war. So, their policy is to appease the imperialists lest the latter should engineer a nuclear war! And the US imperialists are taking advantage of this capitulationist policy and carrying on with their policy of nuclear blackmailing of other countries. Comrade Ghosh had long back pointed to this aspect of the imperialist war policy.

The question is: what means is to be taken to counter this imperialist war manoeuvre? Obviously, it cannot be one of capitulating to the imperialists. By this we do not mean to say that there shall not be any talks with the imperialists on disarmament and the like, or that there shall be no effort to get them sign treaties on limitation or destruction of strategic arms. Our point is that world peace cannot be maintained by talks or treaties only. For the Marxist-Leninists the first and foremost task is to know and root out that basic cause which makes war inevitable. We know that the danger of war will always be there so long imperialism will exist. Rooting out the danger of imperialist war means wiping out capitalism - imperialism and, to that end, developing anti-imperialist democratic and revolutionary struggles in different countries on the one hand and, on the other, transforming the anti-war world peace movement into a militant mass movement complementary to the revolutionary and liberation struggles in different countries. This is the only way to maintain world peace. But the course adopted by the revisionist Gorbachov leadership will not only fail to maintain world peace, it will create a misconception in the minds of the exploited and peace-loving people of the world that peace will be ensured if there be a treaty between the USA and the Soviet

Union. Only imperialism will reap benefit out of it, imperialist war machinations will get strengthened. And that is what is happening. We have sounded this note of caution in the international thesis adopted at our Party Congress and have appealed to all communists and the socialist States to forge unity against imperialism, US imperialism in particular — the main enemy of the exploited people of the world. At the same time we have emphasized the urgency of conducting an intense ideological struggle against modern revisionism. Because, the distorted analysis being provided by the modern revisionists on such fundamental issues as war and peace, transition to socialism from capitalism, etc., are creating extreme confusion in the international communist movement. For example, failing to realize correctly the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, the modern revisionists have reduced it into a policy of capitulation. What is the object and true significance of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence which Stalin had explained beautifully? Is the object one to help the capitalist-imperialist system sustain itself longer? No comrades, in no way can such distorted interpretation be made of this principle with its revolutionary significance. The true object was to protect the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the exploited people in different countries from the imperialist onslaughts and help them reach their successful culmination. It was the basic tenet of the principle of peaceful coexistence that the socialist States do not believe in export of revolution; that no socialist State could launch aggression on any country on any plea whatsoever. But the imperialists would also have to declare that they would not aggress or intervene in other countries; that the people of a country were to decide whether they would have a capitalist system or not. No external interference were to be

allowed and one could not arrogate to oneself the right to do so. If, despite this, the imperialists aggress a country, they would be resisted by the people of that country and the socialist States would come forward to give them all help. That is to say, the socialist States would remain passive and silent onlookers, chanting only slogans of peace while the imperialists launched aggression on other countries to crush the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the people of those countries—such was never the object and the true meaning of the principle of peaceful coexistence. The revisionist Soviet leadership has reduced this policy to such mean a level and full benefit of the situation is being reaped by the US imperialists. The truth is that revisionism has appeared today as the main danger in the international communist movement and no powerful anti-imperialist movement can be built up without conducting an intense ideological struggle against it.

Discussing the non-Marxist revisionist theory of peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary means, turning Parliament into an instrument of people's will, Com. Mukherjee observed: Com. Ghosh showed that the bourgeois Parliament was a superstructure on the capitalist economic base. Like the capitalist State structure and its organs of police, military, judiciary, the bourgeois Parliament too, has grown as an organ of the exploitative capitalist system, being complementary to it. So, it can never be turned into an instrument of people's will. The socialist system being fundamentally different from the capitalist system and establishment of the socialist system being possible only through destruction of the capitalist system, the superstructure of the capitalist system can never become the superstructure of the socialist system. So the idea of reforming the bourgeois Parliament or of transforming it into an ins-

trument to establish socialism in the event of the communists having gained the majority in Parliament is unscientific, unhistorical and totally erroneous.

