

## UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Demands Open and Public Enquiry on Chasnala Colliery Disaster

Comrade Pritish Chanda one of the Secretary of the All India Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and member of the Central Committee of the SUCI and Comrade Hem Chakrabarty, Secretary of the Bihar Coal Miners' Union, left for Chasnala immediately after hearing the news of the disastrous mishap from Dhanbad. The various informations they were able to collect after their arrival at Chasnala on the 28th December is both tragic and heart-rending. Though the causes of explosion and deluge in this biggest ever mine mishap in the history of such accidents are yet to be revealed, it has already been confirmed that the 372 coal miners' employees who had gone down to work in the first shift on 27th December are all still under water. The authority too have not been able to deny that it is impossible to pump out

the water or recover the bodies from the mine before 15-20 days.

### The Source of the Accident

In the adjacent water logged pit of the Chasnala mine, abandoned since 35/36 years back, a thundering explosion took place at about 2 p.m., accompanied by sand storm and clouds of smoke. Simultaneously, a land slide, covering an extensive area of the roof of pit number four, also took place. Consequently, the accumulated water of the abandoned pit completely flooded the Chasnala mine. The authorities have not been able to give any assurance on whether the 372 miners marooned in consequence of the tragic mishap and struggling with death, can be recovered alive.

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### Make the 21st Foundation Anniversary of AIDS O A Grand Success

Central Gathering :- On 19th January, 1976,  
at University Institute Hall, Calcutta at 3 p.m.

Main Speaker :- Comrade Provash Ghosh,  
President, All India Committee, AIDS O.

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# Proletarian Era

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## MURSHIDABAD WORKERS' CONVENTION

Berhampore, 27th December '75: A trade union convention under the auspices of U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani) and presided over by Comrade Raihan Biswas, a noted labour leader of the district was held today in the local Grant Hall, amidst great enthusiasm and encouragement and attended by about four hundred delegates representing all sections of workers, employees in order to register protest against retrenchment, lock-out, lay-off, closure and bonus ordinance and demand of alternative and adequate employment of road-side shop-keepers. In the main resolution placed by Comrade Swapan Ghosal, the Asst. Secretary of Murshidabad District Hawkers' Union emphasis has been laid on united efforts and adoption of united programme of all left and democratic trade

unions against all the anti working class activities of employers and vested interests and an appeal was made to organise the workers employees to hold such convention to be held in various factories and localities of the district. In support of this resolution Com. Achintya Singha, the Secretary, Murshidabad District Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in his speech has stated that under the...situation whatever organisation one may belong to there is no alternative to any for survival but to stand united against all the anti-working class activities... The main speaker and Chief Guest of the convention, Comrade Fatick Ghosh, the General Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) after recalling the long history, of sincere endeavour of this organisa-

tion to evolve an united programme and initiative under the prevailing situation stated that the other left organisations including the CITU did not join with our effort. We still hope they will come forward to take joint initiative and pursue this joint effort. In his long speech discussing innumerable and concrete examples of the various nature of onslaught that has been unleashed by the employer and the vested interest on the workers and employees ..... Two other resolutions relating to the eviction of roadside shopkeepers and trade union rights have also been accepted in this convention. Fifteen delegates belonging to different Workers Unions have taken part in the deliberations on the various resolutions which came up in this convention.



On the Left : Comrade Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) West Bengal State Committee, addressing the gathering ; on his right side sitting Comrade Raihan Biswas, President of the Convention and Comrade Achinta Singha is also seen on the dais. On the Right : a section of the delegates of the Workers and Employees Convention at Grant Hall, Baharampur.

# Eradication of Individualism and Economism—A Task of Cultural Revolution

To any genuine Marxist-Leninist, a genuine revolutionary, the role and significance of the cultural revolution, and the necessity of conducting cultural movement both before and after the technical revolution, i.e. the seizure of power by the working class is amply clear. In each and every country, the genuine revolutionary party has had to perform this task. It is for this reason that all genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary leaders of different countries off and on highlight on the significant teaching that to overthrow any alien political power, and to consolidate the new political power of the people established through revolution, it is always necessary to do work in the cultural-ideological sphere. Because, the fundamental question of every revolution is not only to capture power, but to consolidate it and develop it further. And, this task can only be fulfilled on the one hand by freeing the people from the ideas, ethics and culture of the old society—the thoughts and ideals that were conducive to the furtherance of the interest of the old alien ruling class, and on the other by imbibing among the people new ethical and moral code of life, a new culture and ethical values covering each and every aspect of life of the people. The new thoughts, ideas and values that being conducive to the growth of the new society, established through revolution, help to protect the revolution, consolidate it and lead it to its complete victory. It is not that the tasks can be fulfilled at one time, once for all. On the contrary it is an uninterrupted process that passes through different stages. Each and every particular stage has definite objective and tasks to fulfil. After the successful completion of these tasks, with the end of a particular stage, it will enter a new and higher phase, where both the content and form of the cultural movement will no doubt change, but the cultural revolution will continue as ever.

It is no doubt a difficult thing to overthrow the alien ruling class, the known enemy of the people, who, of course, is easy to identify before the revolution. But it is a far more difficult task to fight the enemy out, through struggle in the cultural-ideological sphere, after the revolution, when it surreptitiously exists in the form of the culture, habits, morals and ideas of the old ruling class—a thing which continues for a long time within the society even after the revolution.

