

## Assembly Elections

# Bourgeois parties mislead people in absence of left-democratic movement

In between 11th of February and 26th of March State Assembly elections were held in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. As a result of this election the Congress(I) government was overthrown in Gujarat and Maharashtra. In Bihar too, the Congress(I) was miserably defeated. It was only in Orissa where it could obtain a majority defeating the Janata Dal government and come back to power. But in Manipur although it failed to obtain a clear majority, it could form a government taking recourse to horse-trading and other despicable means thanks to the Union government and the Governor's backing. Clearly, an anti-Congress(I) trend reflected during this phase of Assembly elections was in conformity with the same anti-Congress(I) trend reflected in State Assembly elections of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka held in end of 1994.

It is well known to all that elections held under bourgeois economic and political set-up today does in no way fully reflect common people's will, aspirations and interests. Bourgeois Parliamentary institutions meant to serve the capitalist economic system quite naturally are being so designed as to protect the basic interests of the ruling class. As grows the disillusionment and disenchantment of the people against the bourgeois ruling parties, so also advances the heinous conspiracy of the capitalists and their henchmen to hoodwink and deceive the people to misdirect people's wrath against the ruling parties. In India we have already witnessed how as a result of poor people's abject dependence on their capitalist masters, unbridled use of muscle and money power, communal and parochial politics which each and every bourgeois political party takes recourse to, the decisive role that the bourgeois press plays at election times to divert people's mind towards this or that bourgeois party or combination as the case may be, the powerful role that the electronic media play in shaping people's opinion and in creating a false air in favour of the bourgeois political parties/combinations in such a background the political parties, representing the poor, downtrodden and the working people, truly opposed to the capitalist rule are, so far elections are concerned, more and more marginalised. It is becoming increasingly evident that the monopolist-bureaucracy-military complex is at work in manipulating election results in connivance with the interest of the capitalist class. As a matter of fact, administrative rigging of various sorts ranging from dropping genuine voters' name from the electoral roll, scaring ordinary voters from exercising their franchise taking recourse to terror tactics upto capture of booths and stamping ballot papers en masse in favour of this or that bourgeois party in the very presence of the custodians of law and order, the police and the para-military forces, snatching of ballot papers or replacing ballot boxes with duplicate ballot papers <197> have become the order of the day. Almost all countrymen are today quite aware about these features which, in their effect, have turned all elections into a farce in which true reflection of common people's wish, aspirations and interests has become almost impossible, although petty bourgeois political parties and pseudo-communists and socialists having sold themselves to

the bourgeois class are not totally denied electoral benefits. Representation of the revolutionary opposition has become an impossible phenomenon since long.

All these severe constraints notwithstanding, it is really heartening to note that common people avail themselves of the opportunity which still remains with them to express their anger and resentment against the oppressive and atrocious rule of the Congress(I) and en masse voted against them. But the tragedy is that because of the absence of the left democratic alternative the BJP-Shiv Sena combine, intelligently using people's anti-Congress(I) sentiments and exploiting in a most sinister way the people's religious feelings, came to power in Gujarat and Maharashtra, two important states of the country. And the Janata Dal, basically a party wedded to the capitalist class returned to power in Bihar although in Orissa it was ousted because of its utter anti-people policies and highhanded and corrupt rule. Here also, because of absence of a left democratic alternative, the Congress(I) managed to come back to power. Quite clearly, the election results have once again reaffirmed the thinking of our party that with the growing disillusionment and disenchantment of the common people against the outrageous rule of the bourgeois parties including the Congress(I), formation of a left democratic front comprising all the left, democratic, secular forces of the country with left parties as its core on the basis of a common minimum programme of certain basic principles and a code of conduct, engaged in advancing people's democratic movements centring round burning problems, has assumed extraordinary importance as formation of a pro-people government by such a left-democratic front in the wake of the downfall of an anti-people bourgeois government alone can bring some relief to the people, provided that such a government instead of suppressing toiling people's democratic movement, in the name of maintaining law and order, encourages and helps the growth of such movements. But whatever might be the correctness of our analysis the CPI(M) and the CPI, because of their ambivalent, if not apathetic attitude to democratic movements, unwilling to antagonize the bourgeois class in their bid to appease them, totally failed to realize this historical necessity and, instead for winning some seats only, stuck to their own policy of forging unprincipled alliance with different bourgeois parties who have nothing but total disregard for people's democratic movement. Everybody knows that the kernel of leftism is the continuous and ceaseless movements against the oppressor class and its oppressive rule. The irony of the situation as prevails in the country today is that while the oppression and exploitation of the people become more acute every hour the CPI(M) and the CPI, swearing every time in the name of leftism, at best only pretend about movements and in reality scrupulously abjure them. As a result, all our appeals fell on deaf ears. The inevitable result has been the gradual decline of leftism and rise of rabid communal, parochial, separatist and secessionist forces. While one of the important factors contributing to the rise of this anti-people rightist

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## SUCI on recent Assembly Polls

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India in its recently concluded meeting at Calcutta after analyzing the results of the last elections in some states made certain observations :

" The Central Committee observed that although the deep anti-Congress(I) wrath and indignation of the people was manifested in most of the states, it was not the outcome of any democratic mass movements against anti-people policies of the Congress(I) governments. It was rather a clear expression of a negative vote against the oppressive rule of the Congress(I) governments in the main.

"The Central Committee further noted with deep concern the menacing growth of the most rabid communal and fanatic forces of Hindutva through further consolidation of strength of the BJP-Shiv Sena combine in Maharashtra and in Gujarat through the BJP which has also increased its strength in other states also. This menacing force represented mainly by the BJP could cunningly and skilfully take advantage of the pent-up resentment of the people groaning under unprecedented problems in their daily life against the Congress(I), in the absence of any left democratic movements in the country.

"Although the measures taken by the Election Commission have been able to create an impression in mass mind assiduously backed by the media at large that elections are becoming more and more free and fair, but it would be wrong to hold that elections have been freed from the vile tentacles of money power, muscle power and the power of the media. It may also be noted that taking away of the franchise rights of a large section of minority people by the Election Commission has created a sense of insecurity in them, an act that has flagrantly violated democratic rights and norms. This and other restrictive measures in the name of free and fair election have adversely affected the small parties representing the forces of mass movements and have favoured the parties of vested interest very much.

"The Central Committee critically noted the stand taken by the CPI(M) and the CPI who have

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# Aspects of Struggle for Elevation and Rectification of Our Leaders and Cadres

— Nihar Mukherjee

[ Below we produce a translated version of our General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's talk to the members of the West Bengal State Committee of the party on 15 January 1995, on the present inner-party discussions and cultivation centring round the recent Central Committee publication, the *Prime Need of the Hour*. (Slightly modified by Comrade General Secretary later.) — Editor ]



Comrades,

The Central Committee brought out the *Prime Need of the Hour* in both Hindi and English. The State Committees were asked to translate it in their state languages, checking meticulously that the translation was exact and accurate. I have seen the Bengali version. Besides some printing mistakes, there have been a few errors in the translation itself. I have already pointed them out to the state leadership.