Comrade Mukherjee reminded the teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh regarding the attitude a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party should adopt if it comes to governmental power in a bourgeois setup. 'The revolutionary party cannot bring about any fundamental change in such a setup, but it can help develop the legitimate democratic movements of workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people by keeping the movements free from interference by the police and military. However legitimate may be the demands of these movements the police interfere at the bidding of the owner to bring down repression on the workers and peasants and crush the movements with brutal force. No doubt a genuine revolutionary party cannot remain in the governmental power in a bourgeois setup for long but so long it is able to remain in power it can at least try to keep the legitimate democratic mass movements free from police interference. From the First United Front Government in West Bengal in 1967 our party, under the leadership of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, had declared this policy that the police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements, and Comrade Subodh Banerjee, as the Labour Minister of the UF Government, had implemented this policy. It is now more than 10 years that the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' is in governmental power in West Bengal with absolute majority. Are they following this policy? Today they are safeguarding the interests of the owners, and the owners, in turn, are giving them certificates of good performance. The CPI(M) and the CPI leaderships have been telling that they would bring socialism through this course. The people of West Bengal have enough of experience of the kind of socialism they are capable of bringing in. So, the toiling people ought to realize that for establishing the working class State they are to

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## Congress(I) now chief architect of communal-parochial-separatist-divisive strifes in country

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the ruling capitalist class. We wish to state categorically that it is the Congress(I) that is the chief architect of communalism-casteism - parochialism in the country today. In furtherance of their anti-people design, they have been mounting a three-pronged attack on the people.

Firstly, by fanning communalism, casteism, parochialism and separatist divisive sentiments and tendencies and by engineering riots and fratricidal blood baths from one end of the country to the other, they are out to destroy the people's unity. Who does not know that the Punjab tangle is the Central Government's creation? The problems there will never be solved so long as this government is there. Ghastly memory of mass-killings of genocidal proportion in Nelli etc. in Assam with Congress(I) as the prime mover behind the scene, is still vividly fresh in mass

minds. And who can deny that the Central Government has been instigating the separatist GNLFF agitation in the northern hilly districts of West Bengal?

Secondly, they are trying to destroy the very moral backbone of the nation in general and the youth in particular. For, it is the youth who are harbingers of the spring of change and progress from country to country. Why they are unemployed? What is the root cause of this life of misery, squalor and humiliation? Confronted with these questions, it is the youth who rack their brains and search out the correct path for radical transformation of the society. That is why, through spreading vile, decadent bourgeois culture, obscenity, alcoholism and drug addiction, they are misguiding and corrupting the youth, instigating their base instincts and pushing them towards unethical means of livelihood. This capitalist conspiracy is discernible not only in this country but

in all capitalist countries from Latin America to the Arab lands.

Thirdly, on behalf of the ruling capitalist class, the subservient governments at the Centre and in the states are sharpening instruments of repression and launching all-out attacks on the people. The hard-earned democratic rights and civil liberties are being trampled upon one after another. Through illegal laws, black Acts and ordinances, the Central Government has already stripped the people of even the freedom of thought, speech and writing, the right to organise, the right to hold meetings and bring out processions — although the people may not be fully conscious about this as such "laws" are not always enforced. But the provisions are already there. They know, they cannot expect anything but hatred from the people. Their relation with the people is that of the boot and the doormat. They want to crush the people under their jack-

