

On Recent Political Development In Our Country

Chandra Sekhar's ascension to the chair of the Prime Minister of India in the wake of the most naked infighting, horse-trading and scramble for power that shook and finally broke the Janata Dal closed a murky chapter which will be always remembered by the country with revulsion and disgust. If Chandra Shekhar aimed at carving out a place for himself in India's political history, he has done it as an arc-splitter and defector, turncoat and a politician sans scruples, while the Congress(I), which is pulling the strings from behind, has also been nakedly exposed by propping up the motley crowd led by Chandra Shekhar, that it can stoop so low in its naked lust for power. It is common knowledge that the Congress(I) is only bidding time while gearing up its election machinery and consolidating its position in the administration before forcing upon the country another election through which it aims at regaining power. Indeed, bourgeois politics has long become a dirty affair in the whole world without exception.

In India also, the Charan Singh episode of '79 and that of Narendranath Bhaskara Rao in Andhra Pradesh in 1984 are not yet forgotten. Yet the recent developments are a sharp pointer as to how much more conspiratorial, sordid and shameless it is becoming everyday throwing to the winds all canons of political scrup-

ples, ethics and values. Naked hunger for pelf and power unites the parties just as it breaks them apart. Switching allegiance has now become a common practice and each political party serving the vested class is riven with factions. All this is because bourgeois parliamentary political system has lost its stabi-

ty today owing to the insoluble crisis of the bourgeois socio-economic order itself. As an ugly manifestation of its deflection is becoming a common pattern today. Chandra Shekhar's assuming the Prime Ministerial office with the help of the most trusted political party of the ruling capitalist class, the Congress(I), is the most glaring example of it.

In such a situation, the greatest concern of the progressive and democratic minded people is that this heinous politics of the bourgeois parties is destroying the cultural and ethical fabric of the society, creating apathy towards politics in general among the masses thereby killing the prospect of democratic movement of the people. And in the absence of such a democratic mass movement in the country, it becomes easier for these

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Central Committee Condemns Emergency In Bangladesh

29.11.90 : The Central Committee of the SUCI strongly condemned proclamation of Emergency in Bangladesh, suspension of all fundamental democratic rights, introduction of Press censorship, banning of processions, meetings etc., as well as arrests of Opposition leaders there. In the opinion of the Central Committee it was another instance of butchery of democracy by the hated military clique of Ershad.

The Central Committee appealed to the people of Bangladesh to maintain and strengthen unity of all sections of the people like the apple of an eye in their dire struggle against this attack on democracy and against the autocratic military rule.

The Central Committee expressed its deep sense of solidarity with the people of Bangladesh at this hour of crisis.

November Revolution Day Observed In Calcutta

"The social democrats, true to their character, have betrayed the Great November Revolution. But they cannot turn back the wheel of history. Nobody can. The task facing the revolutionaries, for everyone who aspires social progress, is to create the true revolutionary consciousness. The task is to advance socialism towards building the Renaissance Man." The audience listened to with rapt attention as Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was concluding his speech, exhorting what history urged them to do at this crucial hour.

It was 7th of November 1990, marking the 73rd anniversary of the Great November Revolution which was being observed at Sidho Kanhu Dahar (Esplanade East) in Calcutta under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI. It was a massive gathering of thousands—people who had marched down to rally here to renew the pledge that they shall be unwavering in carrying on the fight against social democracy, revisionism-reformism and all the shortcomings obstructing and hindering the advancement of the struggle against mankind's arch enemy of this era—capitalism-imperialism-fascism. The red-draped rostrum projected portraits of the giant leaders of the world communist movement—Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh.

On the dais were seated Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, beloved General Secretary of the party, Comrade Anil Sen and Comrade Sukomal Das Gupta, members, Central Committee, Comrade Provash Ghosh, member, Central Committee and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member, West Bengal State Secretariat and Secretary, Calcutta District Committee, who also presided over the meeting.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee reviewed a guard of honour by the members of the Komsomol unit of the party. In a brief introductory speech, after he had proposed the name of Comrade Manik Mukherjee to be the president of



the meeting, Comrade Provash Ghosh reminded the audience the background in which the November Revolution anniversary was being observed this year. The renegade Gorbachev clique had engineered a counter-revolution in the Soviet Union leading to overthrow of the socialist states of the Soviet Union and East European countries. Inside the coun-

try a deep crisis engulfed the people with communalism on the rampage and an unprecedented rise in prices of all commodities plunging the people in a still greater misery.

Thereafter, the DYOM music squad sang the Great Proletarian Leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. From the chair

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 opportunist parties to vitiate the atmosphere by raking up all sorts of casteist, communal, parochial and secessionist feelings to further their petty parliamentary ends. As everyone knows, it has been fully confirmed by the development of the past few months.

It may be recalled that the NF Government, which was a conglomeration of different bourgeois parties, each having within itself different factional groups centring round different individuals with their own personal ambitions, came to power by cashing in on the intense anti-Congress(I) feelings of the people which swept the country before the last election, especially centring round the German Submarine and Bofors scandals. Since our party's repeated appeals at that time to give this popular discontent an organised shape and a clear direction by forming a united platform on the basis of clearcut policies and a code of conduct went unheeded by all Opposition parties and especially even by the CPI(M) and its allies, and since neither the Opposition could unite even on an electoral basis due to the disruptionist role of the CPI(M), the Congress(I) was fought in the elections separately by everyone barring some seats where there were adjustments between the Janata Dal and the BJP. Consequently, the election resulted in a hung Parliament even though the Congress(I) was defeated. In this situation, the NF Government of V. P. Singh came to power on the support of its political rivals, the BJP as well as the CPI(M) and its allies. It should be clearly understood that both the Left Parties and the BJP had their own calculations behind supporting V. P. Singh which were far from being a principled stand.

The BJP which had been preparing itself for long to come to the Central governmental power, had gained most in the last election by outsmarting the Congress(I) in the game of playing upon

Government at the Centre a Congress(I) one by proxy

Hindu communal feelings. The Congress(I) had allowed the Shilanyas ceremony at the disputed site of Ayodhya for winning the Hindu vote to its side. But as is well known, the harvest of it was reaped most by the BJP. It increased its tally of MPs from 2 to 86 in the last election and even went ahead to form governments alone in Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh and in coalition with the JD in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Naturally, when it supported the NF Government to power it also demanded the price for it. The CPI(M)'s calculation behind supporting the NF government was that being in "friendly" terms with the party in power at the Centre it could gain acceptability in all-India politics as well as political and financial benefits for the state governments run by it.

In this situation, the interest of the people and their well-being could not but be the first casualty. Although the people expected that the newly elected Government will make a departure in both its domestic and foreign policy as compared to the policies of the erstwhile Congress(I) Govt, but being as it was a caretaker of bourgeois class interest, the NF Govt. could not but follow the very same anti-people policies which were pursued by its predecessor Congress(I) Government. At the same time V. P. Singh had to make strenuous tight-rope walking to retain his leadership and hold down his adversaries like Chandra Shekhar and Devi Lal. Alignments and realignments between different groups and individuals were constantly going on inside the party. Naturally the Congress(I) was also trying to make the most of this internecine conflict within the Janata Dal. It had been maintaining a constant liaison with the Chandra Shekhar as well as Devi Lal groups within the Janata Dal. From

the very beginning there were reports in the Press of clandestine 'friendly' relation between Chandra Shekhar, Dinesh Singh and Harkishen Singh Surjit.

Meanwhile, after his resignation from the deputy Prime Ministership Devi Lal brought his fight with V. P. Singh into the open by organizing the Kisan rally. In this rally he invited Rajiv Gandhi also, besides V. P. Singh. Thus the leadership of V. P. Singh within the party was coming under increasing threat every day. It was then that V. P. Singh made the most deceptive role of declaring the acceptance of the Mandal Commission recommendation, which aroused deep suspicion and stubborn resistance in the country only to be utilised by the vested circles for fomenting worst casteist feeling, leading to a country-wide violent agitation which resulted in hundreds of deaths in police firing as well as by self-immolation. With this single deceptive move of dangling a false hope of job opportunities before the lower caste and backward community masses, V. P. Singh wanted to pose himself as a crusader for their cause, win the support of this enormous section of people and thus create such a formidable vote bank for himself which would undo his rivals both inside and outside the party. That is why when the country was burning and casteist feelings ran high in the wake of the anti-reservation agitation the Government of V. P. Singh not only did not do anything to ease the tension, it rather allowed the situation to deteriorate by remaining a silent spectator.

On the other hand, the Congress(I) and the BJP everywhere incited upper caste feelings and encouraged the agitation with a view to discrediting V. P. Singh and his government but never did they speak a single word against the Mandal Co-

mmission for fear of losing the crucial votes of the SC, ST and OBC people. For this very consideration, although from a different angle, the CPI(M) supported V. P. Singh instead of exposing his game. But even as V. P. Singh was trying to consolidate his position, his rivals within the party as well as outside stepped up efforts to frustrate his design with their own. Especially angered became the BJP that its carefully nurtured Hindu vote bank was to be thus split by V. P. Singh carrying away the overwhelmingly large section of lower and backward community voters.

Indeed the BJP's unprecedented victory in the last election which was far beyond its own expectations had turned the head of its leaders. So exploiting the NF Government's dependence on its support, the BJP had taken one deliberate step after another from the very first days of the National Front Government to incite Hindu fundamentalism in order to create its vote bank. With this diabolical aim it vitiated the atmosphere in Kashmir by whipping up Hindu communal feeling and precipitating a dangerous situation there. It had also started campaign for erecting the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya long back. Now it decided to hit back at V. P. Singh. It rallied each Hindu communal and parochial organisation like the VHP, RSS and Bajrang Dal, threw up the deliberately provocative programme of erecting the Ram Mandir by forcibly demolishing the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya and defying all reasoning, logic and the Supreme Court order declaring it a disputed land and took out its Rathayatra with the clear design of fanning up blind Hindu fanaticism and stirring up the venom of communal passions.

Not allegiance to Rama, 'Hindutva' or 'the

wounded feelings of the Hindus' but gathering votes was the sole concern of the BJP was best demonstrated, apart from anything else, by carrying its election symbol—Lotus—on the Ratha. The consequences we know. Blind religious frenzy grew fast, communal tension mounted. Clashes and riots erupted in many places following the trail of the Rathayatra. An unprecedented communal atmosphere was created in the entire country as never before. Of course, in the unfortunate political history of India, the bourgeois political parties have time and again pushed one section of the toiling people against another by engineering communal and fratricidal bloodbath. It has always served the interest of the ruling capitalist class by disrupting the unity of the people and diverting their attention from the burning issues of life. As the main and most trusted agent of the ruling capitalist class, the Congress(I) was and still is the main architect of this communal, casteist, parochial and separatist politics even though it always swears by secularism. This opportunist bourgeois politics of the Congress(I) had already prepared the ground for the practice of all sorts of communal, parochial, separatist and divisive politics. The BJP's naked advocacy of Hindu fundamentalism has brought these wild passions to an unprecedented height. Quite naturally, therefore, the present role of the BJP is regarded with utmost contempt and revulsion by all sober and democratic minded people of the country.

It has to be understood that the BJP's strategy was based on the calculation that being totally dependent upon BJP's support, the V. P. Singh government would not dare oppose its move. Therefore, had V. P. Singh been able to take at the very outset a firm and principled secular stand the BJP could have been quickly exposed and cornered without the country going through the

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Opportunist stance of CPI(M) in national politics

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ordeals of worst communal nightmare and blood-bath, secular norms and values being the worse casualty. It was the duty of the Left parties and especially the CPI(M) to convince, and, if need be, compel V. P. Singh to adopt such a position in order to fight back communalism and save the country. But they also surrendered to the pressure tactics of BJP. At that moment it was only our party that demanded of the V. P. Singh government to adopt firm measures and if need be to even ban the Rathayatra. Instead, the weak-kneed policy of the government to placate and plead with the BJP only served to bolster up its belligerence and finally rupture their mutually advantageous relationship.

It was at this point that upon the arrest of L. K. Advani, the BJP withdrew its support from the government and virtually cleared the way for the Congress(I) to prop up a puppet government of its choice—which was an almost foregone conclusion in case of the fall of the NF government given the composition of the present Lok Sabha. It is the Congress(I) which benefited most out of this situation. Despite having been rejected in the last elections, it has now come to a position when for all practical purposes, it will run the government by proxy and thereby prepare its way to an eventual comeback. It is worth recalling that we warned against this very possibility when the NF government just assumed office nearly a year back. We then said, "... the future will tell whether all the non-Congress(I) parties on whom the responsibility of forming and supporting the new non-Congress(I) government from outside has been devolved under the present circumstances will be able to rise to the people's expectation and conduct their activities on the basis of some well-founded principles or will be direc-

ted by petty and narrow considerations, filthy personal ambitions and conflicts of ego the possibility of which cannot be ruled out. Such an outcome, if it comes true at any moment, will but prove to be disastrous for the people, delighting none else but the crafty and self-seeking leaders of the Congress(I)". (Proletarian Era, Dec., 18, 1989).

The spectacle of Congress(I)'s running governments by proxy is witnessed now not only at the Centre alone but also in the erstwhile Janata Dal-ruled states like Gujarat and U.P. And attempts are on to install such a puppet government of Congress(I) in Bihar also. Thus, the Congress(I) which was rejected by popular mandate in the last elections has managed to worm into by the backdoor and been preparing for the offensive.

It is this turn of events which has posed a grave challenge to the democratic movement of people as also to the prospect of people's unity and the already strained secular norms and values of the country. For, it cannot be forgotten for a single moment that it is none other than the Congress(I) which, even while out of office, remains the most trusted agent of the ruling capitalist class and enjoys their greatest confidence and patronage. Therefore, the Congress(I)'s return to power would be a blessing for the bourgeoisie and a danger before the people, for two reasons.

First, as we have repeatedly shown earlier, taking recourse to deceptive slogans of democracy, socialism, secularism etc. on the one hand, while bringing down unbridled attacks on the democratic movement of the people on the other the Congress(I) can best implement the design of the capitalist class of taking the country towards fascism. Therefore, the Congress(I)'s return to power would facilitate this fascist conspiracy of

the capitalist class to the detriment of the people's interest.

Second, while casteism-communalism and parochialism-secessionism has now undeniably become a regular feature of bourgeois politics in India and no bourgeois party is above it, yet the Congress(I)'s role in it is undoubtedly the worst. It is the main architect of casteism-communalism-parochialism-secessionism in the country. The difference between Congress(I)'s and BJP's communalism is only that BJP's communalism is blunt and naked and therefore easily recognised, while Congress(I)'s communalism is crafty, subtle and hidden under a secular garb and precisely for this reason, the most dangerous. There is no doubt that people's unity and secular values would be exposed to far more danger in this vitiated atmosphere if the Congress(I) can come back to power. Therefore, the urgent task before all progressive and democratic minded people is to thwart the Congress(I) attempt to stage a comeback as well as the BJP's open communal politics. This can be done only by building up country-wide democratic mass movement on the burning issues of people's life on the edifice of higher culture and ethics.

All will agree that it was the duty of those who claim to be Leftists to strive to build up this countrywide mass movement and in its wake expose both the communal game of the BJP as well as the power hungry politics of the Congress(I). But regrettably it neglected both. Instead of facing the challenge thrown by the BJP and declaring that he would not allow the Rathayatra through West Bengal and thereby setting a bold example before the entire country, Jyoti Basu, just like V. P. Singh, took to pleading with Advani personally, even though officially the CPI(M) denounced the Rathayatra. Was it not because the CPI(M) was afraid of

antagonising the BJP I st it withdraws its crucial support and thereby deprives the CPI(M) of the benefits given by its "friendly" government? Was it not for these petty considerations that when even Mulayam Singh Yadav took measures to stop the Rathayatra in U.P., Jyoti Basu allowed it through Purulia in West Bengal? After the Rathayatra, riot's broke out in the Jhalda town of Purulia. Today the CPI(M) is crying hoarse against the BJP. How far consistent is its verbal crusade against BJP then? Is its fight against BJP based on principle or on petty parliamentary considerations then? When before the last election the CPI(M) insisted that it would not join with other Opposition parties if the BJP was amongst them, we pointed out such considerations did not work with the CPI(M) where association with BJP helped them — for example, in running the Calcutta Municipal Corporation with the crucial support of BJP councillors.

Again, when it became clear that with the BJP and Left support the NF could form government at the Centre, the CPI(M) did not hesitate to extend its unqualified support to the government even though it was also supported by the BJP. Thus it is clear that the CPI(M)'s support or opposition to any political party or issue is guided not by any principle but by petty parliamentary power politics. That is why after the withdrawal of BJP's support when there was no question of saving the NF government except by reaching some sort of secret understanding with the Congress(I), and when true allegiance to people's interest called for upholding the principles of secularism, democracy and political integrity which were under attack, Jyoti Basu was seen, instead, knocking at the doors of Chandra Shekhar, Devi Lal, Advani and Rajiv Gandhi

to reach a compromise anyhow. It makes clear that in order to stay close to the centres of power—whether in the State or at the Centre—the CPI(M) can go to any length. Therefore, following the fall of the NF government and installation of Chandra Sekhar's, while the CPI(M) has officially chosen to remain with the V. P. Singh camp, it is at the same time keeping its options open towards the Congress(I) also.

It is for this reason that ironically in West Bengal, where the CPI(M) is the strongest and its rivalry with the Congress(I) is sharpest, it has invited the Congress(I) in the all-Party Co-ordination Committee for Secularism and National Integration organised by it. Interesting even though the CPI(M) included the Congress(I) in the Committee, it refused to take in our party, SUCI and 12 other Leftist parties. The CPI(M) West Bengal State Secretary, Sailen Dasgupta explained why: "We can go together in the same platform with the Congress(I) but not with SUCI and those 12 Left parties. THEY PRACTISE A DIFFERENT POLITICS. They organise movement against us. Let them do whatever they can do themselves." (Ananda Bazar Patrika, 19.11.90).

Now the cat is out of the bag. It is this "different politics" which is the awe of the CPI(M) and they don't want it to come before the people. While, even though they conduct parliamentary mock-fight against the Congress(I) they can yet "go together". This is a case in point.

Could there be a better service to the Congress(I) at the present moment when it is clamouring against the BJP to prove its secular credentials and thereby trying to shield its dirty role in propping Chandra Shekhar to power? The CPI(M) is thus objectively hiding the real enemy of democratic movement, people's unity and secularism and confusing the direction of struggle. It has been

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Contradiction between individual necessity and social necessity

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Comrade Manik Mukherjee moved a resolution on the present national situation and urged the people to be vigilant over the design of the ruling capitalist class who sought to shift the entire burden of the capitalist crisis onto their shoulders and to disrupt their unity by fanning up casteist, communal, parochial and separatist issues like reservation - anti - reservation, Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid and such other issues. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The beloved leader of the party and closest comrade-in-arms of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the departed leader, teacher, guide and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee began his speech to analyse the international and national situations and outline the task ahead of the working people.

"The Great November Revolution", Comrade Mukherjee pointed out, "showed to the downtrodden masses of the world the road to their emancipation, the road that had been charted out in the light of the correct, concrete analysis of reality, history and science. The working people of Russia, led by great Lenin and armed with the invincible weapon of Dialectical and Historical Materialism, showed the path to overthrow capitalism and end exploitation of man by man. Revolution has since followed in other countries, demonstrating to the working people of all countries that the path to end all sorts of exploitation and oppression could be paved through socialist revolution. Thus November Revolution proved to mankind that Marxism was the philosophy, the only philosophy, which provided the correct scientific truth about life in all its aspects — economy, politics, society, culture, love, taste, ethics and everything else. Marxism was the only philosophy

which not only interpreted the world but showed at the same time how to change the world, being the guide to action."

Pointing to the counter-revolutionary seizure of power in Russia and other east European countries as at present Comrade Mukherjee observed: "What had begun with the Khrushchevite revisionist clique usurping power in the CPSU and the Soviet state has now culminated under perestroika and glasnost of the renegade Gorbachev clique, the practice of revisionism-reformism for more than three decades having led ultimately to degeneration of the CPSU into a social democratic party, reversion of the socialist state of the Soviet Union to a bourgeois state and restoration of capitalism in place of socialism. Counter-revolution has been engineered in the country where the first socialist revolution took place."

"The gravest blow so far has no doubt been this way to the international communist movement", Comrade Mukherjee observed. "The capitalist-imperialists and their social democrat revisionist-reformist class collaborators have succeeded for the time being in dealing a severe blow to the people's belief in the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism. So questions have arisen regarding the future of communism itself. But if we are not to be blind-folded, if we are to base ourselves on the correct analysis of history and science we must determine which is that philosophy that provides mankind with the correct understanding of life and sheds light on the right path to emancipation. Marxism is that philosophy. We should not forget that socialism is a transitional phase of social development from capitalism to communism. In this transitional phase there remains the danger of restoration of capitalism. Lenin and Stalin had sounded this

warning time and again, emphasizing that restoration of capitalism could be fought back and transition to communism could be ensured only by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The role of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in this transitional phase to guide the society through class struggle towards communism is of paramount importance. Because, Lenin taught, even after capitalism has been overthrown class struggle remains, rather becomes hundred times more fierce, and discrimination and exploitation persist in many spheres. Removal of discrimination and exploitation is the basis of emancipation. The communists disdain to conceal their ideals that the advancement of human civilization today can only be ensured by overthrowing capitalism, the last major obstacle on way to emancipation of mankind, through socialist revolution and eliminating the roots of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transitional phase of socialism. In the class struggle both to overthrow capitalism and to lead socialism towards communism the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party has to consolidate its position at every stage and play its leading role".

In this context Comrade Mukherjee recalled the teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that in the socialist society the old bourgeois concept of individual freedom and mental makeup stood in the way of conducting a new struggle for the individual's freedom and emancipation at this new stage. Comrade Ghosh showed that for the complete victory of socialism the main object of struggle for the emancipation of the individual should be to transform the antagonistic nature of contradiction existing between the individual necessity and social necessity into a non-antagonistic one.

It was only by achieving a complete success in this struggle through cultural revolution, that is, struggle for complete identification of the self-interest with the interest of society, that transition to communism from socialism could be ensured.

Comrade Mukherjee reminded further that the road to revolution was never easy and smooth. He pointed out that the SUCI, led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, had time and again analysed to point to the root cause of revisionism-reformism. He asked the people to critically judge the party's published analysis and put forward these criticisms with open mind and come forward to find out the truth, the only scientific truth. It was imperative for everyone with concern for the wellbeing of mankind to draw lessons from the present crisis in the international communist movement and find the correct way out.

Comrade Mukherjee asked whether the present crisis-ridden moribund capitalism could solve the basic problems in society and deliver the goods mankind was in need of. "Is this moribund capitalism capable of upholding the humanist ideals and values as it used to in its period of ascent? Could the Gorbachev clique solve the grave ills afflicting the economy and society of the USSR today by introducing the market economy and the multi-party system there? If capitalism could solve today the problems gripping mankind then capitalism would no longer remain capitalism as an exploitative system. On the contrary, it is capitalism which is engendering all problems today." Comrade Mukherjee explained that in the annals of human history capitalism was not the last word. Through scientific analysis of history Marx had shown that human society developed from the stage of primitive communism through the stages of

serf and feudal society to the stage of capitalist society. And that the inherent contradiction of the capitalist society would make its transformation to the communist society through the transitional phase of socialism inevitable.

Referring to the present crisis in the Middle East Comrade Mukherjee asked: "Is not US imperialism which had been previously cornered, now taking advantage of the capitulationist policy and connivance of the Gorbachev clique to assume a belligerent posture again to establish their supremacy and sphere of influence?"

Our party does not support Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. But can the peace loving people allow US imperialism to push the world to the brink of another world war? The task for the communists and for all democratic minded and peace loving people in different countries is to build up a militant peace movement conducive to the liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies and the revolutionary class struggles in the metropolitan and resurgent capitalist countries. Only that way could the US imperialist design be frustrated and peace be ensured."

Coming to the situation inside the country Comrade Mukherjee pointed to the basic character of the prevailing social system. "On the one side there is the owning class—the industrial and rural bourgeoisie, the state with all its wings and the Constitution to safeguard their interest. On the other side are the downtrodden masses — the workers, agricultural labours, poor and middle peasants, and the middle class people. These two diametrically opposite forces constitute the principal contradiction in the Indian society today, and we are to realize that all the problems as also all other contradictions in this society revolve centring round this principal contradiction in our society — the con-

to be made non-antagonistic for the victory of socialism

tradition between labour and capital."

Comrade Mukherjee pointed to the menace of casteism-parochialism-separatism now threatening the unity of the people and reminded that no religion preached slaying the believers of other religions. "The leaders of the Government and of the parliamentary parties are eloquent about secularism. What does secularism really mean? It means that the State will have no truck with religion. It is neither to encourage nor to interfere with individuals' faiths. The non-believers as also the believers have the equal right and opportunity to propagate their faiths. Do these leaders really uphold this true concept of secularism? Do they practise it? If Pakistan is a theocratic state, then by that token, is not India a multi-theocratic state since it gives equal encouragement to all religions? It is common knowledge today that communal riots are no longer the handiwork of rabid communal forces only. It is the parliamentary parties safeguarding the interest of the ruling bourgeoisie who foster, foment, aid, abet and engineer communal and

casteist riots today with the ulterior motive of disrupting the common people's unity and fulfilling their own petty parliamentary interests. We should not forget that the communal-casteist - parochial-separatist trends and tendencies persist in this country as hangovers among the people because the democratisation of the society has not been accomplished through cultural revolution. The reformist oppositional national bourgeois leadership of the national independence movement of this country, being afraid of the working class revolution, had cast aside the banner of cultural revolution lest that went against itself. It had not carried out the cultural revolution conducive to the national freedom struggle. Today, when Indian capitalism is plunged in a far deeper crisis, the ruling bourgeoisie is both fostering and fomenting the communal-casteist - parochial - separatist trends and tendencies to safeguard its interest at the cost of and against the interest of the common people. The bourgeoisie has long cast aside the banner of democracy, democratic norms and values. It is a teaching of the Novem-

ber Revolution that in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution it is for the communist revolutionaries to uphold this trampled banner. The November Revolution teaches that in this era — the bourgeois democratic revolution is bound to be half-baked and truncated unless the working class leads it."

Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that capitalism as a world system was passing through its third intense phase of general crisis. Indian capitalism, being part and parcel of this crisis-ridden moribund world capitalist system, was plunged in an all-out crisis. Was it not a fact that under the government of the Congress from the days of Jawaharlal Nehru Indian capitalism had acquired imperialist traits through coalescence of banking and industrial capital, giving birth to financial oligarchy and through export of finance capital to other countries to exploit the raw materials and relatively cheaper labour power of those countries? Besides, not only the Congress and the Janata Governments or the National Front Government, the

CPI(M)-led Left Front Governments of some States were also inviting multinational corporations for collaboration in this country. In its political thesis the CPI(M) is all vociferous against the multinational corporations, the World Bank, the IMF, etc. But saddled in the Government it is extending open invitation to the multinational corporations and the World Bank.

Continuing, Comrade Mukherjee observed that the Congress(I), though removed from power at the Centre in the last Lok Sabha polls, was still the most trusted political agent of the ruling bourgeoisie and serving the aggregate interest of the class. He observed: "We do not have any animus against Jyoti Basu. But from the point of view of safeguarding the interest of the ruling class in the present situation, who is most trustworthy today to the bourgeoisie? Jyoti Basu's Government has given ample proof of its capabilities by the way it has been smothering all resistance against its anti-people pro-capitalist policies, crushing all democratic mass movements and acting as the compromising force between

labour and capital, true to its social democratic character, which according to the penetrating analysis of Comrade Ghosh, is the last prop to defend the moribund capitalism today in the best possible way.

Comrade Mukherjee observed further: "It is easier for the people to get to know the true class character of the branded bourgeois parties like the Congress(I) or the BJP or the Janata Dal. But the people cannot so easily get to know the true class character of the social democratic parties like the CPI(M) because these parties are mouthing the Marxist-Leninist slogans and waving the red banner although in reality they are not only shunning the path of confrontation with the ruling bourgeoisie but are pursuing, like the Gorbachev clique's thesis of 'no confrontation but competition with imperialism,' the political line of cooperation with capitalism."

Comrade Mukherjee discussed the present explosive situation in the country, analysing the roles of the different parliamentary parties. "The National Front which came to power utilizing the people's discontent and wrath against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) Government led by Rajiv Gandhi and with the support of the BJP and the so-called Left parties has not only failed to fulfil the people's expectations for a departure from the

(Contd. on page 8)



A section of the vast gathering at Esplanade East Calcutta, on 7th November.

Present Political Situation

(Contd. from page 3)

possible because the CPI(M) has become a part of the opportunistic bourgeois parliamentary game for power. Indeed, it has become a partner of the other bourgeois parties and is combining as well as competing with them according to the compulsion of the given moment just like another bourgeois party. As a matter of fact, it acts like a typical social democratic party which it is—playing the role of compromise between labour and capital. The only difference is that while other bourgeois parties practise it more openly, the CPI(M) with its Marxist-Leninist jargons does it more shrewdly and cunningly. As a result, a good number of people still consider it as a standard bearer of Leftism, while there are others who, seeing the treacherous role of the CPI(M), lose faith not only in the party but in the communist ideology itself. This is precisely how the CPI(M) serves the bourgeoisie while professing the cause of the people.

In the process, the growth of the legitimate democratic struggle of the people is obstructed and in its absence, the reactionary bourgeois political parties rule the roost. But as intense crisis is making it highly difficult for the bourgeoisie to retain any one of its chosen parties for long in power, so it is trying to artificially introduce a two-party parliamentary system by alternatively putting different combinations of bourgeois political parties to power and thereby channelise the popular discontent into the blind alley of two-party parliamentary politics. So, even as the party or parties in power are replaced by another or more, the very same anti-people policies continue—for which the people have to pay dearly.

Therefore, it is time for the people to learn to distinguish between this deceptive bourgeois and social democratic politics and the alterna-

tive political line of building up legitimate democratic movement on the burning issues of people's life on the edifice of higher proletarian culture. Only such a wave of countrywide democratic movement can give the people a correct direction, safeguard and consolidate their unity, restore, protect and extend their democratic rights, norms and values as well as foil the attempts of the bourgeois political parties to plunge them in casteist, communal, parochial and separatist strifes—and in the process give birth to the political power of the people by developing people's own instruments of struggle and a volunteer corps. This alone can bring deliverance from the present impasse

and emancipate the people.

We appeal to all sections of progressive, right-thinking and democratic minded people to unite and come forward to build up this movement which alone can foil the conspiracy of the ruling class and its most trusted agent, the Congress(I). At the same time, we urge upon the rank and file, workers, supporters, and sympathisers of all Left, democratic and Opposition parties to bear pressure upon their leadership to join the course of this struggle, but if they don't, then courageously come forward to build up this movement themselves. The ominous developments of the recent past have shown beyond doubt that people's interest cannot be served in any other way. History enjoins us to heed to its lessons.

ORISSA

Anti-fare rise demonstration

The SUCI led a massive demonstration at Bhubaneswar on 1st November last demanding withdrawal of recent busfare hike announced by the State Government to be implemented from November '90 and for controlling the prices of essential commodities. Thousands of peasants and workers, students and youths and women from different parts of the State, particularly from Cuttack, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Bolangir, Dhenkanal, Balasore, Puri and Ganjam districts participated in this demonstration. The colourful procession of about ten thousand people was halted near Rabindra Mandap. In protest about 5,000 party workers and Nayak, Dhurjati Das, Sk. Kashim and Gobinda Moharana, members of the State Committee.

volunteers including about 1000 women with some State committee leaders violated the law and courted arrest.

Among the arrested SUCI leaders were Comrades Mayadhar Nayak, Bishnu Das, Jagabandhu Baral, Balaram Sahoo, Raghunath Das—all State Secretariat members and Sambhunath

Part of the vast demonstration halted by police near Rabindra Mandap, Bhubaneswar. (Below)



Red Salute Comrade Raghunath Giri



Comrade Hiren Sarkar, member of the Central Committee of the party, during the initial stage of the party formation. In course of time, Comrade Giri established himself as a sincere, worthy and militant worker of the party and the leader of the toiling people till his last days through a ceaseless struggle as shown by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

On 20th October last Comrade Raghunath Giri, a prominent member of the Singhbhum District Committee of the SUCI, the General Secretary of the Copper Mazdoor Union and a member of the All India Council of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) breathed his last at the Mosaboni hospital of SLC after a prolonged illness at the age of 59. As the news of his death spread all the workers of the party and the trade union and also other workers of the locality rushed to the party office to have a last glimpse of the departed leader. His body was carried in a procession to his native village 7 kms away.

When Comrade Giri was a student, he came in contact with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh through

Comrade Giri proved his capability in leading the historic struggle of the Copper Mazdoor Union. Even amidst various confusions prevailing in our country in the trade union movement, he was well known as honest and dedicated among the toiling people of the copper mining area. A number of workers in the rural areas came in contact with the party through Comrade Giri. Comrade Raghunath Giri's absence will be felt by the party and the trade union organisation for a long time to come and his struggling character will remain as a source of inspiration to the workers of the party and the trade union.

Red Salute Comrade Raghunath Giri!

November Revolution Anniversary

OBSERVED IN STATES

B I H A R PATNA :

The Great November Revolution Day was observed on 7th November last at the Assembly Club Hall under the auspices of the Bihar State Committee of the SUCI. In spite of disarray in train and bus services in this state because of curfew and disturbances the workers and supporters of the party attended the meeting from various districts of Bihar. Comrade Amriteswar Chakravarti, Secretary, Bihar State Committee, SUCI, took the chair and Comrade Shankar Singh, the Central Committee Member of the SUCI, was the main speaker. The music squad presented the song 'The Great Leader' at the beginning of the meeting.

In his speech Comrade Shankar Singh said that first socialist revolution took place in Soviet Russia under the leadership of Lenin and in continuity of that the working class of eastern Europe and other countries established the socialist states under the leadership of the Communist Party. But it was very painful to the communists and the world proletariat that the countries of the eastern Europe and Soviet Russia have been converted to capitalist states.

Comrade Singh reminded the audience that the French Proletariat captured the state power through revolution but the proletariat could not retain the same; because unless the dictatorship of the proletariat was established to continuously fight out and ultimately eliminate the influence of bourgeois thought, capitalist relation of production and various capitalists influences in the society, revolution was bound to fail. The socialist state of Soviet Russia made alout progress after revolution by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat under the able leadership of Lenin and after him Stalin. But

after Stalin the revisionist leadership beginning from Khrushchev to Gorbachev converted this socialist state into a capitalist one taking advantage of the low level of consciousness of the leaders and cadres of the Soviet Communist Party at various levels.

By citing the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Comrade Singh asserted that had the communist leadership grasped the illuminating analysis and timely caution of Comrade Ghosh, the world situation could not have turned to such an extent.

He appealed to the party workers and supporters to play the leading role to accomplish the socialist revolution of the country for the emancipation of the proletariat by building up the party and mass organisations at every level of the society through correct realisation and application of Marxism and Leninism and Thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

KARNATAKA

The Karnataka State Committee of the SUCI organised a massive public meeting on 12th November at Bangalore to commemorate the 73rd anniversary of the Great November Revolution. The meeting began with the song 'The Great Leader'.

The main speaker, Comrade Sukomal Das-Gupta, member, Central Committee, at the outset explained the significance of observance of Great November Revolution which for the first time ushered in a proletarian state under the illumining guidance of Great Lenin. He made a scathing attack on the renegade liquidators clique headed by Gorbachev for having sabotaged socialism in six East European Socialist countries and the USSR.

He stressed that under the circumstances the significance of ob-

serving November Revolution Day had assumed a greater dimension when the utility, necessity and validity of Marxism itself were being questioned by the vested interests.

Coming to the national question, he explained that the present political crisis was a mere reflection of deep crisis of Indian capitalism and called upon one and all to come forward to build a mighty movement to restore, preserve and extend democratic rights of the people and pave way for anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Comrade K. Radhakrishna, Karnataka State Secretary of the party, presided over the meeting.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

TAMIL NADU

The Great November Revolution Day Anniversary was observed by the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the party on 10th November at Madurai through a public meeting. Hundreds of SUCI volunteers took out procession from Perumal Koil Thidal. They raised slogans paying homage to the martyrs of the Great November Revolution, calling upon the working people to safeguard the nobility of the Red Flag, demanding education and job for all and against price rise.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade M. Jagannathan, Secretary of the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the party. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member of the Central Committee, was the main speaker who in his address reminded the audience of the significance of the Great November Revolution and the tasks before the Indian toiling people. Comrade A. Anandan, the State Secretariat member also spoke in the meeting. The speech of Comrade Chakraborty was rendered in Tamil by Comrade M R Pattabhiraman, member, State Secretariat of the party.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Anantapur : A public meeting was organised

under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh State Organising Committee of the SUCI on 8th November last at Krishna Kalamandir, Anantapur. The meeting place was decorated with quotations from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and photographs of movements organised by the party were on display.

Comrade B S Amarnath, District Secretary, Anantapur, took the chair and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Central Committee Member of the SUCI was the main speaker. The meeting started with the song 'The Great Leader'.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, the main speaker, elaborately dwelt on national and international situation. He said that mere observance of this anniversary would be a ritual and serve no purpose if we failed to change national and international situation for the emancipation of the working class.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

A S S A M

The 73rd anniversary of the Great November Revolution was observed on 7th November at Lakhiram Barua Sadan, Guwahati, under the auspices of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Siddheswar Sharma, member, State Committee of the party.

Recalling the historic significance of the Great November Revolution, Comrade Asit Bhattacharjee, the main speaker and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party, in his speech, explained how this revolution imbibed the oppressed people of the entire world and hastened the onward march of Marxism-Leninism.

At the outset, Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, Secretary of the Assam State Committee of the party, explained the significance of observance of the day.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

T R I P U R A

The Tripura State Organising Committee of the SUCI observed the 73rd anniversary of the Great November Revolution at Kaman Chaumohani, Agartala, on 7th November with Comrade Milan Majumder, the Secretary on the chair. Comrade Pratiba Mukherjee, eminent mass leader was present as the main speaker.

In her speech, Comrade Pratiba Mukherjee showed how the onslaught of modern revisionism had put the communist movement in a grave danger. But since Marxism is the only scientifically charted path for the onward march of human civilization the working class of the Soviet Union and other East European countries would again come out victorious.

On the national question, she held the ruling bourgeois parties responsible for present political crisis and communal flare-ups. She appealed to build up a united movement on the basis of Marxism - Leninism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts.

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale'.

UTTAR PRADESH

Allahabad : The Great November Revolution Day was observed here in Anjuman Ruha Adab Hall under the auspices of the UP State Committee of the SUCI. Comrade B. N. Singh, the Secretary of the UP State Committee of the party, presided over the meeting and Comrade N. K. Sharma helped him in conducting the meeting.

Comrades Krishna Murari of the CPI, Unna Shankar Tewari of the CLI, S. K. Mishra of the IPF, Awadh Narain Pandey of the RSP, Kalpanath Singh, local trade union leader and several other leaders of the SUCI from different districts addressed the meeting. A Poster Exhibition on the recent anti-fare hike movement of West Bengal including the Bangla Bandh on 3rd September, 1990 was organised and this was very much appreciated by the people.

Central Committee resents President's Rule in Assam

Strongly resenting the imposition of President's Rule in Assam and bringing the whole state under the Disturbed Areas Act, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, which is in session, has issued the following statement on November 29, 1990 :

"The Central Committee notes with deep indignation that the Central Government led by Mr. Chandra Shekhar with the backing of the Congress(I) has decided to impose President's Rule in Assam and bring the whole state under Disturbed Areas Act, thereby depriving the people of Assam from electing a new Assembly and their representatives to the Lok-Sabha on the ostensible ground of deteriorating law and order situation, tackling of which as a result, will not only become far more intractable, but in the considered opinion of the Central Committee, it will aggravate the situation further.

The Central Committee records its strongest protest against this highly undemocratic act of the Union Government mooted at the behest of the discredited antipeople Congress(I) to pave the path for its eventual coming back to power.

The Central Committee, therefore, demands immediate revocation of President's Rule along with the notification under the 'Disturbed Areas Act' and create conditions for immediate holding of a free and fair election to the state Assembly and the Lok Sabha. The Central Committee also calls upon the people of the country to raise their voice in protest against this undemocratic act and force the Union Government to hold elections in Assam immediately."

Central Committee condemns Security Council Resolution

Strongly condemning the decision of the UN Security Council mooted at the instance of the US imperialists to use force against Iraq if it fails to vacate Kuwait by the 15th of January next, the Central Committee of the SUCI, in course of a statement, on 1st December, 90, strongly opined that this decision of the Security Council, which was evidently manoeuvred by the US imperialists, instead of hastening the process of peaceful solution of Gulf crisis, will further aggravate the situation and as a result of the military threat posed thereby, the whole of the Middle East will surely come to the brink of a war.

With deep resentment the statement noted that the Soviet Union, having voted in favour of this US-sponsored resolution, evidently did not hesitate to align itself with US imperialist design in the Gulf region.

The statement of the Central Committee also noted with deep regret that China, although expressed itself against the US-sponsored resolution to use force against Iraq, at last decided not to apply its veto power against it and by abstaining from voting, virtually allowed this dangerous resolution pass through.

The statement of the Central Committee, therefore, in the face of this highly surcharged situation, demanded immediate rescinding of this decision of the UN Security Council and appealed to all concerned to seek a peaceful negotiated settlement of the Kuwait problem.

'Workers have to identify themselves with Revolution, Party and the Class'

(Contd. from page 5)
Congress(I) Government's policies, it has been riven by internecine fights among its power greedy groups and individual leaders right from the beginning. Contrary to its electoral promise it has not unearthed, let alone punish, the culprits behind the Bofors, HWD submarine and such other scandals for which the people condemned the Rajiv Gandhi Government. The naked power struggle in the Janata Dal among V. P. Singh, Devi Lal and Chandra Shekhar and the clandestine approaches to the Congress(I) had all come to light. It is also clear to the people that the motivation behind V. P. Singh's measure to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission is to use the downtrodden, oppressed, humiliated and deprived multitude of the backward castes as the vote bank in elections.

It should also be recalled that the erstwhile Congress(I) Government of Rajiv Gandhi had raked up the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue to back up the Hindu revivalist campaign in its petty electoral interest of winning the majority community votes. The BJP which took full advantage of the communal tension in the country at the last Lok Sabha polls undertook the 'Ram rathayatra' this time with the same ulterior motive of abetting the Hindu communal sentiments and consolidating its vote banks at the next parliamentary polls. The BJP's withdrawal of support from the V. P. Singh Government has no question of principle involved in it. Its decision has been solely prompted by calculations of garnering its vote banks and saddled in power in

Delhi. The so-called Left parties including the CPI(M) and CPI are also moving with the same object of fulfilling their petty party interest.

The V. P. Singh Government's fate is being decided in the Lok Sabha today. But whoever may form the government next, that change of government will not, and cannot, solve the burning issues in the people's life."

"Thus, the point is". Comrade Mukherjee emphasized, "both the brahmin bourgeois and the social democratic parties are taking advantage of the backwardness of people's consciousness and the absence of democratic mass movements in the country to play their heinous role of subserving the bourgeoisie and deceiving the people. Whichever of these parties are coming to governmental power and subserving the ruling capitalist class are inevitably taking recourse to drive the country towards outright fascism to help the class win a fresh lease of life in its present crisis-ridden state. The only way out for the people is to develop countrywide legitimate democratic mass movements on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics.

These movements should be built up, on the one hand, on the burning problems of people's life, and on the other, on the demands of upholding democratic values, norms, ethics and rights for the restoration, preservation and extension, and for forging such granite-like unity of the people which alone can give a crushing defeat to the gravest menace of communalism, casteism, separatism etc. so perilously engulfing

now the whole of the country.

The present society of this ancient land is ridden with both the hangovers of the feudal absolutism, religious bigotry, obscurantism and the decadent bourgeois culture. It is the prime task of all concerned with the future of the people of this country to unleash a counter-current of cultural movement conducive to growth and development of mass and class struggles to lead to the overthrow of this decadent capitalist order — the root of all problems and evils of this society. Karl Marx taught : "Workers must change themselves first". So also, to accomplish this task, the revolutionaries, the cadres of the mass and class struggles, must elevate the level of their character and to that end must conduct a two-fold struggle to acquire the higher communist character, freeing themselves from the private property mental complex, and to organise and lead legitimate democratic mass movements conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution. They are to identify their interest with the interest of revolution, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party and the working class. Every class conscious worker, the exploited and oppressed working people and all well-meaning people should play a positive role in this movement to develop their own instruments of struggle — the people's committees — as precursor to the people's alternative political power and raise volunteer forces to carry the movement forward from the grassroots level and accomplish the task of winning emancipation from exploitation of all sorts."

The meeting ended with the 'Internationale' sung by the DYD music squad.

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