2. The essence of the discourse on various issues in that booklet, taken as a whole — and I myself had put it in my concluding address at the Plenum also — is its imperative to launch and keep alive in the party an intense socialist ideological struggle covering ideology, politics, culture, that is, all aspects of life and at all levels, from the Central Committee to the cell, so it is carried forward as one ceaseless and unrelenting struggle in our inner-party life. It simply will not do to confine the issue to discussions in one or several of meetings. This we must view as a movement exactly the same way as blood circulates constantly in arteries and veins in a human body. At the Plenum I did not put it in these words exactly. I am doing it here.

3. First of all, the leadership must provide a clear conception of this struggle to the whole party. It is for this that I am here to attend your meeting today. There has to be a uniform and indivisible approach and understanding at all levels about the nature of this struggle, when each and every comrade will fully and clearly fathom its import, aim, object, indispensability and its distinctive forms and features. This deep realization is not possible to gain only from within the range of discussion in this booklet. Not every aspect has been discussed in it. This struggle covers many more different aspects, and a comprehensive conception and realization of all these aspects grow and develop continuously in the party as a whole in course of development of the struggle itself. All our party programmes and preoccupations notwithstanding, we have to pay full attention to it. I had better say, we must be on constant guard and vigil to ensure that this struggle goes on without relent and is kept alive in the party.

4. Now, in clearer terms, the aim of this all embracing ideological-political-organizational inner-party struggle is to remould ourselves. It starts with me, as the General Secretary of the party, the members of the Central Committee, then you who are present here and likewise the members of the other State Committees, meaning the party leadership at the state level everywhere — for elevation of us all this struggle is indispensable. Don't at all presume that this booklet was meant to address only the rank-and-file comrades; itself nowhere it says so. It says that the most serious and collective responsibility of the leadership, one which demands the greatest and most urgent attention, is to elevate each and every comrade by this struggle for acquiring a higher and still higher standard of revo-

lutionary character in order to combat and eradicate all alien traits and tendencies which harm the cause of revolution, in whatever form and in whomsoever and at whichever level of the party may they be lodged, from the very top to bottom. This struggle must always be there in the party, living and unflagging. It needs constant supervision by the leadership, constant vigil to ensure that it goes on 'living' at every moment. Here lies the all-important question.

5. On this point, I also made some criticism of the different state leadership in my concluding address at the Plenum. I had pointed out that at the First Party Congress we had adopted the Political-Organizational Report of the General Secretary which contained directives on organizational principles, especially on the style of functioning of the party bodies at different levels, in the light of the invaluable teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Shibdas Ghosh. The Report had been immediately published in English and Hindi by the Central Committee. It was decided that the entire Report would be translated and published in the different state languages as soon as possible. However, it was not done in all the states. Even in this state, West Bengal, it was done in 1994, on the occasion of Fifth August, six long years after the Congress was over; and that, too, not the full Report, but only the part dealing with 'the Party'. Naturally, I am not sure of how far down to lower levels could we reach the General Secretary's Report. I drew attention to it at the Plenum. It was our lapse, the leadership's. It was a lapse on my part, too. It was my responsibility to check up on it, but I could not do it. So, wherever else such lapses may have occurred, in one or more of the states, I cannot escape the moral responsibility for that. Secondly, we must take a firm resolve with proper attitude that, learning from the past mistakes, we won't allow ourselves to repeat the same in future.

6. It ought to be understood here that the Report of the General Secretary is not the General Secretary's personal report or reflections. The Report of the General Secretary which was adopted at the First Party Congress as also that adopted at the Plenum were actually the Report of the Central Committee. They contained the Central Committee's evaluation of the current international and national situations at the time of the First Congress and the Plenum respectively, each providing a vision of the possibilities unfolding before the party, as also what all this enjoined on us for consolidating and advancing the party speedily to the position of seizing upon those possibilities, consolidating them and thereby effectively fulfilling the party's revolutionary obligation in the international and the national spheres, which means playing our due role in upholding the noble banner of proletarian internationalism and consolidating and advancing world proletarian movement. This is the focus of all discussions in these two reports. And it is here that we have lapsed. The heart of the matter

is this.

7. Centred round this focal point, many more issues and questions will come to the fore. Consider, for instance, what a comrade raised as a point here about this booklet. If you have already reached unanimity over this point it is very good. But if not, you shall have to wage a struggle to reach it. You must view this struggle for uniformity as a ceaseless process whatever be the point of difference. That is to say, whatever our differences, we don't allow them to persist. But then, remember, so long as we will not have followed the correct method and will not have turned it into our collective endeavour, we won't achieve it just because we wished it.

8. Our everyday party activities will of course be there always. We are also calling upon all Left-democratic and secular parties and forces for united movement against the anti-people policies of the central as well as the different state governments and we are pursuing it seriously. Besides, we are also trying to build a worldwide anti-imperialist movement and are making preparations for the anti-imperialist convention in Calcutta in November this year. We have to perform all these tasks at the same time. To carry out all this in the best possible manner we have to apply ourselves to keeping the inner-party ideological struggle living and unflagging while at the same time performing all our other duties and tasks.

What do I mean when talking of keeping it a living struggle? To have realized it is to have realized the heart of the matter. It is not enough that you have started reading this booklet and discussing it. It cannot end with that. It is only the beginning. How far has this booklet dwelt on it? Only that far as was precisely needed to make a start toward this all comprehensive struggle. You all, who are members of the State Committee, do surely realize what it means. Comrades at all levels must be enabled to grasp it. They are to realize why the Central Committee is laying this emphasis on urgently developing a living inner-party struggle in all the states, involving all the comrades, to study, discuss, argue and exchange on the *Prime Need of the Hour*. At the same time, they must be also enabled to realize that the aim of this struggle is to help all, starting from those in the central leadership down to the applicant member comrades working in the cells, to overcome their drawbacks, shortcomings and limitations and acquire a higher communist character.

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# It is a Struggle to Remould Ourselves

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The object is to determine concretely in the course of this struggle, the stage each of us occupy in our struggle to develop as good communists, communists worth the name, and help each other to advance and develop continuously to higher and higher stages. Does it follow automatically that since I am in the Central Committee and happen to be the General Secretary so I have already attained the required level of ideological consciousness, political wisdom, cultural standard and mode of life which is expected of me? Am I sure that I am consistently maintaining that height of character and that pace to remould myself continuously which I should? This test and yardstick apply to the General Secretary of the party, to all members of the Central Committee and, along with them, to all members of all the State Committees.

