

# Proletarian Era

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Founder Editor-in-Chief :  
COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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## OBSERVE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY WITH GREATER EMPHASIS

*A message from  
Comrade  
Nihar Mukherjee*

Comrade President, Comrades, Friends and  
Compatriots,

Seventyfour years ago, in November of 1917, the first proletarian revolution of the world was accomplished in Russia. 'A spectre of Communism is haunting Europe'—Marx and Engels had observed in 'Communist Manifesto' in 1848. This became an undeniable reality through the first working class state of the Soviet Union, founded by the Bolshevik Party led by Great Lenin.

Marx and Engels had discovered and explained the irrevocable law-governed progress of modern society from capitalism to communism through the transitional phase of socialism, which would inevitably arise from the objective historical struggle between the two main classes of modern society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. November Revolution confirmed this Marxist conception of history as fully correct, objective and scientific. It sounded the death-knell of moribund capitalism and ushered in a new era—the era of proletarian revolution.

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"The world revolution is not far off, but it cannot develop according to a special timetable....We know however that although the imperialists cannot contain the world revolution, certain countries are likely to be defeated, and heavier losses are possible....There is no cause....whatsoever for despair or pessimism....even if they can crush the world proletarian revolution, they will only add more fuel to the flames that will consume them all".

—LENIN

## Great November Revolution Day Observed

CALCUTTA :

The Seventyfourth Anniversary of the Great November Revolution is being observed with greater importance this year when the first working class state on the globe established by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Great Lenin was reduced to a capitalist state and other socialist states of Eastern Europe

had to face the same fate through counterrevolution headed by the renegade Gorbachev & company. The USSR, the first socialist country, once one of the most backward countries of Europe, reared and nurtured by Great Lenin and then by his worthy continuator Great Stalin, rose to a lofty height in every sphere—politics, economy, science and

technology, military and nuclear power, education, sports and culture. It surpassed even the most developed imperialist-capitalist state, the USA, in some spheres, but now is enmeshed in an allout crisis as a direct offshoot of the revisionist policies pursued by the Khrushchevites and by Gorbachev and his associates in leadership of the party and the state of the Soviet

Union built once by Lenin and then by Stalin.

The year 1991 assumes special significance in view of the banning of the traditional Red Square Parade in Moscow to commemorate the Great October Revolution, observed since 1918, by the Gorbachev-Yeltsin clique after ban of the CPSU all over the Soviet Union. A worldwide tirade against the communist movement

has been let loose, particularly against the great leaders Lenin and Stalin under whose leadership was established and consolidated the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which, according to Karl Marx, "...itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

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## Message from Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

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In this era, exploitative capitalist-imperialist order is crisis-ridden, decadent, corrupt and is historically moving towards its ultimate doom despite occasional periods of boom and stability. Contrarily, in this era, the struggle of the proletariat for establishing the socialist society free from all sorts of exploitation and oppression is ceaselessly and historically moving towards a worldwide final victory despite temporary setbacks and reverses. The complete emancipation and unfettered and equal scope of development of not only the proletariat but of the humanity as a whole lie in the establishment of classless communist society. November Revolution signalled that the era had arrived throughout which the battle for passing over from capitalism to communism in every country would be fought decisively. There is not, nor can there be, any permanent reversion of this general historical process.

After Lenin, the stupendous task fell on his worthy continuator Stalin to spread the cause of communism all over the world and build the Soviet Union as the bulwark of socialism and proletarian internationalism. History is witness to how well he accomplished it. The phenomenal rise of the Soviet Union as the most advanced industrial-military-political power in Europe, the continuous growth of material and cultural standards of life of different nationalities and their fraternal identification into one socialist family of nations, the blossoming of proletarian moral values as seen, for example, in the rise of the Stakhanovite movement, are all tributes to the CPSU led by Great Stalin.

Indeed, world history would have been written differently after the appearance of fascism and the devastation of the Second World War, had not this political economic-military might been acquired meanwhile by the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership. There is no doubt that without the victory over fascism there would not have grown worldwide militant peace movement and liberation struggles against imperialism and colonialism accelerating the collapse of colonial bastions in Asia, Africa and Latin America followed by the emergence of the newly liberated resurgent bourgeois national states who form the basis of the present non-aligned movement; nor would there have been successful consummation of the anti-fascist anti-imperialist struggles under the hegemony of the working class in the countries of East Europe, China, Vietnam, Korea, Cuba etc. for the establishment of socialist system. All this led to the weakening of imperialist stranglehold over the world and the rise of the parallel socialist camp guaranteeing sovereignty, peace and progress for the weaker nations of the world. It underscores for all patriotic and democratic people, especially today, this lesson of the November Revolution that in this era the

reliable guarantee of even bourgeois national independence, principles of non-alignment and minimum democratic rights and liberties lies in the continuous advancement and victory of proletarian revolution over capitalism, imperialism and fascism.

But proletarian revolution is difficult to achieve and far more difficult to consolidate and continue without the proper realisation of revolutionary theory. Marx taught us that as philosophy finds its material weapon in the proletariat the proletariat finds its spiritual weapon in philosophy...and as soon as the lightning of thought has struck deep into the virgin soil of the people, they will emancipate themselves and become man. Lenin taught that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution. And Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the worthy disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong said that proper realisation of this revolutionary theory presupposes the struggle to apply Marxism-Leninism on all questions covering all aspects of life and epistemology in view of contemporary developments in order to concretise, elaborate and enrich Marxism-Leninism continuously. Only a party capable of conducting this struggle can steadfastly carry the banner of socialism and proletarian internationalism to the ultimate goal. If not, it is bound to reduce Marxism to either dogmatism or revisionism, jeopardise the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism and itself degenerate into a social-democratic party. This is exactly what happened in the Soviet Union and the other erstwhile socialist countries of east Europe.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized that accomplishing the proletarian revolution is undoubtedly a difficult task; but, after it, the struggle to protect, build up and continuously advance the socialist society till the attainment of communism is a far more difficult, critical and subtle one. Because, while all earlier revolutions only replaced the rule of one class of exploiters by that of another and could not put an end to exploitation and oppression itself, the proletarian revolution, after putting an end to exploitation of man by man, has to undertake a painstaking and complex struggle to completely eliminate all sorts of class divisions, class inequalities and class prejudices which persist in socialist society for long. Moreover, the seeds of the danger of capitalist restoration remain embedded in the subtle influence of property sense and individualistic thought process, termed "private property mental complex" by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, reflecting deep-seated bourgeois ideological influence which continues in society for long notwithstanding economic development, material prosperity and the reasonable satisfaction of material needs of the people. Therefore, the party of the proletariat needs to fully exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat and through series of cultural revolutions cleanse socialist society of all these reac-

tionary influence during the entire epoch of the transition from socialism to communism. These are the lessons of the November Revolution. But by denying the the necessity of class struggle and undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union since 1956, the Khrushchevite renegades distorted the proletarian class outlook, reduced Marxism to revisionism and ideologically disarmed the Soviet proletariat. Following this revisionist path, the CPSU and the Soviet Socialist State led by it became increasingly alienated from the masses. Once discarded bourgeois concepts and bourgeois sense of freedom and right of the individual raised their ugly heads. The fundamental Marxist understanding that the question of individual right essentially reflects the urge for private property in a class divided society and is therefore incongruous with socialism which stands on collective ownership and represents the final historical step towards classless communist society—was abandoned in the social life of the Soviet Union and the erstwhile socialist states of east Europe.

Moreover, being completely free from exploitation socialism itself embodies the fullest guarantee of all possible opportunities of life, continuously uplifts the material and cultural standards and guarantees complete freedom from all sorts of exploitation and oppression of the people. Therefore, the true interest of freedom of the individual in socialism calls for the identification of individual interest with social interest, i.e. the interest of the proletariat, the party and the state defending socialism. Posing of the question of freedom of the individual, isolatedly only reflects influence of rotten bourgeois individualism behind a liberal cloak. It ought not at all have arisen had the party and the state in these erstwhile socialist countries been following a genuinely Marxist-Leninist path instead of revisionism. Unabated revisionist practice for the last 35 years corroded socialism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere from within and the comprehensive counterrevolutionary blueprint of perestroika and glasnost of renegade Gorbachev clique finally restored capitalism the glorious land of Lenin, Stalin and a legion of martyrs who stood for the cause of November Revolution, proletarian internationalism and communism. Not unexpectedly capitalist restoration has brought in the Soviet Union economic disaster, ethnic strifes, secessionist outbursts and an all-out political, cultural and moral degeneration. The entire structure of the Soviet land and the Soviet State is being torn asunder. The CPSU—although now degenerated—without which there would have been no history of the Soviet Union has been banned, the Red Army disbanded and substituted by a mercenary capitalist army and memorials of the leaders of the November Revolution,

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# Resist Conspiracy To Transfer Tin Bigha

The proposal to transfer a parcel of Tin Bigha area within Mekhligunge P.S. of Cooch Behar district in West Bengal to Bangladesh has created a stir among the people. This proposal was mooted in the Indira-Mujib Pact of 1974 in order to provide a corridor to Bangladesh to two of its enclaves within Indian Union. It may seem to one not quite conversant with the problems of the area that there is apparently no reason to create a stir over such an issue of practically no importance and for maintaining good neighbourly relation with Bangladesh we should not mind this transfer of a small parcel of land. We firmly adhere to the principle of amity and brotherhood with the people of Bangladesh. But the question is not so simple and this transfer of Tin Bigha will create newer and greater problems than those which are proposed to be solved. By this transfer of Tin Bigha the entire Kuchlibari area of Mekhligunge P.S. in Cooch Behar district of Indian Union will virtually become a new enclave affecting the life of nearly forty thousand people. None other than the concerned people know what a dismal life they are forced to live in an enclave surrounded on all sides by a foreign country.

## PROBLEMS OF ENCLAVES

As a legacy of the partition of the country and also due to later merger of the princely state of Cooch Behar with Indian Union certain isolated areas of Indian Union are within Bangladesh (previously Pakistan) and similarly certain isolated areas of Bangladesh are within Indian Union. There are 130 Indian enclaves within Bangladesh and 95 Bangladeshi enclaves within Indian Union.

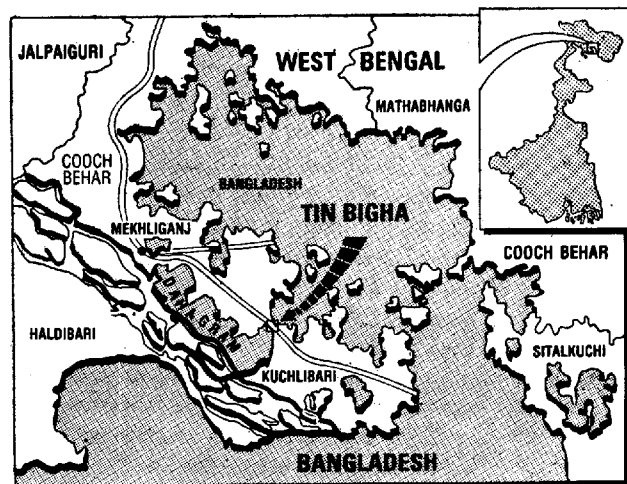
The people of these enclaves belonging to both the countries face tremendous difficulties in their day-to-day life. Firstly, as they live in the enclaves surrounded by a foreign country, they are compelled to go to the court, offices and other places of work in the mainland through the foreign country and they are required to take permission of the foreign country for that purpose. Secondly, as they are in isolated pockets, they are deprived of any development work. Thirdly, there is no security to the people of these enclaves as no administration worth its sort is there. And fourthly, for sheer survival the people of these enclaves are forced to build up social and economic ties with the people of the adjoining foreign country, which are again not legal. The administrators of both the countries enter and go out of these enclaves with the escort of the country surrounding that respective enclave whenever the necessity arises.

The people of the enclaves belonging to both the countries have been somehow surviving amidst total insecurity and uncertainty because of all these hazards and these problems were not solved even

after so many years of independence. The problem of enclaves can be resolved in a straight way by exchanging the 130 Indian enclaves within Bangladesh with the 95 Bangladeshi enclaves within Indian Union and making necessary arrangement for rehabilitation of these people who are willing to migrate. Some extra area will then go to Bangladesh but none should mind that in consideration of the permanent solution to the enclave problem and also for maintaining good friendly relation with neighbouring Bangladesh.

But curiously we note that such a simple and straightforward approach was never made for resolving the enclave problem and the rulers of both the countries have always been making this problem further complicated by incorporating other issue with the problem of enclaves. In 1953 an agreement was concluded between India and Pakistan and this is known as the Nehru-Noon Pact. In this pact though it was

version of the Nehru-Noon agreement inasmuch as it was conceded that Bangladesh would get Tin Bigha Corridor to connect Dahagram and Angarpota two enclaves of Bangladesh in lieu of Berubari. According to the provision of the Nehru-Noon Pact these two enclaves are to merge with Indian Union in the process of exchange of enclaves and so the question of any corridor does not arise. Thus it is apparent that in lieu of Berubari, Dahagram and Angarpota, are to be retained by Bangladesh and Tin Bigha corridor is to be handed over to Bangladesh for establishing link between these two enclaves and mainland of Bangladesh. Thus the problem of Berubari of Jalpaiguri district created by Pandit Nehru is shifted to Tin Bigha of Cooch Behar district and the problem of enclaves are made further complicated with the possible creation of a newer enclave viz. Kuchlibari which is at present connected with Indian Union through Tin Bigha. The geographical



agreed that these enclaves will be exchanged between India and Pakistan, in another clause it was incorporated that southern portion of Berubari of Indian Union would be handed over to Pakistan. But Berubari is not an enclave and neither it is involved in boundary dispute. So the people resisted the move of the government to transfer an undisputed land to Pakistan and even a unanimous resolution was adopted in the West Bengal Assembly against this move. It was because of this popular resistance movement and also later political developments like Sino-Indian boundary conflict and Indo-Pak war that the Nehru-Noon Pact could not be implemented.

A new agreement was however concluded in 1974 after the emergence of Bangladesh between Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the then President of Bangladesh. This agreement was nothing but a modified

location of Kuchlibari area is that it is surrounded by Bangladesh on three sides i.e. on south, north and east and on the west side of this lies Tin Bigha and Dahagram and Angarpota. So at present the west side of Kuchlibari is well protected. But as soon as these two enclaves are connected with the mainland of Bangladesh through Tin Bigha corridor, Bangladesh government will set up administration over there and Kuchlibari area will be trapped in the newly created enclave. The people of this area resisted this move of the transfer of Tin Bigha and Shri Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal, who took the responsibility on the advice of Smt. Indira Gandhi of handing over Tin Bigha failed to do so despite applying brutal force and even killing one peasant, Sudhir Roy, by the Left Front Government.

(Contd. on page 6)

## Mandir-Masjid Controversy

### Slogan of building mandir again an election ploy of BJP

Thanks to big boosts received in the last two successive Lok Sabha Polls held in 1989 and 1991 through arch communal politics, the BJP now can ill-afford to leave in default any election—be it Assembly, Lok Sabha poll or for that a bye-election—without repealing a mileage through practice of the same heinous communal politics. That's why, on the eve of November 16 byelection the thrust of its politics rests surrounding the ill-famous Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhomi dispute as well. Following this trail of communal politics it went whole hog to demonstrate that it is keen to fulfil its promise in the last Lok Sabha Polls by removing all obstacles on the way of construction of Ram temple at the site of the disputed Babri Masjid at Ayodhya even through stealthy means.

With this end in view, the BJP government of UP led by the Chief Minister Mr. Kalyan Singh has come out with a government notification dated 12.10.91 to acquire 2.77 acres of land in and around the Babri Masjid - Ramjanmabhoomi area, which the Babri Masjid Action Committee and almost the entire press media described as graveyard plots. Close on the heels of the notification followed the demolition of some

structures and hoisting of saffron flags atop the dome of the Masjid at Ayodhya by the VHP-Bajrang Dal combine while the acquisition process of land was on.

Accusing the BJP government in UP of violating the law of the land in acquiring properties in front of the disputed place of worship as well as allowing the stealthy means of activists of the VHP-Bajrang Dal combine to demolish structures of the Masjid, our party, the SUCI, including other Left, democratic parties and secular forces demanded immediate restoration of the status quo ante as on 30th October with regard to acquisition of land near the disputed Mandir-Masjid plot.

It is worth mentioning in this context that in 1990 the VP Singh Government also attempted to acquire these plots through an Ordinance, but it had to backtrack in the face of opposition from the VHP and other occupants. Strangely enough, the same BJP-VHP combine is now welcoming it because the present Act has been performed by their own government. As press reports go, the VHP activists have already acquired and taken possession forcibly of many houses and surrounding small temples or "persuading" their owners to sell the plots. Then again reports came out to

the effect that to keep temple construction unhindered, the VHP group began organising a 40-day Bajrang Yagna, but suddenly on October 12, it changed its declared site of the yagna. The reason behind such change, the press report goes, was in order to keep the progress in construction work of the temple beyond the visibility of the Press and the public alike. Needless to say, it was intended that by the time any court injunction vis a vis popular public opinion against this stealthy act comes in the way, the destruction of the place and primary construction would be presented as a fait accompli.

Thus, it becomes crystal clear, on the one hand that the new notification is a flagrant violation of all previous status quo orders of the court of law with regard to Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid shrine as well as 23 other disputed plots of land and, on the other, the BJP government of UP is moving hand in glove with the VHP-Bajrang Dal combine to defy all court orders in their mischief making spree.

What all this gimmicks suggest is that there is nothing religiosity about the issue as is well known to any well-meaning person. It is more a contrived political slogan which has suited the BJP to the utmost. Although the VHP

has been trying all along to keep the tempo of its agitation at feverish pitch through yagnas and sadhu sammelans of medieval type. Still then, the VHP-Bajrang Dal combine's decision not to plunge headlong into the frenzied action of the worst kind as seen in October last year and instead attempt to a clandestine operation with the BJP Government of the UP corroborates the heinous political design behind this gimmick. It does not follow from it that the BJP and its allies would prefer not to violate the law of the land, even if violently as witnessed last year, and in future rather for a handful of by-elections, they would hardly take such a major risk. It is therefore obvious that the BJP would instead prefer to keep this option open for the run-up to the next general election, when they need another outburst of communal passion and emotions to seize the gaddi in Delhi. Besides, one can hardly miss to note the consensus politics now in force at the national level in which the BJP is very much a partner. It is this contradiction which gets corroborated in the National Integration Council Meeting held on November 3 where the BJP in the consensus resolution committed to abide by the judgement of the Allahabad High Court on this long-drawn disputed issue. And that is why we see how nicely apron-string operation of Mr L K Advani made the Chief Minister

of UP to commit to the very principle adopted in consensus in the NIC meet barring the VHP representative.

In the pages of this paper, in quite a number of articles earlier, we have elaborately dealt with the issues involved in the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi Temple issue with special emphasis on its historical roots and the solution such a vexed problem called for. Even then, we cannot forget for a moment that the communalism of today in our body politic has assumed a much bigger proportion and at the same time distinctly a different dimension than what it was in the past when the communal clashes broke out more often than not. It then occurred between different communities centring round some distrust or ill-feeling or for some difference of opinion or misunderstanding or behind the screen role played by the vested interests. But now communal politics has been institutionalised and the police, civil administration and the parliamentary political parties are directly involved in its obnoxious practice and frequent engineering of communal riots. To say the least, communal politics has become the core of the ruling class.

In such a critical juncture of our time, we must have to get rid of this conspiracy of the ruling class to keep the religiously susceptible common people enmeshed in

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## FROM THE PAGES ABROAD

This piece is the exact reproduction of the Editorial of THE LENINIST (16 October, 1991), central organ of the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, condemning the imperialist-counter-revolutionary onslaughts and expressing solidarity with Cuba which stands for socialism and proletarian internationalism braving all intrigues and threats of the imperialists and their henchman Gorbachev-Yeltsin counter-revolutionary clique.—Editor, P. Era.

Socialist Cuba is now in the frontline of the world revolution. Imperialism is just waiting for the right moment to pounce on Cuba and convert it back into a neo-colonial warehouse. The counter-revolutionaries in Moscow have done everything to help out—help out imperialism, that is. Gorbachev has withdrawn troops and the nuclear umbrella. Yeltsin is even more servile. He wants to prove his loyalty to his imperialist masters by helping them bring down Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba.

The immediate threat to Cuba is economic. Cut off from its natural US trading partner by almost three decades of blockade, Cuba survived by developing ties with far off Eastern Europe and the USSR. Now, with the collapse of the socialist bloc and the restoration of capitalism, Cuba's economy has been thrown into crisis. Trade will now be at 'world market' prices, ie at prices which amount to the plundering of Cuba, reflecting as they do the unequal terms of trade between imperialism and the

oppressed countries of the world.

What the US plans is that, under ever greater economic pressure and depravation, sections of the Cuban population will become restless and disaffected. Then, using "dissidents" like the Cuban Political Rights Association, it aims to create some sort of a Tiananmen Square 'excuse' it needs to stage a new, and this time successful, Bay of Pigs invasion.

It is against this backdrop that Communist Party of Cuba meets in congress. Not surprisingly it has been called "the most important meeting in Cuba this century". Obviously no exaggeration. The communists of Cuba have to chart a revolutionary strategy in the most difficult of conditions that will combine the most flexible tactics, without for one moment jeopardising the country's independence and socialism.

It is quite understandable that the comrades want to use every diplomatic device available, try and boost tourism and seek out new avenues for trade. This is necessary and right. However, the most powerful weapon in the hands of the

Cuban revolution is proletarian internationalism.

Over the years Cuba has played an outstanding and honourable role in the world revolution; many of its sons and daughters have given their lives for revolutions in far off places, not least Ernesto Che Guevara. Now is the time for the revolutionary movement to repay its debt to Cuba.

What is needed is the broadest, most powerful, most militant solidarity movement with Cuba. The perfect model for this is the Hands Off Russia campaign which saved the young Soviet Republic from certain death.

Of course this will be no easy matter. Today we are living in the midst of a period of reaction, not revolution. The bourgeois beast is full of aggressive self-confidence and all sorts of 'leftists' and 'socialists' are scurrying for cover. In Britain most 'revolutionary' organisations joined the monster in celebrating the "collapse of communism" in Eastern Europe and the USSR. In this miserable spirit some have already let it be known that they will not lift a finger to help socialist Cuba, not only the likes of the SWP and Socialist Organiser, but the 'official communist' Euros.

At the Euros' September 14-15 Executive Committee meeting their Chris Myant did everything he could

to heap slander and abuse on Cuba and its intransigent leadership. According to this maggot: "Cuba now faces its 'Cambodian option' as Castro and his colleagues try to batten down the economic hatches. His sneering at the drift and change in the Soviet Union now looks like what it was, a silly attempt to defy the inevitable. Silly because the Cuban miracle, for all its elan, its hope and its sparkle could never have got off the ground had it not been for the massive and constant Soviet subsidy. The boast of a third world country that had achieved first world infant mortality rates through its socialism was based on the backing of a supposedly developed country that had achieved third world infant mortality rates through its 'socialism'" (*Changes*, September 28, 1991).

Lies, lies, lies! Cuba wants to expand its overseas contacts and is certainly not set on a Pol Pot-type genocide of its own people. It is imperialism that wants to strangle Cuba and carpet bomb its population. And whatever the Euros say, there is nothing "inevitable" about counterrevolution, nor is it "silly" to resist it.

The comrades in Cuba can rest assured that we will expose and destroy the opportunists who are lining up with the enemy class in the name of "socialist democracy" and "workers' liberty". Class conscious workers in Britain will treat these people with the contempt they deserve and rally in defence of socialist Cuba. Heroic Cuba must not stand alone, it will not stand alone! Imperialist hands off Cuba! Venceremos!

### *Mandir-Masjid Issue*

(Contd. from Page 4)  
communal passion, malice and all that arising out of sordid game of communal politics practised by parliamentary parties including the CPI and the CPI(M). The people will have to realise that apart from exigency of the election politics, there is a far more sordid design behind this move to keep alive the controversy on Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid while the entire country is groaning under capitalist exploitation, grinding poverty, acute unemployment, starvation, and such other burning issues tormenting the social life. The recently

passed Religious Precincts Act in the last session of the Parliament to maintain 1947 status quo of all the religious premises keeping only the Babri masjid out of its purview speaks eloquently of the sordid design of the ruling class to keep the issue alive for using it in exigency. To fight against these oppressions and exploitations, against illiteracy, attack on democratic rights, vicious corruption and moral depravity all around, we think, should be the prime consideration of the people. The ruling class wants to keep the people divided so

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## *Uphold Unity and Brotherhood between India and Bangladesh in resisting Tin Bigha transfer*

(Contd. from page 3)

In view of this situation, Smt. Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister and H. M. Ershad, the then President of Bangladesh reviewed the Indira-Mujib accord in 1982 and a joint declaration was issued. In this declaration the Indira-Mujib agreement was mainly endorsed with certain additions on some measures of security and the provision of the right of Indian Union to construct one overbridge over or a subway under the corridor of Tin Bigha, proposed to be handed over on long term lease to Bangladesh. The government could not implement the accord so long because of court cases, but as soon as the court cases are over, the Central and State Governments have been taking new initiatives for the transfer of this Tin Bigha Corridor.

Though it has been decided that there will be an overbridge over this Tin Bigha Corridor in the Indira Ershad agreement, it will be seen on closer analysis that it will not materially change the status of an enclave for Kuchlibari area. Similar will be the fate of the two Bangladeshi enclaves, Dahagram and Angarpota which are proposed to be connected through Tin Bigha Corridor with Bangladesh. So both India and Bangladesh will face similar problems in ensuring border security for these areas which will remain virtually enclaves despite thread-like links with the respective main land.

Besides, this proposed Corridor and the overbridge over this Corridor will ever remain a sensitive area providing scope to the reactionary rulers of both the countries to whip up tension and hostility between the people of India and the people of Bangladesh according to their exigency. So no well-meaning person can lend support to this proposed transfer of Tin Bigha.

It is to be noted that the proposal of transfer of enclaves was accepted in principle to solve the problems of enclaves. But this proposed Tin Bigha Corridor created virtually new enclaves viz. Kuchlibari of Indian Union and Dahagram and Angarpota of Bangladesh. So in one clause of the accord the enclaves are proposed to be abolished and in another clause of the same accord new enclaves are created. Had there been total exchanges of enclaves with the provision of rehabilitating those who are willing to migrate no such problems would have arisen.

A delegation of our party met Shri Jyoti Basu on 31st October last and handed him over a memorandum containing three suggestions viz. (1) Immediate postponement of the transfer of Tin Bigha; (2) Immediate convening of an all-party meeting on this issue and a special session of the West Bengal Assembly; (3) All-party delegation to the Central Government to

apprise it of the mistake of the Indira-Mujib accord and the real state of affairs of the locality. The Kuchlibari Tin Bigha Sangram Committee demonstrated on November 2 last in Calcutta against the transfer of Tin Bigha and a delegation of the said committee submitted a memorandum to the Governor of West Bengal with more or less similar demands.

Now let us examine the question about the commitment to an international agreement on which Shri Jyoti Basu is now so much vocal. We like to categorically state that if any international agreement goes against the interest of the people, that agreement has got to be opposed. Was not the Nehru-Noon Agreement an International Agreement? Why this Agreement was modified to the Indira-Mujib Accord? Again why this Indira-Mujib Accord was replaced by the Indira-Ershad Accord? Shri Jyoti Basu himself opposed the Nehru-Noon Agreement of 1958. Opposing this international agreement Shri Jyoti Basu, the then leader of the Opposition in West Bengal Assembly, said on the floor of the House on 29th December 1960: "We have come to an agreement and I have to honour the agreement. If I have made a mistake I can be censured. But I have got to honour it. Is it a reason? An autocratic ruler might say this. Preposterous! The question of prestige...I for one do not find any sense in it. Am I to suppose that the question of Pandit Nehru's prestige would be of the greatest importance?...He might tell the authorities in Pakistan that he has made a mistake on the basis of wrong information. He might as well have started a fresh negotiation with them on this ground."

But the same Jyoti Basu is today saying just the reverse of what he said in the West Bengal Assmly in 1960. At that time he strongly advocated for initiating dialogue with the authorities of Pakaistan for modification of the Nehru-Noon pact; but today he is stressing on the commitment in an international agreement. Today he is saying that there is no problem in enclaves. But in the same 1960 Assembly speech he stated: "...It is not possible for any country to carry on administration in an enclave. It is not possible for Pakistan either. An enclave means an area of land surrounded by another 'dominion'. It is something like island". But today the enclave poses no problem to Shri Jyoti Basu as the Chief Minister of West Bengal. The State Government has come out with the proposal of a package deal on various development works in the Kuchlibari area and the Centre has also come out with assurances of administrative measures to deal with the problems of the area. But how can the day-to-day problems in the life of the people

in an enclave be solved by such development works or such administrative measures? These talks are quite irrelevant to the point at issue and meant only to confuse the people.

The State Government has been pressing now that the sovereignty of Indian Union over Tin Bigha will remain as this area will be leased to Bangladesh on a long term basis. Again, Shri Ramesh Bhandari, the Union Minister of State for External Affairs, objected to the terms 'transfer' or 'handover' as Tin Bigha Corridor will be leased out to Bangladesh. But whom do the State and Central Governments want to befool in unison? All discernible people know that in the accord it has been clearly stated that the Tin Bigha Corridor will be leased out to Bangladesh and Indian sovereignty over the area will remain. So the term 'transfer' or 'handover' that is used in this connection means 'transfer on lease' or 'handover on lease'. So long as the relation between India and Bangladesh remains friendly, this agreement will be alright, but if the relation between the two countries is strained for any reason whatsoever, India will try to assert its sovereignty right and Bangladesh at the same time will try to assert its lessee right. And this is likely to create tension and hostility between the people of the two countries.

When the problem is so serious affecting the life of nearly 40 000 people and permanently creating a very sensitive zone for probable future international tension and hostility, Shri Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, is going whole hog to implement this transfer, caring a whit about the strong voice of protest against this move. He has not even taken the Assembly into confidence; neither has he convened all-Party meeting to discuss this issue even though there is a precedence regarding the Berubari issue which was discussed thoroughly in the West Bengal Assembly, when a unanimous resolution was adopted against the transfer of Berubari and an all-party delegation went to the Centre to stall the transfer. Shri Jyoti Basu, on the other hand, is going to implement this transfer depending only on administrative measures. The reason for this volte-face of Shri Jyoti Basu and his present adamant attitude is not far to seek. The Indian capitalist class is after the exploitation of the market of Bangladesh and so conceding small concessions here and there. The transfer of Tin Bigha is one such concession. And Shri Jyoti Basu in serving the interest of the Indian monopoly houses is brushing aside all opposition in transferring Tin Bigha with the help of administration alone.

It is apprehended that this step of the government has given a handle to the communal and divisive forces who will try to capitalise the issue. The BJP is also opposing this transfer of Tin Bigha and it is getting wide publicity in the Press and

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## The Message

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including those of Great Lenin are being demolished. The much-vaunted 'glasnost' has now come out in its true colours. Similarly, the real character of the so-called 'perestroika' is showing through runaway inflation, mounting prices, soaring unemployment, acute food crisis and the Soviet Union now needs financial aid from those very imperialist powers which once were dwarfed by the superiority of Soviet economic and social system. The inevitable consequences of deviating from the path of the November Revolution are there. Hence, the task before the genuine communists of these countries and the world over is to close up their ranks, and undertake an intense ideological battle to expose all varieties of revisionism and neo-revisionism and of perestroika and glasnost in particular, in order to release a worldwide counter current of revolutionary movements and to resist the onslaughts of the capitalist-imperialists, particularly US imperialists, on the people everywhere.

Let there be no forgetting that capitalism everywhere, including in the erstwhile socialist countries, inexorably intensifies class contradiction, class conflicts and endemic crisis, brining the hour of its doom nearer. Capitalism can nowhere escape this inevitable inherent contradiction which prepares the objective condition for the outbreak of the proletarian revolution. The onward transition to communism through anti-capitalist socialist revolution is, therefore, the ultimate destiny of mankind.

But I repeat, every revolution presupposes the correct realisation of the revolutionary theory, correct base political line and the necessary cultural revolution in order to rally the masses in its favour and after the seizure of power. It requires both before the building up of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party following scientific methodology which would lead the struggle of the class and the masses on the edifice of higher proletarian ethics and culture and ultimately give birth to their own alternative political power. In course of fulfilling these essential pre-conditions, revolution would inevitably break out in one country after another and no force in the world could stall this historical process.

Such are the lessons to be drawn in the light of the teachings of the Great November Revolution. Let the experience of temporary setback steel the genuine communists in advancing the cause of communism and proletarian internationalism towards its final victory.

Long Live Great November Revolution !

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism !

Long Live Marxism-Leninism !

Sd/- NIHAR MUKHERJEE  
General Secretary  
S U C I

## TIN BIGHA

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other media. But our position and that of the BJP are diametrically opposite. The BJP is after creating a national jingoistic feeling, after communalizing the issue and permanently perpetuating and widening the divide between the people. The BJP is trying to pose itself as the champion of Indian sovereignty. It is demanding the posting of Indian Army, but the posting of the army cannot solve the day-to-day problems of the people of the area. As a matter of fact, the BJP is not at all concerned about the burning problems confronting the people in their daily life. Since the Central minority government is run on the basis of consensus politics, the tacit support of the BJP is there to the government and so the BJP's opposition to Tin Bigha transfer is nothing but pressure politics and it only wants to fish in troubled waters, whereas our party is organising movement on this issue with the object of resolving the burning problems confronting the day-to-day life of the people, cementing the unity of the people, strengthening amity and brotherhood between the people of the two countries for releasing a tide of mass movement and

upholding the banner of Leftism. Attempts may be made through the media to confuse the people that since both the BJP and our party are in the movement the aim of both is the same. But as shown above, the content and the angularity between the movements by our party and that by the BJP are diametrically opposite.

In fine, we like to draw the attention of the people to the fact that the ruling classes of both India and the Bangladesh are not at all eager to resolve the enclave problem and try to keep it alive to derive dividend out of the same according to their suitability. As already stated, this problem of Tin Bigha would not have arisen if the enclaves were totally exchanged between the two countries and the people willing to migrate were rehabilitated. This cannot however materialise because of the sinister design of the ruling classes of both the countries. We appeal to the people to build up militant mass movement by cementing the unity of the people in order to give defeat to the design of the reactionary, communal and divisive forces and strengthening the unity, friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of India and Bangladesh to compel their respective authorities to give up the move for transfer of Tin Bigha.

## Great November Revolution Day

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Like all other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties our party's Central Committee called upon the party workers and the working class to observe this historic occasion with greater emphasis and solemnity. All the State Committees were instructed to pay a guard-of-honour to the great leaders of the communist movement, organise literary campaigns extensively and intensively, reeducate ourselves by inculcating the teachings of the stalwarts of the communist movement particularly of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist leaders of the present time and the founder General Secretary of our party, who enriched the international communist movement by providing the correct guidelines to fight against revisionism in the post-Lenin period.

Elaborating the newer significance the 74th Anniversary of Great November Revolution had assumed this year Comrade Nihar Mukherjee our beloved General Secretary has sent a message to all

the State Committees which would be read out in all the mass meetings on this occasion.

Accordingly, like all other State Committees the West Bengal State Committee of the party took up programmes, among other things, of wearing the badge of Lenin along with that of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, presenting guard-of-honour to the memory of Marx, Engels and Lenin in front of their statues in Calcutta, conducting literary campaigns, holding a mass meeting to be held on 17th November at Esplanade East, Calcutta; and making drives for pin-flag collection.

On the morning of 7th November, volunteers and people of all walks of life assembled near the Martyr's Column of Madhai Haldar who fell to the bullets of Left Front's police last year on August 31st on Rani Rashmoni Road while he was participating in a mass low violation programme against rise in transport fares and prices of essential commodities. At about 8.30 p m

volunteers in uniform from several mass organisation—UTUC(LS), AIK-KMS, AIDS, AIDYO, MSS, Medical Unit, Teachers' Unit—and the Komsomol and the Pioneers began their march to the joint statue of Marx Engels at Surendranath Park with 74 members of the Pioneers symbolising the 74th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution marching in the front of all the troops each carrying bouquets of red roses. Before that moved a well-decorated tableau placed on a matador van. In front of the matador van was being carried a huge ornamental torch under which was written in bold and attractive letters the slogan: BURN INTO ASHES CAPITALISM-REVISIONISM IN THE BLAZING FLAMES OF NOVEMBER REVOLUTION followed by a huge banner with the slogan: LONG LIVE GREAT NOVEMBER REVOLUTION. From on the matador van was being spelt out the signifi-

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## Great November Revolution Day



Pioneers with bouquettes in hand marching on Calcutta street on 7th November towards the statue of Lenin following the tableau symbolising the flames of November Revolution.

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cance of observance of November Revolution and our party's programme. After the Pioneers marched the Komsomol squads, each squad carrying the huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh one after another. Next came the Band Squad, then the MSS contingent, 3 contingents of DSO and then another tableau placed on another matador van. All this marching to the tune of the Internationale and the song composed on Comrade Lenin. Then more DSO troops and thereafter 74 volunteers carrying 74 dazzling huge

red flags symbolising 74th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution. All marched with solemnity, vigour and resolve to the tune of the band squad. In the end were people from all strata—workers, peasants, students, youths, teachers, office employees, women and children marching in step.

On reaching the foot of the joint statue of Marx-Engels all stood in formation and raising the red flags paid red salute to Marx and Engels. After that the leaders one after another placed wreaths of red roses at the foot of the statue. First to place was Comrade

Anil Sen on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, then Comrade Provash Ghosh, member Central Committee and Secretary W.B. State Committee of the party; Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, CC; and All India General Secretary UTUC (LS), Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member, WB State Secretariat and Secretary, Calcutta District Committee of the party, Comrade Fatik Ghosh, member WB State Secretariat of the party and General Secretary UTUC (LS) WB State Committee, Comrade Pratiba Mukherjee, member, WB State Secretariat of the party,

on behalf of the AIKK-MS, Comrade Gayatri Dasgupta, Secretary, MSS WB State Committee, Comrade Rabin Samajpati, General Secretary, AIDS Comrade Bhaskar Gupta for WB Unit of the DYU, Comrade Subir Basu Roy for Teachers Unit, Comrade Asok Samanta for Medical Unit and Comrade Subhendu Chatterjee on behalf of the Komsomol. Thereafter the volunteers and others paid the red salute to the two epoch-making geniuses—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The entire contingent followed by the people from all walks of life moved back to reach the

statue of Lenin. On their way the volunteers paid red salute to the martyr's column of Comrade Madhai Halder. After reaching the destination the 74 Pioneers entered the encircling around the statue of Comrade Lenin and, paid their floral tributes with red salute to the great leader of the proletariat while other squads of the contingent stood outside with the shining red flags on their shoulder in troop formation. Then one after another leaders—Comrades Anil Sen, Tapas Dutta, Provash Ghosh, Manik Mukherjee, Fatik Ghosh, Pratiba Mukherjee, Gayatri Dasgupta, Rabin Samajpati, Bhaskar Gupta, Subir Basu Roy, Asok Samanta and Subhendu Chatterjee placed wreaths of red roses at the foot of the statue of Lenin at Esplanade East. Again the total contingent and the vast gathering paid red salute to Lenin. The music squad then sang song on Comrade Lenin and then the Internationale.

Thereafter all the troops and the people marched through Lenin Sarani and reached Raja Subodh Mullick Square and dispersed while of the two tableaux one left towards south Calcutta another to north Calcutta singing and propagating the significance of 7th November.

### Mandir-Masjid

(Contd. from page 5)  
that they cannot unleash united movement against this exploitative and oppressive rule. Herein lies the grand design of the ruling class to keep alive the temple-mosque controversy as long as possible. Should we fall prey to this design of the ruling class. Should not we unmask the grand

design of the ruling class and their henchmen, the parties playing the policies of consensus in giving a fresh lease of life to the moribund capitalism? Should we not expose the parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI who chanting the slogans of leftism have become the part and parcel of this establishment and hence unanimously supported this Bill?

Coming to a close,

we reiterate our stand and appeal to the people in general and well-meaning, Left and democratic parties and forces in particular, to compel the government to yield to the suggestion made by the "well-meaning people of both the communities for transformation of the Babri Masjid into a national monument." This suggestion is most reasonable and befitting

### Bandh in Barak Valley

Silchar (Assam): In protest against the hike in private bus fares in the Barak one as this has behind it a historical precedent as well. We think it the only sensible course which alone can satisfy the urges and aspirations of both the community involved in in this entangle without injuring their religious sentiment.

Valley, the SUCI called upon the people to observe a 12-hour bandh in the valley on November 1 to register their protest against the Congress(I) state government's decision. Foiling all attempts of the ruling class and its government the people observed a total bandh by bringing normal life to a grinding halt.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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