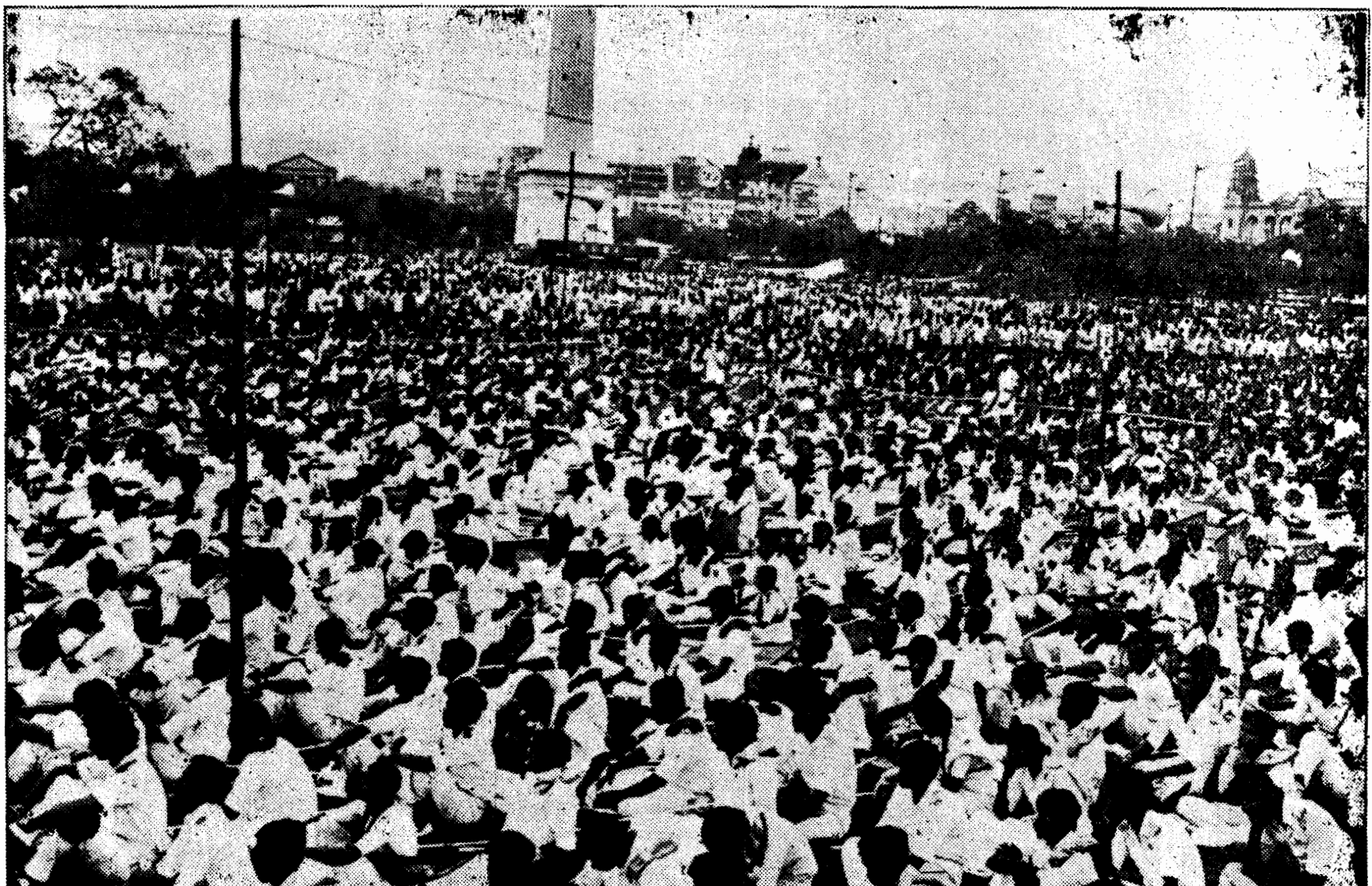
boots. In the Anti-Terrorist Act and the Disturbed Areas Act, any heinous atrocity is "legal" and can be perpetrated with impunity by the police, the plethora of para-military forces and the regular army. On the slightest pretext, they lathi-charge, teargas and open fire on the people and molest women. Even in tackling common internal situations, they are deploying troops on a large scale here, there and everywhere. In each successive central budget, allocation for the military is going up by leaps and bounds. Militarisation of the economy is proceeding apace.

Side by side, power has been concentrated in the hands of the Executive to the detriment of the Legislative and the Judiciary. The Legislature has virtually been reduced to a rubber stamp, with brute majority therein being ensured through all-out centralised administrative rigging of the elections that has reduced the electoral process to a farce. Continual efforts

are afoot to turn the Judiciary into a totally subservient one. An undeclared censorship is in force in regard to the press, radio and TV so that the people may be fed on tailored news and views only. Behind the facade of parliamentary democracy, a coterie of top bureaucrats, diplomats, army generals and industrialists wields the real power and virtually run the country.

All these are unmistakable signs that the ruling capitalist class has embarked upon the path of fascization as a way out of the ever-deepening endemic crises and to protect itself against the working class movement and revolution. Through penetrating analysis, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed long back that although the fascist powers were militarily defeated in the Second World War, the trend of fascization continued in all capitalist countries, the advanced ones as well as the relatively backward ones. He also showed that fascism is not one and the same

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A view of rally at Saheed Minar maidan in Calcutta on 24th April.

## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Speech

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smash with the force of revolution the prevailing capitalist State structure with its organs of the police, military, administration, judiciary and legislature. And to accomplish this task they are to give birth to the people's alternative political power by developing the people's own instruments of struggle in course of conducting legitimate democratic mass movements. Our party is engaged in this task by developing mass and class struggles.'

Drawing attention to the economic situation of the country, Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that a growing trend of militarisation of the Indian capitalist economy was clearly evident. 'The ruling bourgeoisie is sometimes raising the bogey of Pakistan, s o m e t i m e s of China. The truth is, however, that the Indian capitalist economy, as part and parcel of the world capitalist system, is plunged today in an acute allout crisis. In its bid to overcome this crisis, the Indian capitalist class has been resorting more and more to an economy based on military production with the object of giving an artificial stimulation to the market. In fact, militarily, capitalist India has become quite a big power and Pakistan is no match for it in military power. Long back Com. Ghosh had clearly shown that India was not only a capitalist State, it had also acquired the imperialist character. He showed that Indian capitalism had given birth to financial oligarchy through merger of banking capital and industrial capital and was exporting capital for investment in foreign markets. The export of capital, that is its investment to exploit raw materials and cheap labour is the chief feature of imperialism. What do you find today? The ruling capitalist class of India has not only acquired an imperialist character, it considers the Indian subcontinent its own sphere of influence. Other imperialist powers, including the USA, also give recognition to this fact.'

Comrade Mukherjee added: 'Comrade Shibdas Ghosh exposed not only the imperialist character of the Indian bourgeoisie, he also exposed its fascist character. From the time of inception of our party, Comrade Ghosh repeatedly pointed out that fascism had not come to end with its military defeat in Germany, Japan and Italy in the Second World War. Fascism is the last prop of the crisis ridden capitalism. The fascist Axis power suffered defeat in the Second World War but, as a result of the acute crisis of capitalism, fascism has become today a general feature of all the capitalist countries, whether developed or underdeveloped. Com. Ghosh further showed that fascism did not mean only naked dictatorship or an oppressive regime. Fascism takes to both deception and repression. You may compare —Hitler talked of national socialism, Nehru voiced Abadi socialism, and Indira Gandhi's slogan was democratic socialism and 'garibi hatao'. Hitler brought 25 point programme and Indira's was 20 point programme. There were many tall promises in these programmes, all to deceive the people and draw them into the fold of fascism. Yet the CPI(M) and the CPI gave their support to Indira Gandhi's 20 point programme. What does it reveal about the character of these self-styled communist parties?

You now hear Rajiv Gandhi also raising slogans of 'welfare of the rural poor', 'bekari hatao', etc. But every year the Congress(I) Government is burdening the people more and more with increased taxes and price rise not only through budgetary measures but through extra-budgetary administrative fiats, and is giving subsidies and subventions to the capitalists to help them compete in the foreign markets. The object of all these policies is to safeguard the interests of the capitalist class from the acute crisis of the internal market and facilitate their entry into the foreign market, no matter if it meant even starvation and destitution for the common people. On the

other hand, to disrupt the people's unity in their struggle against the capitalist exploitation and oppression, the ruling bourgeoisie is overtly and covertly aiding, abetting and fomenting the communal - casteist - separatist - divisive forces and entangling the people in fratricidal bloodbaths. At the same time, using these conflicts as a plea, the ruling class is arming itself with black Acts one after another and robbing the people of their democratic rights and civil liberty. Even this is not all, fascism can entrench itself only after it can rob man of his human qualities. You would note that ruling class is mounting an allout attack on education, culture and morals. The new National Policy on Education has been designed with the object of bringing about regimentation in thinking among the students and youths in order that they grow as servitors of this capitalist order and its defendant ruling parties. Every home of the common people is suffering the consequences of this bourgeois onslaught on morals and culture. Parents helplessly witness their sons and daughters fall victim to the bourgeois decadent culture. The youth has become aimless today and is going astray. Taking advantage of largescale unemployment among the youth, the bourgeois and social democratic parties are using them in their election - oriented politics and pushing them into the dark lanes of unethical livelihood to undermine their conscience and moral backbone. Obscenity has grown rampant in cinemas, theatres, magazines and books. A crisis in ethics has gripped the cultural life. The menace of allout fascism is right on our doorsteps today. Long back Comrade Ghosh had given the caution: If fascism comes, it will not spare anybody. Destroying everything good and beautiful is its nature and it not only dehumanizes, it obstructs the very process of development of man. In the face of this growing danger of allout fascism in the country, our party has urged all democratic - minded people to

forge a broadbased unity. From the Party Congress, too, we have appealed to all Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces to join hands without further delay to build up democratic mass movements throughout the country. But we regret to say that we have not received any response from them so far. Even parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI who call themselves communists are moving along a wholly broadbased democratic mass movement to resist allout fascism and, at the same time, if others do not come forward we shall have to go alone to build up the movement single handed. This is the only way to arouse the people. Armed with the teachings of Marxism - Leninism - Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts we are to tread this course. And comrades must engage in the struggle to elevate their level of consciousness in order to be equal to this responsibility.

Comrade Mukherjee went on: 'From all over the country party workers and organisers are coming to this Study Centre of Marxism - Leninism - Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts at Ghatsila to be trained to acquire the true communist character — ideologically, physically and mentally. On this depends how far they would be able to discharge their historic role today. Comrades must carry unto the exploited masses the basic teaching that for success of revolution are required the correct ideology, correct party and correct method of struggle. They are to rouse the people and unleash a tide of movement. All particular struggles of all sections of the toiling people will have to be coordinated, and the organisation, instrument of struggle and volunteer forces of each section of the people will have to be built up. At the open rally of the Party Congress you have seen that the party wings and fronts like the Pioneer, Komsomol, AIDS DYO, MSS, AIKKMS, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Teachers' Unit, AIDOS and the Medical Centre

have built up their own volunteer forces which took part in the march past to present a guard of honour to the memories of the great leaders of the international communist movements. These volunteer forces are being raised not just for parading and present guards of honour. The party aims at building them up as true communists in body and spirit. To save this society from the vile influence of the bourgeois decadent culture we need both a noble ideology and a band of men and women attuned to that ideology in mind and body. These volunteers are to become the concrete embodiment of the future citizens of the communist society. The volunteers and the party comrades are to become embodiment of the noble ideology of communists in every sphere of life. They are to be the living hope for the exploited millions, embodiment of a life of dignity. When the people will come to realize that this brand of political workers are totally different from the slogan mongering election oriented parties in character, conduct and behaviour their apathy to politics will begin to disappear; they will again rally under the banner of genuine revolutionary politics. They will realize that there is good politics against evil politics, honest politics against dishonest and corrupt politics. There is a politics based on a noble ideology, a politics which does not corrupt man but frees him from all base instincts and tendencies. The people will regain respect for politics, will regain trust in it. This is the way, the way shown by Marxism - Leninism which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh concretised on the Indian soil. With my appeal to all leaders, organisers, workers, supporters and sympathisers of the party to realize this historic task and responsibility and discharge the same. I conclude here today.

Long Live Revolution  
Long Live SUCI  
Red Salute  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

## Comrade Pritish Chanda's Speech

(Contd. from page 5)

with naked dictatorship. In this era, capitalism cannot do without fascism and fascism may well operate from behind the facade of parliamentary democracy in a capitalist country. In the Indian context this analysis stands historically vindicated. Those who tend to think that fascism can be brought about by only a Zia or an Ershad, should take lesson from these.

The Congress(I), as the most trusted political agent of the ruling bourgeoisie, has been pursuing out and out anti-people policies in the aggregate interest of the ruling class. But this state of West Bengal is not under Congress rule. The "Left front" led by the CPI(M) is in government here for the last eleven years. What is happening here? Are they different from the Congress(I) in any of their policies? What even the Central Congress(I) Government has not yet dared to do in the face of protests, they are trying to perpetrate here by using their cadres, stormtroopers i.e. organised goonda force. The stormtrooper, goonda forces of the CPI(M), have beaten up agitating junior doctors in a bid to break up their strikes, the police of this "Left Front" Government have attacked doctors and nurses within hospitals and fired upon them. The capitalists in this state retrench workers, enforce lay-off and even close down factories at will while Jyoti Basu frowns upon any movement by the workers, advises them to refrain from strikes and gheraos and to cooperate with the capitalists by increasing production! Before he became the Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu used to be CITU leader uttering tall talks about militant working class movement. So, the question is: Has capitalism changed in character? Are the workers no longer exploited in West Bengal? Has working class rule been established in this state? No, it is the CPI(M) that is showing its true colours, vying with the Congress(I) in carrying favour with the capitalists. Rajiv Gandhi Government, in its bid to

institute the national education policy (NPE), faced a storm of protests from all over the country. The CPI(M) led "Left Front" Government in West Bengal, through its language and education policy of no detention at the primary stage and abolition of English from the primary stage of education, have sought to "achieve", without formal legislation, the same drastic curtailment of education which is the motive behind the NPE too. Its anti-multinational rhetoric notwithstanding, Jyoti Basu's Government too, like the Rajiv Gandhi Government accepts loans from imperialist financial institutions like the World Bank and multinationals.

So, the CPI(M)'s only difference with the Congress(I) is in its slogans. Whenever they are in discomfiture, they raise a furor about the Centre not sanctioning the Haldia petrochemical project. We are also against the Centre's dilly dallying on this issue. Let there be not one but ten such projects. What we object to is the CPI(M)—led "Left Front"'s motivated playing up of the issue to divert the people's attention from its own failings and anti-people character.

And how united are the constituents of this "Left Front"? Bickerings between them on petty party interest which has always been there, surfaced in an ugly form centring round the recent panchayat elections in West Bengal when they levelled charges and countercharges against one another and were even involved in numerous violent clashes. Just as their "unity" is for combinedly taking advantage of being in the government for sharing the spoils, their differences too are not on ideological ground or with the interest of the people in view but on allotment of seats and the sharing of power, pelf and privileges. If you look at the political spectrum in the country, you will find a continual process of disintegration at work, not only in the bourgeois parties like the Congress(I), the Janata and the Lok Dal but even among

those who call themselves leftists. There are many dissidents in the CPI(M) in almost every state. There have recently been serious splits in that party in Rajasthan and Bihar. Only the other day, the Kalyansunduram faction of the CPI split out and formed a new party in the south. The CPI(ML), the Naxalites who originally came out of the CPI(M), are now divided in numerous splinter groups. Why this general picture of disintegration? Could it have come about if these parties had any cohesive ideology to speak of?

Amidst this all-pervading disintegration, it is the SUCI that stands out as the shining exception. Through arduous struggles spanning forty years, our party has been forging ahead and now operates in 22 states and centrally administered areas though not in uniform strength. We have no disintegration because Comrade Shibdas Ghosh built up this party, the SUCI, brick by brick on correct ideological and organisational basis to fulfil the need of the country and revolution.

The SUCI, unlike others, is not helped or backed by the industrialists, big businessmen, traders and rich peasants. Publicity in the press and other mass media is denied to this party as those employed in such mass media themselves know well. What is then that intrinsic strength by virtue of which the SUCI is expanding? Workers of the leftist parties, who once came into politics with the sense of a mission, should deeply ponder over this. When veteran workers of the CPI, the CPI(M) and other leftist parties happen to meet us, they appreciate our principled stand saying it enthruses them and reminds them of their own youthful fervour of bygone days and lament that their parties are no more capable of doing any good. Comrades, ponder why your parties are in such a plight! On which path are your leaderships taking you? What happened to your once cherished ideals and dreams of communism, in-

ternationalism? Comrades, think it over, raise questions to your leaderships. Unquestioning allegiance without dialogues and discussions is abject surrender not worthy of a man.

The real alternative before the people for a lasting solution to their problems is the revolutionary line projected by the SUCI. But revolution does not come about through just raising slogans and declaring a programme of revolution. Revolution, revolutionary line has to create its ground and make headway through intimate understanding of the problems, hopes and aspirations of the toiling masses of the different strata and giving expression to these in mass movements. Only through sustained mass movements and taking these to higher and higher stages and forms can be forged the peoples committees, the people's own instruments of struggle, paving the way for emergence of people's own alternative, people's own political power.

A revolutionary theory, a revolutionary party and the emergence of people's own political power are the essential pre-requisites to be fulfilled for revolution to succeed. The revolutionary party, SUCI, is there, armed with the correct revolutionary theory. Emergence of people's own political power through the process of protracted mass movements remains the only unfulfilled task.

There is no alternative to mass movements. Even for countering the rampant corruption in high places as revealed by the HDW submarine deal and the Bofors field gun scandal, only mass movement can be the remedy. It is true that capitalism today has lost its initial youthful revolutionary fervour and become out and out reactionary. This decadent, moribund capitalism cannot but engender corruption is rampant in Japan, France, England and the USA — in all capitalist countries. But all limits have been exceeded in our country where the Government functionaries obtain funds through leases from international imperialist financial institutions on stringent and humiliating terms and then utilise such

funds for procuring obsolete useless military hardware through shady deals with foreign arms manufacturers in consideration of astronomical sums as bribe. And when confronted with disclosures palpably incriminating them, they take refuge behind subterfuges and lies. The credibility of the Central Government has been eroded so much that nobody believes a word of what they say. But can this evil be eradicated by changing a few ministers or even the Prime Minister? No, what is needed is an united all-out movement against this Government, for only a widespread, conscious social movement can enforce a modicum of honesty in the body-politic and the administration and be a guarantee against corruption. Every right thinking person, if he is against corrupt practice, can and should join such a movement even if he does not subscribe to socialism or communism.

The Party Congress has given a clarion call to all left, democratic and opposition parties and forces to form a united platform to conduct mass movements against the anti-people politics of the Central Government. **THIS IS THE NEED OF THE HOUR.**

We note with regret that the CPI(M) as also the CPI are putting obstacles in the path of broad-based united movement against the Rajiv Gandhi Government by raising the BJP issue. Now may we ask: are these parties really serious about their attitude to BJP? Then how is it that these parties do not find any difficulty to combine with BJP when their narrow or typical parliamentary or election interest comes in? It is known to all that these so-called Left parties combined with BJP in a number of states only to gain seats in Assembly. But it is really paradoxical that the same parties have been raising hue and cry over the question of BJP when the most urgent question of forming broad-based instrument of struggle against the most menacing danger of fascism posed by the Congress(I) comes in? How can they justify these stands?

(Contd. on page 8)

24TH AT CALCUTTA

## Give us More Support, More Help

—Pravas Ghosh

Delivering his address from the Chair Comrade Pravas Ghosh pointed out that the party foundation day, 24th April, was being observed every year; but the observance assumed newer significance in the context of changing and newer situation every year. 'This year observance of the 24th April has a special importance', he added. 'The First Congress of the party has just been held. The glorious memory of the Party Congress is acting as a fountain of inspiration among the party workers.'



'What is the source of the growing strength of this party? The mammoth rally at the Brigade Parade Ground on 4th April on the occasion of the open session of the Party Congress is a topic of discussion by the people. I would ask you to realize what makes possible such massive response from the people', Comrade Pravas Ghosh continued.

Pointing to the decadence in every sphere of life today, he observed: Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that those who cherished the revolutionary life ought to build up their character in the revolutionary mould, freeing themselves from the evil influence of this rotten bourgeois society. That is one basic pre-requisite for accomplishing the revolutionary task'.

Comrade Pravas Ghosh pointed out: 'You all know that fascism, that arch enemy of mankind, stands today as the greatest menace facing the country. To fight it successfully the

broadest possible unity of the people is an indispensable necessity. Our party has been appealing to all Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces to unite on a broadbased platform with a minimum agreed programme and a common code of conduct against the fascist onslaughts being mounted by the Congress(I), the most trusted agent of the ruling bourgeoisie. But because of the attitude of the CPI(M) and the CPI, this opportunity to build up a countrywide movement against the Congress(I) Government headed by Rajiv Gandhi could not be utilised. So, unless the genuine revolutionary party, the SUCI is strengthened, the revolutionary struggle will continue to suffer setbacks.

'We appeal to the people to extend further their hand of cooperation to the party. Give us more help, more support, more sympathy. Hold aloft this red banner, accelerate your struggle in order that this wretched capitalist order may be done away with'.

## Comrade Prithish Chanda's Speech

(Contd. from page 7)

Not only this; when the Congress(I) has become the main enemy of the people engaged in launching fiscal savagery against the people, robbing them of all democratic rights and fostering, fomenting, fanning up and even protecting all communal, parochial, casteist and separatist forces in the country — then is it not the real need of the hour to rebuff this ominous and out and out anti-people forces by rallying round as much force as possible in the movement? In such a situation the way the CPI(M) and the CPI have been approaching the issue of BJP—is it not objectively weakening the prospect of a powerful anti-Congress movement to grow and thus strengthening the hands of the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi? These are serious questions which should be deeply pondered over.

The SUCI has been striving for a minimum programmatic unity of all left, democratic and opposition parties and forces. We have never sacrificed principle on the pragmatic consideration of making some immediate gains. Our party wants unity as well as ideological struggle within the united movement. While united movement would have to be conducted keeping the unity against the common enemy intact, healthy ideological polemics among the constituents of the front should go on so that the people can judge the respective viewpoints and ideologies side by side and decide which is correct and which is not.

We appeal to the left, democratic and opposition parties and forces, the workers of the leftist parties and all right-thinking democratic-minded persons irrespective of caste, creed or political affiliation to rise to the occasion, come forward and close up ranks to create an upsurge of countrywide democratic

mass movement against the anti-people politics of the Congress(I) Central Government for restoration, preservation and extension of democratic rights and civil liberties and for foiling

the conspiracy of the ruling class to foist fascism, the greatest enemy of mankind and civilization, upon the country.

Long Live SUCI!  
Long Live Revolution!  
Red Salute to  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

ASSAM

## AGP Government mount attack to injure State Secretary of SUCI



The anti-people AGP Government of Assam, afraid of our party's initiative to build up democratic mass movements, has taken to the path of brutal police repression. On 25th April last when a massive peaceful procession of thousands led by our party was marching towards the Assembly house, denouncing the bus fare hike decision of the government, the police attacked it, leaving many participants, including Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, Secretary, Assam State Committee, SUCI, seriously injured, Comrade Chowdhury sus-

tained head injury and had to be transferred to hospital.

Condemning this brutal lathicharge the Assam State Committee of our party has pointed at the AGP Government's policy of suppressing mass movements instead of conceding to the just demands of the people. The State Committee has called upon the people to raise a strong voice of protest against the repressive policy and demanded immediate and unconditional release of all arrested comrades and institution of a judicial enquiry into the police action.

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