

59th Anniversary of November Revolution Observed with Great Solemnity and Enthusiasm

Com. Nihar Mukherjee Recalls the Significance of November Revolution

The West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI observed the 59th anniversary of the great November Revolution with great solemnity through a programme from the 7th November to the 17th November this year. The programme that included pin-flag collection and literature campaign by party volunteers created great enthusiasm among all sections of the fighting people of the country. And on 15th November a public meeting was held at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade Prithvi Chanda, a leading member of the Central Committee of the SUCI. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party was the main speaker of the day.

The backdrop of the dais was decorated with a red banner with the inscription; 'Great November Revolution Zindabad'. Big portraits of two great revolutionaries, Comrade Lenin and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh bedecked with wreaths were placed on the dais.

The meeting started following the presentation of the song composed on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our great departed leader, teacher and guide by Charanik music squad.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party, before proceeding with his speech on the revolutionary significance and lessons of November Day, at the

very outset, paid revolutionary homage to these two great revolutionaries, Comrade Lenin, the great architect of November Revolution, and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, a great successor to the cause of carrying forward the lesson and significance of November Revolution in the present day post-Lenin period of international working class movements.

In his long speech Comrade Mukherjee then highlighted the different aspects of the revolutionary significance of the historic lessons of the November Revolution both in the national and international sphere which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our great departed leader along with his brilliant analysis of the subject on repeated occasions upheld before us.

Comrade Mukherjee remarked that in the human history the November (Contd. to Page 4)

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

VOL. 10
No. 7

15th DECEMBER '76
WEDNESDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights

Committees formed at All India and State Levels

The Parliament in both Houses, has completed its round of business with the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill with anticipated promptitude. The Bill now hangs before the State Legislative Assemblies awaiting their ratification. There is no reason to believe that the State Assemblies will deny ratification. People, however, have nothing to do with all this. Everybody can see it for himself if the public have taken good view of the scope and intent of the Bill. On October 16 and 17 last a National Seminar on Amendment to the Cons-

titution was held in New Delhi. Eminent personalities met and spoke in a voice against the Amendments. We published reports of the Seminar in these columns in our issue of November 1, last.

The consensus at the Seminar was that the liberties of the citizens were sought to be further curtailed by the Amendments; and that it was high time that people should unite for protection of civil liberties and restoration and extension of democratic rights. It was resolved that People's

(Contd. to Page 3)

Down with US imperialism

US Veto in UN against Admission of Vietnam

USA has blocked the admission of Vietnam to the U. N. by using its veto against the all out support of the other 14 member nations in the Security Council on the ground that Hanoi had failed to supply information about American soldiers reported as "missing in action" during the Vietnam war.

But this is nothing new! Last year the USA blocked the admission of North and South Vietnam to the UN by making the simultaneous admission of South Korea a condition for

(Contd. to page 3)



Portion of the large gathering at Mahajati Sadan on the occasion of 59th November Revolution Anniversary. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary addressing at the top left.

WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

[Contd. from last Issue dated 1st November '76]

Three Essential Pre-requisites to be fulfilled before giving final shape to the organisational structure of a revolutionary Party of the Proletariat

Besides, we should always keep in mind another most essential point while judging the character of a party. We are to examine, through which process of struggle the party has been built up and to be precise, before giving an organisational shape to the party whether its leaders have conducted an intense and painstaking struggle for the building up of a communist party.

In 1964 when some leaders came out of the CPI to form the CPI(M), a group of their Calcutta District Party met me before their 7th Congress. I told them: "Before forming a new party you should see whether there exists or not a real communist party in the country. If there is any, you are duty bound to strengthen it. But if in your consideration there is no such party in the country then before giving a final constitutional organisational shape to the party you are going to build up, you will have to, following Marxist methodology, fulfil the preliminary conditions for the building up of a communist party. Otherwise, in your process of thinking you will continue to carry the same tradition and heritage of the old party although under cover of a new name and new phraseology. Now let us see, what are those primary conditions essential for the formation of a communist party. First, those who have taken the lead in forming the party would have to lay the foundation of ideological centralism first among themselves through a socialist movement based on dialectical materialism covering all aspects including the minutest details of their personal life.

Secondly, it is to be always borne in mind that the struggle for developing a concrete concept of collective leadership is, in essence, the primary struggle to build up a Communist Party. For this, unless ideological centralism, that is to say, one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking, oneness in approach, singleness of purpose has been developed the concrete conception and personified expression of Collective Leadership within the Party cannot be made possible, at all. And unless this condition is fulfilled, it is to be understood that time has not yet come to give a final organisational shape to the party. For, before that if finalisation of the formal structure of the party is attempted, then the party will invariably be mechanically centralised instead of being democratically centralised and in course of its development will surely give birth to formal and bureaucratic leadership in place of Collective Leadership.

Thirdly, through a relentless and painstaking struggle a band of professional revolutionaries is to be created from among the leaders and cadres who have advanced to the cause of formation of a revolutionary working-class party. And you should clearly understand that in Marxist terminology, the term 'professional revolutionary' does never mean a paid whole-time worker. Professional revolutionaries are those who constitute the most advanced section of the militant and conscious proletariat who, through a socialist movement, not merely in economic-political fields but covering all aspects of life, have been able to embrace Marxism-Leninism that is the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat in such a manner that they are capable of engaging themselves constantly in the very many complex battles of revolutionary life, gladly, unwaveringly and without any reservation, rising above all their personal questions, needs and conveniences and can unhesitatingly and happily submit everything personal to the party in the interest of revolution. If the leadership of the party, at different levels is constituted from among such professional revolutionaries, then only, a Party can acquire the character of a real Communist Party. Only when all these three conditions are fulfilled, the formal constitutional shape of a real Communist Party can be given through a Conference. And without fulfilling these three primary conditions, a formal constitutional shape of a real working class party should never be given.