And if for some reason, whatever that may be, a revolutionary party even after the seizure of power through revolution, fails to fulfil the task of cultural revolution, then the ideas and values of the old society still influencing the people will play a dominant role in giving birth to revisionism, and this then will not only arrest the further consolidation of revolution but also help to develop the

tendency of restoration of the old order.

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Long ago, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, our revered leader and teacher while observing on Chinese Cultural Revolution, drew our attention to these vital aspects of the significance and task of cultural revolution.

Comrade Ghosh, both in his famous booklet on Chinese Cultural Revolution (Chiner Sanskritic Biplab) and his other articles and lectures, has thoroughly and brilliantly dealt with this subject matter.

While exposing the evil effect of the bourgeois decadent values that even in a socialist society, if the tasks of the cultural revolution are not performed, may give birth to new vices, a new prototype of

the old, vile bourgeois individualism, Comrade Ghosh has drawn our attention to the fact that, basically in a Socialist system there lies contradiction centering round both economism and the idea of providing material incentive in production. In general, during the period of socialist construction, the workers are apt to develop a tendency to secure more and more material benefits and individual gains. They, therefore fall victims to economism. In other words, the level of consciousness of the ordinary workers is such that to them, socialism stands as a set up, where they can have more and more material benefits and privileges. That is, the ordinary workers with their level of consciousness simply equate socialism with a social set up where one can gain more and more economic and other benefits. For this reason, it is their urge for having more material benefits and individual gains that acts as the driving force among the workers engaged in developing production in socialism. To these workers socialism, socialist economy, growth of socialist production—all these carry no sense at all if they do not provide them with individual material gains, benefits and privileges.

Comrade Ghosh has observed that it is no doubt a fact that in socialism with the upward growth of socialist production and development of socialist economy, the workers enjoy more and more material benefits and their standard of living basically improves. But the workers engaged in developing production in socialism should never nourish such a mentality, nor should they at all be influenced by such a process of thinking. This only helps develop the trend of naked individualistic opportunism among them. The mentality of the workers should have to be developed in such a way and their process of thin-

king should have to be such that they can realise that it is only for the consolidation and complete victory of socialism in their country and to serve the cause of international revolution that they have dedicated themselves to the task of accelerating the process of growth and development of production in their country. Because, the consolidation and progress of socialism in a country is inseparably linked up with the progress of international revolution and it is only upon the mutual progress of these two that the progress and development of an individual self is basically depending, both materially and spiritually. If such and only such is the mentality of the workers, then there will prevail among the workers engaged in socialist production, a complete sense of dedication. No stereotyped mechanical pattern will then be reflected in their activities and working habits. Failing that, on the one hand a laissez-faire mentality and stereotyped pattern will develop in their activities and on the other, more and more illogical and illegitimate demands for individual gains will crop up among them. The old and decadent bourgeois sense of right will reappear in absence of the growth of the fullest consciousness that it is the working class that alone is the basic determining and driving force in socialism. The old and decadent bourgeois values reappear in the society under the cover of new slogans. Sense of individual freedom and individuality is degraded into individual privilege.

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In this connection Comrade Ghosh has referred to those sections of the so-called socialists who are being influenced by these modern revisionists, possess a vague, non-marxist idea regarding socialism and its

objective. To these people, the basic aim of socialism is to anyhow raise production by any means. These so-called and self-styled Marxists, who do not pay even the least heed to the basic internal contradiction and the basic law of socialism, are in favour of even applying the bourgeois policy of material incentive, if that can accelerate the growth of production in socialism. Though this may temporarily show a rise in the relative rate of production, but as this inevitably leads to the growth of the tendency of capitalist speculation and anarchy in all stages of production and the productive system, within a very short time the socialist economy and system becomes threatened with danger.

As because the aim of socialism is to create abundance in production, these people think, Comrade Ghosh has observed, that it is only for the individual gain of more and more material benefits and privileges that the workers engage themselves in raising production in socialism. According to these people, socialism carries no meaning to the workers if it fails to provide them with material benefits more than that any developed capitalist country can provide to its workers. The bourgeois sense of right and freedom reappears in a socialist society under the cover of such a 'unique' and 'amazing' picture of socialism. This does never imbibe the spirit of proletarian revolutionary dedication among the workers, nor can it ever create such a spirit of dedication among them.

Again, while observing that economism creates a brake in the process of identification of the individual interest with the social interest in socialism, Comrade Ghosh has pointed out, that the economism that reappears among the workers after revolution, to a certain extent, is characteristically different

# Individualism and Economism Create Brake in the Identification of the Individual with Society

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from that of the pre-revolutionary period. Before revolution, economism drives the workers to deviate from the proletarian revolutionary base political line and thereby creates opportunity in the hands of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois political parties to bring about disruption within the working class movement and the fighting section of the working class and create confusion about the revolutionary objectives and ideals among them. This arrests the growth of political consciousness among the workers and obstructs the proletarian revolutionary politics to come to the forefront.