9. Another aspect of the question should also be considered. Suppose, a certain comrade is a member of the Central Committee, or a State Committee, or a District Committee, which means he has acquired a certain level of revolutionary character. What is the true form of expression of his level? How to evaluate his standard correctly and concretely and how to assess how much his standard has risen and developed? In the General Secretary's Report to the First Congress and also in the *Prime Need of the Hour* it had been emphasized with force that an objective record must be maintained about each comrade separately. Leaders are not exempt from it. On the contrary, it should

start with them, and then with the cadres — I mean each and every leader and cadre. This objective evaluation is a must. I shall first ask you, comrades, beginning with the State Secretary himself, then the members of the State Secretariat, all members of the State Committee, each of you who have joined the revolutionary movement and are in the midst of the struggle to build ourselves as true revolutionaries following Marxism-Leninism and Thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, yourself to start with the objective assessment of the manner and extent to which you are conducting the struggle in your own life. This is what is called self-inspection, or self-criticism. Everyone should be on the alert and on constant vigil over this question, before all else, to assess how far has he himself succeeded in conducting this struggle in the correct method. If this self-evaluation brings home the realization that one is failing to conduct this struggle following the correct process, then it should be understood as his limitation. This is not a crime. He should then openly and frankly place his problems to the leadership to seek their guidance and take up the conscious struggle for overcoming it. The leaders, too, must take due note of it and sympathetically help the concerned comrade in every possible way to advance his struggle to be a true revolutionary by overcoming his limitations.

10. This is the necessity, the imperative, the prime need. Otherwise, limitations may always be there. There is no one among us who is above mistakes or errors. You all know it and never tire of saying it, too. But do we realize it with profundity and conduct this struggle accordingly? Or do we rather try to rationalize our mistakes? If we can ourselves realize where we are mistaken then it is very good. We would then at once follow the cor-

rect process, according to situations, to rectify ourselves openly. But if we cannot realize it ourselves, and it is pointed out by the leadership or by our comrades, then we should be able to admit it always at once and in all readiness — shouldn't we?

Now, how to create within the party a congenial atmosphere for conducting this struggle for rectification openly and freely? Could mere reading and discussing this booklet achieve it? Never. It requires a comprehensive and all-embracing ideological struggle to be conducted at all levels of the party. Study and discussions on this booklet is only one of the various methods to be adopted to conduct this all-out struggle.

11. There are many other aspects of this all-embracing inner-party socialist ideological struggle. All those have not been dealt with in this booklet. The veteran comrades who attended the schools of politics which were conducted by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh personally, or those who listened day after day to his discussions at the Calcutta party office and those who themselves saw and witnessed Comrade Ghosh's tireless efforts to tune, pattern and perfect this structure of ethical values, culture, and finer tastes of the comrades in the minutest and intricate detail of their everyday conduct, movement and behaviour — even including, for example, how a certain comrade behaved with another comrade on the spur of a certain incident, how he reacted to the incident and why he reacted in a manner unexpected of him — and those who have seen Comrade Ghosh's infinite care, concern and atten-

tion to all these subtle details will be able to visualize the varied, complex, subtle, intricate and all-embracing character of the struggle. This is what I am trying to explain.

12. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who made us realize that uniformity of thinking which we aim at in the course of this struggle is not a superficial or vague concept of unity only on questions of ideology, unity and solidarity of the party based on such uniformity. Such unity will not help us. The uniformity of thinking which we need and want to achieve implies one and the same process of thinking and oneness in approach in the total range of questions of ideology, politics, culture and organization, meaning it should cover all aspects of life, even the most intricate and minutest detail of them. Comrade Ghosh stressed most of all the question of the life-struggle of each comrade being the most essential element of this struggle. In this struggle, it was the leaders whom he spared least from criticism. Because, leaders are to set examples. Mistakes or errors by ordinary comrades cannot do much harm to the party, but in regard to mistakes by the leaders even the 'small' and 'insignificant' cannot be ignored. So, he urged the leaders to bring into open even the smallest of mistakes and combat it thoroughly and carry forward this struggle to become worthy communists.

13. Let me repeat, therefore, that it shall not suffice to go through the *Prime Need of the Hour* just once or twice. It needs to be read over and over again to receive its message in full and release an intense partywide struggle assimilating its true essence. In the booklet itself the issues have been treated in essence only, so that it might serve to give a start to the struggle. If this struggle is conducted properly, then you will find that in pro-

portion with its advancement all the untold issues and aspects, not expressed in the booklet, gradually coming to view to be transformed into issues of struggle. In the course of it leaders and cadres at all levels will gradually become more and more developed, mature and conscious. The Central Committee shall also try, on its part, to present these issues more concretely. On the other hand, in the course of this struggle, each of you shall be contributing something new, which will even more enrich the collective wisdom, and that enriched wisdom will advance the struggle to a higher stage.

We must go on developing the struggle without relent to higher and still higher stages by encouraging constant exchange and interaction of ideas and experiences of each other, and this will simultaneously also hasten the individual development of each leader and cadre.

14. The object of this struggle is solely to help the party — all its leaders and cadres — to flourish in the speediest and best possible manner so that we can meet the prime need of the present situation. The name of the booklet itself is the *Prime Need of the Hour*. Meaning thereby that we must grasp and fully realize what the present situation enjoins on us to do, what it demands and what, therefore, are the needs before the party precisely at this hour. Leaders at every level should, therefore, understand what the Central Committee really means when it urges them to begin this struggle. For any mistakes or inadequacies in explaining it properly on the part of the Central Committee, on

my part also, you are to approach me. That way you will help me to correct myself. This is essential. I mean to say: Keep alive the process of dialectical interaction of ideas in our party life. In keeping it alive, the best role can be played by those, as I must say, who are unsparing in self-analysis and self-criticism of their conduct. This is an imperative necessity even for leaders at the highest level. It applies first and foremost to the central leaders. The state leadership comes next. Comrades at further lower levels should firstly be helped, rather than issuing them instructions over it. Even when they may fail to grasp the essence of this struggle they should be helped with boundless sympathy. They should be helped to develop and flourish. They should be guided to correctly conduct their struggle for acquiring as quickly as possible the true communist character. This entails that the leaders perform an immediate task to educate them adequately as quickly as possible in philosophy, the social sciences, economics, politics, international situation, national situation and also educate and train them on the nature of the attacks threatening the revolutionary struggles and the ways to combat all these.

15. This process had started in the party from before the Plenum itself. You must have noticed that since a few years from now the party organs, especially in their special issues, have been bringing out, side by side with the evaluations made by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, selections from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Different aspects of the life struggle and teachings of these great leaders are being published. The Central Committee decided to do it to reaffirm the nobility of communism in order to dispel the confusion

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# Ideological Struggle Is Not A Mere Theoretical Exercise

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worldwide following the recent setback in the world communist movement and to counter the renewed malicious and slanderous reactionary campaign against Marxism-Leninism in its wake and to simultaneously strengthen the ideological struggle inside our party to speedily advance at the same time the revolutionary movement in our country by clearing all these confusions. Surely, you have gone through them. But it is not a matter of reading them for only once. The point is how far you have progressed in assimilating them really by reading them again and again and applying in practice those teachings in life and in the organization. Only this can guarantee that we shall be able to face the situation properly and adequately. We are not alone to conduct this struggle. In different other countries, after the setback, revolutionary forces are organizing themselves anew and battles have started afresh. Who are these forces, what is their total outlook and approach, or how strong they are — all these we do not yet fully know. But certainly there are some lights in the darkness.