That is why, I said to those leaders who met me before the formation of CPI (M): So, you, who have come out of the old CPI to form a new party will have to fulfil all these three conditions in order to bring about a complete break from the non-working class methodological approach of the old party which is still acting in your



thought-process, consciously or unconsciously and will, then, be able to form a real working class party on the basis of dialectical-materialist working class outlook. But if some individuals or political groups, avoiding this essential struggle for fulfilling the pre-requisite for the formation of a real working-class party, form, in hot haste, a party accepting the Marxist theories superficially, giving verbal declarations about their adherence to Marxism then it can at least serve as a platform conducting the day-to-day political-economic movements but can never develop as a Communist Party adequately trained and capable of leading and conducting the most complex and protracted struggles of working class revolution. The leaders of CPI, avoided this hard and painstaking struggle to fulfil the preliminary conditions during the process of formation of that party and precisely because of this, they failed to build up a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat. Now again, another Party Congress, as before, prior to the completion of such a struggle will simply mean, the formation of another such platform of common action on the accepted political line and programme of pro-communist individuals and political groups. As a result, you can give birth to a petty bourgeois party under cover of revolutionary phrasemongering similar to the revisionist Dange Party but can never form a real revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Why Has the CPI (M) failed to develop as a genuine Communist Party.

But the CPI (M) leaders avoided this preliminary process of party formation and the intense painstaking struggle only through which a break could have been brought about with the non-working class methodology and revisionist line of thinking of the CPI, organised most hastily their pompous and colourful 7th Congress in Calcutta and formed the party with some old leaders and groups trained with the same old CPI-orientation and grown up in CPI tradition and by working out certain cunning and subtle changes in the tactical approach of the old theory of CPI passed it for a revolutionary theory. I, then, pointed out that this party, too, would split in near future. And now you see that within so short a period of three years, the Naxalite leaders and workers have come out of CPI(M) branding it as neo-revisionist and are attempting to build up a new party. And I assert here, in this very meeting that the same fate will befall the Naxalites. And I am sure, you can see this will come true cent per cent within a year or two. How do I predict? Is it with the help of astrology? No, I say this, analysing three things.

First, the class-character, the process of thinking and the methodological approach of the party carry the tradition of the same old party.

The second one is the wrong political theory of this Party. A genuine revolutionary party of the working class cannot develop

(Contd. to Page 3)

WHY SUCI

(Contd. from Page 2)

without trying to understand scientifically the complex and objective process of revolution operating within the society—it cannot develop by blindly copying foreign parties and their leaders and in the name of a revolutionary theory imposing utopian thinking on the objective conditions of the country interspersed with some occasional movements on the day-to-day problems of the people with pseudo-militant postures. As the theory of People's Democratic Revolution is not the objective reflection of the most complicated process of Indian revolution but actually a utopia, super-imposed in a subjective way on the objective condition, this so-called revolutionary theory itself is giving birth to two opposite trends inside the party. Moving along the path of parliamentary politics, whenever some sort of stability is growing, a section of the party leaders are trying to arrest the party within the narrow confine of parliamentarism though, of course, with revolutionary vocabularies and catch words. Another section within this party who have become thoroughly disgusted with the opportunism of parliamentary politics and in whom there is an urge for revolution—because of the wrong methodology of the party and the wrong political formulation of People's Democratic Revolution which does in no way reflect the objective conditions or in other words because of the wrong political theory, are showing ultra-revolutionary trends or tendencies and pushing untimely the unprepared forces of revolution before the repressions of the state machinery thereby causing harm to the cause of revolution by objectively helping the coercive apparatus of the state to be tightened up.

Thirdly, the evil influence of individualism and existence of group mentality which are the characteristic features of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and for which CPI was split, were inherent in CPI(M) since its birth. Hence, so long these groups are able to accommodate each other a patch-work unity will be maintained inside the party but it is sure to split, the moment this adjustment will fail. Similarly, these three facts, so long this old non working class thinking, influence of individualism and group mentality and this most subjective and utopian theory of People's Democratic Revolution imposed artificially on objective reality would remain inside the party they will give birth to two opposite tendencies leading to split and further splits—each factions carrying inherent in it the same two opposite trends. One tendency will always be there to sink the party in parliamentarism and arrest it within the narrow confine of parliamentary politics while the other would always try to step into extremism and adventurism. For this very reason, the CPI(M) also split as soon as it was formed. The same fate awaits the Naxalites if they form a party. Because they are also going to form their party on the basis of a combination of groups and their theory of revolution is the same old theory of People's Democratic Revolution as of CPI(M). To them, formation of a new party always means combination of some groups against some group or groups. Has it got any relevance to the question of building up of a revolutionary party of the proletariat? Is it anything else than forming a new party with the same political line, same methodological approach, the same cultural standard with some variation only in some political vocabularies and behaviours i.e.—in tactical approach?

(TO BE CONCLUDED)

Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights

(Contd. from Page 1)

Unions for Civil liberties and Democratic Rights, in accordance with the consensus reached, should be formed in all the States. It was resolved that the People's Union will organise all genuine lovers of democracy against encroachments and attacks on Civil and democratic rights.

West Bengal

Pursuant to this decision, in West Bengal, all the non CPI opposition parties met on 15th and a Convention was held on 18th November attended by about 200 distinguished personalities and representatives of the political parties. A general Council was formed from the Convention. Five specific demands were highlighted and adopted for people's support. They are:

- (1) Withdrawal of Emergency, (2)
-
- (3) Repeal of all anti-people provisions of the Constitution, (4) Repeal of all repressive laws and (5) Withdrawal of all restrictions and restraints on the Press.