And in the post-revolutionary period in a socialist society this evil of economism works as a major obstacle in front of the workers in realising the role and necessity of complete dedication and sacrifice of one's self for discharging one's responsibility to the society and for developing oneself into real revolutionary—the only way to realise one's real emancipation and to serve the cause of proletarian international revolution, as Comrade Ghosh has remarked. Comrade Ghosh has further observed that in a socialist system, following its inherent objective laws, the economic progress and development is bound to take place, provided of course the leadership do neither commit serious blunder nor suffer from any serious short-comings. But, it cannot of its own sweet will, create the socio-political and cultural urge essential for its uninterrupted progress and development. So, in a socialist set up, this evil of economism acts as a serious brake in the process of identification of the self with the society, of the individual with the collective. This helps breed in socialist society, socialist individualism, a new type of individualistic opportunism (Comrade Ghosh is the pioneer marxist thinker to point out and draw our

attention to this vile individualism that of late is being manifested in many socialist countries. The name 'socialist individualism' for this vile individual opportunism has also been connoted by Comrade Ghosh).

And the main objective of Chinese Cultural Revolution, as Comrade Ghosh observed, was to fight against this vile individualism. Because, to consolidate their socialist economy and develop it further, they should have to switch over from the Peasant Commune to the Workers' Commune. But in that case, this opportunism which in industrial area would develop a new type of individualism among the workers centring round their individual family units, acts as a big obstacle in the process of creation of Workers' Commune. So this is also one of the very important and vital aspects of the present phase of economic progress and development of China.

Now recently certain reports from the P.T.I. that have appeared in the daily press have drawn our attention. From the reports, it appears that the Chinese leadership headed by Mao-Tse-Tung have strongly criticised certain trends like economism, reported to have developed among a section of Chinese workers. The report has also mentioned that the Chinese leadership headed by Mao-Tse Tung have decided to take necessary steps and measures to free this section of the workers from the influence of these evils. Some quarters have taken this as a plea to launch once again, an attack of bitter criticism against the Chinese leadership and particularly Mao-Tse-Tung. They have branded this attempt to free the workers from the influence of vile traits like economism, as 'Mao's Campaign against the Chinese workers'.

... .. In fact this is not altogether unexpected that

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because they are yet to realise the vital point that it is only by fighting out the old bourgeois ideas, habits, values and culture and the trend of vile individualism and economism which tend to develop among the workers even in socialism, through a continuous process of cultural revolution, the society can be uninterruptedly led to an onward and upward progressive development after the revolution.

Be that as it may, none can however ignore that the report regarding the generation of some vile traits among a section of the Chinese workers, of course if it is authentic, may lead some people to ponder, how is it that even after the successful completion of an important stage of cultural revolution, a section of the Chinese workers are reflecting certain attitudes, that the workers in capitalism, who are victims of economism, normally reflect?

But those who are acquainted with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher 'On Chinese Cultural Revolution'

know it well that long eight years back, as early as in 1967, Comrade Ghosh, in his famous booklet 'Chiner Sanskritic Biblab' (Chinese Cultural Revolution) while drawing our attention to the brilliant features and the magnificent achievements of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, referred to some of its shortcomings and weaknesses. Comrade Ghosh, gave a caution that if it was not freed from these short-comings and weaknesses, then in spite of some magnificent achievements, the future danger of the growth of

the vile trait of individualism and economism would still prevail among the people.

Among the various short-comings and weaknesses, brilliantly elaborated and analysed in detail, Comrade Ghosh particularly drew our attention to the weakness that was revealed during conducting the ideological struggle within the cultural revolution.

Comrade Ghosh has emphasised that this is a very vital issue. And if the Chinese leadership fail to shake off weakness of their ideological struggle, then even after achieving the immediate task of the cultural revolution there still will remain the future danger of the generation of the trend of revisionism within the society—for uprooting which from the social life, they are striving now. It is through achieving cultural revolution that they are endeavouring to free themselves and the society from the influence of the thoughts and ideas of the old society, the bourgeois thoughts, bourgeois individualism and hold aloft the banner of proletarian revolutionary ideals, politics, culture, ethics and moral. They have launched relentless struggle against the bourgeois and other old reactionary ideas and culture, that still have their influence over the society and also within the the party. But still today, they have not succeeded to uphold before the people a complete and detailed picture of proletarian culture. Yet today, they have not succeeded to evolve any theory, based on the lessons of science and history, to basically differentiate and distinguish between the ethics and values of bourgeois humanism and the proletarian ethics and culture. No doubt, we are being told of the values of proletarian humanism against that of bourgeois humanism, but even a little attention will reveal that their struggle is mainly

directed against the bourgeois political ideology and bourgeois humanist values and still today, they have not succeeded to replace the bourgeois ethics, values and culture covering each and every aspect of life.

So, Comrade Ghosh has remarked that the thoughts, ideas and theories that they have put forth while conducting the ideological struggle in the present stage of Chinese society are inadequate to uproot the trend of individualism from the social life. There is a new aspect of the problems confronting the present Chinese society. It is being noted that with the attainment of relatively greater consolidation and stability of socialism, both politically and economically, the tendency of degradation of sense of individual's freedom, his emancipation and individuality into privilege, is gradually developing. (It is this new trend of individualism developing in socialist society that has been termed the 'socialist individualism').