16. The question which assumes the greatest importance and weight in regard to the ideological struggle is that, in emerging as the genuine communist party following the correct methodology, a basic condition needs to be fulfilled by the party which will be leading the revolution. This condition is that those who are struggling to become true communists, that is the exemplary communists in such a party, those who will constitute its highest leadership, meaning those who will be its staff members, must be able to completely identify their personal interest with the interest of the class, revolution and the party. And in the case of the general members, or to qualify for membership, it must be ensured that one has reached the stage of making secondary one's personal interest to that of the class, revolution and the party. Keen and constant vigil should be maintained to assess how far each one of us have succeeded in advancing in this struggle.

Earlier, membership had been conferred in many cases loosely, without paying proper and particular attention to this aspect. The General Secretary's Report placed before the First Congress warned against it and it was also brought up for discussion in the Central Committee meeting prior to the Plenum. The deliberations at the Plenum also laid strong emphasis on this question. Because, this, too, will largely determine how intense will be the struggle of the party as a whole for adequately raising the level of those comrades who, from the level of applicant members, have risen to the level of members. For example, in the past, we did, in many cases, confer membership on comrades knowing it fully well that they had not reached yet the requisite level. But still, when we did it, we did so in the expectation that they would soon be able to acquire that standard. But mere expectations won't achieve it for sure. Here it devolves upon the leadership to inspire and encourage them; draw them into the fold of the struggle to overcome limitations and to acquire the level demanded of a member; to simultaneously ensure also their own involvement in this struggle happily for making their personal interests secondary to that of the class, revolution and the party; and always to keep it living within themselves. This is of supreme importance. We have discussed all these in detail this

time in the Central Committee and it has been decided that henceforth membership will be given only after ensuring strict fulfilment of this requisite standard.

17. The shortcomings and lapses on the part of the Central Committee or on the part of the State, District or Local Committees, in activating the cells are due to, among other things, our inability and noncapability to keep alive at each level, as per its true sense, this ceaseless inner-party ideological struggle and political education to the adequate extent, be that in the party centres, in the party offices, in the regular comradesly associations or in case of even comrades' daily meeting together. The struggle to become true communists, for whom revolution is life, can never be a ceaseless and living struggle unless it embraces all these aspects of life and also goes on in all these spheres. There are other important sides which have to be incorporated and integrated with the struggle on the ideological-political-philosophical spheres. Failing it, our resolve to speedily develop the party for adequately answering the need of the hour will be reduced to an idle dream. Leadership has a crucial role to play here. Along with study and cultivation of this booklet at all levels of the party, these other important aspects, not expressly referred to in the booklet, should be gradually put into practice in our party life. I have mentioned some, not all.

18. A nice discussion made on it one day is not all that's to it. What I mean is that it must be seen first of all if the comrades can correctly grasp it theoretically. Keeping in view their level of consciousness and the manner and form in which they can grasp it, comprehend it, realize it, every effort has to be made to convince them so as to raise their standard and draw them in the struggle. Secondly, leaders have to involve them and give them constant guidance in this struggle. Otherwise, by their own effort, they cannot alone constantly keep this struggle living. There is the role of the leadership. For this I started my discussion saying that if, with assumption of higher responsibilities and with raising of one's standard further, one can struggle more consciously to keep alive in oneself the spirit of self-examination and self-analysis, then, on the one hand, one will be able to open up the way for one's own development and at the same time be able to help others also as much as possible from his position.

19. But if this process is not at work, the gap between ideology and reality starts to widen. Since when the comrades signed their enrollment forms, they learnt certain things. But the entire process of the ceaseless struggle one has to go through and is to prove in its course that one has indeed succeeded in making one's personal interest secondary to that of the class, revolution and the party and has elevated oneself from the level of an applicant member to that of a member cannot be covered in a single stroke. It has a beginning and also its highest level to attain. Similarly, advancing beyond this particular highest level and following the course of struggle one would one day reach an even higher level, that of completely identifying one's personal interest with the interest of the class, revolution and the party, and, after having passed this test, would attain the level of a staff member. This particular point, also, has not been emphasized in this way in the booklet. There should be proper grasp

of this point while studying the booklet and discussing it. If you can correctly pursue this struggle with utmost care and attention for creating a congenial atmosphere for study and struggle inside the party, then only we shall really be able to detect and identify where exactly the drawbacks, limitations and shortcomings are existing in our party life.

20. To begin with we are suffering from inadequacies in our approach itself, at every level and to a greater or lesser extent. To detect them will be our foremost task. We cannot wash our hands off because limitations are there! We shall have to try for the second time if rectification cannot be achieved in the first attempt; and for the third time, failing the second; again and again, this way. Everyone from his position shall repeatedly go on trying to remove the inadequacies by ceaseless effort. At the same time, we must bear in mind, it cannot be left to individual effort only. None can by himself achieve this. The General Secretary alone cannot do it, nor can the State Secretaries. It is not a matter of individual struggle or effort, even for the topmost executive of any party body at any level. We are thus led to the question of the individual and collective effort of each member of the body, to strengthen the hands of the leadership. Here again the question of analyzing what best role everyone of us can play in rectifying our own persistent mistakes and limitations assumes the most crucial importance.

21. We must understand also that if we fail to elevate ourselves ideologically, politically and culturally, then we will not be able to at all comprehend the problems correctly. This point has direct bearing on the question of our limitations. I hope you can follow what I mean. How can someone help eradicate the limitations, who is himself in the dark about where the real problem lies? The first prerequisite is, therefore, to self-examine first whether we ourselves are carrying within us a burning urge to constantly elevate ourselves. Whether even if the leadership fails to help one in time to get rid of one's problems, one comes out to seek their help and guidance. One must not forget that it is a lifelong struggle for all who are themselves fighting to acquire the tune of the communist character. It is an indispensable necessity for each leader for building up the communist character, irrespective of whether they are at the central, state or district levels. Then comes the next indispensable, immediate and urgent task, that of involving the ordinary cadres at the lower levels in the struggle. Hence, leaders have to play a great role in inspiring, leading and continuously carrying forward the rank-and-file members in the struggle.

22. So, I want to place it firstly before the central and state level leaders that, unless each individual member of the Central Committee, the State Secretaries and in a like way all members of all the State Committees can continuously cultivate in themselves the indispensable ingredients for building the communist character, then what help would they provide the others. Only in the course of conducting this struggle both individually and collectively shall we gradually be able to stand solidly as one man. It will not come in a day. Neither it is such that once a book on it has come out and we have also read it so the goal is attained and all prob-

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# A Leader Means Not Position But True Responsibility

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lems are over. No, comrades. I am repeating again and again that it is only the beginning. And also it is not such a complex thing that you should find it too difficult to understand.

