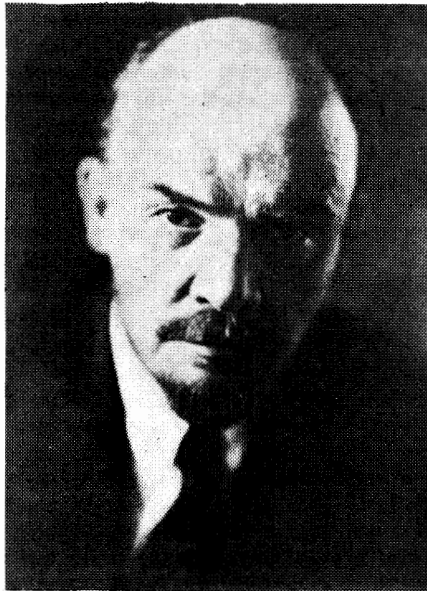


REMEMBERING LENIN



Born 22 April 1870

Died 21 January 1924

If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more ; but if a man says that he is a communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a communist.

—V. I. Lenin

[On the occasion of 72nd memorial day of V. I. Lenin we publish hereunder an article by J. V. Stalin on Lenin. This article portrays some aspects of Lenin's character with brilliant lucidity and revolutionary purposiveness.

Editor, *Proletarian Era*]

LENIN AS THE ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Written on the Occasion of Lenin's Fiftieth Birthday

There are two groups of Marxists. Both work under the flag of Marxism and consider themselves "genuine" Marxists. Nevertheless, they are by no means identical. More, a veritable gulf divides them, for their methods of work are diametrically opposed to each other.

The first group usually confines itself to an outward acceptance, to a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. Being unable or unwilling to grasp the essence of Marxism, being unable or unwilling to translate it into reality, it converts the living and revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless and meaningless formulas. It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its instructions and directions from an analysis of actual realities, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group. Hence that disillusionment and perpetual grudge against fate which time and again betrays it and leaves it "with its nose out of joint." This group is known as the Mensheviks (in Russia), or opportunists (in Europe). Comrade Tyska (Yogisches) described this group very aptly at the London Congress when he said that it does not stand by, but *lies down on the Marxist view*.

The second group, on the other hand, attaches prime importance not to the outward

acceptance of Marxism, but to its realization, its translation into reality. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is to determine the ways and means of realizing Marxism that best answer the situation, and to change these ways and means as the situation changes. It does not derive its directions and instructions from historical analogies and parallels, but from a study of surrounding conditions. It does not base its activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience, testing every step by experience, learning from its mistakes and

Condemn this verdict

With the parliamentary parties, big and small, fast engaging in the rat race for power at the elections round the corner, the Supreme Court has given a verdict that is more than a gift on the platter to the Hindu fundamentalist parties and forces. Only the beneficiaries would seek to deny that this 'enlightenment' by the apex seat of judicature of the land has made confusion worse confounded, pushing the well meaning and secular minded people one more step back to the wall and effectively contributing to the concerted bid to undermine the unity and solidarity of the people by those who control the corridors of power.

Briefly put, the Supreme Court has set aside the charge of corrupt electoral practices at an earlier election (1990) against the Shiv Sena Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. Manohar Joshi, who heads the present Shiv Sena-BJP coalition Government of the state. Ordinarily, the legalistic arguments of a court of law are of little or no importance to the common people. In the present case, except to those who consider that their overt and covert designs are facilitated by

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teaching others how to build a new life. This, in fact, explains why there is no discrepancy between word and deed in the activities of this group, and why the teachings of Marx completely retain their living, revolutionary force. To this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go farther and change it. This group is known as the Bolsheviks, the Communists.

The organizer and leader of this group is V. I. Lenin.

1 LENIN AS THE ORGANIZER OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The formation of the proletarian party in Russia took place under special conditions, conditions differing from those prevailing in the West at the time the workers' parties were formed there. Whereas in the West, in France and in Germany, the workers' party emerged from the trade unions at a time when trade unions and parties were legal, when the bourgeois revolution had already been made, when bourgeois parliaments existed, when the bourgeoisie, having climbed into power, found itself face to face with the proletariat, in Russia, on the contrary, the formation of the proletarian party took place under a most ferocious absolutism, in expectation of a bourgeois-democratic

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the apex court's verdict, the legalistic arguments appear to the people at large only as a smokescreen to hide a brazen pleading for the claims of the Hindu fundamentalists. The same need to be exposed therefore.

The charge against Mr. Joshi is that in his election campaign he had appealed to the electorate to vote for him on the basis of Hindutva and to bring in *Ramrajya*. Mr. Joshi is reported to have confessed that he made the speech but said that by 'Hindutva' he meant *rashtriyatra*, i.e. nationalism. He is also reported to have said during election campaign that with Shiv Sena's victory the first Hindu state would be established in Maharashtra.

The honourable panel of judges of the Supreme Court, the press has reported further, has explained in the judgement that : First, "Ordinarily Hindutva is understood as a way of life or a state of mind and is not to be equated with or understood as religious Hindu fundamentalism". Naturally, the BJP President, Mr. L. K. Advani, has claimed that the apex court

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REMEMBERING LENIN

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revolution; at a time when, on the one hand, the Party organizations were filled to overflowing with bourgeois "legal Marxists" who were thirsting to utilize the working class for the bourgeois revolution, and when, on the other, the tsarist gendarmes were robbing the Party's ranks of its best workers, while the growth of a spontaneous revolutionary movement called for the existence of a steadfast, compact and sufficiently secret fighting core of revolutionaries, capable of leading the movement for the overthrow of absolutism.

The task was to separate the sheep from the goats, to dissociate oneself from alien elements, to organize cadres of experienced revolutionaries in the localities, to provide them with a clear programme and firm tactics, and, lastly, to form these cadres into a single, militant organization of professional revolutionaries, sufficiently secret to withstand the onslaughts of the gendarmes, and at the same time sufficiently connected with the masses to lead them into battle at the required moment.

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The Mensheviks, the people who "lie down" on the Marxist view, settled the question very simply: inasmuch as the workers' party in the West had emerged from non-party trade unions fighting for the improvement of the economic conditions of the working class, the same, as far as possible, should be the case in Russia; that is, the "economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government" in the various localities was enough for the time being, no all-Russian militant organization should be created, and later...well, later, if trade unions did not arise by that time, a non-party labour congress should be called and proclaimed the party.

That this "Marxist" "plan" of the Mensheviks, utopian though it was under Russian conditions, would entail extensive agitational work designed to disparage the very idea of party, to destroy the Party cadres, to leave the proletariat without a party and to surrender the working class to the tender mercies of the liberals, the Mensheviks, and perhaps a good many Bolsheviks too, hardly suspected at the time.

It was an immense service that Lenin rendered the Russian proletariat and its Party by exposing the utter danger of the Mensheviks' "plan" of organization at a time when this "plan" was still in the germ, when even its authors perceived its outlines with difficulty, and, having exposed it, by opening a furious attack on the licence of the Mensheviks in matters of organization and concentrating the whole attention of the militants on this question. For the very existence of the Party was at stake; it was a matter of life or death for the Party.

The plan that Lenin developed in his famous books, *What Is To Be Done?* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, was to establish an all-Russian political newspaper as a rallying

centre of Party forces, to organize staunch Party cadres in the localities as "regular units" of the Party, to gather these cadres into one entity through the medium of the newspaper, and to unite them into an all-Russian militant party with sharply-defined limits, with a clear programme, firm tactics and a single will. The merit of this plan lay in the fact that it fully conformed to Russian realities, and that it generalized in a masterly fashion the organizational experience of the best of the militants. In the struggle for this plan, the majority of the Russian militants resolutely sided with Lenin and did not shrink from the prospect of a split. The victory of this plan laid the foundation for that closely-welded and steered Communist Party of which there is no equal in the world.

Our comrades (and not only the Mensheviks!) often accused Lenin of an extreme fondness for controversy and splits, of being relentless in his struggle against conciliators and so on. At times this was undoubtedly the case. But it will be easily understood that our Party could not have rid itself of internal weakness and diffuseness, that it could not have attained its characteristic vigour and strength if it had not expelled non-proletarian, opportunist elements from its midst. In the epoch of bourgeois rule, a

aspect of the matter. The Party could not have grown and fortified itself so quickly if the political content of its work, its programme and tactics had not conformed to Russian realities, if its slogans had not fired the worker masses and had not impelled the revolutionary movement forward. We shall now deal with this aspect.

The Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution (1905) took place under conditions differing from those that prevailed during the revolutionary upheavals in the West, in France and Germany, for example. Whereas the revolution in the West took place in the period of manufacture and of an undeveloped class struggle, when the proletariat was weak and numerically small and did not have its own party to formulate its demands, and when the bourgeoisie was sufficiently revolutionary to win the confidence of the workers and peasants and to lead them in the struggle against the aristocracy, in Russia, on the other hand, the revolution began (1905) in the period of machine industry and of a developed class struggle, when the Russian proletariat, relatively numerous and welded together by capitalism, had already fought a number of battles with the bourgeoisie, had its own party, which was more united than the bourgeois party, and its own class demands, and

proletarian party can grow and gain strength only to the extent that it combats the opportunist, anti-revolutionary and anti-Party elements in its own midst and within the working class. Lassalle was right when he said: "A party becomes stronger by purging itself." The accusers usually cited the German party, where "unity" at that time flourished. But, in the first place, not every kind of unity is a sign of strength, and secondly, one has only to glance at the late German party, now rent into three parties, to realize the utter falsity and fictitiousness of "unity" between Scheidemann and Noske, on the one hand, and Liebknecht and Luxemburg, on the other. And who knows whether it would not have been better for the German proletariat if the revolutionary elements of the German party had split away from its anti-revolutionary elements in time...No, Lenin was a thousand times right in leading the Party along the path of irreconcilable struggle against the anti-Party and anti-revolutionary elements. For it was only because of such a policy of organization that our Party was able to create that internal unity and astonishing cohesion which enabled it to emerge unscathed from the July crisis during the Kerensky regime, to bear the brunt of the October uprising, to pass through the crisis of the Brest-Litovsk period unshaken, to organize the victory over the Entente, and, lastly, to acquire that unparalleled flexibility which permits it at any moment to reform its ranks and to concentrate hundreds of thousands of its members on any big task without causing confusion in its midst.

when the Russian bourgeoisie, which, moreover, subsisted on government contracts, was sufficiently scared by the revolutionary temper of the proletariat to seek an alliance with the government and the landlords against the workers and peasants. The fact that the Russian revolution broke out as a result of the military defeats suffered on the fields of Manchuria only accelerated events without essentially altering them.

The situation demanded that the proletariat should take the lead of the revolution, rally the revolutionary peasants and wage a determined fight against tsardom and the bourgeoisie simultaneously, with a view to establishing complete democracy in the country and ensuring its own class interests.

But the Mensheviks, the people who "lie down" on the Marxist view, settled the question in their own fashion: inasmuch as the Russian revolution was a bourgeois revolution, and inasmuch as it was the representatives of the bourgeoisie that lead bourgeois revolutions (see the "history" of the French and German revolutions), the proletariat could not exercise the hegemony in the Russian revolution, the leadership should be left to the Russian bourgeoisie (which was betraying the revolution); the peasantry should also be left under the tutelage of the bourgeoisie, while the proletariat should remain an extreme Left opposition.

And this vulgar rehash of the tunes of the wretched liberals the Mensheviks passed off as the last word in "genuine" Marxism!

(Contd. on page 3)

LENIN AS THE LEADER OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

But the merits of the Russian Communist Party in the field of organization are only one

* Lassalle was mercilessly criticised by Marx on many occasions for his deviation from marxism. —Ed. P. Era.

REMEMBERING LENIN

(Contd. from page 2)

It was an immense service that Lenin rendered the Russian revolution by utterly exposing the futility of the Mensheviks' historical parallels and the danger of the Menshevik "scheme of revolution" which would surrender the cause of the workers to the tender mercies of the bourgeoisie. The tactical plan which Lenin developed in his famous pamphlets, *Two Tactics* and *The Victory of the Cadets*, was as follows: a revolutionary - democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, instead of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; boycott of the Bulygin Duma* and armed uprising, instead of participating in the Duma and carrying on organic work within it; the idea of a "Left bloc," when the Duma was after all convened, and the utilization of the Duma tribune for the struggle waged outside the Duma, instead of a Cadet Ministry and the reactionary "cherishing" of the Duma; a fight against the Cadet Party** as a counter-revolutionary force, instead of forming a "bloc" with it.

The merit of this plan was that it bluntly and

for those revolutionary tactics with whose help our Party is now shaking the foundations of world imperialism.

The subsequent development of events: the four years of imperialist war and the shattering of the whole economic life of the country; the February Revolution and the celebrated dual power; the Provisional Government, which was a hotbed of bourgeois counter-revolution, and the Petrograd Soviet, which was the form of the incipient proletarian dictatorship; the October Revolution and the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly; the abolition of bourgeois-parliamentarism and the proclamation of the Republic of Soviets; the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war and the offensive of world imperialism, in conjunction with the pseudo-Marxists, against the proletarian revolution; and, lastly, the pitiable position of the Mensheviks, who clung to the Constituent Assembly and who were thrown overboard by the proletariat and driven by the waves of revolution to the shores of capitalism all this only confirmed the correctness of the principles of the revolutionary tactics formulated by Lenin in his *Two Tactics*. A Party with such a heritage could

the masses. Such, for example, were Lassalle in Germany and Blanqui in France. But the movement as a whole cannot live on reminiscences alone: it must have a clear goal (a programme), and a firm line (tactics).

There is another type of leader peace-time leaders, who are strong in theory, but weak in questions of organization and practical affairs. Such leaders are popular only among an upper layer of the proletariat, and then only up to a certain point; when times of revolution set in, when practical revolutionary slogans are demanded of the leaders, the theoreticians quit the stage and give way to new men. Such, for example, were Plekhanov in Russia and Kautsky in Germany.

To retain the post of leader—of the proletarian revolution and of the proletarian party, one must combine strength of theory with experience in the practical organization of the proletarian movement. P. Axelrod, when he was a Marxist, wrote of Lenin that he "happily combines the experience of a good practical worker, a theoretical education and a broad political outlook" (see P. Axelrod's preface to Lenin's pamphlet: *The Tasks of the Russian*

Our comrades... often accused Lenin of an extreme fondness for controversy and splits, of being relentless in his struggle against conciliators and so on. ...it will be easily understood that our Party could not have rid itself of internal weakness and diffuseness, that it could not have attained its characteristic vigour and strength if it had not expelled non-proletarian, opportunist elements from its midst. In the epoch of bourgeois rule, a proletarian party can grow and gain strength only to the extent that it combats the opportunist, anti-revolutionary and anti-Party elements in its own midst and within the working class.

decisively formulated the class demands of the proletariat in the epoch of the *bourgeois-democratic revolution* in Russia, facilitated the transition to the Socialist revolution, and bore within itself the germ of the idea of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. The majority of the Russian militants resolutely and unswervingly followed Lenin in the struggle for this tactical plan. The victory of this plan laid the foundation

sail boldly forward, fearless of submerged rocks.

In these days of proletarian revolution, when every Party slogan and every utterance of a leader is tested in action, the proletariat makes special demands of its leaders. History knows of proletarian leaders who were leaders in times of storm, practical leaders, self-sacrificing and courageous, but who were weak in theory. The names of such leaders are not soon forgotten by

Social-Democrats. What Mr. Axelrod, the ideologist of "civilized" capitalism, would say now about Lenin, is not difficult to guess. But we who know Lenin well and can judge dispassionately have no doubt that Lenin has fully retained this old quality. It is here, incidentally, that one must seek the reason why it is Lenin, and no one else, who is today the leader of the strongest and most highly tempered proletarian party in the world.

Retrograde Verdict Legitimises Hindu Fundamentalism

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has upheld what they had been saying all along that Hindutva was not a communal ideology. Second, the court has held that the words Hindutva, Hindu and Hinduism in themselves do not amount to a communal appeal and they do not indicate hostility or intolerance towards other faiths. The judges have explained that the kind of use these words are put to and the meaning sought to be conveyed in the speech had to be judged; and that unless such considerations convinced people that these words were used to appeal for votes for a Hindu candidate on the ground that he is a Hindu or not to vote for a candidate because he is not a Hindu, the mere fact that these words are used would not make it unlawful. As regards Mr. Joshi's claim for establishment of the first Hindu state in Maharashtra with Shiv Sena's victory, the court's conclusion is that this by itself is not an appeal for votes on grounds of religion. It was an "expression, at best, of such a hope." Then, addressing to some legal technicalities, the

judges said that it had not been proved that the communal speeches by the Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray which were video - displayed during Joshi's election campaign had Joshi's consent and also, by implication, Thackeray's corrupt practice had not materially affected Joshi's election.

In the eye of the people the court's verdict can read only as follows: the court tacitly agrees with the BJP's contention, or has independently reached the conclusion, that Hindutva and Hinduism are two separate concepts. Secondly, after judging all that were sought to be conveyed in the election speeches of Mr. Joshi and the video - display of Bal Thackeray's speeches (amounting to corrupt practice in the judges' opinion), the court has held that Mr. Joshi's appeal to the electorate and for establishment of the first Hindu state was not an appeal to vote for a Hindu candidate and not a corrupt practice in the eye of law.

The fact is that the court's judgement has confounded the people. The court's concept of what constitutes Hindutva and Hinduism and its conclusion regarding the character (communal or not) of Mr. Joshi's election campaign is totally at variance with the concept of the common people in general and of secular minded people in particular. Deeper still, it goes to vindicate, at least objectively, the ideological claims of the BJP and its associates regarding Hindutva and undermines the supposedly anti-communal provisions in the Representation of Peoples Act. Leverage to any kind of fundamentalism is despicable. This one too must be denounced with all force.

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*The Bulygin Duma—so called after Bulygin, Minister for Internal Affairs and chairman of a commission, which, in 1905, drafted a law to convoke a State Duma, with advisory powers. But this Duma was never actually convened. The rise of the revolutionary wave in the autumn of 1905 forced the tsarist government to abandon this draft and to come out with the promise of convening a State Duma clothed with legislative powers.

**The Constitutional Democratic Party—the main party of the Russian liberal monarchistic bourgeoisie, founded in 1905.

France in ferment Workers' Upsurge Prevents Rulers from Welfare Cuts

France had not seen anything like it in nearly three decades. For almost four weeks since November, millions of workers, students, youth all over France have come out on the streets to protest against the Jacques Chirac-Alain Juppe government's announcement to reform the welfare package and to restructure the public sector. The French people were in no mood to allow the government to water down the benefits of a social welfare systems which had been achieved after a long history of struggle of the people.

The protests however did not come out from the blue. Social tension was brewing in France, for that matter in the whole of western Europe and the industrially developed countries of the West for quite sometime. The situation aggravated in the 80s and the so-called economic recovery about which the neo-liberal pundits brag about has not helped to reduce it.

The foremost reason behind this social tension is the continued high unemployment level which seems not to come down in the near future. In France almost one in every eight people in the labour force is without any job—even a part time one, and one in twenty has been without a job for more than one year which testifies the permanent nature of the crisis. Youth employment situation is even worse. The situation is not particular only to France. The unemployment situation in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries as a group is more than 7% of their work force and the European countries are contributing large numbers to this army of unemployed. In Spain, for example, one in every five in the workforce is unemployed.

Neo-liberal economic policies wrecked havoc with the economies of Europe. Diversion of more and more funds for purely speculative financial activities have led to increases in both short term and long term interest rates. This has acted as a disincentive for investment in productive activities. In fact, the average annual percentage increase in real gross fixed capital formation in the major OECD countries has declined to a paltry 3 per cent in the period 1979-90. The capitalists tried to stave off the crisis by technical upgradation of industries which resulted in large scale retrenchment of unskilled labour. The shrinkage of purchasing power of these unskilled labour in turn contributed to a diminished aggregate demand for goods and services. The resultant recession is still continuing and recent data shows a rising trend of unemployment of even the highly skilled labour.

The French government of President Chirac and Prime Minister Juppe, like all capitalist governments in such a social situation were more interested with the interests of the capitalists by taking measures to prepare France to join the European Monetary Union in 1999. The European capitalists propose to introduce a single monetary unit—currency—in all the countries inside the European Union. This, they hope, would bring some order into the prevailing chaotic financial situation by preventing flight of capital across borders and in managing exchange rates so that the EU as a bloc can give an effective fight in the not too far trade wars among USA, EU & Japan. They also hope that the monetary union

would expand the market for capitalists of individual countries. All these would bring about a respite from the continued crisis that is hunting them for quite some time now.

The European Union however, has set standards that by 1997 European countries must, among other things, reduce their budget deficits to no more than 3 per cent of their gross domestic product (GDP) to qualify to be included in the Monetary Union. France at this moment is running deficits almost twice that high. But the French government like their counterparts in other European countries are determined to bring down this deficit even if that meant cutting down public welfare. The importance attached to this monetary union by European capitalists can well be judged when German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the foremost advocate of this monetary union, recently told that monetary union was a 'matter of war and peace in Europe in the 21st century.'

The French government, to reduce the deficit announced a welfare reform package which was to reduce the budget deficit for 1996 by half and eliminate it by 1997.

The reform package envisaged to increase the length of qualifying service for full pension of public sector employees, tax on child benefit, reduction on expenditure on health care and 0.5 per cent tax on income as a welfare charge. The package also planned to do away with the role now played by trade unions in deciding the way specific welfare programmes like health care, pensions etc. are to be carried out.

The French government previously had announced a wage freeze for workers to be implemented after 1996. Retrenchment was planned in the railways, closing down of 'unprofitable' sectors were on the cards. Grounds were being prepared for eventual privatisation of the railways.

Besides, the education system was systematically starved of funds. Student discontent in overcrowded and understaffed colleges and universities was simmering.

The government's mid-November announcement regarding welfare reform was the proverbial last straw. The social volcano that was rumbling exploded with such force that it even surprised the leaders of trade unions and that of students. On 24 November, in what was the beginning of a series of major strikes, workers in the private sectors joined their hands, with their comrades in the public sector. Train, bus, plane and ferry transport remained paralysed. The metro system in Paris was stopped. Plane and ferry services that connect France with the rest of the world stood still. November 28 saw a general strike when people in large numbers came out in the streets of Paris, Toulouse, Marseille, Rennes, Nantes, Lyons, Bordeaux and 80 other cities. The students hit the streets throughout the country on 30th November. Altogether for 4 weeks the strikers paralysed France.

One very important aspect of the upheavals in France was the large scale popular support for the strikers. Though the government expected that there would be resentment among common people against the breakdown of transport and other services they were proved utterly wrong.

There were exceptional camaraderie among the strikers and the common people. This is noteworthy in a time when the monopoly-imperialist media the world over is trying relentlessly to create an apathetic attitude among common people about social problems and protests against them.

But why did the French ruling class attacked public welfare which any way account for only 5% of the GDP to cut deficit. It could have cut military spending which is more than 7% of the GDP. On the contrary, it preferred to continue its series of nuclear tests in the Pacific despite large scale protests at home and around the globe. Because, in the changed international situation after the disintegration of the socialist camp the French ruling class wants to play a more aggressive role. In the future trade wars between US, Japan and EU while Germany would lead the economic might of EU, France would provide the military muscle. In a recent interview president Jacques Chirac has said that, 'France is not an average nation.' It would effectively contribute towards the 'creation of a European defence pillar within the (NATO) alliance' which would be 'capable of defending the European civilization'. It is not difficult to discern that what Chirac emphatically calls the 'European civilization' is nothing but European capitalism-imperialism.

In fact, capitalists the world over are never bothered about the welfare of the common people. Whatever welfare the capitalist state are giving to the common people are because of the peoples' long and arduous democratic struggle. Particularly after the socialist revolutions in the erstwhile USSR and other East European countries, the West European capitalist states were forced to concede some welfare benefits to the common people so that people would not rise in revolutionary uprisings. Now, after the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and east European countries, the capitalists, do not feel any compunction to spend on peoples' welfare. In all the capitalist countries the state is increasingly withdrawing itself from welfare activities.

In France, though the government in the initial phases of the strike refused to budge from its position, in the end it had to concede in the face of peoples' resoluteness. The government announced increased allocation to universities and had put the restructuring of railways into abeyance.

The government has retracted the proposed changes regarding the length of qualifying service of public sector employees for full pension. It has also promised constitutional guarantee for protection of public services and utilities.

From the events in France one should not fail to note that the deepening crisis of capitalism—reflected in the mounting unemployment and collapse of the capitalist state welfarism even in the developed capitalist countries—is forcing the workers and common people of these countries to shake off their docility so long prevailing and to come out in the streets to fight for survival. This is the case not with France alone, in all Western capitalist countries things are developing more or less in the same direction.

Enlarged Body Meeting at Ghatsila

As per the decision of the Central Committee, SUCI, a meeting of the Enlarged House was held from 24th to 30th December, 1995 at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, Ghatsila. Besides the Central Committee members, the participants of this meeting were staff members, members of the state committees and state organising committees and the state incharges (where there is no state body). The meeting was conducted by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party.

This meeting took up, among others, the decision to observe Netaji Birth Centenary programme in a most befitting way with all solemnity it deserves. The observance of the centenary programme will be year-long, from January 23, 1996 to January 23, 1997. This observance will have to be conducted on the basis of scientific evaluation made by our great departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh about the historic role played by the uncompromising trend in our freedom movement as reflected by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, particularly taking into account various aspects of his life struggle.

It has been decided that an all India committee will be formed very soon comprising freedom fighters, close associates of Netaji, the former-INA members and eminent personalities of different states. Netaji, being the symbol of uncompromising fight against imperialism, the observance of this day should be made conducive to the growth of anti-imperialist struggle of today.

Elevation and Rectification Struggle

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, as per Central Committee decision, not only reiterated but also put stress on elevation and rectification struggle to be conducted at all levels conceiving the same as the pivot. It was urgently felt that the party must conduct elevation and rectification of the leaders to cadres covering all aspects of life to get rid of the alien trends and assimilate in its course the revolutionary essence in life and practice more and more. This struggle has become all the more important today not only to protect and keep on raising the cultural, ethical standard of all—from leaders to cadres down to rank and file workers of the party, but also to be equal to the task history has bequeathed our party. A new vista has opened up before the party through the recently held Anti-imperialist Convention on the one hand and through building up mass and class struggle in a way conducive to the task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution on the other, when all other parties known as lefts, Marxists, communists or democratic are openly advocating typical parliamentary politics in their bid to anyhow come to power in the next election creating an

Significant Victory of UTUC-LS

Close on the heels of Jute workers' united strike from 29th November to 2nd December 1995 the sweeping victory of Comrades Dilip Bhattacharyas, Md. Samim and Radhesyam Harijan defeating INTUC and AITUC candidates very badly in the elections of the Board of Trustees of the Provident Fund is very significant. About 5,000 workers cast their votes in this

illusion thereby, as if, this is the real path of emancipation of the proletariat. While the role of the Congress(I) as the main enemy defending directly this inhuman exploitative capitalist state machine and that of the BJP as the menacing force must be defeated, it is necessary at the same time to expose the role of the CPI(M), CPI, etc., as the compromising force between labour and capital.

However, it is heartening to note that the concluding address of the General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered before the Enlarged Body Meeting on June 7, 1995 in Calcutta was made available to the comrades in this meeting in English entitled *On Elevation and Rectification Struggle*. It has been decided to get this book translated in regional languages to carry it downwards to the rank and file and the supporting layer as far as possible.

Class and Mass Struggles

The state leaders gave a short report of different mass struggles they are conducting in their states and formulated some demands which they considered very burning problems affecting adversely the life of the people. It was decided in the meeting that a comprehensive plan of mass movements will be chalked out and the entire party and mass fronts would be involved to create mass base all over the country, which in its wake will also help to revitalise the class and mass fronts.

On the first day, i.e. on 24th December evening the meeting started with a brief report of the just concluded Anti-imperialist Convention. The exploration, nature of response and other aspects pertaining to number of delegates and observers, the total amount of money so far collected, etc., etc., was placed by Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee. The international aspects, i.e. the contacts and connections in different countries, responses and possibilities etc., were placed by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member, West Bengal Secretariat of the party and also a staff member.

Representatives of different states placed their reports and experience as also some critical observation regarding the Anti-Imperialist Convention. The reports of different states were very helpful in having a comprehensive view of this Anti-Imperialist Convention.

Election

The appropriate state bodies, it was decided, would place their suggestions very soon regarding the ensuing election (both the name of constituencies and also of the candidates including objective report about them) before the Central Committee.

The state committees will have to take approval of the Central Committee before making any announcement regarding election.

election held on 7th January last in Hastings Jute Mill, Rishra, Hooghly. Comrade Dilip Bhattacharya secured record ever votes and his margin was more than 1600 over his nearest rival. Out of 5 seats 3 seats were bagged by the candidates set up by Bengal Jute Mill Workers' Union affiliated to UTUC-LS. CITU could win only one seat and the other one went in favour of a candidate getting Congress support. This once again proves that the voice of real struggling force cannot be always gagged.

A large number of comrades representing different states took part in deliberations. Most of the Central Committee members also took part in it. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, besides speaking in between the sessions, delivered the concluding speech giving an outline how the party should stand as 'one man'.

The session on 24th December started with the song composed on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The session ended on 30th December with the *Internationale*.

Anti-imperialist Forum Condemns Prison Massacre in Turkey

All India Anti-Imperialist Forum denounces massacre of political prisoners in Turkey:

The Turkish State has unleashed a fascist reign of terror on the political prisoners. In Umraniye prison of Istanbul where the political prisoners were demanding better and humane condition of life, the Turkish police and Special Units mounted an armed attack on 4 January as a result of which five political prisoners of the Revolutionary Peoples Liberation Front (DHKP-C) were killed while scores of others were seriously injured.

After the news of the brutal attack spread, revolutionaries confined in various prisons all over Turkey intensified the protests. Political prisoners in the Buca prison in Izmir, the Merkez Kapali prison in Ankara; in Yozgat and the Sagmal cilar prisons in Istanbul occupied prison wings and erected barricades. In Istanbul hundreds of common people went on streets, built barricades and fought pitched battles with the military police. The authorities have since taken hundreds of people into custody.

After being informed about the incidents by the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (DHKP-C) whose representative Comrade Haci Bozkurt participated in the recently concluded Anti-Imperialist convention in Calcutta, the All India Anti-Imperialist Forum has faxed its strong protest to the authorities of Umraniye Prison; the Attorney General of Istanbul; the Director of Prisons of Turkey and the Turkish Minister of Justice on 6 January 1996.

Calcutta

6.1.96

WE ARE AGHAST TO LEARN ABOUT THE BARBARIC ATTACK BY THE TURKISH POLICE AND SPECIAL UNITS ON REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS CONFINED AT UMRANIYE PRISON IN ISTANBUL KILLING 5 AND SERIOUSLY INJURING 28 DHKP-C REVOLUTIONARIES.

WE CONDEMN THIS ONSLAUGHT CARRIED OUT BY YOUR REGIME AND DEMAND TO IMMEDIATELY STOP THE ATROCITIES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS IN UMRANIYE PRISON. WE ALSO DEMAND TO SETTLE POLITICAL PROBLEMS POLITICALLY WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS WHATSOEVER.

STOP THE MASSACRE IN UMRANIYE PRISON !

SUSHIL KUMAR MUKHERJEE

GENERAL SECRETARY

ALL INDIA ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORUM

Abusing Science for Super Profit

Whither High Technology ?

Bourgeois propagandists are working overtime in our country to sell the idea that the New Economic Order ushered in by the structural adjustments backed by technological upgradation will cure the Indian economy of its ills. It will open new employment opportunities and the benefits will 'trickle down' to the poverty stricken multitude. Even the so-called 'Marxists' have joined the bandwagon. Often, the glitter of the West, the USA in particular, is projected to befool the people. But has the glitter any substance whatsoever ? Has the benefits trickled down to the downtrodden of the USA after capitalism's reign for more than two centuries ? Has technological upgradation been able to create more jobs ? The data do not corroborate the claim of the bourgeois pundits.

In the United States of America, corporations are eliminating more than two million jobs each year. Most of the cuts are facilitated, one way or another, by new software programmes, better computer networks and more powerful hardwares which allows companies to do more works with few workers.'

'The effect of computer technologies has been most pronounced so far in the manufacturing sector—automobile, steel, mining, chemical refining, electronics, household appliances, textiles — where automation has cut many jobs. In the 1950's, 33% of all US workers were employed in manufacturing; today, less than 17% of the workforce is engaged in "blue collar" work, a proportion which is estimated to drop to less than 12% over the next decade. Between 1981 and 1991, more than 1.8 million manufacturing jobs disappeared in the United States. Employment in the steel industry has been dramatically affected in the US by the introduction of computerized mini mills. The minimills can produce a ton of steel with less than one-twelfth the human labour of a traditional steel mill.'

In the recent past as the service sector grew in the USA and contributed more and more to the GDP and outstripped the contributions of the manufacturing sector, it tended 'to absorb the millions of industrial workers gradually phased out of manufacturing, but now it too is being affected. Those of the recent cut backs in the US have been in the service industries such as banking, insurance, accounting, law, communications, airlines, retailing and hotels.'

'AT & T (American Telephone and Telegraph) now aims to replace more than half its long distance telephone operators, more than 9,000 people, with computerized, voice recognition technology over the next several years.'

In postal services, the US Postmaster General, Antony Frank announced in 1991 that more than 47,000 postal workers would be replaced by 1995 with automated silicon sorters which can read street addresses on letters and cards. Between 1983 and 1993 the US banks replaced 1,79,000 human tellers, 37% of their workforce, with automated teller machines.

For an increasing majority of people, long term job security is a thing of the past. Many corporations are creating a two tier system of employment: a core staff of permanent, full time

employees and a peripheral pool of part-time and contingent workers who earned an average 20 to 40 per cent less than full-time workers doing comparable work while receiving little or no benefits such as health insurance. In April 1994, for instance, two-thirds of new jobs created in the US were at the lowest wage level.

'In February 1993, Bank America Corporation which had posted record profits for the previous two years, turned 1,200 full-time jobs into part-time ones, estimating that 19 per cent of its employees would be full-time in the near future. At sports shoe manufacturer Nike's distribution facility in Memphis the number of part-time workers is doubled in comparison to permanent employees. The part-time workers' earning is 50% less than that of permanent workers. Moreover, the part-time 'contingent' workforce 'can be used and discarded at a moment's notice and at a fraction of the cost of a permanent workforce.'

'The very existence of part-time and temporary workers is used to drive down wages for the remaining full-time workers. In 1994, the (US) Census Bureau report showed that the percentage of full-time workers earning less than

poverty level income for a family of four rose by half between 1979 and 1992. One in ten US Americans received food stamps in 1992, the largest percentage since the food programme began in 1962. Many of the new recipients are the newly unemployed and working people whose wages are inadequate to enable them and their families to survive. The number of homeless and people living in inadequate housing has also arisen. More than 6,00,000 people, including 90,000 children, are homeless in any given month in the United States.'

But the crisis is not merely hitting the working class. Even 'a wide range of middle class white collar jobs are also being eliminated through "re-engineering".'

'When companies restructure their organizations to make them more "computer friendly", they eliminate layers of middle management. Such "re-engineering" typically results in a loss of more than 40 per cent of the jobs in a company and sometimes as much as 75 per cent.'

'Andersen Consulting, one of the world's largest corporate restructuring firms, estimates that re-engineering in US commercial banking and savings institutions will mean a loss of nearly 7,00,000 jobs over the next 7 years.' In Germany electronic and engineering giant Siemens has reduced the managerial jobs and thereby 'cut costs by 20 to 30 per cent in three years, and eliminated more than 16,000 employees worldwide'.

But why did the capitalists the world over replace human beings with machines and automation ? The capitalists, besides their urge for super profit, also want absolute control over the means of production. In the factory floor, therefore, the less the number of workers the better.

The machines and robots unlike human beings 'are always satisfied with working

conditions and never demand higher wages based on the company's ability to pay. Moreover, they 'cause less trouble than humans doing comparable work. Issues of hiring and firing, promotions, discipline actions, health benefits and safety concerns' which previously were brought into the collective bargaining process in every industry and were perceived as 'encroachment into the province of management' can safely be done away with. The capitalist class in short, wanted an 'emancipation from human workers.'

This "emancipation" may now seem closer. The few workers who still are not jobless are 'rendered powerless to exercise any independent judgement either on the factory floor or in the office and has little or no control over outcomes dictated in advance by computer programmes.' To keep pace with the pace of production the workers face more and more stress 'which often results in increased injuries'. Workers' stress in Japan under these conditions has reached near epidemic proportions.

In the past sixty years when new technologies were introduced, though workers were being replaced from their previous jobs, they were more or less accommodated within the jobs created by new technologies. Government spending and the market place helped reduce joblessness. But these methods seem to be a far cry in the information age.

The new high technology will generate jobs - but far fewer jobs than those they made obsolete. Their numbers will pale in comparison to the millions of employers in the distribution and retail sectors, whose jobs will be made redundant and irrelevant.

'The high tech global economy needs entrepreneurs, scientists, technicians, computer programmers, educators and consultants, all jobs which require high level of education and knowledge. It is naive to believe that large number of unskilled and skilled blue and white collar workers can be retrained as physicists, computer scientists, high level technicians, molecular biologists, business consultants, lawyers or accountants.'

As the home market became more and more constricted the US capitalists hoped that this crisis can be countered by new markets in less developed countries and the erstwhile socialist countries. But it is difficult to get markets in these countries 'because, among other reasons, the same technological and economic forces at work in the US are affecting much of global economy. In Europe, Japan and in a growing number of developing nations, automation and re-engineering are replacing human labour as an ever accelerating rate, thereby reducing effective consumer demand. In Sweden the Stockholm based food cooperative, ICA, installed a computer inventory system which enabled it to shut down one-third of its warehouse and distribution centres and cut its wholesale workforce by 30 per cent, more than 5,000 employees. In Germany, manufacturers have been shedding workers faster than the US: between 1992 and 1993, more than a half a million jobs were eliminated because of computerization and re-engineering.'

'With demand seriously weakening by rising unemployment and underemployment in most of the industrial world', the capitalists had tried 'to

(Contd. on page 7)

Hi-Tech for whom

(Contd. from page 6)

stimulate purchasing power by offering easy consumer credit. Buying in instalments, loans and credit cards purchases have become a way of life in many industrialized countries.' This phenomenon also gave rise to a boom to the financial sector. But these days are now over and cannot be sustained. 'In the United States, private consumer debt increased 210 per cent in the 1960's and 268 per cent during 1970's. Today, it is more than \$4 trillion (Rs.1,44,00,000 crores). Middle class families are paying nearly one quarter of their income to creditors.' Thus, this method of creating demand through credit is over as even middle class people can no more absorb credit to buy consumer goods.

Traditionally the US capitalists depended quite heavily upon advertising and other promotional devices for creation of demand which the economist John Kenneth Galbraith termed as the capitalists' endeavour to "create the wants it seeks to satisfy." This weapon has also become blunt, for jobless people with empty pockets cannot be stimulated by advertisements to purchase.

Since the Great Depression of 1930's, Western governments following Keynesian economics have used public investments to dampen the effect of unemployment. 'By the mid-1970's, more than 19 per cent of all US

workers had jobs in the public sector, making the government the largest employer in the country.

'Concerned over deficit spending and mushrooming debt, however, the government is now cutting back on public expenditure. Many of these cuts are taking place in public sector employment. The Clinton Administration has announced its intention to "re-engineer" the government, using many of the same management practices and new information technologies that have been introduced in the private sector.

World capitalism, thus is fast exhausting all its options for survival; its crisis has entered the terminal phase. Science and technology controlled by capitalists though bring them super profits at the cost of mass unemployment and destitution in the short term cannot be sustained for long. Because in the long term, as it exacerbate the destitution of the people it would loose more and more market.

It is the duty of the revolutionaries the world over to close their ranks to give the final shove to capitalism which is tottering on the brink. Science and technology must be emancipated from the vice grip of capitalism so that it can be used for the good of the people and not for earning super profits by a few.

(Source: The End of Work; The Decline of Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-market Era; Jeremy Rifkin. Published by G.P.Putnam's Sons; New York, 1995.)

on the other, gave birth to a government to loot the money of the people with the aim to convert themselves multi-millionaires over night, are again trying to come back to power by raising the slogan of deportation of foreign nationals which has already created a fear psychosis in the minds of the Indian citizens belonging to minority community. The anti-people Congress (I) Government which also has been betraying the cause of the minority people, taking the advantage of the situation, is trying to come back as savior against these forces. It is to be noted that due to this type of anti-minority stand of these forces, the possibility of forming anti-Congress (I) genuine pro-people government with the support of the minorities has become tough. The State Committee appeals to the people of the state to remain aware of the dangerous consequences of such chauvinist activities.

On EC's Order of Revision of Voters' List

In view of the recent judgment by the Guwahati High Court and consequent controversy regarding revision of voters' list of Assam and issuing of photo identity card on the basis of 1994 voters list, the Assam State Committee of the SUCI clarifying its viewpoint issued on 10.12.95, the following statement to the press :

Assam State Committee

On the Present Situation

The two-day session of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI held on the 12th and 13th December 1995 having reviewed the latest political situation of the state issued the following statement to the press :

The meeting of the state committee observes with grave concern that the unprecedented price rise of all essential commodities including food grains, inflation and acute unemployment problems are strangulating the people of the state. The ruling Congress(I) Government is pushing the people, particularly the students and youths towards unscrupulous corrupt practices turning the youths into criminals or slaves of the rulers. Corruption, particularly the administrative corruption, has assumed an unprecedented dimension. On the other hand, in the name of containing secessionist movements, the Congress(I) Government has not only let loose a reign of pliceraj, but virtually promulgated a martial rule in the state. But what is more pertinent is that, in the name of containing the ULFA, Bodo Security Forces, etc., the ruling oppressor Congress(I) Government has robbed the people of their democratic rights to launch movements against their misuse virtually trying to perpetuate a single party rule.

In this suffocating situation, all sections of people are hoping for the formation of a pro-people government instead of Congress (I) rule. The State Committee notes with grave concern that the parties like AGP, BJP, etc., are trying their best to get maximum political mileage utilizing this aspiration of the people of Assam. More particularly, AGP is trying its best to come back to power.

This meeting of the State Committee of the SUCI reminds the Assamese speaking as well as the non-Assamese speaking people that during the past five years regime of the AGP, it has been proved from their activities beyond any doubt that this party far from going into any confrontation with the capitalist system of the country, has itself transformed into another power which is very much in collaboration with the capitalist rule and exploitation. Therefore, people of Assam cannot expect any relief from them. They even to attacked and throtl people's democratic movements as done by the Congress(I).

The State Committee observes with further concern that the CPI(M) and the CPI, not with the idea to develop democratic legitimate movements but only to gain narrow electoral benefit have joined hands with AGP, and that too at a time when the right thinking people are apprehensive of the covert understanding between AGP and BJP. This meeting of the state committee appeals to the leadership of the CPI(M) and the CPI to abandon the path of backstabbing the toiling people of the state and to defeat the Congress(I) and the BJP in the coming elections, to take initiative to forge a real left democratic front on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme and a definite code of conduct and in the second phase an electoral seat adjustment with genuine anti-Congress(I) and anti-BJP forces so that a real pro-people government can be formed.

The meeting of the State Committee observes with great concern that the reactionary forces who after coming to power instead of detecting foreign nationals on the basis of 1971 cut-off year making the tribunals formed for this purpose active, engrossed themselves in the conspiracy of stamping the genuine Indian citizens as foreign nationals on the one hand, and

The Assam State Committee of the SUCI strongly feels that there cannot be any second opinion as to the detection of foreign nationals and deletion of their names from the voters' list ; but the controversy centres round the process of determination in such cases. The Election Commission, while conducting the preparation of the voters' list in the last occasion, issued certain instructions named as special revised instructions, which the Guwahati High Court and the Apex Court of the country through a judgment opined as violatives of the Constitution of India and R.P. Act. But in that process more than ten lac names of genuine Indian citizens have been struck off following the instruction. The Election Commission of India, while issuing the order of intensive revision with the dateline as 1.1.95, further issued certain instructions which also manifested the malafied intention of the Commission as in the previous case and apprehensions in the minds of linguistic and religious minorities centring round it are deepening. The State Committee strongly feels that the determination of foreign national is to be done strictly through judicial process and the accused should be given all rights to prove his bonafide as allowed in the law and not simply on doubts as held by the Highest Court of the country.

The state committee also strongly feels that the work of issuing photo identity cards has progressed a long way and lots of money has been spent in the process. It should not be disturbed at this stage, rather the E.C. should ensure all measures for the inclusion of the names of all those 10 lac genuine Indian citizens whose names have been dropped from 1994 voters' list in spite of having all valid documents and arrangements for issuing cards to them.

School of Politics of Bihar AIDS

About a hundred and twenty five delegates of AIDS from various schools, colleges and universities from all over Bihar converged at the study centre of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatsila to attend a school of politics. It was conducted by Comrade Tapas Dutta, member of the Central Committee, SUCI. The three day long school commenced from 20th December '95 with the song in memory of the great departed leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

The deliberations began with an introductory session in which Comrade Tapas Dutta stressed the importance of cult of knowledge and differentiated between bourgeois scholasticism and attainment of revolutionary knowledge. He went on to explain in the subsequent sessions with lucidity, citing examples from religions, epics and folk tales the various stages in the development of the human society, the transformation from primitive clan society to civilisation, the invention of agriculture, animal rearing, rise of private property and division of the society into two classes the exploiter and the exploited.

The deliberations revealed that unless the exploiters were done away with, unless the division of classes ceased to exist, the multifarious problems in this era of moribund capitalism would only accentuate.

Comrade Dutta also threw light on the nefarious designs of imperialism, the GATT agreement, multinational interventions, the growing danger of war and explained the necessity of building a worldwide militant peace movement to thwart the attempts of the imperialists to wage war.

Among the other leaders who addressed the audience were Comrade Amritheshwar Chakraborty, Bihar State Secy. of SUCI, Comrade Rabin Samajpati, former General Secretary, AIDS, Comrade Dipankar Roy, former Vice President, AIDS and Comrade Bipin Mahato, Bihar State Secretary, AIDS. They explained to the delegates about the degradation in the cultural sphere that in this era of moribund capitalism individualism is bound to be of the worst kind and unless a relentless battle was waged against this individualism mere pious wish would not help one to continue on the path of revolution.

Side by side with training in the political theoretical sphere the delegates told about taught the importance of a disciplined way of life. They participated with great enthusiasm in the morning drill session and classes of physical training.

The singing of the *Internationale* and slogans of 'long live revolution' marked the end of the three day long camp on 22nd December '95. A short cultural programme followed in which many songs, recitations and one act plays were presented by the delegates.

On the final day the participant student comrades presented Guard of Honour to the revolutionary memory of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. They held a grand march past before the bust of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh while Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI bade red salute.

There were mixed feelings as the comrades departed. While living together, they had learnt and were inspired deeply by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and by the collective way of life they led. They left for their respective destinations with a firm resolution to fulfil the dreams of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to pave way for a socialist transformation of the society.

Supreme Court Verdict

(Contd. from page 3)

We shall not go here into the supposedly anti-communal provisions of the Representation of Peoples Act and into the history of how the Rajiv Gandhi Government had sought to dictate provisions into the constitutions of political parties to which all these parties had bowed, except for our party. But let us consider the true meaning of the election campaigns or the general rhetorics of the BJP, Shiv Sena and their *Parivar* members.

It should suffice to say that religion as a category has, at its base, a way of life, that is an outlook on life, a certain concept and values. Every particular religion is founded upon a particular way of life, particular concept and values. The two-way of life and faith grown around it —are entwined and inseparable. Hinduism as a religion has grown on the base of Hindutva or Hindu way of life. Hinduism as a religion has not grown on any non-religious base. It is a historical matter how in a given land, over a long socio-economic-political—historical phase, Hindutva and its concrete practice in life, which precisely is Hinduism in all its ramifications, evolved in a complex way. To claim that Hindutva and Hinduism are separate is to indulge in falsification of history, deliberately or as unwitting victim of others' design.

But then who in this land is ignorant of the BJP's political game to ride to governmental power by fanning up religious sentiments of the majority religious community? To pander to religious sentiments —is that communal or not? To fan up issues of religious bearing to foment the religious passion of one community against another—is that communal or not? To indulge overtly or covertly in religious considerations during election campaigns—is that communal or not? The Shiv Sena and some such parties and forces do it brazenly. The BJP, on the other, does it surreptitiously, at times openly even. If these acts are communal, then the BJP, Shiv Sena and the entire *parivar* are guilty of corrupt practices. What calculation did prompt it to start the Ramshila programme before the Lok Sabha polls of 1989? What consideration did motivate L.K Advani to embark on the Ramratha Yatra with the cut out of lotus, the election symbol of BJP, on the ratha? What design did it have behind its operation to demolish the Babri Masjid? What orientation does drive it to single out mostly a particular minority religious community as target of its vilification especially during election campaigns?

Anyone with reason in mind would agree that all this performance of the BJP, Shiv Sena and their *parivar* has one objective in common, which is to fan-up the religious sentiment of the majority religious community, confuse people and misdirect their discontent against socio-political-economic exploitation and

oppression into religious sentimental channel and win the electorate with communal appeal to ride to power. All that rhetoric to distinguish Hindutva from the faith of Hinduism is mere smokescreen to hide the essential communal content of the entire performance in order to avoid the charge of corrupt electoral practice under provisions of Representation of Peoples Act. The *Parivar's* success, as witnessed in now its present rise in the ladder to power, attests not only to its skill to exploit religious sentiments of the people, it underscores also the tacit support the *parivar* now receives from the organs of the state itself.

Think of the BJP's other game when it clamours for a uniform code for all sections and religious communities. It sounds nice to hear it until one also hears the BJP's argument that in a democracy the majority community's wishes shall prevail because democratic principle allows for majority decision to prevail. And so in 'Hindustan' the Hindu majority code shall prevail over all minority codes and that is to be the uniform code!

That is why the BJP's Senior Vice President, Mr. Sikandar Bakht, could boastfully assert: "In fact secularism in India rests on the concept (Hindutva). If there is no Hindutva there will be no secularism since 84 percent of Indians are Hindus." (The Statesmen, 9.1.96) Which means, secularism shall have to mean in India surrender by the minority communities to the way of life, concept and values of the majority Hindu community! Even the most gullible will find it too devilish a twist to the concept of democracy and secularism to swallow. But that is the BJP and its *Parivar*!

Yet we are required to believe that the meanings of Hindutva and Hinduism sought to be conveyed in all these manoeuvres are devoid of communal connotations. Or, at best, these are "expression of such a hope". Or, even more, they are no material factor to influence the electorate during election campaigns. We had better believe, should the wisdom of the judges prevail on us, that these words are used by the BJP, Shiv Sena and their associates "to promote secularism".

Will it be an aspersion to say that the apex court's verdict is one clear revelation of the judiciary's true role in the capitalist society of today? The people should judge better, because they must overcome all illusion about the sanctity of the bourgeois law and court of law. The sooner, the better.

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