So, Comrade Ghosh has emphatically stressed, the enunciation of the old ideals and values, that have become inadequate, in a new vocabulary will fail to free the people from the influences of this trend of individualism and other bourgeois evils. The ideals and values centring round which the Chinese Party is trying to inspire the people, even today, are basically the ideals of self-sacrifice based on the bourgeois humanist values. The ideals like 'one has his duty to the society' or 'individual interest must be consistent with social interest', 'self-interest must have to be surrendered to the interest of the society'—all these basically reflect the tune of bourgeois humanism, the level of bourgeois humanist consciousness. And still today they do not have any higher ethics nor do they yet possess any higher and advanced instrument of proletarian ethics, values and morals to inspire the

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# PROMISES AND AFTER

In her broadcast on July 1, this year, the Prime Minister, held out the promise to her countrymen that "in the mill sector the controlled cloth scheme is being improved so that dhoties, saris and cloth will be of better quality and are sold through a larger number of outlets in rural and urban areas".

Obviously it was meant to provide the poor and half-clad million with the basic necessity of standard cloth at a price within their means. To translate this promise into reality, increase in the compulsory production of controlled cloth for the mills from their present obligation of 800 million square metres per annum was required to be ensured. It was also in the air in early months after the broadcast and after inclusion of this promise in the 20 point programme that production of controlled cloth would be increased to 1200 million square metres.

Five months after, on 2nd December the Government has pronounced its policy to textile industry, which has been explained at a Press Conference by Sri D. P. Chattopadhyaya, the Commerce Minister. The policy announced by the minister contains a four-point package to the textile industry.

They are: (1) With immediate effect, all financially weak mills have been exempted from the obligation to produce controlled varieties of cloth for one year. Financially weak mills include mills under the National Textile Corporation as also in the Private Sector, to be decided on the basis of their balance-sheets for 1975. Mills with good export performance may also get relief from cheap cloth manufacture. This means, instead of increase in production, there will be drop in production of controlled cloth by 250 million square metres i.e. by roughly 31 p.c.

(2) A selective programme of modernisation on a crash basis will be

implemented. Sick mills and mills under the NTC numbering to 103 will have a preferential claim on the funds for modernisation to be made available by nationalised banks.

"The programme of modernisation of sick and NTC mills will involve an outlay of Rs. 75 crores spread over three year. *The NTC will be provided with another Rs. 10 crores to rationalise its labour strength. At present ten percent of the labour is surplus but NTC could not retire this category of staff because it has no funds to pay them all their statutory dues. With the Rs. 10 crores now being made available it will be possible to bring about the much needed rationalisation.* For the entire industries, the outlay for modernisation for the remaining three year of the fifth plan has been estimated at Rs. 350 crores".

(Economic Times—December 3, '75—emphasis ours)

So, the funds of the nationalised banks will be made available to the employers to reduce the work force which remained almost static in textile industry during the last twenty seven years. Figures show that while in 1947—7, 81, 476 were in the employment of this industry, in 1974, this number was 7,87,000. And when rationalisation in the entire industry is now on the anvil, the number will sharply decline.

(3) Thirdly, "the Government has conceded in principle the plea for upward revision of price of controlled varieties of cloth." It has accepted the textile magnates view that since the existing price levels fixed in 1961 and revised partially last year, are absolutely uneconomic, they require further upward revision. But since the estimate of loss in production of controlled cloth are varied, a committee with the Chairman of Industrial costs and prices as the Head, has been asked to go into the question and

report within two months.

(4) The fourth item in the list of concessions to this industry has been the Government's decision to permit mills to sell 20 p.c. of their output through their own retail depot as against the existing ten percent. The stock accumulated, according to the textile magnates is said to have been about 90,000 lakh bales.

Other reliefs said to have been under the active consideration of the Government consists of proposals for assistance or incentive to enable the profit-making mills to generate their own funds and relief in excise duty on yarn.

The Commerce Minister said at the Press Conference that in pronouncing the 4-point package, the Government was not accepting whatever the textile industry was saying and evolving solutions according to its choice. "A critical and independent assesment is being made of the situation and decisions to tackle problems are being taken".

Replying to question, the minister practically denied suggestions that a liberal treatment to textile industry was not warranted judging from high profits made during the last two years. While conceding that the years 1973 and 1974 had been no doubt boom years for the industry, the minister however held that for a number of years the profitability ratio of the textile industry had been lower than all-industry average.

Now let us see the facts that can emerge from a "critical and independent assesment".

First, about the profits and profitability ratio of the textile industry.

According to the Reserve Bank bulletin of December, 1974, after tax profit in cotton textiles showed a rise of 143.6 p.c. in 1973-74 over a rise of 322.5 p.c. in 1972-73. In

other words, after tax profit in the cotton textile industry in 1973-74 was 466.1 p.c.

A further break-up of figures shows that the rate of gross fixed assets formation in the cotton textile industry in the last 15 years has been by and large no worse than the average for all industries. The rate was 7.5 p.c. in the First Plan period, 8.9 p.c. in the Second Plan period and 10.4 p.c. in the Third Plan period. The textile mills' rate of gross assets formations was actually higher than the all-industry average, being 6.1 p.c. in 1971-72 and 8.6 p.c. in 1972-73 (RBI bulletin—October '74).

In the nine years from 1965-66 to 1973-74 the textile industry borrowed from public sector term financing institutions as much as Rs. 1,200 crores at a relatively low rate of interest.

While this industry was reaping bumper profits, its sharing by the workers and employees was nil. Figures show that while the value of output in textile industry increased, only 23.8 p.c. of its share went to the employees during the First Plan period which however came down to 20.5 p.c. in 1972-73.

Secondly, the textile magnates have claimed that production of controlled cloth has been uneconomic in as much as there has been a loss as much as 80 paise on every metre and the Government seems to have accepted their pleas and for this, appointed a committee for upward revision of prices.

The Government could have probed as well, into the apparent contradictory features of accumulation in the stock of controlled cloth (90,000 lakh bales according to the mill owners' statement) and loss in cost of production as alleged. If it was really uneconomic for the mill-owners, being below cost of production, controlled cloth would have been much more in demand when prices of other varieties have been continuously on the increase. Why, instead, there is accumula-

tion of stock? Even then, if the mill owner's figures are to be accepted then it does not show any alarming proposition. Because, if 800 million metres is the annual quota, then 90,000 lakhs bales is only about two month's production.

But, a flood of light has been focussed on this apparant puzzle by the National Co-operative Consumers' Federation. It has telegraphically protested to the Union Government against the decision of the textile Commissioner to induct private wholesalers into the distribution of controlled cloth—reports UNI.

The Federation President has said, distribution of controlled cloth to the poorer sections was entrusted to the co-operatives after the Government had observed various malpractices adopted by the mills. In order to foil the policy the mills supplied the worst type of cloth to the co operative sector. The Federation took up the matter with the Government and it was decided that controlled cloth produced after March 1975 would be lifted by the Consumer co-operative sector and the quality would be maintained. The system was working well and the latest cry of accumulation was intended to remove the co-operatives from the distribution trade.

The Federation also offered to lift the entire accumulated stock, which according to its estimates based on production figures would be no more than 60,000 lakhs bales, provided "the cloth is manufactured according to specifications laid down by the textile Commissioner or as per the declarations made by the mills themselves".

Facts prove to the contrary of the independent and critical assesment of the Government.

Nothing to wonder, if one remembers Lenin's famous saying that in a bourgeois society—Capital has assumed the place of God in the society. And

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## Some Problems Facing Angolan Independence And The Way Out

The situation in Angola is quite disturbing. Angola attained independence on November 25, 1975 but the trials of the people of Angola did not end—the heroic people who lodged a protracted liberation struggle against imperialism to free their country from bondage cannot taste their freedom. Though Portugal which colonised Angola has totally withdrawn from Angola on November 25 yet this war-torn African country has now become the hot bed of super-power politics and the Angolan people are used as cannon-fodder in the proxy war between the super-powers in their bid to increase their sphere of influence in this continent.

This African country is endowed with bountiful natural resources with abundant mineral deposits and bumper agricultural production and the prospect of oil is particularly promising in the country. It is because of this richness that Angola is so attractive to the imperialists. The monopolists of France, West Germany, America, England and South Africa have powerful economic interest in Angola. The cheap labour and the raw materials have been the loot of these imperialist countries for a long time and the people of Angola were forced to lead a sub-standard life. But the people of Angola with growing consciousness began to resist the imperialists and armed liberation struggle went on against the Portuguese imperialists who were backed by other powerful imperialist countries. The people all over the world were keenly observing the valour and patriotism of the Angolan people in their fight against their adversaries who are equipped with all the sinews of war and are far superior to them in mobilising men and material to carry on their killing mission and to impose a reign of terror on the peaceful land. Angolan people withstood the trial and gained many victories against the imperialist, their superior weaponry notwithstanding. Meanwhile some changes took place in their master country, viz. Portugal. It is because of the upsurge in liberation struggles in the former colonies and also due to the growing mass movement within the country, the much hated autocratic rule of Salazar and Cateno in Portugal

ended and the new regime being confronted with massive internal disorder and sure military defeat in the colony like Angola, promised to hand over power to the representatives of the people of Angola.

Now in the national liberation struggle the people of Angola could not forge a single united platform to conduct the liberation struggle. Instead of one front, three fronts were separately operating in national liberation struggle. These were FNLA, MPLA and UNITA. Incidentally it may be mentioned that these three fronts did not emerge in consequence of any intense class struggle and a genuine working class leadership was not conducting the movements. Whatever might be the case the reality is this that these three fronts came into being all of them struggling against the imperialist while carrying on hostile propaganda campaign amongst themselves. But in the background of the upheaval in Portugal, the leaders of the three streams met in Kenya in January 1975 and agreed on "a statement of principles, established bases for co-operation in the de-colonisation phase, decided to end all hostilities and hostile propaganda among themselves and to uphold and defend jointly the rights and interests of Angolan people and agreed on the formation of a transitional Government till the attainment of full sovereignty". Later that month, negotiations were held with Portugal and agreement reached for full independence on November 11, '75. It was also agreed that a transitional Government formed with the

three fronts would function in the meantime under the Portuguese authorities.

The Kenya agreement between the leaders of the three streams could not, however, be implemented. Even before these leaders left Kenya for Angola, hostilities between these fronts broke out in violent form to extend, control and consolidate their territorial hold. Portugal promised to hand over power to the transitional Government formed by the three fronts, but this transitional Government could not function and as the date for formal handing over of power drew nearer, the factional fight in Angola went on in full swing and grew in intensity daily. Ultimately, Portugal pulled out of Angola without handing over power to any Government and the last batch of Portuguese armed forces stationed in Angola sailed for Portugal from Luanda, the capital city of Angola on the 11th of November, '75. The Soviet backed liberation front, MPLA which controls only Luanda and its suburbs formed a Government while the FNLA which controls most of the territory of Angola and UNITA which also controls a small part of Angolan territory jointly formed another Government. The MPLA which received huge economic and military aid from the Soviet Union tried to push through the territory under control of the other two fronts and gained some initial military victory because of the superior Soviet weapons. Incidentally it may be mentioned that allegations of Soviet and Cuban military experts and regular troops operating in Angola are being made and these are implicitly admitted in the Pravda. The Soviet involvement accentuated rift within the people of Angola and the imperialist powers took advantage of the growing disunity among the people and jumped into the Angola scene to frustrate the long cherished dream of the people of Angola. South Africa and Zaire backed by the big

imperialist powers like the USA, France etc. sent regular troops with massive arms and ammunitions into the Angola soil and in this way Angola became the victim of super power contention for hegemony in the African continent.

There is nothing unnatural about the role of the imperialist powers in Angola. The imperialist powers take all possible measures to protect their interests. History is replete with instances that with their heinous design of intrigue and interferences in the internal affairs of other countries, the imperialist powers create artificial rift and sow the seeds of disunity among the people and in this way they subjugate the people with a view to exploit the country. The imperialists never leave their colony unless they are compelled to withdraw and even in such an eventuality they try to give their last bite. Congo and Vietnam are such recent examples. In latter country the U.S. imperialists clung to the last by committing all possible atrocities against the people of Vietnam until they were totally defeated in the soil. These are some of the characteristics of the imperialists and, therefore, it is no wonder that the imperialists will try to fish into the troubled water of Angola. But what is quite bewildering is the role of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union in Angola. Is not the policy of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union creating rift and disunity among the people of Angola and thereby paving, although indirectly, the way of imperialist intervention in Angola? The massive arms aid to MPLA has provided a sufficient and strong plea to the imperialist powers to unilaterally intervene to counter the Soviet presence. It is a fact that the imperialist do not require any plea for intervention—they interfere in the internal affairs of other countries without any plausible reasons. On the other hand the Soviet

revisionist leadership might take the stand that the Soviet presence in Angola has been necessitated in order to check and counter the imperialists plans of interference and intrigue. But these arguments do not cut the ice. It is true that the imperialists do not require any ground to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries and it is also true that big imperialist powers have been attempting to subvert the Angolan independence and interfere with Angolan affair to exploit the rich natural resources and cheap labour of the region. But how do the Communists all over the world and the socialist states try to thwart these nefarious imperialist designs to protect the national liberation struggles and the revolutionary movements in different countries? What should be the correct Marxist-Leninist approach in this affair of breaking the imperialist chain by successful completion of national liberation struggle in different countries? The Soviet Union should have seized the opportunity to unmask and corner the U.S. imperialists by mobilising and mounting world opinion against them, by taking effective steps to cement unity among the various nationalist factions in Angola to lodge a powerful anti-imperialist struggle within the country, by putting effective diplomatic pressure through all the diplomatic channels and thereby putting the U.S. imperialists in the tight corner, by forcing the U.S. imperialists to effectively implement the Helsinki Spirit of detente about which the Russian leaders clamour so much and by fighting out the issue in the forum of the World body. The Soviet revisionist leadership took none of these measures to protect the Angolan liberation struggle from imperialist intervention. Let alone cementing the unity of the nationalist forces to present a united face against imperialism,

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# Enunciation of Old Ideas, Values in New Vocabulary Fails to Free People from Bourgeois Vices

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people. They are still trying to guide the people with the same old thoughts of ethics and values and the old teachings of Mao-Tse-Tung. The concrete nature of the form of class struggle and the problems facing it, in pre-revolutionary China and many problems of the post-revolutionary Chinese society as well, have influenced the writings of Mao-Tse-Tung. So, Comrade Ghosh has emphasised that those who were (still yesterday) fighting in the bushes in Vietnam and who now exist in the same stage of class struggle ... are being much influenced by these old writings. But, to those living in a relatively advanced and higher socio-political and economic stage, and to the communists of a new generation in a socialist society, the same old writings of Mao-Tse-Tung cannot communicate the identical and adequate meaning, nor can it influence them to the same extent. And in that sense, these old writings of Mao-Tse-Tung, to a certain extent, have become exhausted and obsolete. So, today, Comrade Ghosh has reminded ... that one has the task to elaborate the concrete content and form of the proletarian ethics and culture in the present Chinese socialist society, and for inspiring the communists and the progressives in relatively advanced countries attaining economic stability and in bourgeois democratic countries where the sense of individual freedom has been degraded to privilege, one has the bounden duty to expose the limitation of bourgeois ideas, the reactionary role they possess, and uphold the concretised form of the real content of proletarian ethics and culture before the people and the communists in particular.

Because, 'those who can unconditionally surrender the self-interest to the social interest,' 'who always consider the interest of the party and cause of revolution above everything are good communists'

-up till now this has been considered, as Comrade Ghosh has remarked, to be reflecting the highest level of communist consciousness. But today, in the changed and new situation, this can no more work as the highest level of communist consciousness. Because, today, it is being observed that even in a capitalist exploitative social system, the bourgeois sense of individual freedom and individuality, to a great extent, are gradually becoming degraded into privilege and the callous and indifferent attitude towards social problems is becoming rampant among the people day by day. And in a socialist set up, with the real establishment of the right of equality in the bourgeois sense the individual's freedom and his individuality have been completely freed from bourgeois and feudal repressions and the man is therefore now enjoying freedom more and more than that they enjoyed in bourgeois society. But as the State still exists, the perspective of the struggle for individual freedom attains a new historic dimension in socialism. Now in such a situation, if one fails to develop adequate and clear understanding of the problems confronting the struggle for individual freedom, based on the correct understanding of theory and lessons of science and history then even among the communists enjoying more and more economic benefits and opportunities in a socialist society, the sense of individual freedom and individuality is bound to be degraded into privilege. Comrade Ghosh has pointed out that, the contradiction that exists between the individual interest and the social interest is antagonistic in nature. Even after the problems relating to production, and other issues being resolved, so long this antagonistic nature of this contradiction will remain, the state will not wither away, i.e., it

will not disappear. State even if it is a socialist one, is an instrument of coercion. A bourgeois state differs from a socialist state in the sense that while the former is a coercive instrument that curbs the interest of the ninety nine percent people of the country to protect the interest of the one percent, the latter is a coercive machinery that frustrates the counter revolutionary attempts and reactionary activities of the one percent people, to safeguard the interest of the ninety nine percent people of the society. And, so long the state will exist reflecting this antagonistic contradiction, till then even in socialism, the individual must have to submit to the social interest and the trend of revolt against the repressive character of the socialist state will repeatedly develop in the realm of fancy of the individual and therefore the social objective will have to suffer again and again. Time and again the individual will revolt and out of that, more and more he will become indifferent towards the social problems. As a result, the force of communist ideology and power of dedication to communist ideology and ideals will become far more weak, or this will open the gate of liberalisation. In other words, more and more demands will be raised urging greater freedom, and right to the individual. And if this process continues, Comrade Ghosh has cautioned, then this will again give birth to revisionism and that will only help the restoration of capitalism.

Therefore, Comrade Ghosh has enlightened us that one has to view the problem this way, that in socialism right is not to be acquired from anyone, i.e. the question of achieving freedom or acquiring right by fighting against any alien class does not at all arise in socialism. The oppressive nature of the state that still to a certain extent

exists, basically has its role and necessity to curb vile self-centred individualistic activities of certain individuals that stand in the path leading to the development of individual's real freedom and his complete emancipation, following more and more progress and development of socialism. The problem that still exists, is not that any alien class is oppressing the people to exploit them. The matter does not at all stand there. In a socialist society, it is the old thoughts and mentality centring round the old bourgeois concept of individual freedom that is standing as an obstacle in the way of conducting a new form of struggle for achieving a new kind of individual freedom in a completely new situation. It is this very mentality that is obstructing the individual necessity and individual interest to merge and become unified with the social necessity and social interest as one and the same. (It may be mentioned that before Comrade Ghosh, no other Marxist-Leninist leader, has put the thing in this newer and higher perspective. Comrade Ghosh is the pioneer Marxist-Leninist thinker to enlighten us with this up to date highest standard of Communist consciousness). Today, as Comrade Ghosh has pointed out, this is the main obstacle that stands in the path leading to the emancipation of the individual and if this exists, then even after the disappearance of class as an economic category, but for the existence of individualism, the state will not wither away. And this will arrest the emancipation of the individual. Because, whenever it exists, the state does always possess its coercive character.

So, Comrade Ghosh has emphasised 'that while conducting the struggle for complete victory of socialism, the main aim of the struggle for the emancipation of the individual will be to transform the

antagonistic nature of contradiction existing between the individual necessity and social necessity into the non-antagonistic nature. It is only by achieving a complete success in this struggle through cultural revolution that a basic and qualitative transformation of individual's necessity and his desire and its fulfilment and of his mental make up; habits and manners, can be achieved. In socialism, the state can wither away, only after attaining this stage in cultural revolution. It is then and then only, that man will become emancipated from all sorts of social coercion. So, we find that the struggle for the emancipation of the individual has reached a new and complicated stage in socialism, where, to resolve this problem, a far more strong and arduous struggle is to be conducted for complete identification of the self-interest with the interest of the society through perpetual dedication and struggle. Hence it is a new standard of ethics and human value,—a level that is completely and basically different from and higher than the level of the bourgeois humanist values that so long have been applied in practice to inspire the workers and cadres in communist movements. So long the standard of ethics and values that has worked in proletarian revolutionary politics is that the individual interest should have to be consistent with the social interest. But in the present new and changed situation if the level of consciousness still remains at this stage, Comrade Ghosh has remarked then it will be impossible to achieve complete dedication. Even it will also be impossible to arrest the growing trend of individualism. If the standard of communist ethics and values remains static at this level, then even in spite of countless high sounding big talks on the proletarian cultural revolution and on the lifting of the proletarian politics and ideology gra-

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## Individual's Real Emancipation can be Achieved Through Identification of his Interest with Social Interest

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dually in the direction of a higher and advanced revolutionary transformation, the growing trend of individualism will certainly remain within the society.

The Chinese leadership while fighting against individualism, have moved far deep in grasping the root of the problem. But still now they have not succeeded to give it a clear and concrete theoretical basis.

At first the thing should have to be developed in the form of a concrete concept on a correct theoretical basis. There after, a movement centring round ethics and values should have to be developed throughout the entire country on the basis of this concept. But during the cultural revolution in China, this problem has not yet been taken up in this way.

The main objective of the present cultural revolution as Comrade Ghosh has remarked, is to fight against and thereby eradicate the vile bourgeois individualism and other bourgeois ideas, being fallen victims of which, some of the leaders and cadres are taking the capitalist roads, developing revisionist outlook, manifesting bureaucratic attitude in their behaviour and reflecting the trend of economism in their activities. If these tasks can be fulfilled, then for the time being the immediate objective of the cultural revolution will no doubt be achieved. But this, in no way will succeed in fulfilling the vital task of the cultural revolution, the task of freeing the party from the danger of revisionism that may again thrive within the party in future. Because still now they have not fully grasped this vital theoretical point or at least they have not succeeded to include this as the central focal point of cultural revolution for inspiring the communist cadres and workers of the

party in their struggle, to make themselves conscious of their sense of responsibility to the society. If a movement covering cultural ethical and moral aspects of life can be developed throughout the entire country on the basis of the above concepts, then and then alone this realisation will take place that it is the only way for human emancipation. This is a basic weakness of the present cultural revolution. If this prevails, Comrade Ghosh has observed, then in spite of resolving the immediate problems confronting the cultural revolution and the fulfilment of the immediate task it will leave many issues of vital importance unresolved and untouched. As for example, the mechanical understanding about the leadership—this will not at all be eradicated,—this therefore will still remain. And Secondly they have grasped neither from the theoretical point of view nor with the help of dialectical philosophical understanding, the root cause underlying the growing tendency of individualism in the Chinese society. And this individualism—what is its nature or in other words, what is the real nature of individualism that develops in socialism, and how this evil can be eradicated—they have not yet pinpointed any fundamental observation on all these vital issues. And therefore, they have not yet begun any struggle on such a basis covering the entire party from the leadership to the rank and file. Comrade Ghosh has cautioned that as a detrimental effect of this, in spite of achieving a new important stage of such a magnificent cultural revolution, the new generation that will come, will become victim of a new type of individualism and revisionism, unless the Chinese Communist Party,

## Some Problems Facing Angolan Independence

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the policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership has in reality paved the way of disunity in Angola much to the glee of the imperialist forces. It was seen in the past that even in the case of national liberation struggle under the established leadership of the working class the nature of participation of the Soviet Union under the revisionist leadership was of quite different nature than that in Angola. In Angola the Soviet revisionist leadership has identified itself with MPLA and has directly become a party in the Angolan conflict. From the nature of Soviet involvement in Angola, will it be wrong to conclude that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union under cover of extending support to the Angolan liberation movement, are in reality, engaged in extending its sphere of influence in this continent? So instead of breaking the imperialist chain by successful completion of national liberation struggles in different countries, the policy of the revisionist leadership is in reality giving imperialism a fresh lease of life.

in the meanwhile, of their own or being pointed out by other grasp this point and include this as the central focal point for the next stage of their cultural revolution.

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Again, what Comrade Ghosh has observed long time back, has come true to each and every word of it. We hope this will draw the attention of the genuine Marxist-Leninists all over the world to the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era and particularly that at a time, when they genuinely feel the necessity and urgency to fight against modern revisionism.....

It is our appeal to the three nationalist factions of Angola to realise the gravity of the situation. If the leaders of the three nationalist factions are really serious to put an end to imperialist domination, they must bear in mind that unless their country is kept aloof from the sphere of super power contention for hegemony and unless the patriotic nationalist forces forge unity against imperialism, the fruits of independence cannot be enjoyed by the Angolan people and the supreme sacrifices of the Angolan people in anti-imperialist struggle will be in vain. So the three warring factions must rise to the occasion by ending all hostilities among themselves and must sit together without any pre-condition to form a United Front on the basis of agreed common programmes and thereby restore national unity of Angola to present a united face against imperialism. As regards the leadership of the United Front, it must be added that this leadership cannot be imposed but it will emerge through ideological-political struggle with correct base political line, which will relentlessly go on even while moving unitedly. It is hoped that the patriotic feeling and good sense of the Angolan people will prevail over the leadership and help them to move in the correct track.

## Promises and After

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goes the proverb—'What Man proposes God disposes.' Only, in a truly Socialist Society guided by the production motive of maximisation of material and spiritual well beings of the society in place of maximisation of profit as in a bourgeois society, Man with labour power will be truly a Man as well as his own God.

## From The Manifesto of the Communist Party

—K. Marx and F. Engels

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things find its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools etc.? The communists have not invented the intervention of the society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern Industry all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.