23. According to Lenin, let me remind you, the genuine communist party is the advanced detachment of the working class. Further, he said, it is the general staff of the army of the proletariat. Lenin conceived this general staff as the natural, and not imposed, leaders of the masses who emerge naturally by dint of their struggle, quality of character, wisdom and by playing actual leading roles in the struggles of the people. The test for each party member should be to see whether in the course of being with and organizing them, they can emerge, as per the Leninist concept, as such members of the general staff on their own merit. In our Constitution, we have not yet made it a clause. Because, in most cases, we have not yet achieved it. But we must reach it. And precisely in order to reach this level, we must first raise our struggle for self-development to a much higher plane. For this, through this struggle, each member in the central leadership and in the state leaderships shall have to attain this stature of real leaders of the party rank and file first. Shall they not have to attain that minimum standard first so that they emerge before all comrades as the living example of this struggle?

24. As I already said, shortcomings and limitations are not crimes. But closing one's eyes to one's own limitations is inexcusable. Should we not at least feel the pangs of conscience when the cause of revolution, in the presentday situation especially, appeals to us to plunge into the struggle to overcome our limitations, yet we fail to response with our full initiative and resolve? Do we feel it? Even as I may be ridden to bed, should not the thought haunt me as to how far and in what way can I serve the class, revolution and the party? Who can vouch it that a revolutionary, even when he gets on in age, shall be able always to work in the fields and factories, never getting ill, never taking to bed? But whatever may be his state, if he can retain his revolutionary consciousness, then he shall never confuse and confound his real mission in life. But are we always firm on it? I don't mean to slight anyone. I am saying all this for the purpose of self-realization and self-introspection. All of us have a certain idea about our own political-cultural standard and level of conception of revolution, isn't it? Then face the reality, pinpoint your weaknesses and take proper steps against them.

25. I now come to another point. Everyone of us have to check and assess repeatedly how far and how deeply we have been able to assimilate and make blood of our blood the knowledge we have gathered from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the question which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh so often emphasized. The more the comrades will attain the minimum communist standard and elevate themselves speedily and in ever greater numbers to the level of professional revolutionaries, and, in this course those cadres of today elevating themselves to the position of the organizers of tomorrow and the organizers of today emerging as the natural leaders of some section of the toiling masses, the more they will reach, in the language of Lenin, the position of the general staff of the army of the proletariat. To do that you have to

launch an all-out struggle. It will not suffice to limit yourselves to knowledge from books alone. Many of the aspects of this struggle are known to you. Those which you don't possess will be rendered by the leadership. To that end this booklet sets the beginning. Grasp the essential points from it.

26. Initially I had the idea that today I shall not speak anything myself but shall hear from you how much of the essence you have grasped from it. But I see, you have not yet cultivated it at all in that direction. So I spoke by way of setting the guideline for how the booklet should be received into your mind. Whether truly we shall be able to make it a living struggle or not, all depends on this reception. Correction of past mistakes and thereby elevation of your personality can be done when and only when we can keep always a watchful eye on the lessons from the past mistakes that we gather in this method.

27. You seem to hold a conception that thousands of routine and other works are creating hindrance to the launching of the struggle in the way it should be. But I should tell you, this struggle will not pose any special difficulty for you to perform your thousand other tasks. It will not even pose any special difficulty in carrying out programmes for the Anti-Imperialist Convention on the kind of scale the party is contemplating to hold it. We are only in the initial stage of preparation and later you will know about it in greater detail. But whatever its dimension ultimately, you won't have any special difficulty. If you, the leaders at the different levels, can conduct this struggle

combining all hands and can coordinate efficiently all other works and programmes with this main struggle, then you will not have to launch any separate endeavour for these works. This is my point.

28. In the same method all the class and mass struggles may be made complementary to this main struggle. This inner-party struggle is by no means one that is divorced from the mass life. We have not started it to limit it to mere theoretical exercises in our party offices or in the offices of the frontal organizations with silent unconcern for the daily attacks on the lives of the masses. This point also has been mentioned in the booklet. The leadership should see that this struggle gets priority over all these works. That will be possible only when the leaders and then the cadres down to cell level can grasp the true import of this struggle. Otherwise, we will simply get entangled in a mass of routine works, and go on lamenting. But nothing will come out of that. We are to self-analyze whether we have got equipped enough in this struggle which is the prime need of the hour.

Again I say, it is no task of an individual leader. It is for all the leaders — first the Central Committee leaders, then for you, the State Committee leaders. You have to clearly grasp this idea of always to keep to the fore both individual and collective political initiative, which Comrade Ghosh constantly emphasized. I know, you, too, say it and it is well in your thinking. But the real test is in translating your thought into practice. What is the use of contemplating something new when you are not remoulding your self constantly according to your new contemplation? If one conducts this struggle for development within oneself then it cannot but have its outward manifestation. Six months or six years may not matter in identifying the physical

changes in the appearance of a man, or may be sometimes changes are marked. But the level of revolutionary character one has attained is sure to leave its mark in the eye of others — his appearance, his conduct, the way he speaks, his preoccupation, his involvement and identification with his assignment.

29. Think, what is our identity? Who are we? We are, so to say, insignificant entities in the great current of revolutionary political movement in our country. Even so, we have each a role to play in it. On how we conduct this struggle depends how and how much we shall be able to do our role from our respective position. To bring home this point Comrade Ghosh used to say that whatever a revolutionary did, he did from his revolutionary purpose. That is his *dhanda*. His revolutionary purpose underlies all his acts, his exchange of pleasantries, or the courtesy he shows towards others. Even as he may be seeing a run of the mill movie, a twinkle of a value in it may arouse an emotional response in him, which he will be talking with fellow movie goers to leave a message of that value with them. *Dhanda* is a particular idiom of the people from erstwhile East Bengal. It is not cunningness. Here it means a deep quest or mission. We eat, drink, sleep, exchange pleasantries, indulge in wits and humours, go to the cinema, watch the TV and at the same time plunge into struggle, risking our life. Whatever else we do, we do not flinch from our mission of revolution, nor do we disengage ourselves even for a while. This task is not easy, indeed it is hard.

30. When the book *On Communist Code of Conduct* by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was published, many asked: 'Is it easy to attain that standard?' Old timers will bear me out. True, it does not appear easy. Or why say 'appear', it is by no means easy to accomplish. Only an arduous and painstaking struggle can lift us to this standard. But from another angle it can be seen as not so difficult a task. Why? Because, we, who have come together to engage in the struggle to be revolutionaries, shall not be able to conduct this struggle to attain the communist character if we do not take it with ease and with a free mind. Surely there is hardship in it. But the revolutionaries who must win all hardship in this struggle to change the world and must overcome all obstacles on the way cannot but take this struggle with ease of mind. I mean precisely this. These aspects should be viewed in this perspective. This is the heart of the matter.

This approach is expected of the leaders at least. Because, the building of a uniform conception in the whole party covering all aspects of life — political, ideological, organisational and cultural — to achieve this goal through the struggle to remould ourselves depends on this. We must carry on this struggle every moment to rebuild ourselves, placing ourselves completely at the disposal of the party.

31. We should bear in mind that our near and dear ones, our father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, son or daughter, and all those with us in the party centres, knowingly or unknowingly play influence on us. Our environs influence us constantly. So, it is vital that we should be constantly on the alert, constantly on guard about it. With the force from depths of our realization must we carry

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# Cadres Should Dialectically Interact With Leaders

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on this struggle ceaselessly and without compromise. The deeper shall we plunge into the struggle, the greater shall be our development. The ability to express our feelings correctly in an articulate form is also a necessity. If we fail to realize the essence deeply and thereupon fail to conduct the struggle side by side to advance our thoughts then the force of the struggle will diminish. How can we succeed? The key to success is in constantly assessing our progress in remoulding ourselves and in turn plunging in the vortex of the struggle.

When we sit in meetings, so often we engage in debates, discussions and analyses on the communist code of conduct. But do we examine closely how we conduct ourselves in our dealings with comrades outside the meeting place? In our emotional exchange with our wives? In showering our love and affection on dear ones? Or how we react in the face of bitter and intense criticism? While in the party office we observe a code in our behaviour with our wives, children and other comrades. Here we are all comrades. But when outside the environment of the party office, do we behave with them in the comradely manner? Or, do we get influenced by alien culture? There are many comrades who cannot mix with the masses freely, being one among them. Association with the masses does not attract them. So, they cannot learn from the masses, let alone develop as the natural leader of the masses. And those who mix with the masses outside the party life, who stay with the masses and have exchanges with them, do they do all this keeping intact their revolutionary culture and values? This is the moot point. My whole emphasis is that our conduct should be such that when we are exchanging among ourselves outside the meeting, revolution remains our quest, our mission and the constant focus of our thought. In this process, our thoughts get transformed into our habit and we don't have to think of revolution separately, because no other thought exists in us in separation from revolution. Revolution gets entwined with our love, affection, care, sympathy and all feelings of emotion. That is a higher level, and this is the one and only road to reach it. Thus a communist wins the invincible power of emerging as the natural leader of the masses in a region. What is the source of this power? It is the strength of character, qualities and personality which he acquires by virtue of his realization about revolution.

32. The essence of the Central Committee's call for rectification and elevation is that the comrades who have attained the level of membership and staff membership must identify their limitations and shortcomings and elevate themselves, overcoming all these by conducting this struggle for rectification. That is, they are to elevate themselves by rectification. Again, for their rectification they are to make themselves part of the dialectical process living in the party. One aspect of this struggle for rectification is the help and guidance to be provided by the leadership. More important is the self-initiative and conscious struggle by the comrades themselves. The leadership will always be helping the comrades, whatever their limitations and shortcomings. But this is the role of the external contradiction. I would ask you, members of the State Committee present here, to keep in mind that there is the role of the external contradiction in your

case, too, but compared to the case of the rank and file members the role of this external contradiction will not be wide, unless you take to that struggle yourselves.

That is, I want to reemphasize, internal contradiction is the basic cause of change in every case. The external contradiction helps or complements the change, though at times it plays a very significant role. Even it may tremendously accelerate the pace of change to advance it to its culmination or nodal point. But don't forget that without the internal contradiction in force the external contradiction cannot by itself bring about a change. In the case of the rank and file comrades, the leadership plays the role of the external contradiction. But whatever be that role, unless you, those present here, on your own take to this struggle, it will have no effect. If you don't yourselves take the vow to rise from bed in time, the leadership cannot change your habit. They can wake you up on a number of days, but if there is no effort on your part, can you get rid of the habit? There are some who cannot give up the habit of smoking. They can give up all else for revolution, but not the smoking habit. Perhaps, I am sounding rude, but it is a fact and an important one for that. I was myself guilty of it. I was a chain smoker and I didn't know how much injurious it was. Now I am doing penance for it, to put it in religious terms. After the death of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, leaders approached me to say that I should no longer smoke. They did not know that I had already taken the decision to give it up. I admitted it to them. Only I sought their permission to smoke till the first memorial day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. I told them that they won't find me smoking thereafter. Because, my health is not my private property. Your health also is not your private property; it is the property of revolution, the property of the party. Who has the right to damage the property of the party? Anyway, smoking is just an example. The point is, if you try to understand the issues in this light you will be able to free yourselves from other harmful sides of your personal lives. There are many complex sides of life. May not be to the same extent in every case, but you must at least go on uncompromisingly trying to carry on this struggle hard and still more hard. You are not only to subordinate but also to identify your individual interest with the interest of the proletariat class, the party and the revolution.

33. How are we to know how far or to which stage our revolutionary consciousness has advanced? Is it by how much tears we shed or how much anguish we bear for the workers' plight? Maybe, one has his heart rending for the workers' plight, but is that to be taken as the true mark of pain for the working class? It cannot be so. The humanists also suffered the pang of pain for the plight of the downtrodden masses. Personally, did Gandhiji have any the less compassion for the poor and helpless people? Certainly, he was not a hypocrite. But with all his compassion, why did he take to the path of class collaboration instead of class struggle? It shows that compassion alone cannot lead to the correct path. Even as the pain may be unbearable, that will not help if you do not follow the correct method and pursue the scientific method to play the due role of the leader that way. A leader does not mean the position, a leader means true

sense of responsibility. Remember, if your standard falls in this respect, the standard of the rank and file members is bound to decline, no matter whether we want it or not. As a result, irrespective of our wishes, the dialectical process in the party will give way to the mechanical process, and lapses and deviations are sure to occur in the functioning of the party bodies.

34. To combat all this, the ideological struggle is so very imperative. From the day of inception of the party Comrade Ghosh had launched this struggle. Today there has been a lapse in it. We must admit this truth in the first place. From the experience of the international communist movement and the struggle to concretise Marxism-Leninism on our soil, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh handed down to us concrete teachings on the process to follow to build a genuine communist party, the correct way to train and develop the cadres, how the leaders should conduct themselves and what measures are to be taken to ensure dialectical relation and dialectical exchanges in the party and to continuously elevate the level of consciousness of the rank and file members and leaders. There has been now a serious lapse in pursuing the concrete guidelines given in the General Secretary's Report to the First Congress, which were framed in the light of teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Shibdas Ghosh. A glaring example of this lapse is the fact that other than in English and Hindi the Report has not yet been translated into the regional languages of many states to reach down to the grassroots level, let alone to being cultivated and to keep the struggle living in the party life. As a result, we have failed to keep alive the struggle of interaction of ideas among the leaders and cadres to arrive at unity and consolidation in the party that this lapse is there as a stern reality.

35. Yet we cannot despair at it. However hard it is, why have we joined the revolutionary life stream? Precisely to join this struggle. So is all this discussion. Else, it would have been a futile exercise. The point is, each of us should start it forthwith by himself or herself. We, who are engaged in the struggle to become communists, should have given a higher meaning to the religious teaching that one should practise oneself first what one advises others to do. But do we really live up to it in the same way the religious teachers of the past did? Failure to do is not so much a crime as the failure to realize that we are failing and the denial to admit frankly. But I want to say, whatever our earlier commissions, if the realization dawns now then now itself is time to plunge into the struggle. There are moments when history enjoins on some people, some forces to carry out some tasks forthright. If we fail to be equal to this demand, history will not forgive us. Do we have the courage to accept the challenge? I am convinced that not only we have the courage to accept, it is we who are capable of carrying it out. But it depends on one thing. It depends also on you, members of the State Committee present here and whatever the degree of your realization, if you will plunge into the struggle with that realization.

We know, everyone will not be able to conduct the struggle in the same measure. And no use

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## People Should Freely Criticize Our Lapses

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idealising it. What is imperative is that each of you conduct this struggle according to your highest ability. If leaders above fail to give you timely help or guide you in due course, don't wait for it. The essential guideline is given in that booklet. Conduct your struggle accordingly.

Another point. Only the leaders will teach the cadres and the leaders have nothing to learn from the cadres — such is not our understanding. The leaders also have to learn from the cadres and they will try to learn. But, remember, that will be possible only when the cadres will dialectically interact with the leaders while conducting this struggle. Interaction does not mean confrontation. For the growth and development of thoughts of each one of us, each will help others in the process of conflict and contradiction of ideas, the process of unity-struggle-unity. The atmosphere should be that everyone is extending his or her hand to help every other one. When somebody is faltering, others should rush in to set him right. Not by arguing only, but both with arguments and with emotion comrades should try to help develop all the qualities in each other. The more you will elevate yourself, the more you will be able to play this role deeply, effectively and properly. This is the process you should adopt, each one of you, to advance more and more, and far beyond me, to emerge even a greater leader to lead the party. The party vitally needs that you come forward like this. It is a historical necessity now. Suppose the party General Secretary falls ill and gets physically incapacitated and bedridden, so he cannot carry on his functions. This may happen to other leaders, too. In fact, the situation is turning fast that way. Won't you realize its gravity and try to rise to be equal to it? I mean to say, the entire party has to produce better equipped leaders, better equipped cadres. If we in the leadership have some measure of capability, then the party shall have to give birth to even stronger and more powerful a leadership on this strength.

If this thinking appeals to you as correct, then make it your own constant thinking. Like Comrade Ghosh adjured us, make it your sole mission and occupation. All our relations, the relations between the comrades, the relation between a husband and a wife will take shape in the perspective of this struggle. Get yourselves into those relations, with the task of revolution as the focus of everything. On this depends the success of the leaders and the cadres trying to remould and elevate themselves.

Again I want to point out: Not that you will get all the different aspects concerning the ideological struggle in this booklet. But the essence is there in it. The need is to go by this essence. And for this I stressed that you should read it over again. When you read it a second time, a third time and the more you read it, the more its kernel will get revealed to you and clearer will be your understanding. Not only that you will read it individually and collectively, you will regularly exchange among yourselves your understanding. You will do it not only in formal meetings, but outside the meetings, too. Make it a habit of yours. You will then see that even before you took decisions in the meetings the same had been applied in practice. The result will

be that speedily you will arrive at unanimity in regard to your decisions in the meetings. And your mutual understanding will get much easier to attain. Even if somebody has confusion somewhere, it will help you to get over that.

In this way our mutual understanding will grow and develop, and that is essential to create proper atmosphere in the party and keep alive the ideological struggle. Otherwise, while carrying out a programme, differences may crop up over whether the decision for it had been reached or not in a party body meeting. A decision on an issue may not be reached in a meeting, even in two meetings. But if you discuss the issue both in the meeting and outside it, things will get easier for you and your understanding, too, will clearer.

I should like to mention another point, which in fact I raised also in the Plenum. The common people and all who support us, who praise the party's activities and have respect for us from whatever level of consciousness, but who at the same time are not vociferous and are not coming to the fore, must also be drawn into the vortex of the struggle. We should ask them to freely criticize what they consider our mistakes or lapses, whether it concerns the party's method of functioning, the behaviour of the cadres or the life style of the leaders. In the present situation we should accept it as a method to guarantee that our struggle is conducted properly. For this, it is necessary to learn in the first place how to stay with the masses, which task the party is repeatedly stressing.

As quickly as possible, we have now to make up for our failure to maintain the level of the ideological struggle which Comrade Ghosh had launched. The Central Committee calls upon us to do it. Can we not do it? The way we are now moving, if we persist in that then of course we shall not be able to do it. That is what prompted me to initiate this discussion. If you think I am wrong in my perception, please stand up and point that out, as I asked you earlier, too. On the other, if you are convinced that I have rightly placed the points, you should now apply yourselves to overcome all limitations and strengthen the hands of the Central Committee. To help remove the deficiencies and shortcomings which you may note in me and also in any of the leaders at the central level, make bold to openly criticise the same. Make the struggle living at every level of the party.

This is what I have understood from all deliberations of the Central Committee. The leaders are thinking how to take this struggle very quickly down to the lowest levels — this is a must. Right here we shall take the pledge, each of us, that whatever our mistakes and shortcomings prior to attending this meeting, howsoever casual our attitude in the past, from now itself after this meeting, our singular effort shall be to plunge into the struggle. May be we cannot do it in one stroke, but we will pursue in our effort unflinchingly. This shall be the kernel of our realization, not in words but in practice.

There are other many sides, other many issues. The whole cannot be embraced in a single discussion. But I thought I should at least place these points before you — the essence of the whole.

## In Memory of Comrade KIM IL SUNG

The great leader Comrade Kim IL Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), was born on April 15, 1912, at Mangyongdae, Pyongyang, to a most patriotic and revolutionary family.

He organized the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU), a communist revolutionary organization in 1926.

He organized the Young Communist League of Korea in 1927.

He was arrested by the reactionary police and put into jail in Kilin from 1929 to 1930.

In 1930 he put forward a Juche-based revolutionary line on the Korean revolution and formed the first Party organization, the "Society for Rallying Comrades."

He founded the anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army in 1932 and organized and led the anti-Japanese revolutionary war from 1932 to 1945.

He reorganized the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in 1934 and in 1936 he founded the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and was elected its Chairman.

On October 10, 1945, he founded the Korean Communist Party and was elected its Chairman and in 1947 he established the North Korean Provisional People's Committee and was elected its Chairman.

In 1947 he established North Korean People's Committee and was elected its Chairman.

On September 9, 1948, he founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and was elected its Premier of the Cabinet. He remained as the Premier and Head of State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from 1948 to 1972.

He organized and led the Fatherland Liberation War from June 1950 to July 1953 as Chairman of the Military Commission of the DPRK and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army.

He was awarded the title of Marshal of the DPRK in February, 1953.

He organized and led to victory the struggle for the socialist transformation of the relations of production from 1953 to 1958, and converted the country into a socialist industrial state from 1957 to 1970.

He was General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea from 1966 and President and Head of State of the DPRK from 1972.

On October 1980 he put forward the policy to realize the reunification of the country by establishing a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo.

He was awarded the title of generalissimo of the DPRK in April, 1992.

Comrade Kim IL Sung put forward "10-point Programme of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country" in 1993.

The great leader Comrade Kim IL Sung passed away on July 8th, 1994 at the age of 82.

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and communal forces is the apathy of the major leftist parties like CPI(M) and the CPI to properly channelise the growing anti-Congress(I) tide towards the path of militant democratic mass movement and thereby to give birth to a left, democratic, secular political alternative, it is being found that these two parties, the CPI(M) and the CPI, in the name of fighting the growing danger of communalism and religious fundamentalism are openly

ing tailism of Janata Dal simply further strengthened the grip of caste-based politics of Laloo Yadav, which clearly further enhanced the halo of Laloo Yadav as an apostle of poor and downtrodden people.

It is, therefore, vivid that while the machinations of the bourgeois class to misdirect peoples' wrath against the rule of the bourgeois parties proceeds well as per their desire, having encountered no difficulty coming from the left movement; the

of such people were excluded from the voters' list, summarily branding them foreigners. Clearly, taking advantage of the popular image that the bourgeois Press has very carefully cultivated for him, he has arrogated himself to the position of a supreme arbiter. His words are laws today. Whereas both the Congress(I) and the BJP are the beneficiaries of this autocratic conduction of elections, the cause of democratic movements and interests and unity of oppressed people irrespective of caste, creed and religion suffers immeasurably under his

## CPI(M)-CPI activists to put pressure on leadership for mass movement

pleading for alliance with the Congress(I). But everybody knows the Congress(I) during its long rule, during the post-election period at the Centre and in the states, has always acted against the interest of the oppressed minorities, directly fomented communal feelings and went to the extent of letting loose the police and para-military forces against the minorities. To the minorities, therefore, the Congress(I) is hardly less communal than BJP and its allies. Unrestrained application of TADA against large section of minority community is a case in point. Persecuted minorities, therefore, are at one to the oust Congress(I) from power. But the CPI(M) and the CPI, clearly are refusing to accept this truth. Relentless efforts are being made by them to paint the Congress(I) as progressive and secular force. Clearly, incalculable harm is being done to the cause of mobilization and unification of the really anti-communal and secular forces because of the obnoxious stand of these two parties.

Their attitude towards the Janata Dal is no less strange and harmful today. Clearly, their failure to develop powerful democratic movements against the anti-people policies of the Janata Dal is also helping the Congress(I) to exploit anti-Janata feeling of the people and to come back to power as we witnessed in the just concluded election in Orissa.

It is one thing to arrest, if possible, Janata Dal within the ambit of democratic mass movement, but it is altogether different to act as appendage of Janata Dal simply because it swears by anti-Congressism, overlooking the fact that when seated in power the Janata Dal is equally oppressive and anti-people. Although the Congress(I) has been somehow defeated in Bihar, it can never be said that it was a victory of the democratic forces as rabid casteism which directly hinders united democratic movements of the toiling people was Laloo Yadav's main plank in fight against the Congress(I). Whatever numerical strength the CPI(M) and the CPI gained it is due to Laloo Yadav's backing, and, needless to explain, that these two parties practis-

whole left movement today is in a total disarray. The task before the leftist movement, therefore, is to free itself from the ideological confusion as is being caused by the non-Marxist anti-left politics of the CPI(M) and the CPI and force their leadership by their honest rank and file to faithfully tread the path of real democratic movement. It is the only lesson that can be derived from the results of the recently held elections. The sooner the leaderships of the CPI(M) and the CPI realize their anti-people politics and take bold initiative towards unification of all the left and democratic forces against the twin danger of Congress(I) and BJP, the better. It is for bringing out the leftist workers' movement from the labyrinth in which it has got lost.

Another dangerous aspect of this years' election is the dubious role of the Election Commission, more particularly of Mr T. N. Seshan. Mr Seshan correctly gauged people's anger against farcical holding of elections and unscrupulous use of money and muscle power, resulting in denial of voting rights arising from rigged and manipulated election results. Although in the name of restrictive use of money and making election free and fair, he arbitrarily imposed hundred and one restrictions upon election campaign, it became clear like daylight that these in no way could make election free and fair. Starting from capturing booths up to bribing of election officials, all occurred in different places. Nothing could prevent the BJP and the Congress(I) from using money quite freely. Crores and crores of rupees were spent to manipulate election results. Seshan's diktat was of no avail. His tall claim of preventing communal campaign was as hollow as his empty rhetoric. The BJP and Shiv Sena forces conducted their nefarious communal campaign without meeting any resistance. In an unabashed manner he extended support to the demand of the Shiv Sena-BJP combine to debar lakhs of minority people from exercising their franchise. In a most illegal manner names of lakhs

autocratic hand as he is out and out a man of the capitalist class. It is unfortunate that here too, the CPI(M) and the CPI failed to correctly realize this dangerous portent and did nothing to mobilise public opinion against this autocratic style of functioning of the CEC.

This being the dangerous portent looming large in the national scenario, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India at its meeting held in Calcutta between 1 and 7 April, 1995, has urged the rank and file of the CPI(M) and the CPI to compel their leadership to give up this path of abject surrender to capitalist class and uphold the banner of united democratic movement of the toiling people. It has also appealed to them to take bold initiative to forge a left democratic alliance on the basis of a common minimum programme, certain principle and a code of conduct, comprising all the leftist forces of the country and taking them as its core and viewing it as an instrument of people's struggle which the Central Committee strongly felt would emerge as a powerful front capable of defeating the Congress(I) and other communal and reactionary forces.

### Read Documents adopted at the First All India Plenum of the SUCI

Resolution on National Situation	Re. 1.00
Thesis on International Situation	Rs. 4.00
Constitution	Rs. 3.00
General Secretary's Report	Rs. 3.00

### CC on Recent Elections

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*"When one individual . . . assailant knew in advance that the injury would be fatal, we call his deed murder. But when society . . . deprives thousands of necessities of life, places them under conditions in which they cannot live—forces them, through the strong arm of the law, to remain in such conditions until that death ensues which is the inevitable consequence—knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder just as surely as the deed of the single individual."*

Frederick Engels

not only played a typical compromising role by supporting in action the anti-people economic and industrial policies of the Narasimha Rao government while going on paying lipservice to the movements against these policies at the same time. In such a situation the Central Committee appeals to the rank and file of the CPI(M) and the CPI in particular to raise their voice against the policy of their leadership of hobnobbing with the vested interests and compel them to build up a powerful united left democratic movement against the Congress(I) and the BJP for forging a left democratic secular alternative comprising all the left and democratic forces to defend the genuine interests of the people at this juncture."

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE