

Communism—the destiny of mankind

—Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party, the SUCI, addressed a mammoth gathering at the Gandhi Park in Trivandrum on 15th November last organised by the Kerala State Committee of our party on the occasion of the anniversary of the Great November Revolution. The meeting was held on a red draped rostrum which projected portraits of the giant leaders of the world communist movement—Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh. Before the meeting started, well decorated, disciplined and colourful processions from different parts of the state started converging on the meeting place. The meeting was presided over by Comrade James Joseph, member, Central Editorial Board. The meeting started with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. The audience heard with rapt attention the speech of Comrade Mukherjee on the lessons of November Revolution. The meeting continued till 11 p.m. and almost the entire audience was present upto the last. Comrade Lukose, the Secretary of the Kerala State Committee of the party interpreted the speech in Malayalam. The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'. The text of the speech of Comrade Mukherjee is given hereunder.

Comrade President,
Comrades and Friends,

You have all gathered here on the occasion of the observance of the 73rd anniversary of the Great November Revolution. You know that we are passing through a volcanic situation both in international and national arena. And in the background of the present situation I will try to place before you the significance of observing the Great November Revolution this year.

November Revolution was the first successful anti-capitalist socialist revolution in a backward country like Russia and through this revolution a new era was opened up—the era of liberation of the downtrodden, exploited and oppressed masses of the people throughout the world. Why do I say so? You know the history of the social evolution from the primitive stage to the present one through which the entire mankind had passed. Before this Great October Revolution, which in a new calendar is called the November Revolution, human society in the process of advancement has undergone changes—from the primitive clan communist stage to the slave and slave master society; and overthrowing the slave and slave master society there came serfdom—the feudal exploitative society; overthrowing that exploitative serfdom and feudal society—through renaissance—the bourgeoisie set up the capitalist society. In course of all these revolutionary changes in human history or during the progress of human society, one type of exploitation and oppression was replaced by another—and all these revolutions were carried to establish the aspirations and interests of the minority.

But the Great November Revolution was the only revolution in the world which had for the first time established the aspirations and interests of the majority, of the 95 per cent of the toiling people—the workers,

peasants and the majority of the people. And this was a revolution, which, by following the universal teachings of Marx and Engels and basing on the philosophy of Marxism and Dialectical Materialism—being concretised,

elaborated and developed in the Russian soil achieved its victory under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin. And afterwards it was Comrade Stalin, the worthy disciple of Lenin, who headed the party and the state. Lenin and after him Stalin consolidated the fruits of socialist revolution in Russia and proved that even in a single country not only the victory of socialism but also the consolidation of socialism was possible.

You, who are the students of social science, know that Marxism, emerged not only as a philosophy—like other philosophies, it was at the same time a science. It is also known to you that historically two trends of philosophy, materialist and idealist, grew and developed in the society. But Marx was the first to give materialist philosophy the character of science. Because Marx was able to coordinate and generalise the truths arrived at from the different branches of science. It should be kept in mind that the emergence of working class on the one hand and degree of development of natural science on the other provided the background for the development of Marxian science. Dialectical Materialism, the very essence of Marxian philosophy, is based on science and science alone, meaning thereby that Marxism depends on the scientifically experimented and proven truths. And you know that the Marxist philosophy, as it developed through the coordination and generalisation of knowledges obtained from different branches of science basing on the scientifically established truths—has emerged as a philosophy on the one hand and the science of all sciences on the other. It means that Marxism is a comprehensive science

(Contd. on page 2)

Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 24 No. 7 27 December '90 Price : 80 P.,
Air Charge : 5 P.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee greets victorious people of Bangladesh

7.12.90 : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, Socialist Unity Centre of India, has in course of a statement issued to the Press congratulated the heroic people of Bangladesh for forcing the military dictator, Gen. Ershad, to step down from state power.

Comrade Mukherjee has further expressed the solidarity of the Indian people with the people of Bangladesh in their struggle for emancipation from all sorts of repression and exploitation.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Letter to Left and Democratic Parties

(Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary, in the context of the present catastrophe in our country sent, on 7th December, 1990, a letter to different Left and democratic parties and forces including CPI, CPI(M), Forward Bloc, RSP, Janata Dal, Telugu Desam, IPF, CPI(ML), COI(ML), WPI, MCPI, Bolshevik Party, and RSPI(M) urging them to build up a united democratic mass movement on the burning problems of people's life and in the process to give birth to a powerful united democratic front.

The text of the letter is printed below.)

To
The President/General Secretary,
Dear Friend,

The Central Committee of our party notes with deep concern that as a direct outcome of the BJP sponsored moves one after another, the latest being the Ram Rathayatra, the National Front Government, formed only eleven months ago as an alternative to the discredited corrupt Congress(I) Government of Rajiv Gandhi, has fallen. Taking advantage of the situation, the most trusted agent and caretaker of the aggregate interest of the capitalist class, the Congress-(I) has virtually come to control the Central Government by propping up dissidents led by Chandra Shekhar within the Janata Dal.

The Central Committee observes with deep anguish that the BJP-VHP led move has very much weakened the Indian people's unity and pushed further aside the prospect of developing the people's united movement on the burning issues of life today.

(Contd. on page 7)

Emergence of working class and development of Natural Science paved the way for development of Marxism

(Contd. from page 1)
governing the activities of all spheres of life, society and nature and is not confined to any particular domain, like any other branch of science. That is why, it has become so decisive a weapon in the hands of the exploited and oppressed people — not only of Russia but of the whole world.

Before the emergence of Marxism all other philosophies tried to interpret the world. But Marxism was the only philosophy which not only interpreted the world but showed the scientific path to change it. Hence it is called a guide to action. November Revolution came as a result of correct grasping and correct application of the philosophy of Marxism. Marxism is the only philosophy which shows the historical materialistic process of advancement of human society, that is, the process of evolutionary changes culminating in the revolutionary changes of the society. All these changes brought different types of society. But before November Revolution, no society was free from exploitation and oppression. And this is a great teaching of November Revolution that people groaning under the capitalist exploitative system will surely emancipate themselves, because capitalism itself has created its own grave diggers i.e. the proletariat through inhuman exploitation, injustice and oppression. And it is also another lesson of the Great November Revolution that the emancipation of the proletariat is inseparably linked up with the emancipation of the society as a whole. In other words, emancipation of all sections of the toiling people from the exploitative capitalist system has become inseparably linked up with the question of emancipation of the proletariat.

November Revolution also taught another great lesson—that in this

era, which was enunciated by Lenin as the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the success of proletarian revolution or for that matter struggle for emancipation of the toiling people in any country depended ultimately on the leadership of a genuine working class party armed with the philosophy of Marxism. And in this struggle for emancipation from the capitalist exploitative system it is required that the party of the proletariat — a genuine Marxist party — should work as the vanguard detachment and part and parcel of the international proletariat. And you know that after the Great November Revolution the exploited and oppressed masses all over the world became inspired by the great philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, Dialectical and Historical Materialism which became the weapons in their hands. That is why after the successful completion of the revolution in Russia there was a swing throughout the world—not only in the capitalist countries but also in the colonies and semi-colonies—when all exploited people tried to release unitedly the struggle for their emancipation. In the capitalist countries they fought for anti-capitalist socialist revolution and in the colonial and semicolonial countries it was a fight against the savage rule of imperialism and feudalism. And countries, one after another, became thus liberated. And here also you will find the invincibility of the great teaching of the November Revolution.

Now, it is very much imperative on the working class of the capitalist countries to build up a Marxist-Leninist party capable of mobilising and leading all sections of the toiling people to complete the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This is why in the colonial and

semicolonial countries also it has become imperative to establish the hegemony of the working class party to carry forward the revolutionary struggle to its successful completion. Otherwise, national revolution for emancipation from colonial exploitation will remain half-baked and truncated.

As you see that in India during the freedom movement there was no genuine working class party, Marxist-Leninist party, in our country, although there was a party whose nomenclature was Communist Party of India. But it could not emerge as a genuine working class party and naturally could not pursue such policies or advance such struggles expected of an advanced detachment of the proletariat. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the Founder General Secretary of our party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era, who, at a particular phase of the freedom struggle penetratingly analysed and showed that the CPI was a petty bourgeois party. He observed that although its name was 'communist' yet it was never a working class party. Nowadays so many people can understand it very easily. The undivided CPI has been later on divided into CPI and CPI(M) and then again to CPI(ML)—all of them claiming Marxism-Leninism as their philosophy. Moreover, the process of split and disintegration has been going on in all the parties even now. But one can easily understand if there were a genuine working class party at that time, then the tragedy which had befallen our country—the tragedy of usurpation of the leadership of the national liberation struggle by the bourgeoisie — could not have occurred. It happened mainly because there was no genuine working class party then and the leadership of the national freedom struggle was in the hands of the national bourgeoisie.

Due to inherent weakness of the leadership of our freedom movement led by the representatives of the national bourgeoisie it was not possible for them to accomplish the task of overthrowing the alien rule and feudal exploitation completing the unaccomplished tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution.

In this connection, we should better recall that in our struggle for independence there were broadly two trends—one, the compromising trend represented by the leadership of Gandhiji, and the other, the uncompromising, militant and revolutionary trend represented by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose among others who inherited the glorious legacy of the revolutionaries like Chatterjee brothers, Kshudiram, Chandra Sekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh and others. But among these two trends the former was the dominant one. Naturally, in the absence of leadership of a genuine working class party and due to predominance of the rightist leadership in our freedom movement, the bourgeois democratic revolution of our country ended in a half-baked and truncated way. This weakness of the reformist Oppositional character of the leadership of the Indian National Congress, then at the helm of freedom struggles, brought about another severe damage in our country. The task of conducting an intense ideological struggle to accomplish social and cultural revolution was neglected seriously. As a result, not only the cherished objective of democratization of the society was not achieved, but what was more, the process of the unification of the Indian people professing different religions, speaking different languages and belonging to different nationalities suffered a severe setback too. This is one of the main reasons why our society has been suffering severely from the dangerous and perilous effects

of communalism, casteism, parochialism, regionalism, separatism, secessionism, etc., and all these fissiparous forces and tendencies are so much at work even after fortythree years of independence.

Now, why these things are continuing even today? Why such separatist and secessionist trends are rearing their ugly heads in Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and almost all over the country? Why and how could it happen? I would request you all to pause and ponder over these pressing problems. We all know that ours is an independent country and a national, sovereign, bourgeois state has long been established here. The Constitution of India has also incorporated the principle of secularism and has laid down equal rights for all citizens. Even then we witness today that the virus of communalism, casteism, parochialism, etc., has been eating into the very vitals and the secular democratic fabric of our society.

In this connection, I like to remind you a valuable teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh about how the concept of secularism has been vulgarized in the hands of the rulers of our country. Although secularism means non-recognition of any supernatural entity and a truly secular state presupposes that it would neither encourage nor interfere with any religion and provide equal scope to both the believers and non-believers—in our country all the national leaders have reduced this concept to encouraging all religions equally. Persons in the highest position of the state—be they President, Prime Minister or anybody else or others downwards—have abused this noble concept of secularism. If Pakistan is rightly called a theocratic state for accepting Islam as the state religion, then judged by the same token may

(Contd. on page 4)

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's address in Press Conference at Trivandrum

TRIVANDRUM : 17th November : Today at 12 noon Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, addressed a Press Conference at Trivandrum Press Club Hall in which representatives of PII, AIR, Times of India, Indian Express, The Hindu and those of leading Malayalam dailies like Malayala Manorama, Mathrubhoomi, Kerala Kaumudi, etc. — in all fifteen newspapers—were present. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, a Central Committee member, Comrade James Joseph, a Central Editorial Board member, and Comrade C. K. Lukose, Kerala State Secretary of SUCI, also attended it. Comrade Lukose introduced the leaders to the representatives of the Press and distributed a handout.

Answering questions from the Press about the present political situation in the country vis-a-vis SUCI's stand Comrade Mukherjee said that for a pretty long time the country had been passing through a very critical situation. But presently it had led to a volcanic one. The very parliamentary system of the country has been reduced to a farce. Systematic all-out administrative rigging, manipulation of results both in the Lok Sabha and in the State Assembly Elections with the use of black money, muscle power, orchestrated propaganda by the monopoly Press and the official media along with rampant use of all sorts of unethical means have become the regular practice. There were occasions when even Mrs. Indira Gandhi or Mr. Morarji Desai levelled charges of administrative rigging of elections — of course only when it went against them and not when they were the real beneficiaries. But notwithstanding all this the situation has come to such a pass when no single party or not even a combination is able to form a government enjoying solid majority. The present Parliament is a hung one. Deep political instability is the predominant feature in this country. This is nothing but the reflection of the deep-seated insoluble crisis of the moribund capitalist system of the country.

Another feature is that whichever party assumes governmental power with the aim of protecting this very crisis-ridden capitalist system, has to resort to the tactics of divide and rule — and each one is resorting to this heinous tactics without exception. Every bourgeois political party is fanning, fomenting and utilising all sorts of parochial, casteist, communal and secessionist feelings and sentiments. However, the Congress(I) which is the most trusted representative of the bourgeoisie is the main architect of all these. The Congress(I) is primarily responsible for the growth of Kashmir, Punjab, Assam problems and the flaring up of the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi issue. They have been doing this for narrow electoral benefits as also to divert people's attention from the burning problems of their life and perpetrate cleavage among different sections of people groaning under ruthless capitalist oppression and exploitation.

During the independence movement, the rightist section of the bourgeoisie who compromised with both the British imperialists and the feudal lords, neglected in their hot pursuit of political power the essential task of completing the cultural revolution which was so much necessary for the real unification of the people and democratization of the country.

So, whoever goes to the governmental power to protect the vested interests finds it an easy tool to achieve their heinous design to engage the people in communal, casteist, parochial, secessionist and other fratricidal clashes. The Congress(I) had been playing this game all through. But in the last Lok Sabha elections the benefit of fanning up of Hindu fundamentalist feelings went in favour of the BJP. Mr. V. P. Singh had to depend on the support of the BJP and the CPI(M) and its allies, for remaining in power. Taking advantage of the National Front Government's dependence, both the BJP and the CPI(M) bloc took the line of pressure tactics for petty parliamentary interest. From the very beginning the N.F. Government suffered from in-fighting — from Chandra Shekhar on the one hand who was ambitious for the Prime Ministership and from Devi Lal on the other who wanted more power for his camp-followers and solution of the question of Chief Ministership of Haryana in favour of Chautala.

While the people expected that the N.F. Government will at least mark a definite departure from the Congress(I) both in domestic and in foreign policy, the NF Government never showed any sign of it. The CPI(M) bloc stood mostly by the side of Government only to grab as much governmental benefit as it could for the states under its rule, viz. West Bengal and Kerala. The BJP, along with its militant wing RSS, from the very beginning, in a planned move to speedily extend its sphere of influence throughout the country started fanning up Hindu fundamentalism by combining with forces like the VHP, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena etc. first in Kashmir and then elsewhere through calculated measures one after

another. The BJP's manipulation in the administration resulting in State terrorism in Kashmir pushed more people towards the secessionist trend. The situations in Punjab and Assam are also inflammable. The BJP's open Hindu communal politics which took the most dangerous turn on the Ram Mandir issue has pushed the whole country to a serious pass.

At the very initial stage of it, we wrote to the Prime Minister in an Open Letter to restrain the BJP and, if need be, even ban their 'Rathayatra'. Moreover, we also wrote that, since this act of the BJP constituted a violation of their pledge before the Election Commission that they would adhere to the principles of Secularism, Socialism, Democracy, etc., — the Election Commission should, as per the Representation of the People (Amendment) Act, cancel their registration and freeze their election symbol, 'Lotus'. Had these timely actions been taken, the dangerous situation which ensued, could be averted. Along with all these, the NF Government's decision on reservation issue also flared up casteist feelings in the country. Students and youths took to the path of self-immolation and rather than taking any

effective measure to meet the explosive situation, the government allowed it to go unabated.

The fall of the NF Government and installation of the new government of the arch-splitter Chandra Shekhar backed by Congress(I), which is only a Congress(I) government by proxy, and a heinous attempt to prepare the ground for staging a comeback of the main enemy of the people, the Congress(I), to the central government through yet another show of election, will push the country and the people towards an even worse situation.

We urge all well-meaning, secular and democratic minded people to come forward and build up a countrywide united democratic mass movement on the burning problems of people's life and for restoration, preservation and extension of democratic norms, values and rights. This alone can create a counter-current for defeating communalism, casteism, parochialism, secessionism, etc., through developing people's own instruments of struggle and a strong volunteer corps and in wake give birth to people's own alternative political power which will guarantee their emancipation from all sorts of exploitation and oppression.

1000 perish in Ganjam flash flood

Relief works by SUCI : Government's criminal negligence

More than 1000 people lost their life and thousand of cattle and property worth several crores of rupees were lost in a man made flash flood sweeping over a vast tract of land in Bhanianagar subdivision of Ganjam district in Orissa. Many hutments were

washed away and standing crops, orchards and valuable trees were destroyed. The flash flood was due to a criminal act of the administration, which released water from the reservoir without any prior warning in the first week of November.

(Contd. on page 7)

(Contd. from page 2)

we ask why should not India be called a multi-theocratic state?

We are also witnessing today another serious thing. Religion has been mixed with politics so much so that it has become a very powerful trend in the parliamentary politics of our country at the cost of unity, solidarity and fraternity of the people. An explosive situation has engulfed the country basing mainly on communal and caste feelings. And all the parliamentary parties—starting from the Congress(I), the BJP, the Janata Dal, etc., to even the social democratic parties like the CPI and the CPI(M)—whatever their claim to the contrary—all are practising the politics of communalism overtly or covertly which has obviously aggravated the problem far more rapidly than before.

It means that not only the known communal parties, but there are others too who profess secularism in name only but practise communalism in deed obviously to divert people's attention from the main problems of their life and to stave off the ever deepening crisis of capitalism. About this aspect I like to dwell on later and it is better to examine first the role played by the political parties I have mentioned just now.

Let us take up the question of the Congress (I). Let alone its past records, we find that during the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi it started patronising all types of communal and parochial forces to serve its petty parliamentary interest. Nobody can forget how Bhindranwale was projected at the behest of the Congress(I) and communalism became rampant during her time. Gradually the Congress (I) became the main architect to protect the communal forces and even the administration became highly communalised and helped to engineer communal riots in different parts of the country. The role of the PAC in UP is a case in point.

FOIL FASCIST DANGER BY BUILDING COMMUNALISM

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, stepping into the shoes of his predecessor, went further ahead and attempted to appease both the majority and minority fundamentalist forces at the dictate of the parliamentary interests of the ruling Congress(I). Nobody can forget the rôle of the Rajiv Gandhi government in allowing the fundamentalist forces like the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal, etc., to carry out the Silanyas ceremony at the disputed place of Ayodhya or its approach to the Shah Bano case. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's bravado in case of Punjab citing the Rajiv-Longowal Pact or in Assam through coming to an agreement with the AASU could not only solve these problems but rather perpetuated them proving futility of his claim too.

The object of the erstwhile Rajiv Gandhi government to act as the main architect to protect the forces of communalism, casteism, parochialism, secessionism on the one hand, and to keep Kashmir question unresolved and allow the Punjab and Assam situation to remain quite volcanic one, was two-fold. One was to create a permanent cleavage in people's unity and the other, to reap dividends in the elections by fanning up Hindu fundamentalism in particular. Since in India the Hindus constituted overwhelmingly the majority community—the Congress(I) attempted to get advantage of it. But it failed for reasons known to you all and ultimately the BJP came out as the main beneficiary in the game.

In the last Lok Sabha polls, how could the BJP make such a remarkable result is clear. Taking advantage of the highly discredited image of the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi over various scandals centring round Bofors, German Submarines and the like, apart from other anti-people policies and sailing of BJP's election boat in the favourable anti-Congress(I) wind, that

too making adjustment of seats with the JD and others in the NF on the one hand and reaping a good harvest in communal politics so assiduously cultivated by it for a long time along with the cluster of Hindu fundamentalist organisations behaving like a family—the BJP made an unprecedented tally of 86 from its earlier strength 2, which its leaders could not even dream of. In the hung Parliament which came into existence through the last election, you all know that the NF Government was saddled to power with the support of the BJP on the one hand and the CPI(M) and its allies on the other. And since then taking advantage of the NF Government's dependence on the BJP's support and being boosted by the election results—this party started putting pressure on the V. P. Singh Government, one after another, first on the Kashmir issue and the latest being its action over 'temple-mosque' controversy which amounted to nothing but blackmailing. You all know when the BJP extended support to the NF Government, construction of temple at the disputed site of Ayodhya was not at all a precondition nor any agreement was there on it. Even then the RSS-BJP combine and other organisations associated with it have been preaching Hindu fundamentalism which pushed the country to fratricidal blood-bath and communal flare-ups. Thus this party not

only has gone against the understanding arrived at during the formation of the NF Government but has trampled upon all principles, norms, ethics of civilized society—the worst casualty of which has become the principle of secularism. Although this party is out to play upon the religious sentiments of the common people, in point of fact, its goal is to extract maximum gain in the next election. This is the reason why this party has come out with all sorts of queer interpretation of secularism. It is equating nationalism with 'Hindutva' on the fantastic argument that since the Hindus as a community constitute 80 p.c. of the population—so submitting to the dictates of Hindu fundamentalists, they say, is democratic and synonymous with acting in accordance with the spirit of Indian nationalism. Such an interpretation is not only unhistoric but also fraught with grave consequences. What happened in our country over Rama Rathayatra and how many lives lost—all these are known to you all. The design of the BJP becomes very clear when one looks at its dubious politics. Although the BJP amended its own party constitution before the last election at the dictate of the Election Commissioner that it would abide by the principle of secularism and pledged before the same to that effect—it is

now riding roughshod over all principles of secularism and using religion for narrow parliamentary interest—a glaring example of which is the imprint of its election symbol 'Lotus' on the so-called sacred Ram-rath for obvious reason. Drawing attention of the Chief Election Commissioner, our party has demanded de-registration of the BJP for this gross violation of the Representation of the People (Amendment) Act. It was also a flagrant violation of the pledge made in the party's constitution. From all this, it becomes clear that there is nothing of principle or people's interest with the kind of politics the BJP has been following with the clear object to divide and hoodwink the people for its narrow and petty sectarian interests.

The Janata Dal, as a bourgeois party, has no aversion to communal politics, rather is also very keen on it more so when occasion arises. But the main plank of its present politics as manifested recently is its thrust on casteism—another weapon to drive a wedge in the unity of the people. As for Mr. V. P. Singh, he tried to guard his post by accepting a portion of the Mandal Commission's recommendations to secure the vote bank of the lower castes as against that of the caste Hindus. The tragedy is that when the scope of education was being squeezed and curtailed more and more,



A section of the mammoth gathering at Gandhi Park, Trivandrum. Comrade Mukherjee addressing and Comrades James Joseph and

COUNTER-CURRENT AGAINST AND SEPARATISM

when there was no employment potential in the country, more so when consequent upon computerisation, automation, etc., thousands of people were being thrown out of employment and a moratorium on recruitments was declared in the Central Government departments and undertakings, then Mr. V. P. Singh came with a rosy picture for the SC/ST and OBC people with high promise for more jobs under his scheme of reservation. It evoked instant counter-reaction manifested through anti-reservation agitation in different parts of the country which was suppressed by brutal police action. The V. P. Singh Government did not come forward to any mutual discussion for pacifying the anti-reservation forces even when the students and youths took recourse to painful path of self-immolation. The NF Government led by Mr. V. P. Singh cannot escape its responsibility. So you see, not only communalism but even casteism in a new form has been taking its toll and eroding seriously the democratic polity of our country, engineered by this or that party with ulterior motive.

I like to say a few words about the role of the social democratic parties like the CPI(M) etc. in this connection. We note with pain that those who claim themselves as Marxists and Leftists

—who are in governmental power both in Kerala and West Bengal forming LDF and LF respectively, are also partners, although junior partners, in the game of communal-casteist politics. About the other aspects of CPI(M)'s politics I will come later on. It should be noted that not only the NF Government failed to halt Ram Rathayatra in time but what the LF Government led by the CPI(M) has done is no less tragic. May we ask why did the LF Government allow the BJP's Rathayatra to go through the Purulia district of West Bengal and thus helped push the people of Jhalda to a fratricidal bloodbath? Since then an undercurrent of fundamentalist ideas throughout the state has become much more perceptible. This is why the Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, who is also a Polit Bureau member of the CPI(M) is now regularly appealing people through Press for maintaining communal harmony after much damage being done. May we ask again what for Jyoti Basu was maintaining contact with BJP President L. K. Advani even after he started his Ram Rathayatra? What prevented Jyoti Babu from taking stern action against this 'rathayatra' so to say? These are a few points which the leaders of this party must explain to the people and their rank and file members too.

So, comrades and friends, we urge you to deeply ponder over all these problems and try to realise what is the way out. My appeal to you all is to forge a broad-based unity of the people irrespective of religion, region, caste, creed and language. It means that the toiling people, exploited, oppressed and humiliated, must come forward and stand united in one voice and try to combine with all secular forces, in whatsoever limited sense they may stand for secularism, and try to uphold the tarnished flag of bourgeois democratic norms, values, ethics and rights—the hard won rights once enjoyed by the people. It is also another teaching of the November Revolution, stressed very much by the great communist leader like Stalin, that in the present phase of history when the bourgeoisie has thrown to the dust the noble banner of democratic rights of the people—historically it becomes the task of the working class and more particularly the communists to uphold that soiled banner in their struggle to advance further the cause of democratic rights of the people. We should understand that without restoring, protecting and extending the hard won democratic rights, norms, values and ethics it is not possible to build up and strengthen revolutionary movement of the people or to create a congenial atmosphere for building a counter-current against

the vicious and ominous design of the ruling class to spread the virus of communalism, casteism, parochialism, separatism, secessionism, etc., and foist the danger of fascism which is in the offing by creating a cleavage among the people and disrupting their legitimate democratic movements on the burning problems of their life.

I like to remind you, in this connection, some valuable teachings and analyses of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on fascism. He showed first of all the deep-seated crisis of Indian capitalism, as a part and parcel of the crisis of the international capital, since the time of Jawaharlal Nehru and warned that whatever the claim of the rulers about the rosy prospect of Five Year Plans, Indian capitalism was bound to be haunted by a shadow of crisis. It could get rid of a crisis only to be plunged into a deeper one. He analysed that in our country there was not only formation of state monopoly capital—the rock bottom economic foundation of fascism—but through the merger or coalescence of banking capital with industrial capital there was a formation of finance capital and financial oligarchy and the export of finance capital clearly manifested that Indian capitalist state assumed the character of imperialism - expansionism.

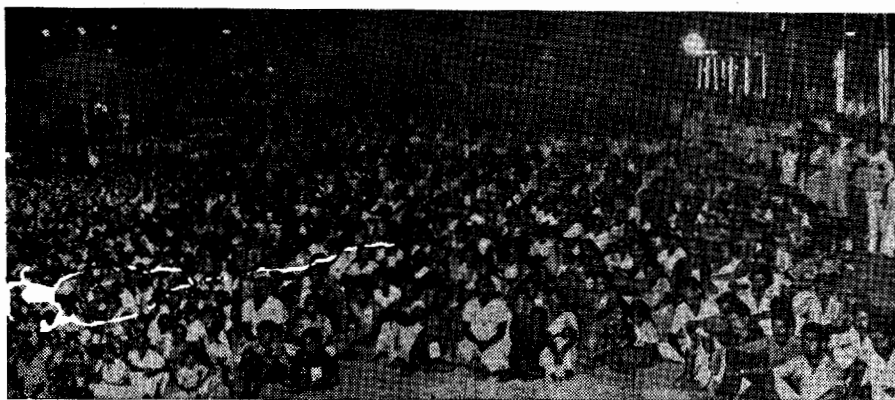
We also know another feature of fascism, that is, its dual character of both deception and suppression. Through different social democratic planning as the ruling class is trying to hoodwink the people with so-called radical postures in its bid to win over the common people on its side—so also the Indian capitalist state with its coercive machinery and armed to the teeth comes down heavily upon all legitimate democratic mass movements every now and then, apart from gagging the democratic voice of protest by black Acts and various other means.

Moreover, along with the concentration of

capital in the field of economy there is an attempt of consolidation in the political field also. The degree of consolidation of power, despite various other tendencies manifested in the body politic, has come to such a pass that an industrial-bureaucratic - military complex is ruling the country from behind the screen and this was first very prominently manifested in the USA. So our country also is no exception to it—although it differs in degree only.

I like now to draw your attention to another aspect. Now-a-days we very often hear against the existence of so many parties. I am not going into the cause and genesis of it. Also, you will find that so many people consider two-party parliamentary system to be more democratic. But the fact is that under the facade of parliamentary democracy a two-party parliamentary system is a variant of fascism—which has come into existence mostly as a post-Second World War phenomenon. It is the interest of the same monopoly capitalist class, which is also the ruling class in our country, that is served by whatsoever party that comes to power—be it the Congress(I), the Janata Party or the Janata Dal or any other combination that serves the interest of the ruling class from governmental power. History of LF and LDF at the state level also confirms this truth. Common people may think that they enjoy democratic rights and it is they who decide the fate of the parties. But blissfully ignorant as they are, they do not understand that there is a string-puller behind the screen—that is the ruling class of our country. It may be a party or combination of parties chosen by the class that comes to power through elections. Elections today have become a complete mockery of free play of money power, musclemen, mafia, media and all that, and top of it rigging, silent or violent, i.e., administrative rigging or open rigging by force.

(Contd. on page 6)



—dum on 15th November last. On the left Krishna Chakraborty on the dais.

Communists must learn from past mistakes

(Contd. from page 5)

So this is another lesson of November Revolution that whosoever comes to serve the interest of the crisis-ridden capitalist state—whether in power or outside -- is bound to meet with failure in solving the basic needs of the people. Moreover, these parties, whatever difference there may be in their slogans and claims, they will simply aggravate the problems, they will try to create a situation where people cannot get united in a common struggle on the basis of common and burning problems of their life.

From your own experience you can easily understand that problems are accumulating and going on aggravating day by day. All of you are acquainted with the problems of high prices, high degree of taxation, galloping hike in the transport fares, lack of education, the problem of child health, unemployment and all that. The rulers of our country care little about all these but they are very much interested in building up its military might and consolidating its economic power as the representative of the aspirant bourgeoisie by collaborating with different Multinational Corporations (MNC's) and other financial agencies. Although common people who are groaning under the impact of inflation and so many other problems are on the verge of ruination, as a capitalist state India is accepted by all as 'a big power' and its attitude towards the neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal, etc., smacks very much of being imperialistic-expansionist. And what do all these features indicate? It indicates that the crisis-ridden capitalism of our country is facing its grave. But it will not go to the grave automatically. It requires the leadership of a genuine Communist Party armed with the teachings of November Revolution with the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism. However, I will try to touch on it later.

Incidentally, I like to refer, of course very painfully, to the politics of the CPI(M) relating to its attitude towards the Multinationals and the International Monetary Agencies like the World Bank, IMF etc., controlled by the imperialists. In its party document and Election Manifesto this party is found to be quite vociferous against the MNCs and the imperialist monetary agencies on the ground with which our Party has no difference—that by giving us loans they will use our soil and exploit savagely the cheap labour power and material resources of our country—that too on the humiliating terms. But we find that this party after coming to governmental power has been following an open door policy to these MNCs under this or that pretext with impunity. So, not only the Central Government, whichever party may be at the leadership invites them for having a strong bond of unity being hatched through collusion between MNCs and the Indian financial oligarchy in this extreme and savage exploitation of the poor people of our country. Even the CPI(M)-led governments are taking to the same path contrary to their pledge to the people. This is one of the reasons why the West Bengal Chief Minister and a Politburo member of the CPI(M), Mr. Jyoti Basu, has appeared as the most trusted man of the monopoly houses of our country. We are always against speaking on personal level, but the recent moves of Jyoti Babu and his various tours abroad speak eloquently how much he advocates the cause of Indian big business.

It is true that although out of power for sometime, even the Congress(I) is still considered the most reliable representative of the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. But as an individual it is Mr. Jyoti Basu who is the best choice of the Indian capitalist class. I have already said that

social democratic parties like the CPI(M) are serving the same vested class rendering them maximum help and taxing the people. Because, now a days social democracy has taken such a character that it can serve better the crisis-ridden moribund capitalism than even the chosen parties of the ruling class do. The character of those parties which are for long engaged in serving directly the interests of the vested class naturally gets exposed in no time. But the parties whose character is highly camouflaged because of their so-called radical postures and Marxist jargons serve the same ruling class in a better way. So they are very deceptive and hence more dangerous. The point of Mr. Jyoti Basu's enjoying the trust and confidence of the ruling class should be understood keeping this role of the CPI(M)'s social democratic character in mind.

About the new government led by Chandra Shekhar, which has come to power as a product of bitter squabbles and power conflict inside the Janata Dal, it is clear that no question of principle is involved here. In fact, it is a Congress(I) government by proxy. It will stay so long as the Congress(I) likes it to stay. And the moment the Congress(I) will think, rightly or wrongly, that the party can stage a comeback, elections will become inevitable but not before that. At the moment no political party, whatever might be their claim before the public, is willing to face the polls. Because the present political scenario is such that no party is sure to get an absolute majority. Although they are claiming that they are against holding elections at this moment since it would put extreme hardship on the people, yet at the back of their mind works the very apprehension that none of them would be able to form a stable government now.

As for our party we say election is no solution, of course we say it from a diametrically opposite point of view. We say it firstly because elections have nowadays become a farce, secondly, there is, practically, no role of the people in the elections and last but not the least—the sole purpose of holding elections has turned out to bring the chosen party of the ruling monopoly capitalist class in power by any means—fair or foul. No nasty means is considered unethical by these parliamentary parties if it helps them win in elections. I know that there are many men of principle and integrity of character who actually shudder at the rapid erosion of moral, ethical and cultural standard of the society at large. They look at with utter helplessness how men and women, sons and daughters of our country are getting used to leading unethical life as anti-socials, drug-addicts and all that. You should understand that these things are not isolated phenomena. All this has a deep-rooted cause behind it. It is not too difficult to understand that it is a reflection of absolutely worn out and decadent capitalist society on the one hand, and on the other, a far-fetched conspiracy of the same ruling capitalist class in order to lull the common people to slumber and save this exploitative capitalist system from the wrath of the people.

Naturally, a very pertinent question cannot but haunt your mind, in such a critical situation when an all-pervasive crisis has engulfed every sphere of life — economic, social, political and cultural — what is the way out? Should we simply behave like on-lookers or should we have courage and try to know the correct path to the solution? I think that we have to find out that correct path depending on science and not on individual whims and subjective thinking. Now, we know that according to science everything in the

world is law-governed. But man can neither create nor destroy these laws. But even then man can play a conscious role to fulfil his historic responsibility and try to understand and grasp these laws for accelerating the process of change of human society to its logical culmination. November Revolution has come about in history following this correct understanding of law of development of society. It teaches us that today capitalism cannot offer the people anything noble or lofty. The kind of thing it can give to the people is poverty, illiteracy, amorality, cultural depravity and all-round misery and nothing else. So, in the annals of human history, humanism, the most lively ideology the bourgeoisie once gave birth to in society, is not the last word. Society is suffering from the birth pang of revolution—anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution, which through consolidation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the transitional period is destined to reach the cherished goal of communism in due course. But it is to be borne in mind that the course of revolution is always strenuous and tortuous — full of twists and turns and zig zags. There is no short cut or easy road to an all-round victory. It is not a road where only one victory after another will be won; rather, till final victory is achieved there may also be setbacks.

You all know that even in Russia which witnessed that victory of first Socialist Revolution has now gone capitalist. There has been restoration of capitalism in Russia and 6 East European countries. This fact has come as a rude shock to all well-meaning, peace-loving, democratic minded and pro-communist forces all over the world.

In fact, the process of degeneration started long back since the 20th Congress of the CPSU after the demise of Stalin. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh cautioned at that time that the 20th Congress would open the floodgate

(Contd. on page 8)

Great November Revolution Anniversary Observed In States

After the publication of the news of observance of the 73rd Anniversary of the Great November Revolution in the last issue of the Proletarian Era available till then, we now publish the rest, including that of Trivandrum, received so far.

HARYANA

The Great November Revolution Day was observed in a befitting manner at Rohtak in Haryana on 7th November last. The meeting held to observe the Day was presided over by Com. Gian Singh, Secretary, Haryana State Committee of the party and Comrade Pritish Chanda, member, Politburo of the Central Committee, was the main speaker.

Com. Chanda in his speech showed in the light of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that for accomplishing and advancing revolution what were needed were correct line, correct revolutionary party of the proletariat and correct leadership. He stressed that all these conditions could not be fulfilled without maintaining and advancing democratic centralism in the party. Com. Chanda also dwelt on the present national situation and the tasks ahead of the people to defeat the evils of communalism, casteism, divisivism etc.

MADHYA PRADESH

The Madhya Pradesh State Organising Committee of the SUCI held a meeting on 16th November at Bhopal to observe the Great November Revolution Day. Presided over by Comrade Alok Pratap Singh the meeting was addressed by Comrade Pritish Chanda, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the party.

Comrade Chanda in his speech showed that casteism, communalism and other divisive tendencies had been incited by the BJP to the extreme, although these were

initiated by the Congress (I). Com. Chanda stressed that for the very cause of the people's struggle, people were to unitedly defeat the conspiracy of the ruling class and their parties. He remarked that the Chandra Shekhar Government was nothing but a Congress (I) government by proxy and it would pave the way for comeback of Congress (I) the most trusted party of the ruling capitalist class.

DELHI

The Great November Revolution anniversary was solemnly observed at Girnagar Labour Hall in Delhi on 17th Novem-

ber last. The meeting was presided over by Com. Khullarji and Com. Ashutosh Banerjee, Central Committee member, was the main speaker. The meeting started with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It was attended mainly by workers, both male and female.

Quotation exhibition in English, Hindi, Urdu

ORISSA

The 73rd anniversary of the Great November Revolution was observed from 7th to 17th November in a befitting manner throughout Orissa. On 17th November a massive rally was organised at Saheed Bhawan, Cuttack, with Com. Pratiba Mukherjee, Central Staff, SUCI as the main speaker and Com. Sambhurnath Naik member, State Committee, as president. The meeting started with songs on Comrade Lenin and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Com. Mukherjee elaborately dwelt on nation-

nal and international situation and showed how the SUCI, armed with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, had been upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism. She appealed to the people to strengthen the party to overthrow capitalism on one hand and uphold the nobility of Marxism-Leninism on the other.

Com. Dhurjatj Das, State Committee member, moved a resolution on the devastating cyclone and flood in Ganjam, demanding relief and rehabilitation for the affected people on war footing.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'

Letter to the parties by Comrade Mukherjee

(Contd. from page 1)
The Central Committee feels deeply concerned at the fact that this move has given further fillip to the growth of all sorts of religious, fundamentalist and rabid communal, casteist, parochial and secessionist forces striking thereby at the roots of all democratic norms and values.

The Central Committee notes that withdrawal of support from the N.F. Government by the BJP had nothing like principle behind it and the power-hungry dissident people like Chandra Shekhar and some others within the Janata Dal paved the way for reinstallation of the Congress (I) Government at the Centre and in some states, causing deep resentment and discontent among all sections of the right thinking people of the country as it dashed to pieces the expectations of the people of an efficient and corruption-free Government of the National Front to provide some relief to the people. Though the performance of the V. P. Singh Government has not only fallen far short of the people's expectations but it has been directly res-

possible for providing an easy handle to those who wanted to dislodge it too. At a time when there was a moratorium on recruitments in the Government offices and the Central Government undertakings, and when there was practically no tempo of industrialisation, when the need was to create more job opportunities through industrial development, the V. P. Singh Government resorted to implementing the Mandal Commission's recommendations which led to bloodbath and vertically divided the common people on a caste line. As everyone could understand this move of the V. P. Singh Government was nothing but a political gimmick and a ploy to consolidate the vote bank in its favour. We strongly feel that it was high time we realised that resorting to this type of political gimmick was a great political blunder which was bound to have disastrous consequences. Maintaining unity, amity and understanding among all sections of the people of the country is the first pre-requisite for ameliorating the wretched and deplorable conditions of

(Contd. on page 8)

GANJAM FLASH FLOOD

(Contd. from page 3)

The negligence and callous attitude of the administration did not end there. Even after the receding of the flood-water the administration miserably failed to provide relief to the affected people on a war footing. Our party, however, organised a volunteer team to successfully operate kitchen centres at several places like Sukada, Palakatu, Talabali, B. Kutibari, Nuagarh, Rangabati of Sukada block and in Aska town. A medical team was also organised with mobile medical camps in all these areas. Comrade Bishnu Das, a State SUCI leader, demanded that the government must take immediate step for forming a state level relief committee involving all parties and other voluntary and social organisations for effective distribution of the relief materials. He also demanded an enquiry committee to probe the cause of the flood and severe punishment to the guilty officials.

Despite Temporary Setbacks Marxism-Leninism is Invincible

(Contd. from page 6)

of revisionism. Taking advantage of the lowering of ideological standard and due to various other factors, which our party had analysed time and again, revisionism became the main danger in the international communist movement very soon. The process which was initiated by the revisionist Khrushchev clique has been completed by the renegade clique of Gorbachev through the counter-revolutionary blue-print of 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost.'

This turn-back is surely shocking but not at all unapprehended. Because we are to understand that socialism is after all a period of transition between capitalism and communism and does not in any way mark the final victory of revolution. With the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and seizure of power by the working class the power of resistance of the overthrown bourgeoisie is not eliminated, rather is increased manifold. The capitalist tendencies continue to operate for a considerable span of time within the socialist system till production in all sectors and areas are socialised, socialist production relation prevails everywhere and large sections of the people attain communist character being free from the influence of decadent bourgeois culture. You should know these are all teachings of Lenin. Elaborating this Leninist teaching Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that it is wrong to think that a strong socialist economic base would automatically influence and transform the superstructure into a socialist one, rather this kind of thinking reflects mechanical bent of mind and smacks of economic determinism. It means that if the superstructure cannot be transformed through an intense so-

cialist ideological-cultural struggle and the level of consciousness of the masses remain backward and cannot be raised continually then it not only provides a breeding-ground of revisionism but may even lead to corrupting the socialist base itself eventually making restoration of capitalism a distinct possibility.

So what has happened in Russia and some East European countries marks only temporary setbacks and nothing more. Although history is replete with instances of attack against Marxism and Communism — yet this time the attack is the severest of all. I say, let the present attack act as an eye-opener before the international communist movement, let it help to launch an all-round, renewed and intense battle — ideological-cultural and political — for uplifting the extremely low ideological and cultural standard of the leaders and rank and file members of the communist movement which alone can help detect and eradicate its deep-seated weakness and free it from the present impasse. On our part, the task is to renew our pledge and translate into action that all of us grasping the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh should march forward braving all odds along the victorious course of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution, a teaching which November Revolution had charted out long before.

In order to achieve this goal the necessary pre-requisites are the establishment of a genuine working class party, that is the revolutionary party of the proletariat capable of correctly grasping and applying the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and concretising them further in its course of developing and intensifying the class and mass

struggles on the edifice of higher proletarian culture. Along with it, we have to build up people's own instruments of struggle — the People's Struggle Committees from the grassroots level in all localities — both in urban and rural areas and form strong volunteer corps through these struggles, advance the movement further, make these struggles conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution which in its wake will build up alternative political power of the people emancipating the society from the savage exploitation of capitalism.

In the international sphere all will have to launch a mighty struggle against the main enemy of mankind, that is, imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. It is incumbent upon all of us to involve all sections of the peace-loving, democratic-minded and well-meaning people in a militant and mighty peace movement which can not only thwart the danger of war but can be conducive to the liberation struggle of the people. This is one aspect of the struggle. There is another aspect that is allout and intense ideological-cultural and political struggle against revisionism in general and the counter-revolutionary design of 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost' of the Gorbachev renegade clique in particular. This is the only way through which genuine communist parties can grow and develop upholding the noble banner of communism and proletarian internationalism. The parties which are treading the path of revisionism and yet have not accepted the counter-revolutionary design of 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost' should be united against all attempts of counter-revolution taking to the path of correct understanding of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. I have already said that Historical

Comrade Mukherjee's Letter

(Contd. from page 7)

the millions of the down-trodden people belonging to the backward strata and classes who, it cannot be denied, are being subjected to ruthless exploitation, oppression, injustice and humiliation everyday while they subsist at subhuman level.

The Central Committee feels that non-adoption of certain basic principles, code of conduct and an effective programme of action has played no less a part in costing the V. P. Singh Government all the good-

Materialism has proved beyond doubt, that capitalist is not the last word — it cannot take mankind to its cherished goal. Communism will triumph not because the communists want communism. But because of the destiny of human civilization, despite serious pitfalls, now and then, lies in communism and communism alone. It is true that the goal will not be achieved spontaneously or automatically. It requires serious human endeavour. Even after the setback that has befallen the communist movement — this endeavour is sure to grow as an anti-thesis of counter-revolution.

Comrades and Friends!
You all know that the despotic rulers, the blood merchants and their hirelings do not say the last word. It is the conscious and organised people who say the last word. For this the need of the hour is that the exploited people all over the world have to stand unitedly, acquire and cultivate the philosophy of Dialectical Materialism — the only invincible philosophy in the hands of the people for emancipation and for conquering the world. With these words I conclude my discussion today.

Long Live Great
November Revolution!
Long Live Lenin!!!
Long Live Stalin!!!
Long Live SUCI!!!!

will with which it was installed in power. We note with regret that within a short period of eleven months the V. P. Singh Government, instead of showing a pro-people stand, manifested more and more the character of a pro-capitalist Government and in the eyes of common people, gradually came to be regarded as a party with little or no difference with the Congress(I).

The Central Committee, therefore, strongly feels that the situation calls for a thorough re-appraisal as the people of the country are faced with the twin danger of reassertion of the Right reaction and further growth of rabid communal, casteist, parochial and secessionist forces on one hand and reappearance of the most trusted mouthpiece of the capitalist class, the discredited Congress(I), on the other. This is the task to which all Left, democratic parties and genuine believers in secularism should devote themselves. The Central Committee urges all Left and democratic parties and all right thinking people and forces to come forward to develop a united democratic mass movement on the burning problems of the people's life and give birth in the process to a powerful united democratic front comprising the Left and democratic parties and genuine upholders of secularism on the basis of an agreed common programme of action and agreed common code of conduct. This alone can save the common people from the impending danger which threatens their lives as well as the unity and integrity of all sections of our country's people.

We fervently expect that you would give serious consideration to this and come forward with your positive response.

Fraternally yours,
Sd/- Nihar Mukherjee
General Secretary,
SUCI

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

Edited & Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-700 013 and printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited 52B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-700 013.