A Steering Committee will soon be formed.

From the Convention on Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights, held on 18th November, in Calcutta, a declaration was adopted and issued to the press.

Orissa

A meeting of the representatives of different political parties, mass organisations and prominent personalities of Orissa was held on 14th November 1976 at Sri Ramchandra Bhaban, Cuttack, under the auspices of "All Orissa Civil Rights Defence Committee". Where more than 50 persons, including Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, Srimati Malati Chowdhury and Sri Srinivas Misra, an eminent Advocate of Cuttack High Court were present. The meeting was presided over by Srimati Malati Choudhury.

After a long deliberation on protection of Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights, the meeting welcomed the formation for "People's Union of Civil Liberty and Democratic Rights" headed by Sri Jayprakash Narayan at Delhi.

The meeting unani-

mously decided to launch a People's movement demanding (i) withdrawal of Emergency, (ii) (iii) (iv) repeal of 44th constitution amendment and (v) immediate free and fair election.

A Committee was formed in the line of the All India Committee headed by Sri Jayprakash Narayan with (1) Sri Harihar Mahapatra, Ex-Chief Justice, Patna High Court, as Chairman, (2) Smt. Malati Chowdhury as Vice-Chairman, (3) Sri Laxman Pattnaik, as Secretary, Smt. Binapani Dash, as Jt. Secretary, Sri Srinivash Misra (A), as Treasurer and Sarbasree Naba Krushna Chowdhury, Raghunath Dash, Srinivash Misra (B), Pradyumna Kishore Bal, Rabi Singh, Dwarika Nath Rath, Chitta Behera, Madhu Mohanty, Biswa Bhushan Harichandan, Biswanath Pandit, Pradipta Kishore Das, Banamali Das, Biraj Roy, Sukanta Nayak, Madhu Dal, Raghunath Das, Shyam Sundar Das, Sanat Das, Rangadhar Behera, Nrusingha Tripathi, Rabi Mohanty, A. Khan, Rabi Das, Smt. Sarala Devi and

US Veto in UN Against Admission of Vietnam

(Contd from Page 1)

acceptance of North and South Vietnam. In our September 1, 1975 issue of Proletarian Era last year we strongly condemned this move of the USA and showed that these were two different issues which must be treated separately. To link question of South Korea to that of North and South Vietnam was illogical, absurd and unjustified and solely designed to keep North and South Vietnam out of the U.N.

This year Vietnam is unified and South Korea has not applied for membership any more, so the USA has come up with a new issue; that is Hanoi's failure to account for all the American soldiers "missing in action" which according to USA implies Hanoi's unwillingness to observe Human Rights Charter.

That this is just another flimsy pretext by the USA to deny Vietnam its due place in the UN is evident

others.

Similar Committees on Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights have been formed in Delhi, Haryana, Kerala and other States.

from the fact that USA has raised an issue which is in no way connected with the conditions for membership which Vietnam has and by raising the question of human rights USA is trying to obscure the issue; The absurdity and hypocrisy behind such allegations are indeed unparalleled! The US imperialists who waged a war of aggression against the innocent Vietnamese people in flagrant violation of all norms and principles of democracy, surpassing even Hitler in the amount and intensity of warfare and atrocities committed; what moral right do they have to even talk of human rights! And if in the course of such a war some American soldiers became missing and now can't be traced by Hanoi, how Hanoi is to be blamed? Besides, everyone knows that after any war this problem arises and even Hanoi is faced with the same.

There cannot be any doubt as to why the USA is continuously obstructing Vietnam's justified admission to the U.N. Though US imperialists switched over from war manoeuvre

(Contd. to Page 8)

“Once Fascism came out of the womb of Social-democratism now Social-democratism is the last prop of Fascism”

(Contd. from Page 1)

Revolution was the first of its kind, which had overthrown the bourgeois state, established the new proletarian socialist state in its place, firmly laid down the basis for complete emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitation and oppression and appeared with the firm promise of establishing a classless communist society. No other social revolution, prior to November Revolution could at all signify such a glorious path for progress and development of the human society. Being enriched with the lessons and learning from the experiences of the November Revolution, the fighting people of East European countries, China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos etc. achieved revolution in their respective countries. And this marked the opening of a new vista, a new horizon, in the history of mankind. The November Revolution victoriously led by Lenin had given a lie to those bookish Marxist intellectuals whose understanding of Marxism did not go beyond the letters of what Marx and Engels wrote. While fighting against these so-called Marxian theorists, who endeavoured to apply their bookish knowledge in an abstract manner, irrespective of the time, place and the concrete conditions obtaining in different countries Lenin showed that Marxism is a guide to action. It is a scientific world outlook, a philosophy covering each and every aspect of life, a scientific instrument in the hands of the toiling millions of different countries, that provides them with the general guiding principles which are to be applied differently in different countries after concretely analysing the concrete conditions obtaining in those countries. Comrade Mukherjee added that by achieving socialist revolution in a country with a backward and underdeveloped capitalist economy, Lenin exposed the inade-

quacy of the idea then prevailing in the communist world that socialist revolution could only take place in a country having a highly developed, self sufficient capitalist economy. It was a time in history when capitalism, from its previous stage of free competition stepped into the stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. It was the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In such an era, according to Lenin, it would be erroneous to conclude that revolution would take place only in the highly developed capitalist countries. It would be accurate to state that revolution would take place where the chain of imperialism was weakest, for the proletarian revolution was the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front at its weakest link; and it might turn out that the country which started the revolution was less developed in a capitalist sense than other developed capitalist countries. And what he observed, was realised in practice in November Revolution. November Revolution highlighted another important lesson that it was only through the correct linking of two factors that revolution in any country could reach its logical culmination. One factor was whether the existing system reached a stage when the society could no more maintain itself in relative stability from the standpoint of socio-political and economic interest of the oppressed and exploited class of the society and whether the prevailing system had economically stepped out into a stage which could no more meet the need and demand of the toiling oppressed people of the society. And this was what one would term to be objective condition matured with the possibility of revolution. And in such a prevailing objective situation, the other inseparable factor, essential for accomplishing

revolution in a country was the existence of a genuine revolutionary party with correct base political line and adequate organisational strength for providing leadership to the revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Mukherjee further observed that, Lenin through successful completion of November Revolution showed, “The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of state power.” Later Comrade Stalin further elaborated it: “In the hands of which class or which classes, is power concentrated, which class or which classes must be overthrown; which class or which classes must take power—such is the main question of revolution.” Following the February revolution, when Tsardom was overthrown and the state power was captured by the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries and all other pseudo-Marxist forces on the face of the wide-spread feudal remnants in the backward Russian capitalist economy clamoured that the unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution should have to be completed first, and then only the country would step into the phase of socialist revolution. Lenin explained to them that to the extent the state power was transferred from the hand of the old class i.e. the feudal landed nobility to that of the new class i.e. the Russian bourgeoisie, from the standpoint of wielding of state power which was the fundamental question of every revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolution was completed and the country entered in the phase of socialist revolution, notwithstanding the wide-spread prevalence of feudal economy and feudal remnants within the existing backward and undeveloped capitalist economy of the then Russia. It was not that Lenin did not know that it was the new ruling

—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

class, the bourgeoisie, that was not laying a finger on the landed estates, or rather providing shelter to this feudal economic remnants existing in the backward capitalist economy of the then Russia. Lenin categorically observed, that the task of the November Revolution was to overthrow the bourgeoisie from the state power and the unfulfilled tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution under the circumstances, had to be carried out to completion by proletariat themselves in socialist revolution. Thus Lenin correctly pointed out that where political question like determination of stage of revolution was involved, it was politics that superseded economy. And to go the other way round, which the socialist revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and other pseudo-Marxist forces endeavoured, was to sink in economic determinism, which was not only not Marxism but alien to Marxism.

Comrade Mukherjee added: Marxists do not merely uphold the scientific truth that revolution can not be copied, it can neither be imported nor exported. Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of that country alone that after correctly analysing the concrete situation of that country will have to formulate their particular theory of revolution, evaluate its strategy and tactics. So, guided by this basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism Comrade Ghosh after analysing the concrete conditions obtaining in our country and applying Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings and the lessons of November revolution, concretised the particular theory of anti-capitalist socialist revolution of our country in the existing background of the international situation. On the question of penetration of capitalism in agriculture, an issue which often puzzled even

many a Marxist, Comrade Ghosh, while elaborating the Leninist teachings observed that it was neither the form of land ownership nor the nature of the machinery employed in agriculture but the relations of production, character of trade and commerce of the agricultural produce that mainly determine the nature and character of the agricultural economy. Applying the Leninist teachings in the concrete conditions obtaining in the agrarian economy of the country, Comrade Ghosh showed that it was not only that capitalism firmly established itself in our agriculture: it would be more accurate to state that apart from existing custom in the form of hangover in habits, manners, mental make up and culture of the people, nowhere not even in agrarian economy did feudalism or feudal remnants exist in our country. In Russia, an analysis on the basis of this yardstick, had revealed infiltration of capitalism in agriculture, yet Lenin, taking into cognisance the character of the ruling class in state power gave the call for socialist revolution. In contrast when in our country, not only there had been infiltration of capitalism in agriculture, but the entire Indian agricultural economy had already been completely transformed into capitalist economy and in spite of the fact that the capitalist class had wielded power, some so-called communists were propounding theories of national democratic or People's democratic revolution. Again while characterising the stage of revolution in our country Comrade Ghosh observed that when on the one hand, the local rural agricultural market did no more exist and the agricultural produce became commodity of the national

(Contd. to Page 5)

Country Recalls the Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

In our issues dated 1st October and 15th October, we published under this caption the news of Memorial Meetings to pay homage to our great departed leader, teacher, guide, Founder General Secretary of our Party and an eminent Marxist thinker of this era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, held at Delhi, Haryana, Gauhati, Patna and Cuttack.

In this issue, we publish the news of Memorial meetings held at Jaunpur, Rourkela and at places in M. P. News of Memorial meetings are pouring in. We shall try to continue to cover these in our subsequent issues-Ed. Proletarian Era.

Jaunpur

The central memorial meeting of East UP was held in the Badlapur College ground of Jaunpur to pay homage to the great beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Jagadish Chandra Asthana, Secretary, Jaunpur District Committee presided over the meeting. Comrade Pritish Chanda, member of the Central Committee who was the main speaker garlanded the portrait of the great departed leader. Wreaths were also placed on behalf of the State Committee and different District Committees of the Party and other mass organisations including Democratic Lawyers' Association.

Comrade Pritish Chanda held high the great revolutionary character of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who emerged as a product of uncompromising and exemplary struggles covering all aspects of life and society. Continuing, Comrade Chanda showed how at the tender age of his boyhood. Comrade Ghosh could realise from the experiences he gathered from conscious participation in the freedom movement of the country that fruits of independence so achieved were going to be usurped by the capitalist class. The moment he could realise this truth that the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited masses can never be achieved without the political party of their class, Comrade Ghosh took upon himself the historic task of establishing revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat. During the course of building up of a genuine working

class party in our soil, he concretely applied the science of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country and through emergence of SUCI, the real Communist Party of India he elaborated, enriched and elevated Marxism-Leninism to a new height.

In analysing the features of proletarian culture in the present day context, Comrade Chanda continued, he showed how complex and tortuous will be the course of struggle to attain the communist character today when individualism has degenerated to worst kind of privilege. Comrade Ghosh also showed that the former conception of the international communist movement as to the standard of communist character has become inadequate and taught us that it is only through the complete identification of one's self with the interest of the class, party and the revolution that one can attain a true communist character in the present day society. Elaborating on this invaluable contribution to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Ghosh showed, if in these days of putrid individualism, there be the last trace of individual interest in one's character, that must invariably develop into 'ego centricism'. So, in today's context, he and only he can be called a real communist who has nothing 'personal' and in whom personal interest and the social interest has become one and the same—his love and affection, sympathy and compassion are all linked up with the interest of revolution.

Beyond it, Comrade Ghosh said, there can be no meaning of these qualities to a revolutionary. His was the character of living embodiment of this lofty edifice of proletarian culture as he completely identified his 'self' with the interest of the class, party and revolution.

Rourkela

Peoples of Rourkela paid their homoge to their departed beloved leader at a memorial meeting held in the Ambagan Maidan on 14th September last. Comrade Gavani took the chair. Wreaths were placed by Comrade Pritish Chanda, the main speaker of the meeting on behalf of the Central Committee and on behalf of the State Committees of Orissa along with different district committee of Orissa and innumerable mass organisations.

In his speech, Comrade Pritish Chanda joined with deep sense of loss of the toiling millions of India and the world over, in the sudden and premature demise of one of the greatest revolutionary leaders of the age—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He reminded the people that in this circumstances the great void that has been created in the national and international arena, the most befitting memorial to this great leader of the proletariat will be to take upon ourselves the noble task that he has left for us to complete the emancipation of the society.

While recounting some of the most invaluable contributions to the international communist movement of our beloved leader, Comrade Chanda added that in the post-Lenin period, in the perspective of newer problems of life and society, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh made brilliant contributions to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism and brought many of its other aspects to a newer height. In the present era, he thus historically emerged as the

(Contd. to Page 7)

SIGNIFICANCE OF NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

(Contd. from Page 4)

capitalist market, on the other hand, capitalists had not only wielded the state power, but led capitalism to the stage of monopoly capitalism. And not to speak of monopoly capitalism only, they had given birth to finance capital that was being exported to foreign market for investment. Though backward, none could ignore this imperialistic feature of Indian capital. All these pertinent questions relating to the question of characterising the stage of revolution in a country, and other related issues were once resolved by November Revolution achieved under the leadership of Lenin. But when attempts were being made by the revisionists and neo-revisionists in different countries, to distort and revise the Marxist-Leninist teachings, thereby create confusion among the people about Marxism-Leninism and theories of revolution Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our departed leader and teacher, analysed, elaborated and developed these teachings and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and while doing that brought many of its aspects to a new height as well, in the present post-Lenin period of Leninist era.

Comrade Mukherjee further observed that, in the arena of the international communist movement Comrade Ghosh was the pioneer to expose the real character of fascism, and provided and integrated concept about this arch enemy of humanity, based on Marxism-Leninism. Previously, not only to the liberals, even to the Marxists fascism was synonymous with naked ruthless dictatorship. Comrade Ghosh pointed out that posing of the issue in such a manner would be a grave mistake. For if we fail to understand the philosophical basis of fascism, its ideological category we would not succeed to give it a complete defeat. And it was for that reason that

even after receiving a crushing defeat in Italy and Germany fascism could again become a common feature in all capitalist-imperialist countries, in whatever stage of development, developed or undeveloped, they might exist. Comrade Ghosh once remarked that: "Fascism is a peculiar fusion of science and spiritualism." It takes only the technological aspects of science for economic and military might, inculcates mysticism, blind faith, obscurantism, revivalism, promotes national jingoism, fosters racial and community hatred and all other backward sentiments amongst the masses. While highlighting the teachings of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Mukherjee added what Comrade Ghosh often observed: In the period of third general world wide crisis of capitalism, the ruling capitalist class in different countries in their bid to preserve their very existence are taking recourse to fascism. In the name of ameliorating the sufferings of the people, the fascists wearing a radical cloak and raising so called progressive slogans, often take recourse to various social democratic programmes and measures-

... ..

 All these social democratic programmes posed by the fascists as to be the panacea of all ills from which the people suffer in a capitalist imperialist state in reality are nothing but palliatives designed to confuse the people and win their support behind the desired aim and naked attempt of the fascists to centralise and concentrate absolute power in their hands with the object of protecting their crisis-ridden economy and the state on the face of growing people's struggles against them. This naked endeavour, this counter-revolutionary upsurge be it manifested in the form of constitutional dictatorship or in

(Contd. to Page 6)

(Contd. from Page 5)

some other diverse form or forms has become a common feature in all capitalist imperialist countries. Our beloved leader and teacher used to observe that: Whatever may be the magnitude of economic crisis distressing the life of the common people a country can raise its head, braving all odds, poverty, privation and repressions provided the people of that country can keep erect their moral backbone. And it is fascism which is perpetrating a heinous conspiracy aimed at smashing this very moral backbone of the people. It should however be borne in mind that this arch enemy of the people, so long they fail to confuse the people and win their support, they do not succeed to isolate the revolutionary force from the masses. And to whatever oppressive measures they may take recourse to they have to solely rely on the might of the military and the bureaucracy. Those who consider the situation as to be much critical and alarming, should recall to memory, the historic observation of Comrade Ghosh that all over the world the capitalist-imperialist forces are suffering from crisis of existence. In fact it is their weakest position from which they are striving hard for a survival with their back to the wall. And it was because of this that Mao Tse-Tung once described them as 'paper-tiger'. Comrade Mukherjee then added that in all these countries where this arch enemy of the humanity is trying to gain ground and establish itself firmly, all the real patriotic people who desire to stand for democracy, democratic rights and norms, civil liberty and political freedom, whatever diverse political opinion they may hold, should come forward and at the moment, it is the Marxist-Leninist who should bear the prime responsibility of fulfilling the task of forging a unity of all these forces against the growing menace of fascism. Marxists-Leninists know it very

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PUT AN END TO CAPITALISM WITHOUT PUTTING AN END TO SOCIAL-DEMOCRATISM

well that there is not permanently fixed, simple or straight course for revolution. The revolutionary struggles, off and on, have had to pass over many a twist and turn, and tides and ups and downs. Lenin too, highlighted this very lesson. And that was why when after revolution the objective situation demanded, guided by class-angularity and class interest, he did not hesitate even to handle contradictions between the imperialists with the sole object of safeguarding revolution. He could do that without any hesitation because it was he who upheld the lesson that in Marxism-Leninism there was no place for puritanism and untouchability. So, in any country, at times even a situation may arise when for the interest of the toiling people and future prospect of revolutionary struggle the revolutionary party, with the sole object of giving defeat to the number one, i.e. the main enemy of the people, may have to enter into a unity with the lesser evils as for example the number two or number three enemy of the people and so forth, which at the moment does not pose immediate threat.

Comrade Mukherjee further added that: at a moment when any conscious individual has the bounden duty to stand against this growing menace of fascism, some parties claiming to be Marxist-Leninists, be they proponents of national democratic revolution or people's democratic revolution, which of course does not matter at all, either directly lend their support to the fascist force or stamp their social democratic steps and programmes as to be 'forward' or 'progressive'.

Comrade Mukherjee continued that: at the moment it is the prime duty of the Marxists-Leninists to hold aloft the banner of democracy, democratic right, civil

liberty and political freedom, which has been laid down by the bourgeoisie, who has turned fascist and is engaged in trampling down whatever little democratic right and political liberty once, at least formally, existed in these countries. It is the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries who should uphold the values, ethics and norms of democratic life, that are being depraved by the ruling bourgeoisie. In this regard, Comrade Mukherjee of course raised a pertinent question. In the prevailing widespread cultural, moral and ethical degeneration that is being actively indulged in by the fascists, when the bourgeois humanist values have lost their progressive role, and reached a stage of decadence instead, how can the communists succeed in overthrowing the capitalist system, the bourgeois social order, if they do not possess cultural ethical and moral values higher than what bourgeois humanism can think of? And that was why, he added, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our great leader and teacher always urged to develop and conduct struggles on the basis of a higher standard of proletarian ethics, culture and morality far more advanced and higher than what bourgeois humanism could ever conceive. It was he who taught us: "The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy and worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. Comrade Ghosh who through his life long constant revolutionary struggle reached the highest level of proletarian ethics, morality and culture in the perspective of the present era of advanced science and epistemology, in his revolutionary teachings left for us a new and advanced code covering culture, ethics and morality, without taking which into due cognisance none could ever

acquire a communist character. Once, there was a time when any one having faith in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, if he could consider the interest of the party and cause of revolution with topmost priority and engage himself in party work and activity at least for some time, was considered to be a good communist. But such a standard, Comrade Ghosh observed, was inadequate to tackle the complicated problems confronting the life of the individual and the society in an era, when bourgeois individualism degenerated into sheer privilege and assumed a reactionary character. And in such an era, if the communists would sincerely desire to resolve the intricate problems facing the individual and the society, then they should have to conduct an arduous and relentless struggle to reach a stage where one could achieve a complete identification of self interest, with the interest of the society.

While reflecting on the underlying reasons for the repeated failure in the past to develop revolutionary struggle in spite of the fact that the people again and again burst out in violent revolt, Comrade Mukherjee reminded us of what Com. Ghosh observed on repeated occasions. He would observe that revolution and violent outburst in revolt was not one and the same. The Indian people jumped into struggle, into violent revolt again and again, but revolution could not be achieved. Because what was lacking in all those struggles was a genuine revolutionary leadership, and a correct line of movement, without which revolutionary movement could never be developed in any country. Again no revolutionary movement could reach its logical culmination without exposing and isolating and giving a complete defeat to

the social democratic forces which act as the compromising force between labour and capital, in the midst of struggle, while maintaining the unity and solidarity among the fighting forces against the common enemy. The great November Revolution taught us an important lesson, in this regard too. Comrade Stalin with a unique analysis had shown that to give a crushing defeat to the main enemy one had to launch intense ideological struggle thereby direct the main blow towards the compromising force which kept themselves in the current of the movement and give protection to the main enemy against the attack from the revolutionary force. And that was why, during pre-February revolution period, in Russia, when the Bolsheviks joined hands with the Cadets and launched a united struggle against Tsardom, they directed the main blow against the Cadets and pursued an intense ideological struggle against them. And likewise after February Revolution when they were fighting against the bourgeoisie from a united platform with Socialist Revolutionaries, they constantly maintained the direction of the main blow against them. In our country it was our party led by the great teacher of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, which taking into cognisance the Marxist-Leninist principle relating to the direction of the main blow in a struggle, repeatedly highlighted the necessity of pursuing intense ideological struggle on the basis of unity-struggle-unity, among the parties united in a common platform against the common enemy. But surprisingly enough, whenever we raised the issue it was the parties claiming to be Marxists-Leninists who raised a hue and cry and opposed this Marxist-Leninist principle on the plea that it would endanger unity.

Comrade Mukherjee while reiterating the conditions laid down by

(Contd. to Page 7)

(Contd. from Page 6)

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our great leader and teacher, the fulfilment of which was a prerequisite for accelerating the course of revolution in a country, echoing the voice of Comrade Ghosh, urged to develop the political power of the people i.e. to create the instruments of struggle of different section of the people, workers, peasants, students, youths etc. These instruments of struggle must have to be made sufficiently conscious and strong, both politically and ideologically, so that depending upon the objective situation of struggle they may correctly decide when one should have to move ahead, step backward or if necessary step aside, while fighting against the main enemy.

This was a task to be fulfilled only by the real Marxist-Leninist party with a high standard of proletarian ethics, morality and culture and based on the correct base political line of the proletariat. To a party committed to the historic task of developing revolutionary struggle, the correct base political line is of prime importance. Each and every struggle of the people, if one desires to lead them to their logical culmination, should have to be built up on the correct base political line. In each and every situation, basing on the correct base political line, the revolutionary party, to fulfill the

Develop broadest possible unity to defend Civil liberty and Democratic rights

objective of revolution, should have to correctly analyse the concrete condition and thereby evolve its tactics, programme of action and form of movement. Moreover, in any country, the problems relating to the question of stage of revolution, its strategy and tactics and all other related issues should have to be resolved basing on the correct base political line of the proletariat. And that was why, all the great revolutionaries like Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung, who achieved revolution in their respective countries always put emphasis on the task of developing the revolutionary party on the correct base political line of the proletariat. In our country, Comrade Mukherjee added, it is our party SUCI, the real revolutionary party on the soil based on the correct base political line of the proletariat, the party built up and reared by the great revolutionary genius Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, which has been entrusted with the historic task of developing revolutionary struggle for achieving anti-capitalist socialist revolution in the country. We firmly believe that all sections of the fighting people of our country, educated in the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and led by the revolutionary party founded by this great leader of the proletariat,

will hold aloft the banner of revolution and carry it forward along the path which November Revolution had shown to the world proletariat.

Comrade Mukherjee concluded his speech with the observation that this was the only way one could correctly observe and pay one's revolutionary tribute to the November Revolution.

In his presidential speech Comrade Chandra while highlighting the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, our great leader and teacher, and the significance and lessons of November Day, especially drew the attention of the house to the tasks that the Marxist-Leninists were confronted with at the moment. In the present era, when capitalism stepped into monopoly capitalism in the face of world wide economic crisis of capitalism, in all the capitalist-imperialist states developed or backward, the ruling capitalist class in their bid to survive from crisis were engaged in giving birth to all out fascism. In the political sphere, this was being revealed through complete negation of democracy, and the curbing of whatever little democratic rights and civil liberties, though formal were still there in the capitalist-imperialist countries. In such a situation, Comrade Chandra emphasised that the

Marxist-Leninists had the prime duty to forge broad-based unity of all sections of the people, who would desire to stand against this heinous attempts by the fascists, irrespective of the political opinions they might hold, and organise the necessary programme of action. This was a historic task devolved on the revolutionaries. Because it was the Marxists-Leninists who participated in the democratic struggle with the sole object of lifting the struggle one day to a higher level for developing revolutionary struggle following the exhaustion of the democratic phase did really understand the necessity of reviving the democratic environment and restoring and extending the democratic rights, political freedom and civil liberty in the country.

Comrade Chanda observed further that while developing the struggle against the main enemy one should not fail to identify the social-democratic forces who are the main danger in the struggle launched against the main enemy. One should keep an eye of close vigilance on this main danger, expose their role, isolate them from the people and give defeat to these particular social democratic parties at present playing a bourgeois oppositional role against the section of the bourgeoisie in power. In spite of this limitation

every effort should be made to keep these forces arrested within the struggle against the main enemy so long their historic role is not exhausted. No doubt, these parties in their bid to secure gains in parliamentary politics, try to confuse the people thereby gain their support by raising so-called revolutionary slogans and pose themselves as the champion of their cause in their fight against the bourgeoisie in power. In reality they remain in the united platform to frustrate its object and purpose from within, with sole object of protecting the basic class interest of ruling bourgeoisie who is in power, engaged in establishing all out fascism in the country. Comrade Chanda further added that at the moment revisionism appeared as the main danger before revolutionary movement in all countries of the world. And while fighting against this main danger, one should have also to remember that at the moment in different countries it was revisionism which through its alliance with the bourgeoisie, preaching social democracy, was helping fascism to get strengthened and consolidated. In conclusion Comrade Chanda urged to keep in memory what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our great leader and teacher taught us and carry forward the thought and ideology of the SUCI, the genuine revolutionary party in the soil established and reared by this great leader of the proletariat.

The meeting then came to an end following the internationale presented by the Charanik Music squad.



D.Y.O. music squad singing the Internationale before the November Revolution Anniversary gathering at Mahajati Sadan. Standing are the members of the Central Committee and State Committee and other leaders (from left to right)—Comrades Pritish Chanda, Nihar Mukherjee, Sachin Banerjee, Sukomal Dasgupta, Anil Sen, Asutosh Banerjee, Fatick Ghosh and Yakub Pailan. Besides, there are also Comrades Ranjit Dhar, Pravash Ghosh, Prativa Mukherjee and Shankar Ray Chowdhury.

Attack on SUCI Workers In Haryana

From 14th to 24th October last repeated attacks were made on the organisers of SUCI by the forces of vested interests in different places of Haryana. They forcibly lifted Comrade Hossiar Singh and thirteen others and seized Party literatures from the Party Office at Bhiwani.

Similar attack was made on the family of Comrade Balwant Singh a leading

member of Haryana State Organising Committee of the Party and President of the Haryana KKMFF on 19th November last. They abducted his minor son and took away three buffaloes during his absence. However, twelve of the thirteen abducted workers were later rescued. The buffaloes were also recovered. But no trace of Comrade Hossiar Singh and another worker could yet be made.

Country Recalls the Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

(Contd. from Page 5)

living symbol of World Proletarian Revolution. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who for the first time, pin-pointed the mechanical thought-process working in the international communist movement, after Lenin. It was he, who first took note of modern revisionism, born out of the formulations of 20th Congress of the CPSU and said: "20th Congress has opened the flood gate of revisionism." Later on, he showed that it was revisionism which had appeared as the main danger in the international communist movement and correctly upheld the ideological-political line for defeating the dominant trend of modern revisionism. Again, it was he, who provided us first with the correct ideological weapon and correct method to fight against Fascism. He showed through his brilliant exposition that in the present era of moribund imperialism-capitalism—developed and underdeveloped alike, bourgeoisie of these countries attempt to bring about fascism in its anticipatory move of counter-revolutionary measure to stave off revolutionary uprising of the people. He laid bare, in this connection, the two facets of it and on analysis of the philosophical-political and economic base of it, showed us that fascism is an all-out counter-revolutionary movement and uprising—a peculiar fusion between

spiritualism and technological aspects of science.

Our great beloved leader, teacher and guide is no more physically with us, but in his magnificent teachings and lofty character which are very much with us, he has bequeathed to his true inheritors the 'two' basic pre-conditions for the victory of Indian revolution. That is, he has provided us with the correct political line of the proletariat which means strategy and tactics of Indian revolution. And he has bequeathed to us the fruits of his gigantic struggles till his last breath which found its concrete expression in the expansion of the best of his creation, the SUCI, throughout the length and breath of the country.

Comrade Chanda concluded his speech by urging upon the working class of the country that it is high time for taking a firm pledge to fulfil the behest he left behind for us. Responding to the call of the Central Committee of our Party, we all from the leaders down to the level of ordinary workers, vow to stand as 'one man' and fulfil the unaccomplished task of our great departed leader, teacher and the guide.

Madhya Pradesh :

Memorial meetings to pay homage were also held at different places in M.P., like Bhopal, Jubbulpore, Sagar and Betul.

"Mr. Subramaniam (Union Finance Minister) said in Bangalore on July 3 that the economy had been able to achieve price stability after a great deal of effort and discipline."

—Statesman, July, 4.

"The wholesale price index shows a rise of over 10% in current financial year till October 2. Money supply has increased by Rs. 1,097 crores in current financial year till October 1—more than twice the increase during the corresponding period of the last financial year."

—Statesman, 2.11.76.

"Deputy Governor of Reserve Bank of India R. K. Hazari pointed out the money supply had risen by 15 percent and the

wholesale price index by 11 p.c. since March this year.

...The belief that we have conquered the inflationary trend is immature."

—Samachar, 15.11.76.

"The sharpest increase in prices in this financial year till October 2, have been in food articles (12.9 percent)."

—Economic & Political Weekly, 23.10.76.

"The prices of cotton which is an important raw material of one of the key industries of the country has increased over the past five months by 75% to 95% for various varieties of the fibre."

—Statesman, July 11.

"The prices of cooking oil (Mustard oil, Vanaspati and Ground nut oil) have been rising in Calcutta. Some spices are also costlier. Rice is selling at a higher price than a fortnight ago."

—Statesman, July, 14.

"The recent rise in prices of cotton, oilseeds, vegetable oil, Vanaspati and sugar can only be explained in terms of market supplies by traders and producers. What is more, such manipulation does not appear to have attracted any special punitive measures."

—Economic and Political Weekly 23.10.76.

"Vanaspati went underground in the city of Bombay on Thursday following a reported decision of the Government of Maharashtra to take over, with immediate effect, the entire output of Vanaspati in the state for distribution through fair price shops".

—Times of India, 15.10.76.

"Sugar has suddenly become scarce in Bombay with many wholesalers displaying 'on stock' Boards. About 60% of the counters in the wholesale market had either no stocks or negligible stocks to offer."

—Economic Times, 19.10.76.

"Although the Indian Sugar Mills Association decided to peg the free market sugar price at Rs. 335 per quintal (exclusive excise duty) in actual practice many sugar units were found changing an unofficial premium over the price fixed by ISMA. The agreement was observed more in its breach than in its observance."

—Times of India, 13.9.76

READ

The Great Leader of the Proletariat COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Price 50 P.

DOWN WITH US IMPERIALISM

(Contd. from Page 3)

to peace manoeuvre tactics, this is due to the combined and compelling factors of China's successful anti-imperialist policies, the liberation of Vietnam, growing public opinion within USA against such wars of aggression and the impact of the Vietnam war on US economy with the consequent fall of the American dollar in the international market, and it doesn't mean that US imperialism, the greatest enemy of the freedom loving people and socialism has changed its nature or abandoned its aggressive policies of interfering into, infiltrating into and influencing the internal affairs of other countries. Thus, peace manoeuvre tactics and war manoeuvre tactics are but two expressions of these imperialist policies; head and tail of the same coin, and it is this basic imperialist policies which we find at the bottom of the US veto in the Security Council, coupled with it,

no doubt, a desire to inflict a revenge on the Vietnamese people for the US imperialists still smart under the humiliation of their ignominious defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese people who have shattered the myth of US military might once and for all. Moreover, if Vietnam is admitted to the UN this will be one more moral defeat for the US imperialists before the eyes of the world; this they want to prevent at all costs.

But the US imperialists can't bar Vietnam for long from playing their due role in world affairs; sooner or later they will have to concede Vietnam its justified place in the UN just as they had to do in case of China.

We strongly condemn this filthy politics of the US imperialists and appeal to all peace-loving and democratic minded forces and people to unitedly put pressure upon the US imperialists to desist them from such politics.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE