

Call For Patriotic Front To CPI, CPI (M)

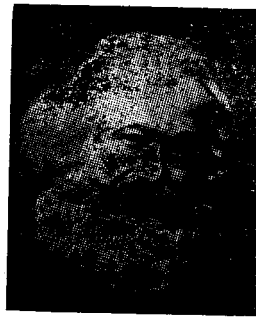
The AICC(I) held a meeting at Bombay on October 20-21 last. At the meeting, the participants led by Smt. Gandhi emphasised upon the imminent threat from neighbouring countries, especially Pakistan, in a concerted manner. The resolution adopted on international situation was characterised by an undisguised warning to Pakistan lest it should dare to attack India.

Is this apprehension about a Pakistani attack genuine and based on the realities of the situation? What are the facts? If Pakistan has been procuring warplanes and armaments from the USA has not the Indian Government been engaged in a continuous military buildup for long on a much bigger scale? As it is, the Indian armed force is the fourth largest in the world, its army, navy and air wings being far larger than and superior to those of Pakistan as has been amply demonstrated during the 1965 and 1971 wars. As if this is not enough, the staggering sum of Rs 5971 crore has been earmarked for defence in the 1983-84 budget alone in this poor country of ours

where the majority of the people cannot secure two square meals a day. Indian capacity of indigenous production of armaments, tanks and warplanes is unmatched in this region of the globe. Even this is not all. The Indian Government seldom misses any opportunity of procuring latest armament and military hardware from whichever quarter it can, be it the imperialist countries headed by the USA or socialist countries like the Soviet Union. When Mr. George Shultze, the US Secretary of State visited India last, procurement of war equipment was discussed with him along with other things. Just after that, Defence Minister Venkat-

raman made a trip to Soviet Union when he secured military assistance worth Rs 5000 crore including advanced missiles, warplanes and tanks. Already, arrangements have been made for the indigenous manufacture of the most advanced Soviet warplane MIG 27. Besides, procurement and production of French Mirage 2000 advanced strike aircraft is under negotiation. Jaguar aircraft has been a recent acquisition from England and the current shopping list from that country includes Harrier aircrafts and the deadly Sea Eagle missiles. On his return from a tour of Europe, the Indian Defence Minister told the press on November 17 last that there were offers from Britain, France, Sweden and Austria to transfer the latest technology to India to develop and produce sophisticated fighter planes, tanks, artillery, radar and

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.....the working class cannot simply lay hold of the readymade state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralized state power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour, originates from the days of absolute monarchy.

Assam State Committee of SUCI Resolution on Political Situation in Assam

An extended meeting of the Assam State Committee of the S.U.C.I. held on 23rd Nov. '83 at Gauhati, conducted by Com. Asit Bhattacharyya, the secretary of the state committee of the party, discussed the latest political situation of the state and unanimously adopted the following resolution :

Assam State Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre Of India notes with deep concern that all sections of the people of Assam are to-day faced with an extremely unbearable economic situation. The prices of food grains along with all other essential commodities have been increasing by leaps and bounds in an unabated manner far exceeding the purchasing capacity of the people due to the machinations of the profit mongering capitalists, the corrupt businessmen, the black marketeers, the speculators and the hoarders. Let alone bringing anti-people forces to book, the administrative machinery of the Government is found to be in league with them. The policy of procurement of food grains by the Government which was under taken under public pressure has also been

abandoned as a result of which the dishonest businessmen, profiteers and hoarders have established their absolute control over the foodgrains market. The public distribution system through which the foodgrains and other essential commodities were being distributed in towns and villages began to break down since the beginning of the President's rule in Assam. Irregular supply and the supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities unfit for human consumption have been continuing in the same manner even under the present regime of the Congress (I). On this crucial question, the criminal negligence of the present Congress (I) Government is one of the vital causes of the acute soaring price rise.

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'Marx Fair'—CPI (M) Way of Observing Marx Death Centenary

Lakhs of printed photographs of Marx were pasted all around the city. Decorated posters, festoons and streamers abounded in number. Plays, films, music and other cultural performances were also there to attract the audience. Of course speeches in two sets of forums—mass meetings on Maidan and seminars in the Rabindra Sadan auditorium—had also been arranged to deliberate on —no, not on Marx on whose name all these poms and grandeurs were centred but on everything else or on some specific things that could hardly be associated with the name of Marx. This is how the CPI(M) observed the Karl Marx Death Centenary in Calcutta under the auspices of its W. B. State Committee.

will observe such occasions is its own business and of no body else. What its leaders will say on such occasions is also their affair. But when a party that claims itself to be Marxist-Leninist observes the death centenary of a man with whose name is inextricably linked up the dawn of a new era, the proletarian era, the great legacy of a new civilisation, new culture before humanity created over the preceding hundred years,—it no longer remains its exclusive affair. And anybody really and sincerely interested in this legacy cannot but closely and keenly observe what it says and does. We, as the real representative of the Indian proletariat, also did observe. What we witnessed there demands a critical judgement.

It was quite natural for some of the left minded

circle within and outside the party to expect that the leaders who addressed would deal with the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism as well as the lessons of the unique revolutionary life and struggle of Marx, and correlate them with the concrete problems of the workers, peasants, students, youths and people at large of our country. Right or wrong, whatever their analyses would be on such points, it would at least reflect a sincere desire to commemorate the great man in the proper manner. But contrary to all expectations, all the CPI(M) leaders chose two themes to dwell on: the danger of the Soviet Union being attacked by the USA, and the expanding area of agreement of the CPI(M) with Indira Gandhi and her Government. Thus, it was

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How a political party

Proletarian Era

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Resolution on political situation in Assam

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The unemployment problem in rural and urban areas is gradually becoming more acute. Although the favourable conditions for setting up of industries at different places in the state which alone can alleviate the acute problem exists, still no sincere and serious effort is being witnessed in this direction. Situation has become so worse that to get a job in a Government and semi-Government establishment to-day depends on how much one can afford to bribe. The important industries setup under the state sector having tremendous possibilities are turning into losing concerns due to the corruption and inefficiency of the management and many of them are being closed down or threatened with closure one after another. Giving loud assurance to reopen the factories, the Government is doing nothing concrete in this regard. Due to the all out exploitation of the capitalist class, famine condition exists in different rural areas. But notwithstanding this critical situation no extensive relief measures are being taken to alleviate the people's sufferings; test relief works virtually remain suspended for a long period. Administrative corruption has assumed an alarming dimension. As a result, for a common man it has become impossible to get justice from the administration. Let alone controlling this rampant corruption, under the present Congress(I) Government no effort is being made to check this rampant corruption, instead it is making further inroad into different departments; even at the highest level of the administration, ugly mani-

festation of this corruption is being witnessed. As a result of this the people of Assam are faced to-day with an unprecedented crisis.

The worst aspect of this situation is that, what ever united mass resistance movement could have been developed against the exploitation of the capitalist class and the misrule of the ruling parties earlier, with the beginning of the Assam agitation which brought in its wake worst form of fratricidal conflicts and divisive and separatist mentality even that has become now impossible. It cannot be denied that the fears and apprehensions injected amongst the Assamese speaking people by the Assam movement still persists. Again not only the Assamese speaking people but the Assam agitation has given birth to many apprehensions in the minds of the linguistic and religious minorities too. What is more, taking advantage of prevailing rift between the majority Assamese speaking people and the vast number of minorities, the ruling Congress(I) ministry has been on the one hand trying to widen this rift and on the other hand, snatching away the democratic rights of the toiling people of Assam through promulgation of dangerous fascistic laws; highhandedness of the police and bureaucrats is increasing and a state of undeclared emergency has engulfed the state.

We are firmly of the view that the only way to put an end to this unbearable condition is to build up series of mighty democratic movements against the Congress(I) Government both at the centre and at the state one after another, based on the

minimum demand of all sections of the toiling people of the state. Needless to say that a just solution of the Assam problem is extremely urgent in order to create the situation favourable for the growth and development of this legitimate democratic movements. Again to achieve this end a concrete formula acceptable to all sections of the people of the state will have to be expounded. People of Assam are, perhaps aware of the fact that on behalf of the Assam state committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), we as early as in January, 1980 by way of finding out a just solution of the problem expounded a four point formula which stated that firstly, the international border should be so maintained as to be free from the danger of all sorts of illegal clandestine infiltration from across the border. Secondly the present status of the Assamese language as the state language of Assam should be made permanent by suitable legislation by the Parliament retaining at the same time the constitutional rights of the linguistic minorities. Thirdly, with a view to mitigating the fast growing unemployment problem a definite scheme for setting up important industries in different parts of Assam as a part of the solution should also be declared and fourthly if all these proposals are conceded to as an essential part of the solution then there is no difficulty in accepting 1971 as the cut off year and all should agree on this point.

It may be mentioned here that not only the Assamese speaking people but also the minorities enthusiastically welcomed

these proposals at that time. But it is a matter of regret that the central Government could not be compelled to accept this four point formula as almost all the political parties of the state and the leaders of the agitations failed to comprehend the justification, importance and significance of these proposals.

Afterwards chauvinists and the communalists and the secessionist forces posing as the friends of the Assamese speaking people pushed the agitation to destructive path with a view to fulfilling their respective designs and thereby helped the Congress(I) on one hand to give birth to other parochial and communal forces and on the other utilised the apprehensions and fears of the minorities to turn the election into a farce to capture power in a foul manner. We also observe with much regret that the AASU leaders fallen victims to wrong ideology, also have failed to realise the significance of our four point formula. Needless to say that the root cause of this failure lies in their inability to correctly realise the hopes and aspirations of all sections of people and the paramount importance of the unity of all sections of the people irrespective of caste, creed and religion. In a state like Assam where the difference between the majority is negligible, the adoption of a common character of demands which is acceptable to both the sections of the people not only assumes greater importance but also an essential prerequisite for the success of the movement. But here also the AASU leadership utterly failed to realise its significance. As a result of this failure they also failed to determine which demands are to be

stressed and how much to be stressed at the given time. On the other hand, due to this failure, the Congress(I) has also become emboldened to deny three legitimate demands of the people of the state and also been successful in inciting people against people.

Of course, of late we have noted that the president, Assam Sahitya Sabha along with some other organisations has expressed their open support for some of the demands embodied in our four point formula. But at the same time it is fact that they have not grasped the significance of this four point formula in its totality. Moreover, the passive and indifferent attitude of the leaders of the agitation and the different political parties towards this four point formula still remains unchanged.

Under the circumstances, we strongly hold that for the acceptance of this four point formula which alone paves the path for the lasting solution of the Assam problem, strong pressure will have to be exerted both upon the leaders of the agitation and the different political parties on one hand and the Union Government on the other; and for that purpose we also feel that people of Assam will have to come forward.

While explaining the present political situation of the state, the state committee of our party notes with deep concern that the six party alliance which came into being during the difficult political situation of the state with the objects of fulfilling the legitimate hopes and aspirations of all sections of the people and combating the chauvinists and the parochial forces on one hand and on the

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electronic and naval equipment. (The Statesman, 18.11.83)

The military balance is tipped so heavily in favour of India that acquisition of a few F 16 aircrafts or some other equipment by Pakistan hardly dents the Indian military superiority—and this has been corroborated by no less a personality than General Krishna Rao in an interview with the magazine "Sunday" sometime back.

Such being the facts, it would be the height of folly for Pakistan to contemplate an attack on this country. And yet why do Smt. Gandhi and her Government raise the bogey of a threat knowing fully that it is not there?

When the people groaning under onslaughts of exploitative capitalism in the form of ever increasing prices and tax burden, runaway inflation eroding the real wages and draconian, repressive measures curtailing the democratic rights and civil liberties get stirred up into movements against the capitalist order, when capitalism cannot face up to the endemic market crisis in production and the pressure of mounting unemployment—it is at such times that the bourgeois politicians acting in the aggregate interest of capitalism come to its rescue and raise the bogey of threat from abroad. By taking advantage of the patriotic sentiment of the people, they incite them against this or that country and work up a hysteria of war psychosis so that the people's vision gets blurred, their attention diverted from the real cause of their misery, that is capitalism. While the peoples of different countries, incited by the call of their respective bourgeois politicians to defend their "fatherlands" get embroiled in bloody fratricidal strife, the ruling bourgeoisie of the warring countries take advantage of the artificial stimulation caused in the market by war and reap super-profits from war production.

This is the class-compulsion which makes Smt. Gandhi and President Zia of Pakistan strike warlike posture from time to time. When, in a similar situation in 1981, Smt. Gandhi accu-

sed the Pakistani rulers of resorting to such diversionary tactics of generating war-phycosis in a bid to meet extremely difficult internal situation, she unwittingly let the cat out of the bag for is it not the same tactics that she too adopts?

In such situations, it is for the working class parties worth their names in the countries concerned to lay bare this capitalist war design, this deep conspiracy against the people, to steer clear of the jingoistic chauvinism sought to be implanted in the people by the bourgeoisie through upholding proletarian internationalism and sharpening the class battles against their respective bourgeoisie.

The problem with the CPI and the CPI(M) is that they are communists only in name but are in fact rank social democrats collaborating with the ruling Indian bourgeoisie. As soon as the AICC(I) led by Smt. Gandhi started harping on the theme of "the nation is in danger," they took up the cue and started dancing to the tune. At a press conference in New Delhi on October 20 last, the CPI general secretary Rajeswara Rao said that world peace or unity of the country were such issues that not only his party but other parties in India too were ready to cooperate with Mrs. Gandhi (The Statesman, 22.10.83). In reporting Rajeswara Rao's press conference at Patna on 14.11.83, CPI Journal New Age dated November 20 last said: "Our prime minister has also declared that there was danger of an attack on the country from Pakistan. If it is so, the CPI general secretary maintained, she should seek the help of all the patriotic forces to meet such a threat." Addressing a public meeting at Calcutta on November 20 last, Rajeswara Rao said that "the party along with other leftist forces, was ready to fight unitedly with Mrs. Gandhi the imperialist divisive forces in the country. We are ready to do so to ensure the security and unity of the country which are threatened by these forces," he added. At the same

AICC (I) MEET IN BOMBAY

meeting, the CPI leader Indrajit Gupta said that "the spectre of war was looming large over the country and by warning so, Mrs. Gandhi was not resorting to any political gimmicks." (The Statesman, 21.11.83)

If the CPI comes forward, can the CPI(M) lag behind? In an article in their party journal People's Democracy dated October 30 last, CPI(M) general secretary Nambudiripad said, "Those who assembled at Srinagar to discuss the Centre State relations were behind none in their desire to maintain the unity of the country to keep the defences of the nation in such mettle as to be able to meet any covert or overt attack by imperialism... As for national defence, non-alignment and world peace, a big section of the Opposition including the Left parties have made it clear that they are prepared to give their sincere support to the Government." During a discussion with Mr. Nambudiripad in New Delhi on October 31 last, Mrs. Gandhi reportedly told him "that the Opposition parties have failed to recognise 'the danger' to the country's integrity and security from external forces... Mr. Nambudiripad... reportedly told her at the end of the talk that the CPI(M), with the CPI, had been highlighting the dangers of nuclear war. Indeed, the Communists had been mobilising mass opinion against war and organising meetings and rallies. It was her Congress (I) which had failed to grasp her warnings about war and threats to India's security and integrity." (The Statesman dated 12.11.83.)

A revelation indeed! Who should Smt. Gandhi, the trusted political agent of the ruling Indian bourgeoisie, call for a discussion to arrive at an understanding but the general secretary of the "very revolutionary" CPI(M)? And when she tries to chastise him for the Opposition's failure to grasp the "national danger," she is told that the CPI and the CPI(M) are better protagonists of her policy than even her own party

Congress (I)! Through all sorts of manoeuvres and tactics, the CPI(M) and the CPI strive to project before the people how utterly opposed they are to the authoritarian Smt. Gandhi. We find Smt. Gandhi complaining to the Soviet leadership that these communist parties are always at cross purpose with her and the CPI taking disciplinary action against one of their leaders Yogendra Sharma for acting as Smt. Gandhi's emissary to the Soviet leadership without his party's knowledge but when it has come to the crunch we find that there no fundamental difference between Smt. Gandhi and her Congress (I) and these 'communist' parties!

By discovering a greater danger from Pakistan and the imperialists than even Smt. Gandhi would have us believe, they are trying to provide credibility to the warfare being raised by her pursuing the bourgeois class design of diverting the people's wrath through whipping up jingoistic chauvinism. When they profess the intent of fighting unitedly with Smt. Gandhi, can there be any doubt that it is a fight directed against the people and their anti-capitalist struggles in the name of shadow fighting against the bogey of foreign attack? It is a sad spectacle that moving along the path of opportunist social democracy, parties like the CPI and CPI(M) have become part and parcel of the capitalist establishment, their actual difference with Smt. Gandhi and Congress (I) having boiled down to just competition in election politics to gain more power and pelf, to serve the ruling class better.

We emphasize that in case of an actual attack upon the country, it is the people and not the mercenary army serving capitalism that can provide the surest bulwark in defence of the sovereignty of the country. For this, the hated Arms Act perpetrated by the British rulers to emasculate the Indian people and which is still being enforced by our "national" government in

continuation of colonial legacy, should be repealed and the people should be armed.

Will the people realize the actual issues involved or will they allow themselves to be trapped in the snare laid by the ruling bourgeoisie for leading them astray?

We wish to remind the workers of the CPI and the CPI(M) how Lenin conducted ceaseless ideological attacks at the time of the 1st World War on the revisionists within the Second International headed by Kautsky when they tried to divert the working class from their main task of waging anticapitalist struggles in the countries of Europe following the principles of proletarian internationalism and instead tried to set them upon one another's throat, acting as stooges of their respective national bourgeoisie, in defence of their respective "fatherlands." Said Lenin, "It is not surprising, therefore, that the Socialists who advocate 'defence of the fatherland' in the present war shun the Basle Manifesto as a thief shuns the place where he has committed a theft. The Manifesto proves that they are social chauvinists, i.e. Socialists in words but chauvinists in deeds, who are helping their 'own' bourgeoisie to rob other countries, to enslave other nations... The war, it (The Basle Manifesto) says, 'will lead to an economic and political crisis' and 'advantage' of this must be taken, not to mitigate the crisis, not to defend the fatherland, but on the contrary, to 'rouse' the masses, to 'hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule'... Unity with the the social chauvinists means unity with one's 'own' national bourgeoisie, which exploits other nations; it means splitting the international proletariat" (From "Opportunism and Collapse of Second International").

It is for this that Lenin termed Kautsky a renegade in the proletarian revolution.

Will the workers of the CPI and CPI(M) take lesson from the historic teaching of Lenin or will they continue to remain pawns in the hands of their leadership?

CPI(M)'s Way of Observing Marx Death Centenary

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interesting to hear from EMS Namboodiripad, the general secretary of the party speaking on the "democracy day", B. T. Ranadive on the "workers' day", or Neelap Chakrabarti on the "peasants' day"—both at the open meetings and in the seminars, that the Soviet Union was in danger of being attacked by the USA, so all struggle and policies of the oppressed people would have to be to stand by Russia, support her moves in international politics and mobilise or stand behind any force that speaks in favour of Soviet Russia. It would lead us astray to probe into how far it was true that the Soviet Union is in a real danger of war, and how to oppose imperialism in general and the US imperialism in particular and their war efforts. But it would suffice here to recall that these same leaders, during the split in CPI and birth of CPI(M), exhorted vociferously against the revisionist leadership of the CPSU to wean away the support of a section of the pro-revolution anti-revisionist minded ranks of the mother party. And today they have become much more outspoken sycophants of the revisionist leadership than its recognised Indian gramophone, the CPI itself. Otherwise, while emphasising the necessity of anti-imperialism on the question of war and peace and condemning the belligerent policies of the USA, was it not a bounden duty to expose and criticise the revisionist international policies of the USSR which not only abjectly surrendered the interests of the national liberation struggles of the colonies and that of the newly liberated nationalist states to the jack boot of the US pirates all over the globe, but even went to the extent of hegemonistic drive to apportion some part of the world as its sphere of influence? If war tension now persists all over the world, is not the contention for creating, holding and extending spheres of influence between the US imperialism

and the revisionist leadership of the USSR one of its main causes? And the CPI(M) leaders, quite conspicuously remained silent on these questions and presented only the Soviet versions about them.

But still more interesting was the attempts of the CPI(M) leaders to underline and reaffirm the area of their agreement with the Indira Congress. Thus Mr. B. Ranadive said: "However, Indira Gandhi sometimes speaks against imperialism. This is better at least in comparison with Zia of Pakistan. Indira took a commendable stand on the Afghanistan question... In the context of the international situation, that is, on the question of foreign policies, this position taken by Indira is significant." [Ganashakti: 12 November 1983; translation from Bengali ours]. Or listen to Mr. EMS: "We think the Congress(I) Government at the centre adopts the role of anti-imperialism and anti-USA. And we support it. But",—he then perhaps guessed the reaction of his followers to these remarks and therefore hastened to add—"it is in practice capitulating now and then to the US imperialism" [Ibid: 11 November 1983]. On the question of internal situation he broadened the agreed area and certified Indira with what she was just in need of in the perspective of NSA, ESMA that badly tarnished her image: "We the Marxists [?] hold that the situation is changed. So the ruling class and the ruling party cannot repeat the days of Emergency. Moreover, the correlation of different forces are also undergoing changes owing to socio-political reasons. Not only the chief ministers of the six non-Congress (I)-led State Governments spoke identically on the question of sales tax in the interest of their respective States, but even the Congress (I) chief ministers also can no longer vigorously support the measures taken by the Centre to deprive the States of their privileges... On the

question of sales tax, the Congress (I) chief minister of Kerala spoke in quite unison with the West Bengal chief minister Jyoti Basu. In fact the content of what they said was identically same." What better eulogy can Indira demand from these "Marxist" friends of hers when she has been slaughtering even the last vestiges of the democratic norms and institutions in the country and leading the country on to the path of all-out fascism in response to the dictate of the Indian capitalist class? Democracy is there, it is only not "safe" in her hand—this is how the CPI(M) criticises Indira if it is worth the word criticism and the safely can be ensured if she agrees to negotiate with the opposition parties particularly the CPI(M) on the different major national issues, to come to terms on a mutual basis and not on the basis of unilateral imposition of her party's stand on them. This is not our anticipation but Mr. EMS himself extended his deliberation to this point saying that if Indira continues in her attitude to impose her stand on others, "understanding cannot be achieved on any national issue." "It is only through free exchange of views that unanimity can be reached on some issues." [Ibid] Quite right! In an atmosphere of "democracy" in the changed condition, the ruling party at the Centre should not "undemocratically" impose its own views on the parliamentary opposition parties but exchange with them, particularly when they are ready to cooperate with it on all major questions.

Only the occasion the CPI(M) chose to say all this was unique. Marx taught the working class to fight against the enemy, the bourgeoisie on all questions—no matter whether revolutionary seizure of power or not. When they would be organisationally prepared for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie they would definitely seize power by force. But so long as they are behind this preparation, Marx did not tell them to wait, to come to terms with the enemy, to find out how and where they could be in agreement with the bourgeoisie and to criticise the

Protest in Bangalore Against Fare rise

The Bangalore District Organising Committee of SUCI observed 22nd November, 83, as PROTEST DAY against bus fare hike and increase in prices of essential commodities. The District Organising Committee has been carrying on signature campaign against the BTS (Bangalore Transport Service) maladministration for long now, throughout the city of Bangalore. So far thousands of signatures have been collected.

On 22nd November, a procession was taken out from the Mysore Bank Square to Vidhana Soudha, to submit a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Karnataka, on the burning demands of people's life. The demonstration drew the attention and appreciation of the people very much. At Vidhana Soudha, Com. K. Radhakrishna, Secretary of the District Organising Committee, addressed the gathering and explained as to how the Janata Govt. was in no way fundamentally different from the erstwhile Congress Govt. He called upon the demonstrators to build up People's Committees as instrument of struggle to carry forward the task of building mighty democratic mass movements. Later on a delegation comprising the district Body Members led by Com. Radhakrishna submitted a memorandum to the Industries Minister in the absence of the Chief Minister.

bourgeois parties if they did not respond to such attempts. He asked them to be trained and prepared for this ultimate revolutionary task "by constant agitation against and a hostile attitude towards the policy of the ruling class. Otherwise it will remain a plaything in their hands." [Letter to Bolte, November 23, 1871: Selected Letters of Marx & Engels]. And the CPI(M) leaders, on the

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DELHI Convention against policy of 'Automatic Promotion upto class Eight'

A Convention of students, youths and teachers of rural Delhi was held on 27th November at Jat Dharamashala, Narela under the aegis of All India Democratic Students Organisation (AIDSO) and Democratic Youth Organisation (DYO), Narela Unit in protest against the anti-people educational policies of the Government especially the policy of automatic promotion upto 8th class. The convention was attended by Com. J. Sinha, Member, Delhi State Committee, SUCI and Sri M. L. Paswan, Principal, Senior Secondary School Narela as the main speaker and President respectively and was also addressed by Com. Pratap Samal, organiser, Delhi State Council, AIDSO and Com. Satyavrat, Convener of the Convention. A struggle Committee was formed to steer the further course of movement against "automatic promotion system."

Students Protest in Gulburg

The Gulburg District Organising Committee is organising the students to fight against the various problems faced by the students' community and the undemocratic practices prevalent in the field of education. As a part of the students' struggle in Gulburg, the Gulburg district committee organised a 'Demands Day on September 15, last.

On this day a procession was organised. The students gathered in large numbers at the M.S.K. Mill wherefrom the procession started and after parading the main thoroughfares of the city reached D.C.'s office. At this point Com. Pranesh, President, Gulberg district Organising Committee addressed the students. A memorandum addressed to the D.C. was submitted.

CPI (M) Way Of Observing Marx Death Centenary

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occasion of the death centenary of Marx are training the working class with the conciliatory attitude to the enemy of the people—the Indira Congress, the most trusted party of the bourgeoisie through a constant propaganda in favour of such conciliation. It is to be remembered here that earlier, the CPI(M), while it actually maintained a tacit understanding with the Congress (I), used the Majdan forums to blow hot against it in public solely with a view to misleading the common people and their ordinary ranks with the air of staunch anti-Congressism. But today they are gradually shifting away from this stagecraft of anti-Congressism and openly coming out with the utterances of understanding with the Congress (I), of course carefully using some conjunctions like “but”, “if”, “however” etc. to show a line of difference with it.

Two things are noteworthy here. First of all they organised the 11-day long programme of Karl Marx death centenary observation in such a way that helped them to gradually prepare the mind of their ranks for accepting the collusion with the Congress(I) that they have been maintaining for long in secret and that is becoming now apparent to the ranks in spite of the much low level of consciousness of many of them. And secondly they raised a calculated bogey of “the Soviet Union is in danger of aggression by the USA”, and “India is in danger of aggression by Pakistan”—both of which calls for a closer alliance between the Congress(I)-led Government and the Soviet Russia at the state level and between the Congress(I)

and the CPI(M) along with other national parties, in the country. Here again we cannot enter into the discussion of whether there is any real possibility of war between India and Pakistan, on the threat of war being aired by the both sides to tackle the on-going people's agitations in the two countries. But in India we have been observing over the years how the Indira Congress is continuously trying to make the country believe that it may be attacked by Pakistan, and spending thousands of crores of rupees on military expenditure in the name of country's defence. The CPI (M) leader Mr. Jyoti Basu openly declared in his London speech during his health-recuperative Europe tour that “the country being in danger of war, we cannot but support the rise in military budget.” Thus when the Indian bourgeoisie swamped in an inescapable crisis all around and threatened with the growing tide of mass movements, are trying to raise a hue and cry over the “danger of war” with a view to finding newer pleas for suppressing the movements and asking the people to renounce struggle to forge national unity, this harmonious cry against “war” by the CPI(M) together with the Congress(I) are of great significance. This reminds us of the leaders of the 2nd International who before and during the 1st world war acted as the social-chauvinist forces defening the imperialist predatory wars with cry of “defence of the fatherland!” And just as those leaders drew themselves closer to the ruling bourgeois parties of the imperialist countries of Europe under this common slogan, similarly the CPI (M) leaders also have come very close to the Indira Congress on the

basis of this chauvinist call. This made it possible for Indira to show the country that the “war-threat” is a not a propaganda released by her, but a reality acknowledged even by the most “anti-Indira” force like the CPI(M). And the “anti-Indira” role of the CPI(M) has become so much delighting to the Congress (I) that in the Bombay session of the AICC (I), it did not utter a single word against the CPI(M) in spite of the desire of some of the W. B. leaders to incorporate something against the CPI(M) led LF Government. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi went one step forward. When asked by this dissenting leaders to dispel the confusion created by the frequent mutual exchange between the top leaders of the CPI(M) and the Congress(I) among the ordinary Congress(I) workers that the high command does not want any opposition to the CPI(M), he said: “Look at the national and international situations, and you will understand.” [Jugantar: 25 October, 1983, translation ours].

Not only this. Mr. Nripen Chakraborti, a Central Committee member of the CPI(M) and the chief minister of Tripura LF Government, speaking on the peasants day, dealt with the question of “tactics” and explained another side of the CPI(M)'s political line—the line to form alliance with any party or force in any part of the country that may give it some election dividends. He said: “When we change our tactics, many who lack in understanding fail to see its significance and far fetched importance. They fall into derailment... Many people we may have as co-passengers in our train journey. Why not let us travel together as many stations

as we may. We are joining the conferences of those opposition parties who are anti-authoritarian. Revolution is not, after all, the job of a handful of persons, it is to be accomplished by a countless number of people... We are fighting for the unity of the country, the Srinagar conference was held with this end in view. We are combining with many parties on the basis of minimum programmes. But our role will be the dominant one.” [Ibid: November 16, 1983; translation ours]. A superbly tactical use of the concept “tactics”! Once you reduce the political course of action to a train journey, it becomes possible for you to ally with as many different kinds of parties as different passengers you may meet in a train. And just as in a train journey you make temporary friendship with co-passengers without bothering for their qualities, similarly you can form unprincipled alliance with any party whatsoever irrespective of its political character. While talking against communalism, regionalism, separatism, etc. it helps to combine with the Akali Dal, Muslim League, JP, BJP, Telugu Desham and all such well known communal, parochial and divisive forces, if these combinations pay in narrow election games. This is what the CPI(M) has been following in the name of “left” and democratic alliance”, “anti-authoritarianism” and so forth. And thus, while maintaining a close and cordial relation with the Congress(I) for the greater interests of Indian capitalism, it is also keeping ties with all kinds of parties and forces—however reactionary and anti-people they may be—for the immediate interests of vote-catching,—all with the cheap logic of Mr.

Nripen Chakraborty's “tactics”: anybody can be a co-passenger in a train journey.

Now in between the spate of continuous opportunist utterances of the sort cited above, some of the CPI(M) leaders of course managed time to pronounce some well known Marxist maxims. Thus for example, Mr. B. T. Ranadive said: “The day to day movements on economic issues are aimed at the ultimate struggle for the seizure of state power.” Mr. Soroj Mukherjee observed that the Left Front Government of West Bengal is making a “new experiment” of creative application of Marxism. Now let us try to relate the two points. If, Mr. BTR believes what he says on the relation between the day to day movements and the ultimate battle, then this implies that every democratic movement on any legitimate issue should be encouraged and strengthened and the oppressed people should be taught and trained to build up and conduct movements. But what does the “new experiment” with the creative application of Marxism” conducted by the WB Left Front Government led by the CPI(M) amounts to in this regard? Wherever and whenever any legitimate movement bursts out in any part of West Bengal, the LF, far surpassing the erstwhile Congress rulers, jumps upon it to crush with heavy hands using lathi, teargas and bullet and unleashing all sorts of coercion, injuring and indiscriminately killing common people in this “experiment”. The LF did not depend solely on the police forces but employed a large

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CPI(M) Way of Observing Marx Death Centenary

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section of its cadres as armed hooligans, as Hitlerite storm-troopers. If this is how the CPI(M) views the question of developing day to day movements to serve the ultimate aim of revolution—then this is no doubt a “new experi-

ment”. But this is new in the sense that the crushing of movement is for the first time being done in the world in the fascist manner with Marxist phrases. Perhaps viewing such a possibility Lenin had to comment that the enemy of communism also is using Marxism as its cover.

Demonstration at Puri

Puri, Orissa, Nov 10, '83 :—Puri District Committee of SUCI organised a demonstration before the Puri Collectorate office, demanding opening of government retail shops at important market centres, immediate sanctioning of bank loan to the middle and marginal peasants for L. 1 point installation, poor Harijans for poultry and animal husbandry, underground drainage system at Puri Municipality, undertaking a scheme for provision for keeping a list of government supply of medicines at hospitals etc. The demonstration was led by Comrade Raghunath Dash, Secretary of the Puri District Committee of the SUCI, alongwith Comrades Brajabandhu Pradhan, Batakrishna Swain, Kishan Pattanaik, Sudarshan Pradhan and others.

At 3-30 P.M. a public meeting was held at Puri S.D.O. office ground with Comrade Raghunath Dash in the chair. Comrade Mayadhar Naik, General Secretary All Orissa Mines Workers' Federation, addressed the gathering.

Lastly, looking at the grandeur and pomposity with which the CPI(M) observed the death centenary of Marx we would like to comment of Lenin. In his life time Lenin had not the opportunity to see this extent of degradation of the social democratic parties as we see in the case of the parties like CPI and CPI(M). But what he observed on the basis of his experience seems to be all the more applicable in our time. Lenin said :

“During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most inscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonise them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the “consolation” of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarising it. Today the bourgeoisie and the opportunists

political situation in Assam

(Contd. from page 2)

other resisting the economic and political onslaughts perpetrated by the Congress(I) Government by developing democratic movements has not yet been able to build up such democratic movement centring round the legitimate demand of the people

within the labour movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They emit, obscure or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground or extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. And the social-chauvinists are now “Marxists” (don't laugh!) [The State and Revolution.] The CPI(M) leaders may refuse to see their faces in this shining mirror. But our appeal is to those ordinary rank and file of this party who joined it and embraced many sacrifices to strengthen it with the dream of revolution in their eyes, the mission to emancipate the oppressed millions from the grinding wheel of capitalism in their hearts: on this solemn occasion of Karl Marx, turn your eye to the revolutionary teaching of the great Marxist authorities, use your critical judgement to analyse the CPI(M) leadership in pursuing in the name of Marxism and decide whether this is taking you to the destination you hope to reach. Think over and over again whether after this “Marx-fair” this leadership organised it is toeing the course of social chauvinists Lenin so scathingly condemned. The time is now to tear asunder the veil of Marxism on the anti-Marxists!

even under the difficulties and critical situation. We are firmly of the view that the repulsive attitude of the CPI and the CPI(M) towards people's movements particularly the pro-Congress(I) policies of the CPI(M) stands in the way of six party alliance emerging as an instrument of people's struggle. We are therefore of the view that in order to compel the leadership of these two parties to abandon this erroneous and extremely harmful political line, toiling people of the state will have to create strong pressure upon them.

We firmly believe that relentless united efforts of all the left and democratic parties and conduction of powerful mass movements under the leadership of the left and democratic parties alone can help to put an end to this difficult political situation. We therefore, fervently call upon the left and democratic parties of the state to come forward at once to develop mighty people's movements seeking a just solution of the problem of foreign nationals on the basis of the four point formula as enunciated by us and demanding concrete relief to alleviate people's acute economic sufferings. We also call upon the people of the state to play an active role in building up of such legitimate movement.

The meeting of the state committee of the party further notes with grave concern that certain misguided forces likely to be extremist section of the movement are in recent times indulging in subversive and violent activities. Incidents of blasting of bombs at different places

of the state have occurred. As a result, many innocent people have died and many others suffered great injuries. All these incidents reflect the Government's total failure to protect the lives and properties of the people of the state. While the state committee strongly condemns such attacks it demands that the Government should take adequate measures to protect the lives and properties of the common people. The state committee also notes that in the name of finding of guilty persons innocent people are being unduly harassed. The state committee desires that this undue harassment should stop forthwith. The state committee of the party further urges upon the people of the state to stand firmly against such brutal attacks.

While analysing the formation, power and function of the tribunals recently constituted to detect genuine foreign nationals, the state committee feels that whereas most sincere efforts will have to be made by the Governmental and non-Governmental agencies to help the process of detection and that to ensure detection of genuine foreign national no stone should be left unturned, it will have to be seen by the Government no people versus people conflict ensues and that not a single Indian national is harassed in any way. And for that purpose the state committee calls upon the right thinking people of the state to remain ever vigilant. The state committee also feels that in determining the future of the genuine foreign nationals as found by the tribunals, the whole issue should be considered with a human outlook.

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