

Ayodhya Episode And Tasks Ahead

This abyss of darkness is rent with cries of a deceived and outraged people. They writhe in blood and tears now, the victim of a design of those whose profession it is to trade in the people's faith and use them as pawns in their game of power. In the rampage in Ayodhya on 6th December was razed to ground not only a mosque nearly 500 years old or in its smouldering trails left dead over a thousand of innocent men and women across the land but the demolition and its aftermath has claimed the democratic and secular principles, values, norms, morals, scruples and all that is cherished by our people's conscience. It has undermined the bond of love, respect and fraternity between the Hindus and the Muslims, plunging the entire people into mistrust, insecurity and apprehension in which thrive the dark forces of religious fundamentalism and their political cohorts. Repercussion now takes its toll in the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh and Pakistan, in West Asia, in far away UK. All this is of little consequence to the leaders of the nefarious game; but the naked deception in the name of religion, the criminal brutality in the garb of religion have put to dust the dignity of our people in the eye of the world community, and they hang their head in shame. The day had never been darker before than now. The sixth of December, nineteen hundred and ninetytwo, will go down as the blackest day in the history of post-independence India.

Communal orgy shook this country many times before. Almost in endless succession violence erupted, plunging the people — the common people — into frenzy and bloodbaths. But this holocaust from Ayodhya, as many can perceive now, is destined to have far more disastrous consequences and take a toll that is immeasurable from the number of the dead and the value of the property destroyed. The signs of Ayodhya and its fall-out are ominous enough to take sleep away from all those who have concern for this country and its people.

Deliberate and premeditated assault

The operation of 6th December has every stamp of being a deliberate act, the planned execution of a premeditated design. Once the Viswa Hindu Parishad had declared its programme of *karseva* on 6th December, to build a Ram mandir in the premises of Babari Masjid, the BJP and the four state governments it headed turned intransigent to any political dialogue on the mosque-temple issue. The BJP government of UP

Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary, SUCI

assured the Supreme Court that no construction activity would be allowed on the disputed site, the *karseva* would be confined to singing *bhajans* and *kirtans*.

Whereas, the RSS, the VHP, the Bajrang Dal and the Shiv Sena gathered hordes of *Rambhaktas* from all over the country, topmost BJP leaders, L. K. Advani and M. M. Joshi, set on a *dharmayatra* to Ayodhya. They fulfilled their mission by inciting and provoking the *karsevaks* who began *seva*, abetted by their

leaders, to assault the high structure of the old mosque and dismantled it in a few hours in presence of the Central Reserve Police Force and the Provincial Armed Constabulary who stood still through this criminal rampage without lifting a finger. Because, high ranking police officials admitted, they were under orders 'from above' to keep themselves restrained. It is widely known also that the BJP Chief Minister of UP had assured his party leaders and the RSS and the VHP that no force would be used against the *karsevaks*. Who except the political naïve, does expect these parties and their political leaders to care for 'law and order' when it does not suit their scheme? It is no surprise that the BJP Chief Minister wore a grin in relaxation to answer "It was only expected" when asked to comment on the demolition of a mosque immediately after the episode.

Clearly, it was only tactical for L. K. Advani to announce that the *karseva* would be symbolic. And for the executives of the RSS, the VHP, the Bajrang Dal and the fire-spewing sants of all the Hindu religious (Continued on page 2)

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee condemns central government for allowing *darshan*

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI in course of a statement to the press on 28.12.92, condemned the central government for giving green signal to the Faizabad administration to allow *darshan* of Ram lalla at the disputed shrine in Ayodhya.

"We severely condemn the decision of the central government for allowing visit to the makeshift temple and offer prayers.

"The decision has once again exposed the policy of appeasement and compromise of the central government on Ayodhya issue, which is fraught with danger and will further complicate the problems.

"We demand of the central government to revert its decision immediately."

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's statements on Ayodhya episode

Strongly condemning the demolition of the Babari Masjid at Ayodhya, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI issued the following statement to the press on 7.12.92.

"No word is strong enough to condemn this rampage at the disputed site of Ayodhya by the BJP-RSS-VHP-Bajrangdal-Shivsena combine. The Central Congress (I) Government can, in no way, shirk its responsibility of its appeasement policy towards the communal and fundamentalist forces, which caused such a devastating and serious incident.

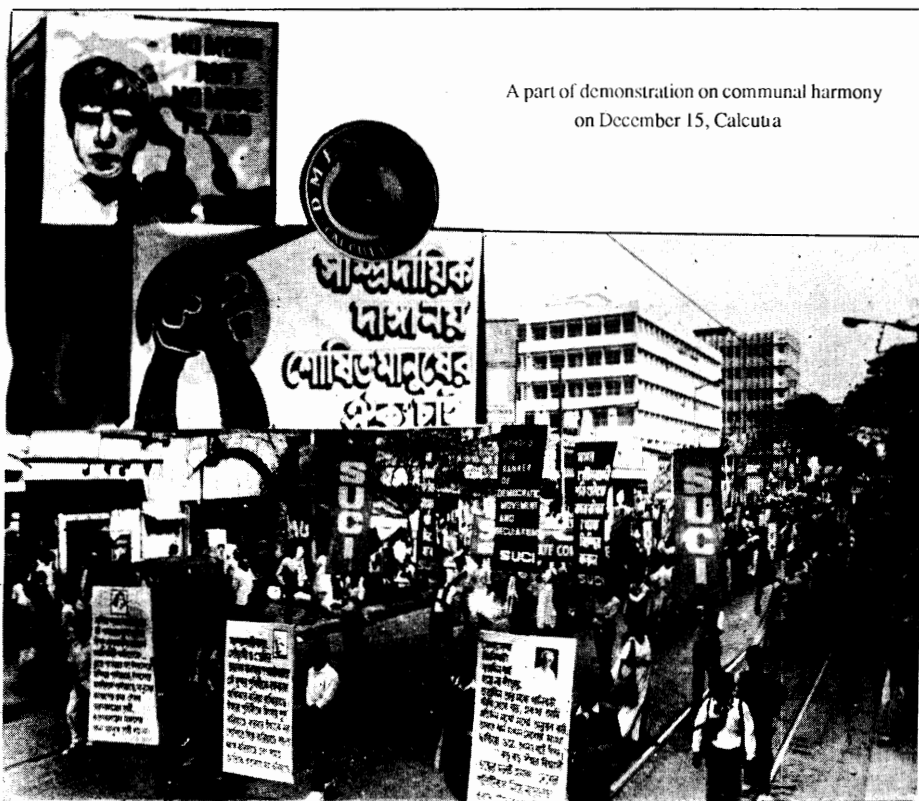
"We demand immediate ban of all communal parties and forces and call upon the Left, democratic parties and secular forces to build up countrywide powerful democratic mass movement. We also appeal to the people to maintain peace and amity at any cost. We congratulate the people of West Bengal to make the *Bandh* today an all-out success."

Reacting to imposition of President rule in the three BJP ruled states Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI in course of a statement on 16.12.92 said :

"By refusing to adhere to the spirit of secularism and to protect the lives, property and dignity of the minority Muslim community in their respective states, the BJP governments of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh have forfeited their moral right to rule any more.

"But the application of article 356 of the constitution stands as a bad precedent for future. The right course would have been to force these governments to resign under pressure of democratic mass movement.

"Indeed, any government which fails to abide by their moral obligation in this regard should stand condemned and face similar consequences."



A part of demonstration on communal harmony on December 15, Calcutta

BJP combines religious fanaticism, mysticism, national jingoism and mechanical discipline to further consolidate fascism

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orders who gathered in Ayodhya, it was but compulsive to instigate the trained hard-core militants and the insane hordes of the ordinary *karsevaks* through exhortation of 'rakta denge, pran denge', because 'mandir oh hoga'. They kept their promise: they gave the country a bloodbath.

On parliament's floor A. B. Vajpayee has expressed regrets for the incident of 6th December. Neither before that, nor afterwards, did the BJP apologise to the people or have repentance for the crime it has committed. The party leaders seem to gloat in private over possible gains in parliamentary politics. *Organiser*, the RSS mouthpiece, has reported that it was the party's tactical line to circumvent the court and confront the Centre. So the UP government had filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court with the object of preventing the Centre from dismissing it and forestalling assembly of the *karsevaks* in Ayodhya. The party had also made arrangements for an alternative residence for the UP Chief Minister in the event of dismissal by the Centre. The demolition operation was carried out in full view of the BJP leaders present at the site. L. K. Advani said it was part of the mandir movement. Other leaders claimed that it was an eruption of the Hindu sentiment, that the mandir would be constructed there, that more bloodbath would follow if the mosque be reconstructed so the demolition of the Babari Mosque was a cool-headed and premeditated act. Accordingly arrived the *karsevaks* in Ayodhya in a whipped-up frenzy, carrying swords, spears, knives, lathis, crowbars and pickaxes to offer *kirtans* and *bhajans*, which meant in practice pulling down the mosque and ransacking and setting to fire every home of the minority community of the town, killing as many minority people as they could. That the BJP would now have the people believe that the hordes of *karsevaks* had gone out of control to violate its express objective of *bhajans* and *kirtans* is only another ploy to hide its real intents in the face of the countrywide condemnation of its crime.

Inaction of the Central Government

Were the intents of the Sangh family and the BJP government unknown or unintelligible to the Congress (I) government at the Centre or to those Left parties in parliament on whose support this government functions? The people whose day passes in eking out existence may be induced to believe that the Sangh family had no design behind the *karseva*. But the parliamentary parties cannot feign to be ignorant. The observer appointed by the Supreme Court had expressed apprehension in his official report that chances were real of violation of the court order on 6th December. Top of that, was not the central government informed by its numerous intelligence agencies of what was going to happen? Large sums of the exchequer, out of the taxes paid by the common people, are spent to maintain and use these agencies under the highly centralised Indian capitalist state against the legitimate democratic movements of the working class and the common people. Were not these agencies pressed into service in this case of the Sangh family-organised *seva* in Ayodhya? Numerous press reports establish that the central government had prior information of everything, but it preferred not to take notice, nor to act. Rajesh Pilot, State Minister for Communication, has revealed in the Lok Sabha on 18th December that about 100 *karsevaks* had been trained by a retired brigadier in a camp in Ahmedabad to demolish the Babari Masjid in Ayodhya on 6th December. (*The Statesman*, 19. 12. 92) There is corroboration in another revealing news

in *The Statesman* of 21st December, that S. B. Chavan, Union Home Minister, addressed Kalyan Singh, UP Chief Minister, on 1st December to record: "There are disturbing reports of specially trained squads being arranged during the *karseva* for purposes inimical to the security of the structure."

A fascist scheme

The BJP-RSS-VHP combine, on its part, had made every arrangement to see to it that others were not allowed to secure evidence of what they did that day. Accounts of journalists who had gone there to cover the *seva* relate how threats and intimidations were issued to them by the militants of the organizers. Inquiring newsmen trying for information were lynched. Women journalists were manhandled and subject to attempts to throttle them to death and were simply thrown out of the site. Did these militants look *bhaktas* and devout sants or more resemble the fascist gestapos of the Nazi Germany? Taking photographs was not allowed, cameras were broken, films damaged, and cameramen beaten up mercilessly. Never before in post-independence India fascist schemes were evidenced to conceal truths on this dimension, not even under the emergency rule. No doubt, the masterminds behind the Ayodhya operation feared that the truth, if it got leaked out to the people, would turn away even those who had a soft corner for the BJP, being confused by its theory of *Hindutva*. For, after all, a common man also knows the difference between religious belief and religious fanaticism. No religion teaches to belittle or despise other religions or hurt the religious feelings of others, not to speak of professing assaults on other believers. Whipping up of religious sentiments against other believers is against the spirit of every religion. But Ayodhya and its aftermath is a witness to a calculated execution of plans born out of such anti-religious spirit. The question striking every sane mind now is why this happened. And how it could happen.

After the carnage, slogans now fill the air, exhorting communal harmony and amity. Processions are being taken out and meetings held with appeals for peace and to fight communalism. Had not leaders of our independence movement, no less figures than Gandhiji, Deshabandhu and Netaji Subhas condemned communalism and communal violence and appealed to the people for peace and amity? Did their appeals in the name of spirit of accommodation and religious tolerance, goodwill and humanistic values succeed to solve the problem of communalism with its deadly influence over the people? Those leaders enjoyed unquestionable confidence of the Indian people at large, but they failed to root out communalism by a whit, even failed to prevent recurrence of communal violence. Their sincerity in regard to the communal problems and the country's interest was beyond question. Yet, they had failed.

Was it simply and solely because of the divide-and-rule policy of the British imperialist rulers? The imperialist rulers no doubt had this policy, and no better deal could be expected of them. But for that did communal problem have this deadly and peculiar dimension as in India anywhere else in the British colonial empire, or in the colonies of the other imperialist powers?

Breeding ground of communalism

Long back Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pinpointed the root cause of this failure as lying in the very nature of the leadership of our independence movement. "The Indian nationalist leadership not only did not try to free

the Indian masses from the bondage of religion and democratize the society by carrying out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions, it took up, on the contrary, religion as a vehicle of propagating nationalistic ideas. Indian nationalism, therefore, was basically religion-oriented. This religion-oriented nationalism manifested in the form of Hindu religious revivalism..... The point is that the nationalist leadership of India, instead of coming out from all sorts of religious complexes and thereby integrating all the different communities of people professing different faiths into a homogeneous nation, adopted the tolerance and broadness of the Hindu religion as the means to unify them into a nation." (*On Communal Problem*) Those who allege that the Muslim masses kept away from the independence movement would have the answer here that the psychological reaction to the Hindu revivalist Indian nationalism kept away not only the Muslims but almost the entire hierarchy of the so-called lower caste and the tribal people. It also gave every opportunity to the British rulers to incite disaffection among the non-Hindu masses to the independence movement and to drive a wedge of disunity between the Hindus and the Muslims. In fact, the reformist oppositional role of the Indian bourgeoisie which headed our independence movement manifested in its compromise with both imperialism and feudalism with the result that "the Indian bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions essential for democratization of society and complete merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions into a nation". Further pointing out, Comrade Ghosh emphasised: "Real integration of different communities into a nation can be achieved only by making religion completely powerless, in so far as the social activities of individuals are concerned, through democratisation of the society in the course of accomplishing the tasks of social and cultural revolutions. Neither the national bourgeois leadership nor those forces who spoke of the necessity of establishing a leadership alternative to the nationalist bourgeois leadership did perform these essential tasks of formation of the Indian nation." (*On Communal Problem*)

Has the picture altered after the independence? The foreign rulers left more than four decades back. But in one decade between 1972 and 1982, for instance, communal riots broke out 2880 times, according to government statistics. Communal orgy swept from one part to another, from Moradabad to Aligarh, then Meerut, Jamshedpur, Varanasi, Bhopal, Muzaffarnagar, Nellie, Bhagalpur and a host of other places in an endless chain. Not communal riots alone: strifes are erupting every other day and in every direction over casteist, linguistic, regional and every divisive issue. In fact, the outbreak of communal and parochial violence has increased in pace with the accentuating all-pervasive crises of capitalism that rules the country since the independence. The more acute is growing the capitalist crisis and the more fascist is becoming the ruling capitalist class to perpetuate its rule against popular resentment and upsurge, the more is it pandering to the divisive prejudices to disrupt the people's unity and misdirect popular movement against the capitalist class rule.

All the parliamentary parties without exception, serving or offering to serve the ruling class, are playing the role of agents of the class in this design, and engaging in fomenting and abetting, overtly or covertly, the communal, parochial and regionalist forces for petty parliamentary gains. So, the picture has altered after the independence but for the worse. The spirit of religious tolerance is absent today in almost all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parliamentary parties. In a frenzied approach they spit venom to drive out the

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Central Congress (I) government acted virtually as an accomplice to BJP's nefarious politics.

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minority people. From their urge to serve the ruling class they are crushing, when in the governmental power, people's legitimate democratic movements, or are subverting the people's cause by playing the role of a compromising force between the ruling class and the toiling people, and systematically destroying the logical bent and emasculating the youth and reforming the educational system to impart to it a religion-oriented approach to inculcate obscurantism, fanaticism and blind loyalty.

This the rulers are doing in unison in the name of secularism, but aiding more enthusiastically the anti-secular forces and tendencies by encouraging all sorts of religious customs, conventions and prejudices. Three decades back, Comrade Ghosh cautioned: "It is no wonder that in the circumstances the slogan of Hindu revivalism is finding a strong foothold now." In the intervening period, crisis of capitalism in India has aggravated beyond compare. The unprincipled, unethical and immoral practices of all the parliamentary parties, including the so-called leftist parties, have pushed the country into its present terrible decadence in every sphere and the people into utter frustration, despair and helpless disorientation.

Is not the situation a favourable ground for religious fanaticism, mysticism, national jingoism, regimentation of thought, blind loyalty and mechanical discipline to be fused together for further consolidation of fascism? Because, fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism and the technological aspects of science, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught, pointing finger to its cultural base. The BJP combines in itself all these characteristics, and there lies the danger. In an atmosphere of moral-cultural-ethical bankruptcy and all-pervasive economic crisis and political uncertainty all around, the outward appearance of the BJP as a disciplined party championing Bharat's traditional culture, which in reality means but a militant exhortation of the obscurantist religious values in a pattern of cultural regimentation, has an appeal to many people in different social strata to draw into its fold intellectuals and men in high places even, who are confused over the correct conception and proper evaluation and relevance of the ancient religious values in the crisis-ridden, out and out corrupt and reactionary capitalist society of today. There is no way to deny that it is that serious weakness of our independence movement for which a national secular culture failed to grow free from the Hindu religious influence which is the source of the BJP's present clout. The present Hindu-Muslim divide is a legacy of that past whose influence penetrates so deep that all the government functions in this land are invariably inaugurated with Hindu rituals, even as the rulers would claim the state to be secular. All the parliamentary parties base their political practice on principles which run counter to the principle of secularism. They talk of secularism but that is as far as the lip service can go. Do not they nominate candidates at elections on religious and parochial considerations — a Muslim candidate in a Muslim dominated area, and a Hindu candidate in a Hindu area? Are not they joining hands with branded communal and parochial parties and forces with an eye on the parliamentary seats? Are not these leaders, the head of the state even, taking part in religious ceremonies as a means to appease one or another of the religious communities? It is this practice, among others, which makes the ground fertile for the communal virus to thrive.

Hence the increasing influence of the BJP in the last few years and the halo created around it. The unstinted support of a powerful section of the

monopolists to it to help it rise as a viable alternative to the Congress (I) and the lavish praise for it in the monopoly press and other media only the other day is still another factor, which explains the rabid Hindu communal stance of the BJP and its audacious insistence on the Ram mandir issue despite appeals from the saner sections not to tread this dangerous course. Among its various means to drive the country to all-out fascism, the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie is leaning on the BJP and its communal politics.

A truly secular state, we ought to bear, considers religion the private affair of its citizens and does not, therefore, interfere, either by encouragement or by opposition, in the profession, practice and propaganda of religion by the individual. It leaves to the individual whether to believe in or not. Because, secularism means non-recognition of any supernatural entity. But all the parliamentary parties have wilfully misconstrued this true concept of secularism to suit their narrow and sectarian interest. While the BJP openly claims secularism to mean assertion of the authority of the majority religious community, that is the Hindu religious predominance in India, other parties phrase it as equal patronage to all religions, which cannot but mean pandering to multi-religious sentiments and, in the real context of India, acceding to the majority Hindu religious dominance. This gives, in real terms, a lever to the BJP to mount its militant communal assault. It is a tragedy that the birth of secular ideas in the thoughts and acts of Vidyasagar in this country failed to achieve its onward progress in the hands of the leaders of our independence movement, because of the weakness of the movement, and is today victim of slaughter in the hands of the scheming and self-seeking leaders of the parliamentary parties whose only concern is to grab power anyhow and stick to power anyhow.

The Central Government was an accomplice

Apprehending the devilish design of the BJP-VHP-RSS-Bajrang Dal combine, our party had repeatedly appealed to the Central Government not to allow *kar seva* to be held on that date. But even as tension mounted the Central Government did not take measure to defuse it. Once again the Congress (I) Government gave in to BJP's pressure to go on with its programme of *kar seva* on that very date and at that very spot. Why this reluctance and submission? The Congress (I) feared that interventions might antagonize the majority Hindu community and lead to erosion of the Hindu votes.

It was this willy-nilly and weak-kneed attitude of the Congress(I) government at the Centre which the BJP exploited. The Congress (I)'s lack of political courage and the hollowness of its Government's warnings were clear. The BJP had won against the Central government even before the battle began. That is why, despite the presence of the CRPF and the RAF jawans deployed by the Centre, the BJP-RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal-Shiv Sena combine went ahead with its plan, assured that the Central forces would not intervene.

The Congress (I) is thus a virtual accomplice to the countrywide spree of vandalism, arson, loot and slaughter started in the wake of demolition of the masjid. The BJP has shown by example which sort of Hindu raj it plans to set up in India. Like the non-Muslims are treated in Pakistan, a theocratic state, the non-Hindus of 'democratic and secular' Bharat would be 'honoured' as second class citizens once the BJP gets saddled on the *masnad* of Delhi and sets to building its Hindu raj. And surely, the BJP leaves no one in doubt about the prospect of democracy, individual liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of press, and

security and dignity of the minorities, among others; in that cherished Hindu raj of theirs. It should not be taken as a praise for the rulers in Delhi, the Congress(I), and the rulers in West Bengal, the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front'. The point is that the BJP has overtaken them all.

BJP—peddler of Hindu communal politics

The BJP took its present line of placating, pandering to and abetting the Hindu communal sentiment with a view to creating a Hindu vote bank for its parliamentary future after its dismal performance in the 1984 Lok Sabha elections. The policy undoubtedly brought it rich, undreamt of dividends in its resounding success at two consecutive parliamentary elections in 1989 and 1991. The resultant hung parliament gave the BJP with its increased share of MPs an added opportunity to assert itself and nurture a dream to become the ruling party at the Centre in the near future.

The shrewd realisation that in a hung parliament the other constituent parties including the ruling parties would not antagonise it to upset the fragile balance of forces has lent the BJP an added strength. This parliamentary calculation works at the root of its aggressive posture and its playing with the fire of Hindu communal politics. And indeed, the history of the last few years — the Ram Rathayatra in the VP Singh government's period and the role of the BJP on the Kashmir question in the Rajiv Gandhi period, and more — has proved its calculation to be correct. Even the Left parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI, while they outwardly pose themselves to be against the BJP, sought for a clandestine understanding with it. To and fro journey between Calcutta and Delhi of Jyoti Basu, the West Bengal Chief Minister and CPI(M) politburo member, to reach an understanding with the BJP through L. K. Advani — in the last days of the VP Singh government is a case in point. Another glaring instance is the safe passage allowed to Advani's *Ram rath* through West Bengal by the CPI(M)-led government even as the *rath* left in its trail communal riots and even bloodbath and even as the CPI (M) clamoured everywhere for Advani's arrest and stoppage of the *rath*. Clearly thus, all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties have their own share in the unprecedented communal eruption which is rocking the entire country. The only effective deterrent to communalism — whether majority or minority — would be a countrywide powerful mass movement of the common people of all sections, irrespective of caste, creed and religion. But it is painful to note that the Left parties, who should be at the forefront of all such movements, have long ago forsaken this path for the pelf and power of petty parliamentary politics. If they had exerted their strength, along with that of their allies, on the central government with all seriousness which they did not even attempt, the situation might have been different, if not altogether changed. When this is the position of the leftists what to expect from the Congress(I) then?

Role of Congress (I)

The role of the Congress (I) during this entire period has only added fuel to the fire. Had the present Congress (I) central government acted in time, there would have been no way for the BJP and its allies to do the irreparable damage they have done. But from the outset the Narasimha Rao government betrayed an inconsistent, hesitant and weak-kneed attitude towards the BJP even after the latter had violated the Allahabad High Court's order. At that time itself, on 6th July last, our party cautioned that "The way the BJP and the

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Speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on Great November Revolution

The 75th anniversary of the Great November Revolution was observed in a befitting manner on 7th November, 1992, in the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts at Ghatsila, Bihar.

On this solemn occasion our beloved General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, addressed a gathering of party workers, supporters and sympathisers at the Centre. He said: Today counterrevolution has temporarily triumphed by restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and the east European socialist countries. Nevertheless, the lessons of this first proletarian revolution shines even more brilliantly. The Great November Revolution stands out in history as a revolution which, for the first time in the world had ended exploitation of man by man. Again, while the lot of the exploited and the oppressed remained unchanged in all earlier revolutions and the state power was taken over by one exploiting class from the hands of another — both being minorities — the Great November Revolution was the first to place state power directly in the hands of the soviets of the workers and peasants. Proletarian dictatorship — the terror of the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on — was firmly established by the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and then Stalin. The basis of this dictatorship was proletarian democracy which enabled the ordinary masses to take active part through their soviets, in the administration of all affairs of the state.

These days an argument is offered by some quarters that the dictatorship of the proletariat was degenerated into the dictatorship of the party in the Soviet Union and that is the reason for the present setback. But the concept 'the proletarians can exercise their dictatorship without the continuous guidance of its most determined, most conscious and most advanced detachment, i.e., their political party' — is either sheer childish talk or a cunning ploy. Rather, it was this unique feature, i.e. the dictatorship of the workers and poor peasants which made socialism in Russia so invincible — against long drawn civil war, devastating famine, hardships of all kinds and even continued blockade by eighteen imperialist powers. But instead of destroying the Soviet power, these only rejuvenated the tenacity and stamina of the Soviet people and forged a lasting bond between the masses and the Party and the socialist state. Under the guidance of Lenin and then Stalin, the party grew stronger, the socialist economy became stable and powerful, education reached to everyone and many other successes in all spheres of people's life were achieved within a very short span, thanks to the correct grasping and application of the inherent objective laws of development of socialism by the CPSU led by Stalin.

It was only after the demise of Stalin and following the revisionist policies of Khrushchev that the Soviet economy was fraught with anarchy and chaos which ultimately destroyed totally the socialist economic base by dismantling the entire socialist structure and brought it to its present deplorable stage by the Gorbachev-Yeltsin clique. It was once again the wisdom of the then CPSU led by Stalin that through the correct grasping and application of the Marxist approach to the nationality question it became possible to unite the diverse nationalities into one single socialist family of nations and thus enhance their economic, social, cultural and educational uplift — an incontrovertible truth which nowadays is distorted by the bourgeois Press. This inner strength of the then Soviet Union rested on two factors. One was the correct political line pursued by the party led by Stalin, while the other was the close bond between the party and the people. It was due to these that the party could successfully exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat and broaden the scope of proletarian democracy. It was

once again this correct party line, correct leadership personified through Stalin and the bond between the party and the people, that the Soviet masses crushed the monster of fascism through paying the price of 20 million lives and near total destruction of the country which they again built up in an astonishing pace and reached the height of the U.S. superiority. This triumphant victory of socialist Soviet Union over the forces of imperialism-fascism was momentous historical event. Everywhere it spurred national liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies, helped establish People's Democracies in the east European countries, gave birth to an anti-imperialist militant peace movement all over the world and everywhere attracted the progressive common masses and intellectuals. The imperialists and capitalists were alarmed while the masses felt jubilant everywhere.

Imperialism as the source of war still existed but was much weakened after the Second World War due to their own internecine conflict and inherent economic and social contradictions; emergence of a parallel world peace camp including in it the USSR, the east European socialist states, China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba; liberation of a good number of former colonies and their emergence as a non-aligned bloc of newly independent resurgent nationalist countries; and lastly, the growth of powerful working class movements within the imperialist-capitalist countries themselves. All these factors taken together acted as a powerful deterrent to the imperialist war attempts. It was then possible to impose peace upon them and seemed that the world proletarian revolution was within reach.

But after the demise of Stalin this triumphant march of world communist movement seemed to have got into a blind alley. The new Khrushchev leadership brought with it the campaign of de-Stalinization and dished out such theories which were completely alien to Marxism-Leninism and detrimental to socialism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our founder General Secretary and a foremost Marxist thinker of the era, sounded a note of warning right at that time that the 20th Congress of the CPSU would open the floodgate of revisionism. Today it is clear to see how revisionism has destroyed the Soviet Union from within and how capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and the east European socialist countries including Albania. The question haunting every mind is how could such a turnabout occur?

One thing is clear that the imperialist conspiracies and intrigues from outside could not have succeeded had not the revisionist leadership of the CPSU acted as capitalist-roaders and as the main lever in destroying from within the Soviet economy, in corrupting the Soviet society and in degenerating the party and ultimately the socialist system itself. Undoubtedly, they could do it because the level of ideological consciousness, instead of rising had already fallen steeply. Far back in 1948, Comrade Ghosh pointed out this serious shortcoming of lowering of ideological standard in the world communist movement if left unchecked may lead to serious consequences in future causing greater harm to the movement itself. The serious lack of adequate ideological consciousness was detected and its remedies were pinpointed by Stalin in the 19th Congress of the CPSU. But he passed away before he could implement them. The Khrushchev leadership shelved it altogether.

Lenin said that the communists must advance, in

all directions, the science of Marxism if they were to cope with the changing world. But it was not done after Lenin as the leaders of the communist movement became complacent with the success all around. Stalin — engrossed in numerous problems of building up, consolidating and advancing socialism in a single country encircled by the imperialist-capitalist countries, defending the Soviet Union from fascist aggression and at the same time giving every effort to help the revolutionary movements in different countries — could not give enough attention to this vital task. As a result, the level of ideological consciousness of the newer generation of communists was gradually lowering despite tremendous organisational expansion and growing love and admiration for Marxism everywhere among the masses. It is precisely this inadequacy which helped emergence of modern revisionism and the distortion and vulgarisation of Marxism-Leninism. This was the beginning of the process of capitalist restoration in the land of Lenin and Stalin. Gorbachev and Yeltsin completed the process which Khrushchev had started.

But the assertion is not proved *ipso facto* that with the present setback Marxism has been proved invalid. Marxism is not born of any individual's contemplation or observation. It emerged as a science to grasp the inherent laws of development of all phenomena and thereby indicate the course of their development and decay. This is the only reason why we have become Marxists. This is the only philosophy which is at the same time a science and which can determine the laws of development of human society and guide us along the right path towards emancipation. Just as no temporary setback can permanently invalidate the laws of nature, nor of society, so also no temporary failure can render Marxism obsolete. Rather, it is the incapacity to grasp Marxism-Leninism correctly and to apply it concretely to concrete situations which has resulted in this setback. The present setback is a confirmation rather of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism, if only by the other way round. But what a price now is being paid by the masses in a world which has been changed to the advantage of the imperialists, even if temporarily. Chanting slogans of 'democracy' and 'freedom', imperialists and especially the US imperialists are, becoming increasingly belligerent, mounting neo-colonial attacks, and frantically trying for binding other countries with the leash of IMF and the World Bank. They have shown the world with their aggression against Iraq, blockade of Libya and embargo on Cuba to which extent they are ready to go in their heinous imperialist interest. The new US President Bill Clinton has already declared that his administration would not take any different foreign policy than Mr. Bush's. Therefore, the neo-colonial aggressive foreign policy of the USA — dictated by the top US multinationals, the Army top brass and the highest echelons of bureaucracy — will continue. Secondly, it also shows how false is their talk about 'democracy' because there is no basic policy difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. This is true of all bourgeois democracies regardless of whether it is a one-party, or two-party, or multi-party rule. Promising 'democracy' and 'freedom of choice' bourgeois elections everywhere leave the masses with no other option than to elect either of the bourgeois representatives. In real life, bourgeois democracy means privileges for the ruling few and deception, repression and savage exploitation for the masses.

Beside this dark picture of the global situation, there is a brighter side too. The imperialist and capitalist countries are engaged in acute crisis and all their hired pundits and economists have failed to rescue their economies and only added to their problems. Out

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November Revolution

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to reap maximum profit in a highly competitive world market, every imperialist country is increasingly switching over to capital intensive high-tech industries with the hope of a solution. But this policy has shut down many industries, led to the retrenchment of millions and millions and hit their families hard. The former socialist countries are in a worst shape. Skyhigh prices, unprecedented inflation, huge unemployment are wreaking havoc on the people's life there. The picture is the same in all capitalist countries. It again confirms Lenin's enunciation that it is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Imperialism temporarily showing its supremacy and chanting 'an unipolar world' free from socialism, is in reality bogged down deep in its insoluble crisis and is moribund. But on the other hand, proletarian revolution is still the guiding force of world humanity. This sickening crisis is forcing the suffering masses out of their homes and onto the streets. Agitations, processions, strikes are rocking capitalist-imperialist countries everywhere. The rising of the people in the erstwhile Soviet Union is another point of hope, regardless of whether or not they have already found the correct direction. There is tremendous indignation in the weaker capitalist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against US overlordism. In short, a ferment of struggle is growing in the oppressed and exploited masses from Africa to Europe. An anti-imperialist and particularly anti-US imperialist hatred is growing because of the war mongering character of the USA.

This is the moment of opportunity for all genuine communists to conduct a relentless ideological campaign, and organise these huge anti-imperialist and anti-war masses in suitable organisational forms, link up these organisations all over the world in a broad and militant anti-imperialist forum. Undoubtedly, such a militant anti-imperialist struggle can be unleashed today only by the genuine communists of different countries acting as the core of this movement. It is up to us, the communists, to realise the deep-going significance of this struggle. It will be a deterrent to the overt and covert machinations of the imperialist war mongers. It will give vent to the genuine anti-imperialist and anti-war feelings of the masses of these imperialist-capitalist countries too and thereby hasten the hour of revolution therein. It will create the pressure of public opinion upon the governments of the relatively backward capitalist countries so that they do not give in but stand up against the neo-colonial pressure of the imperialists. In all these struggles in all countries, serious efforts should be made to bring the anti-imperialist, peace-loving and democratic intellectuals and eminent personalities into the vortex of the struggle. If the communists of the world take up this struggle with all seriousness, and if the necessary ideological and organisational preparedness can be achieved — an uphill task no doubt — then these forums, leading the masses of their respective countries, will be able not only to defend but also to resist the imperialist onslaught or aggression. Although it will be a different struggle, it will take the masses one step ahead towards realisation of the need of revolution. The anti-imperialist struggles will in this way be conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolutions of all these countries, provided the communists properly discharge their due role and are organised through genuine Leninist parties of a new type. It is clear from above that the genuine communists of all countries must unite today to play their conscious communist role.

You all know with what perseverance and labour, Marx and Engels organised the first Communist Inter-

national. But when it became dominated by anarchists and reformists and there was no way to rescue it from them, Marx and Engels dissolved it themselves. The Bolshevik Party led by Lenin came out of the Second International, built by Engels, because it became dominated by the social democratic traitors of socialism. It was after the November Revolution, Lenin built up the Third Communist International, the Comintern, himself.

Today, after the Gorbachevs, Yeltsins and Deng Xiaopings have so disrupted and fragmented the communist movement, as the lackeys of imperialism-capitalism, that the genuine Leninist parties' unity and mutual relationship, sharing of views and united action is a crying need for advancing the cause of proletarian internationalism. An international platform of the genuine communist parties of the world is the need of the hour.

While there is no denying the fact that we are still passing through the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as enunciated by Lenin, yet it is true that the international situations before and after the Second World War are not one and the same but have distinct differences. Due cognizance and correct analysis of those new phenomena is long due. But none of the communist parties of the world has dealt with them nor given definite or correct directions. This vacuum in the ideological sphere is at the root of the emergence of modern revisionism. Hence, the need of a Leninist party of a new type. To build up such a party, it is necessary to conduct an all embracing socialist ideological movement involving all members of the party to properly evaluate all questions of life and epistemology, from philosophy, science, politics, morality and culture to even the most intricate and detailed questions like those of aesthetics, personal conduct, morality and even sex. Only when the leadership of the party would emerge as a result of this struggle reflecting the knowledge derived from it, and with the ability to analyse and answer all the questions that have cropped up in the epistemological sphere in the post-Second World War period, can it then be called a Leninist party of the new type. Our party has been built by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh following this methodology. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emerged as the best personification of the collective knowledge of our party, and elaborated and enriched Marxism-Leninism on many questions of far-reaching consequence. These teachings of him we call Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

The moving force of a Leninist party, its source of strength, is the free operation of democratic centralism in its inner-party life. Lenin said democratic centralism is "the fusion between proletarian democracy and centralism." Proletarian democracy becomes an empty word so long as the ideological-political-cultural level of the party members is not constantly raised. In that case it is bound to be reduced to formal democracy. After Lenin, Comrade Ghosh elaborated further that democratic centralism is achieved in a party by struggling to acquire "uniformity of thinking, oneness in approach, singleness of purpose and one process of thinking." In the course of building our party Comrade Ghosh has further elaborated on the concepts of democratic centralism, collective leadership, the concept of identifying one's self-interest with collective interest, etc., etc. Without assimilating these up to date concepts of Marxism-Leninism, it is not possible to vanquish modern revisionism ideologically.

But only they can truly grasp the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who are engaged in the struggle to apply them in their own life. For that, we have to relentlessly wage struggles against all tendencies and traits which are harmful to the interest of party and revolution as well as against genuine errors, mistakes and wrong understandings of Marxism-Lenin-

ism, or on any question of epistemology, among our comrades. It is these struggles which create a healthy atmosphere inside the party congenial to the unhindered operation of democratic centralism.

It would be a gross mistake to think that there is not, nor can there be, any struggle among ourselves since we all have united in the same party. Rather, differences of opinion on this question or that, or even on the interpretation of something which we all agree with, always exist. That is why, while strictly maintaining organisational centralism, the party always encourages arguments, debates, discussions—on the basis of Marxist-Leninist approach—in order to resolve differences, and arrive at greater unity. Even when the base political line of the party remains correct and the party remains revolutionary, one should not shut one's eyes to errors, mistakes or unprincipled acts, but should criticise them openly and fearlessly even if it involves a leader. But we should at the same time abide by the Communist code of conduct and refrain from hush hush, or discussing hither and thither instead of at the proper forum, or criticise one behind one's back. We should be open and aboveboard and instead of being afraid of criticism welcome it ourselves, since they strengthen the party, improve our ability and style of work. No great harm is done even if one is wrongly criticised. Rather, open criticism reveals who is on the right track and who is on the wrong and thereby helps the critic too to see his mistake. In this way mistakes are detected, and if corrective measures are taken in time, mistakes can be removed before much harm is done. The main point here is that if found wrong, one must unleash a relentless struggle to rectify oneself until he or she is so changed that others too recognise it. The central point of all criticism or self-criticism is that they should serve revolution and the party and should not be unnecessarily harsh, injurious to the comrades, not heeding to their psychology nor create misunderstanding and ill-feeling among them, nor bring disunity among them instead of unity. One important yardstick to judge the correctness or otherwise of any criticism is to observe whether it clarifies the issues of dispute, remove misunderstanding among comrades, helps the correct appraisal of objective facts. It is in this way that criticism and self-criticism help build greater cohesion in the party and thereby strengthen the cause of revolution. Conducted in this way, criticism and self-criticism foster ideological centralism in the party, as well as proletarian democracy. Without these struggles, centralism degenerates into bureaucracy and party work to mere routine work. In such an atmosphere, development of comrades into finer revolutionaries is impeded and their level of ideological consciousness gets lowered.

I think it is quite clear from what I have already said that without the proper functioning of democratic centralism, a working class party is bound to degenerate sooner or later. That is why, we must keep this atmosphere living inside our party against all odds, under all circumstances and despite whatever 'pressure of work' or 'programmes' are there before us. Today this is particularly important for our comrades. You know that Lenin said "Socialism comes from without". What is the proper understanding of this fundamental Leninist teaching? It means that the ideology of communism is a comprehensive, all-embracing philosophical and epistemological category, which does not grow out of mere trade union movement or any other form of mass movement spontaneously. It needs an intensive socialist struggle covering all aspects of life and society and the integration of these lessons in the realm of thought.

It follows that in order to give birth to ideological centralism inside the party we will have to undertake a serious and ceaseless struggle in the realm of thought.

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Unmask designs of perpetrators of this crime - unite all secular, democratic and well-meaning people to stop recurrence of riots once for all.

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VHP have defied the public opinion — intellectuals and different political parties in general and finally the Allahabad Court's order and started constructing a Ram temple in the vicinity of the Babari masjid — is an attack on the secular democratic values and the people's unity which must be promptly and fittingly dealt with."

"The situation has worsened further owing to the minority central Congress(I) government's weak-kneed attitude and its hobnobbing with the BJP to devise some face-saving formula rather than taking a principled, prompt and effective step on this issue."

This is why, instead of showing the political courage of putting the UP government on the dock for contempt of court — and exposing the BJP's game before the country, the central Congress(I) government chose to refer the matter to the Supreme Court and thereby unnecessarily reopened an already closed chapter, but keeping the people in the dark all of which boosted the morale of the BJP-RSS-VHP combine as well as allowed them further time to prepare. By granting the UP government permission to allow the *karsevaks* sing *bhajans* and *kirtans* at the disputed site, the Supreme Court, even if unwittingly, provided the BJP-RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal combine the much needed opportunity to gather its entire force, threatening the existence of the masjid and, in its consequence, the lives, property and security of the entire Muslim minority community of India.

In order to exhibit its concern for the rapidly worsening situation in Ayodhya, the central government sent battalions of the CRPF and columns of the RAF, both central forces, but only to sit in the barracks and stand as mute spectators while the mosque was being demolished by the frenzied mob of *karsevaks*. The selected RAF men were once called into service but only to return from midway under orders from the top. They were finally pressed into service to clear away the remaining *karsevaks* days after the mosque had been demolished and the riots had started everywhere.

Riots allowed to continue

And how did the Central and state governments tackle the riots which, anticipatedly and invariably, broke out throughout the length and breadth of the country? From the time the news of the destruction of the mosque was known, it was known that the riots were in the offing, apart from the fact that this apprehension was there right from the beginning of the whole episode. The Central Government should have been on the guard itself and alerted all the state governments, the police and the army days ago. And even after the riot broke out it should have been dealt with a firm hand. But it was not done — why? That the Central and State Government's police — not to speak of the army — can generally bring under control anything it likes within hours or a day or two, is known to all. The memory of how the police swooped on and arrested thousands of Opposition leaders throughout the whole country in a single day, when the emergency was clamped, has not yet been erased. In the present case in all states the police had the detailed knowledge about the miscreants and their movements.

Nevertheless, the riots were allowed to linger for days after army units had been posted. The question naturally arises if it was really out of control for the governments. Or, was it also a political calculation to distract the attention of the people of the entire country from their burning problems by simulating a situation of panic?

Questions that agitate

There are many other questions the government must answer. The Congress(I) government had declared immediately after the incident that it would rebuild the masjid, punish the guilty and ban all communal organisations. Heartening pronouncements indeed!

But then why did the government not touch the BJP? If the BJP is not brought to book on charges of inciting communalism and is allowed to go scot free, then, naturally, all the government declarations are reduced to empty words which would not frighten anybody. The BJP, too, took notice of it and hence has come out with increased adamancy after lying low for a short while immediately after the episode. Even otherwise, the BJP is culpable of violating its declaration of adherence to secularism which every parliamentary party is required to make in its Constitution before the Election Commission.

There is already news that after committing it publicly, the central government is already in two minds about rebuilding the Babari Masjid. As for its banning five communal organisations, is it not surprising that the ban is only for two years? Secondly, the government will send their cases within thirty days to a tribunal which is to judge whether these organisations are indeed communal or not. Was the government then not sure about those organisations whom it was banning? What a mockery of administering indeed, and at a crisis hour as at present! And why ban for two years only? Does the government want to tell that two years hence the RSS, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal, etc., would cease to be communal and would become secular? Can administrative measures alone curb the communal forces, without undertaking the real tasks of democratisation of the society?

The BJP, it must not be lost sight of, has no differences with the Congress(I) on economic issues. The anti-people economic and fiscal policies of the 4 state governments which the BJP headed before their dismissal by the Centre and the party's attitude to the industrial, economic, and fiscal policies of the central Congress (I) government are clear evidence. To the BJP the Ram Mandir issue is really no issue for a religious crusade. It is only a ploy to exploit the religious sentiments of the Hindu religious community and cash in on it at the elections. The same electoral interest motivated Rajiv Gandhi to open the premises of the Babari Masjid in 1986 and to allow *Shilanyas* there before the Lok Sabha elections of 1989. Though in this trickery of playing the communal card the Congress (I) had lost to the BJP. Did not the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' government allow *Ramshila puja* in West Bengal before the 1989 Lok Sabha elections? Did not the CPI (M) join hands with the erstwhile Jana Sangh, now the BJP, to prop up the Janata government at the Centre following the 1977 Lok Sabha elections? Did not it equally prop up the VP Singh government at the Centre along with the BJP after the 1989 elections? Did it not combine with the Muslim League to form government in Kerala?

The fact is that all these bourgeois and social democratic petty bourgeois parties are calculating every step of theirs with an eye on the ballot box. This communal conflagration in the aftermath of the demolition of the Babari Mosque saw each of them use the sparks of the fire to reap harvest in the next elections. Each aided the riot take its toll and each now busies itself to distribute relief among the affected masses only to pose itself as protector and enhance its prospect at future elections. In this rat race for self and power all these parties depend at the elections on

money and muscle power, besides on the administrative rigging machinery. This is why in this violent flare-up was uncovered an all-powerful nexus between the police, administration and anti-social elements.

For the discernible people particularly in West Bengal, it is not difficult to understand that the Congress(I) is hardly expected to quell riots — since it is the party which has been acting since long as the main architect to protect the forces of communalism, casteism and parochialism, and all sorts of divisivism. But why is it that the CPI (M) which has been ruling West Bengal for about 16 years has proved itself absolutely powerless in taking measures which would have saved the state from such a communal violence which has tarnished the state's long Left tradition and heritage? What for and what use then is its big organisational strength? Is it meant for anyhow catching votes in favour of the party without caring for any scruple? Is it for this reason that the very same hordes of anti-socials and musclemen on whom the CPI (M) has to depend heavily at the elections were found engaged actively in communal riots particularly in Calcutta this time, maintaining a strong nexus even with the promoters of real estate? Moreover, were not the riots a boon in disguise for the beleaguered 'Left Front' Government led by the CPI(M) to help sidetrack those burning issues on which mass movements were taking shape in the state? These are some questions we are constrained to ask and these are issues the responsibility of which the central and the state governments can hardly disown.

This communal flare-up has its repercussion on the peoples of the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh and Pakistan. There, too, the minority community suffered and set-backs occurred to the germination of anti-establishment movements of the people, the prospects of which were becoming brighter in both these countries recently.

There is also the intriguing revelation in the press that a top US diplomat met some BJP leaders ostensibly to express concern over the looming danger of 'political destabilisation' in India. What makes the point is that he met none but the BJP's economic policy adviser, Jay Dubashi, and its foreign cell in-charge, a former diplomat himself, Brijesh Mishra.

But why this poking of the ugly US nose in India's 'internal affairs' at a time when the USA is trying breakneck to appear as the self-appointed guardian of the world, and, for that, has been trying much to enamour and entangle the South Asian regional power, India, and even took it upon itself to exonerate the Indian Government by telling the world that the tragedy of 6th December was India's internal affair? Had it not an axe to grind the US diplomat would not have been there at the BJP office. This US hobnobbing with the BJP obviously rests on the calculation that the latter has the promise of appearing as the ruling party at the Centre. Hence the US attempt to fish in the troubled waters.

The tasks

At the present moment we demand of the government a two-pronged action. It requires, on the one hand, complete ban on all communal organisations, exemplary punishment of those guilty of inciting communal feelings as well as of those involved in the recent communal riots and on the other, adequate compensation to the relatives of the dead and the injured and relief and rehabilitation for the uprooted refugees on a war footing. Furthermore, we demand complete administrative neutrality from top to bottom of the civil administration and the police, to the people of every community. Functionaries of the central and

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People's Resistance Committee builds up movements in Kerala

Kerala

"Janakeeya Protirodh Samity" (JPS), formed on August 25, 1992 at Trivandrum at the state level "Janakeeya Protirodh Convention" (People's Resistance Convention), has caught the imagination of the suffering people. It was, in fact, the culmination of district-wise conventions and formation of district-wise committees with the object to build up people's resistance movement against the onslaughts of diverse nature facing the people. In a situation when the established parliamentary political parties with narrow political interest have left the people in the lurch, the JPS has taken upon itself the task of standing by the side of the downtrodden. The JPS has declared as its objective to rise above all caste-religious considerations and sectarian party politics and build up mass movements involving broad cross sections of the people against burning problems of price-rise, fiscal and industrial policies of the P.V. Narasimha Rao Government and also against the anti-people policies of the state government.

The state JPS includes Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon, veteran freedom fighter and former Union Minister as a patron, Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer as president.

Prospect of Left Democratic Movement brightens in Kerala

In such a difficult and complicated political situation it is heartening to note that coinciding with the joint Delhi rally of the central trade union organisations on 25th November last and against the central government's anti-people fiscal and economic policies, Kerala people witnessed on the same day massive joint rallies at the district headquarters as well as in Trivandrum, in which our party and its various frontal organisations like UTUC (LS), AIDS, DYO, MSS etc. took active part.

In fact, our party's constant role in developing mass movement in Kerala and people's indignation against the Congress(I) governments both at the centre and the state of Kerala found expression in this joint movement. The massive nature of these protest demonstrations and our effective participation along with the partners of the LDF forming "November 25th Agitation Committee" have created great enthusiasm among the people.

Tamilnadu

Anti-imperialist convention in Tamilnadu

The People's Convention Against Imperialists' Neo-colonial Attacks and Threat of War was organised by the Tamilnadu Preparatory Committee in Madras on November 22 at the World University Service Centre Auditorium.

Prof. A. Karunanandan, President of the Association of University Teachers, presided over the convention and delivered the welcome address.

Among the speakers were Dr. C. T. Kurian, an eminent economist, Prof. N. Dharmarajan, Academic Council member, Madurai-Kamraj University, Mr. Fenn Walter, President, Socialist Workers' Union, Mr. S. V. Rajadurai, General Secretary, PUCL, Tamilnadu.

Besides, Mr. V.R. Krishna Iyer, former Judge of the Supreme Court and President, All India Committee of the People's Front Against Imperialists' Neo-colonial Attacks and Threat of War And For Peace, Dr. R.P.

Ayodhya Episode

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the state governments right from the president and the Prime Minister to IPS and IAS officers, etc. should make it a point not to take part as a functionary in any public religious ceremonies, irrespective of their personal faiths. Moreover, we urge both the central and the state governments to see that the functionaries of the administration, at all levels, uphold a secular attitude at least in the discharge of their public responsibilities. Besides, it is necessary to ensure that educational curricula at different levels are made completely free from religious influence and are such that they ensure a secular, democratic and scientific bent of mind. There should be no religious ceremony in educational institutions. Last, but not the least, we demand the rebuilding of the historic Babari Masjid without delay.

We appeal to the common people of every community not to be misled by the self-seeking agents of communal politics who sow the seeds of discord between the common masses of all communities to their own sectarian ends. We urge the masses to realize that unless they can learn from their bitter experience and build up a permanent bond of unity and amity among themselves, they will again and again be deceived by the parties of the bourgeois parliamentary politics. As we said on this issue on 27th July last that "The sole aim of the peddlers of communal politics — whether they represent the majority or minority community — in this or that part of the country is to derive maximum dividend in parliamentary politics by dividing and misleading the people and diverting their attention from the basic problems of life, namely price hike, unemployment, etc., taking advantage of the absence of a democratic movement worth its name."

Indeed, it is the long absence of a united, broad-based and powerful mass movement which gave the power hungry bourgeois political parties the opportunity to incite one section of the common people against another, again and again, and everytime in a worse form than before. Communal, casteist, divisive and

Victor, Counsellor and Deputy Chief of Mission, embassy of Cuba also addressed.

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer presented Dr. R.P. Victor with a draft for Rs. 10,000 and a gift of medicines worth Rs. 15,000 as a token of support to the people of Cuba in their protracted struggle against US imperialism.

Prior to 6th December the various State units of our party organised meetings, rallies throughout the country and on 5th of December organised dharnas at the state capitals against Karseva and in defence of the solidarity of the Indian people. Reports of these programmes from different states as received uptill now are given hereunder.

Andhra Pradesh

The State Organising Committee of our party organised a procession from Nampalli to Rajbhavan via Assembly and Lakadikapoll in observance of people's solidarity day on 5th December. A delegation, including comrades K. Sridhar, state secretary, B.S. Amarnath, member, secretariat and Ch. Murahari, Hyderabad city secretary of the party, submitted a memorandum to the Governor demanding immediate stopping of karseva at Ayodhya. Later the processionists sat in a dhama at the Secretariat, where Com. K. Sridhar exposed the game of BJP- RSS-VHP combine.

secessionist activities have been raising their ugly heads everywhere with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social democratic parties provoking them directly and indirectly and the common people bearing the brunt. Under these circumstances, we are witnessing unthinkable communalisation of the entire society, resulting in communalisation of even the administration and the police forces. In this situation, it devolves upon the democratic, peace-loving and right-thinking people of the majority community to come forward and stand by the riot-torn, homeless and hungry masses of the minority community, in order to share their sufferings with all sincerity. Communalism of every community ought to be condemned with full force. But clearly communalism of the majority community does more harm. The majority community people have, therefore, a greater responsibility to share.

The only effective deterrent

Moreover, it is time to realize that without the common people of both the majority and the minority community joining hands to build up countrywide sustained, broadbased democratic movements on the burning problems of their lives and thereby strengthening their unity, the present upswing in communal feelings and sentiments throughout the country which is influencing even the educated people, cannot be contained successfully, despite rhetorics and crocodile tears of the parliamentary parties. History testifies that the common masses do not foment riots. They are the handiwork of the rulers, but they claim the lives and properties of the common masses. Most of all, they claim the legitimate democratic movements of the masses. This riot, too, has claimed it. Yet it is the same legitimate democratic movement which alone has the power and potential to fight back and contain communalism and communal violence.

Those who claim to be Leftists had a leading role to play here. But the so-called Left parties in this country have never incorporated the tasks of social and cultural movements in their programme. They have even forsaken the banner of democratic mass movement. They are busying themselves today to reinforce the bond of their understanding with the Congress (I), and that with an eye on the the next elections. This agony of the people does not pain them, because they, too, are partners in this vicious current of communalized politics.

This bleeding hour of history has one call to the people : To unleash a powerful counter-current of countrywide united democratic mass movement of all sections of toiling masses on the edifice of a higher proletarian culture and with a view to restoring, protecting and extending the democratic norms, values and rights of all people. If these mass movements are built with due care, uniting and organising all sections of the toiling masses, and conducted in an organised way, then apart from realising their specific objects, these mass movements will create in the country an atmosphere congenial to the development of a democratic, secular and a rational bent of mind and unite the different communities of our country in a firm bond while isolating all fundamentalist, communal, secessionist and parochial forces at the sametime.

These are the lessons of the present situation. Unless these are grasped in the right vein and put into effect in the arena of people's struggle, many more 'Ayodhyas' await us in the future. Yet the gleam of light also is here. People of all communities have stepped out to protect each other in this conflagration. If they will only join strength and tread the right course to assert their own power, the people's power, the instigators and perpetrators of the crime will count their days. And history urges : onward to that end.

Workers' historic Delhi rally against new industrial and fiscal policies

At the call of the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions, a massive rally was held at Boat Club, New Delhi, on 25th November last, to express strong indignation and protest against the utter anti-people new industrial and economic policies of the central Congress (I) government. The historic rally of lakhs of workers, employees, junior officers and agricultural labourers started from the Red Fort at 10 am and paraded through the main roads of the capital and ultimately converged at the venue of the meeting. The meeting was conducted by a presidium of 7 members. Tapas Dutta (UTUC-LS), Jogeswar Gope (AICCTU), M.M. Krishnan (AITUC), E. Balanandan (CITU), Kamala Sinha (HMS), DD Shastri (TUCC) and S.R. Sengupta (UTUC).

At the start of the meeting two separate resolutions, one condemning the industrial policy and the other communalism were moved. In support of these resolutions, Comrades Prithvi Chanda (UTUC-LS), K. Pankajson (UTUC), Chitta Basu (TUCC), Umra Omel Purohit (HMS), M.K. Pandhe (CITU), A. B. Bardhan (AITUC), Swapan Mukherjee (AICCTU) and leaders of different confederations spoke. All the speakers appealed to the workers and other toiling people to carry on sustained movements against this utter anti-people industrial policy and to build up a countrywide democratic movement as an antidote to communalism.

The Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions is the united platform of all central trade union organisations barring INTUC and BMS, and of different all-India confederations and federations of employees of Government, Railways, Defence, Banks and public sector undertakings. This sponsoring committee has been consistently conducting movements against the utter anti-people new industrial and economic policies since 1991 when the central Congress (I) government announced this policy. When the central government defiantly refused to take cognition of the verdict of the successful all-India industrial strikes of 29th November, 1991 and 16th June, 1992, the workers, employees and agricultural labourers came to New Delhi to give this warning to the central government that if it fails to withdraw this policy forthwith and continues to pursue this disastrous anti-people policy in the interest of the Indian monopolists then this government must be dislodged through the pressure of united movement.

Comrade Prithvi Chanda, the President of UTUC (Lenin Sarani), stressed in his short speech the main objective and the class motive of the new industrial policy and said that whenever the workers started resisting the implementation of this new industrial policy, the central and the state governments launched armed attack on them. In this connection he mentioned that in the interest of the Tatas, Janata government led by Biju Patnaik had launched attack on the workers of Sukinda mines where they were conducting movements under the banner of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and in the process workers were brutally murdered. He cautioned that the Sponsoring Committee had already adopted one resolution against this murderous attack on democratic movement and appealed to all to stand by the mine workers of Sukinda in their fight against injustice.

November Revolution

(Continued from page 5)

If we fail to give necessary attention to this crucial struggle in our inner-party life, then we will fail also in organising, in a planned and organised manner and on the edifice of higher proletarian culture, the class and mass struggles of the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong gave a brilliant exposition in this respect. He explained that both theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, unless integrated, are one-sided and partial and hence useless. But how do we know whether theoretical and practical knowledge have been 'integrated' in one? Comrade Mao again brilliantly explained that it can be clearly seen in his cultural and ethical standard. Comrade Ghosh further advanced this concept of communist culture and character by explaining the utmost and imperative necessity of 'identifying one's self-interest with that of the class, the party and revolution if one is to acquire proletarian culture. In the days of the November revolution, making one's self-interest secondary to that of the party and revolution sufficed to qualify one as a good communist. But, after the complete decadence of bourgeois moral values and proliferation of rotten bourgeois individualism and ego-centrism, it is no more an adequate standard. Today it is the requisite of an ordinary member in any genuine communist party — a Leninist party of the new type. To be a good communist, today, one will have to merge or identify one's self-interest with that of revolution, the class and the party. It is undoubtedly a very difficult struggle, but today it is the only path to be a communist of the first rank. True, it is difficult to reach this ideological, moral and cultural level, but on the other hand there is no other life as purposive, noble and happy as that of a true communist.

It requires a painstaking two-fold struggle to acquire these qualities and live a communist's life. First, communists are men of the masses. They will always have to be in the midst of the masses and their problems. They will have to perceive how the masses view their own problems and explain to them the right remedy for them — i.e. they will have to carry to the masses the line of the party. Then, as the masses are confronted with the anti-people policies of the governments — both central and state, they will inspire, educate and organise public opinion by clarifying the confusions spread by the government — and after the masses, or at least their majority has been sufficiently clear and inspired — they will take the masses forward for struggle. In this course of democratic movements of the masses, we must give special attention to the most backward and politically unconscious section of the people, like the Adivasis, who had been neglected and humiliated and treated like subhuman species for scores of decades. Here again, we must be with them, take experience from their lives, share with them their woe and sorrow. On the one hand we must share their insult, injury and humiliation, while on the other we must make it clear to them how their emancipation also is related to the overthrow of capitalism in India. It depends to a great extent on our role whether they will gradually rise up and take the correct course of struggle

On 26th November the Prime Minister met seven representatives of the Sponsoring Committee at the Parliament Hall. The Prime Minister agreed to meet the trade union later on and assured to convene a meeting with them after 6th December.

or be misled onto a wrong track. Only in this way can we bring these diverse sections of backward, illiterate and isolated people into the mainstream of legitimate democratic mass movements. The task of uniting the various and diverse people together has historically fallen upon us today.

The second aspect of the two-fold struggle is the development of each comrade individually. In a sense, this development can be best ensured only by one's own conscious struggle. Because, while it is true that without a congenial atmosphere, individual development is retarded, yet role of an individual is a powerful factor too. The discharge of this conscious communist role of a comrade depends upon, in the ultimate analysis, his struggle to identify with the cause of revolution, the class and the party. On the other hand, one's conscious struggle endows him with greater compatibility, tenacity, patience so that he can play a better role in organising the democratic movements of the people. Hence, if we forget or minimise the importance of this struggle inside the party, we will unknowingly deter the advancement of the class and mass struggles outside too.

So, our actions for building up a movement of the people should be meticulously planned and organised instead of sporadic and unplanned ones. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said that before capturing power, revolutionaries have to work in the ideological sphere, so also before launching a mass movement we need to project the slogans, pin point the demands, clarify the issues — in short, organise public opinion in favour of the movement. This is the first step in organising a struggle. Secondly, we should continuously endeavour to give every spontaneous or sporadic outburst of the masses an organised and well-knit character by our attempts to involve the masses into people's struggle committees and to the volunteer corps. It will undoubtedly not be an easy task but without the masses learning how to fight against the well-organised capitalist state machine through their own instruments of struggle, i.e. the people's struggle committees and the volunteer corps in a well-organised, disciplined and determined manner, their struggle for emancipation will not advance even an inch. Thirdly, it is not so important whether a particular struggle succeeds in achieving its demands or not. The most important point is whether we have been able or not in carrying into the struggling masses the political line of the party in such a way that they have advanced in acquiring revolutionary political consciousness, even if by only one step. Depending upon our role, the masses will in this way become increasingly conscious, organised and militant through conducting struggle after struggle and finally give birth to the alternative political power of the people in their suitable organisational form as the masses of Russia did in the form of their soviets from the grassroots level. Only then the hour of revolution will strike as it did in the month of November of 1917 in Russia.

For us, these are the most valuable teachings of the Great November Revolution. We have no doubt that the proletariat and other oppressed people of the whole world will take to the path shown by the Great November Revolution today or tomorrow.

**Long Live Great November Revolution !
Uphold the Noble Banner of Communism
and Proletarian Internationalism !!
Long Live Revolution !!!**

For want of space we cannot give reports of the meetings of Great November Revolution Anniversary held in a decentralised manner throughout the country from 7th to 17th November.

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