

# ALIGARH RIOT

## Its Origin and how to fight out the virus of Communalism

Communalism continues to grip the life of our people with its deadly tentacles. It has been manifesting itself in the ugliest forms of communal frenzy and communal violence at the slightest provocation as before. In the pre-independence days the imperialist rulers of this country, taking advantage of the failure of the nationalist leadership of the independence movement to carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolution essential for democratization of the society, was able to use the communal discord between the different religious communities, especially between the Hindus and the Muslims to disrupt the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and thereby undermine the independence movement. In the post-independence period the ruling bourgeois class and reactionary communal forces and organisations have been freely exploiting the communal and parochial feelings prevailing in the society to subserve their class interest and perpetuate the rule of their class exploitation and oppression.

The recent riots in Aligarh testify to how nakedly the bourgeois political parties and the communal organisations aided and abetted by them are making planned provocation of communal violence in their bid to gain maximum leverage out of the riots to achieve the objective in their nasty political game. The Akali-Nirankari clash in Delhi last month also had its origin in the same bourgeois political game. Not only deliberate provocation of communal violence, the ruling class and various other vested interests and reactionary forces have been exploiting all sorts of discords and disunities among the people and provoking parochial frenzy, linguistic conflicts, caste riots and the like. The Aligarh communal riots, the Akali-Nirankari communal clash, the Sambhal riots, the Marathwada barbarity, or the periodic parochial violence in Assam and elsewhere are not any isolated happenings. Whether taking the form of communalism, linguistic chauvinism or casteism, these violent flareups on the slightest pretexts in one part or another in the country are the manifestation of one thing: it is the crisis-ridden capitalism which, on the one hand, has been trying to give economic palliatives and increasingly leading itself to fascism, and, on the other, has been fanning up various divisive tendencies

in the society in a bid to disrupt the people's unity and destroy the legitimate democratic mass movements aimed against the anti-people policies and oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie. So, communal violence, parochial frenzy and caste riots break out periodically. An Aligarh orgy of violence follows a Sambhal orgy, a Marathwada follows a Belchi, the ruling class reaps dividend from all this while death and devastation overtake the people. What suffers most in the process is the growth and development of legitimate democratic mass movement, leaving the people to suffer from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The Aligarh incident is the latest case in point. It is a more or less repetition of the same old pattern: somewhere a small incident takes place; communal wolves jump upon it, tension mount leading to an out-break of violence, aided and abetted by police and administrative inaction, or even provocation and sometime direct participation; the massacre leaves at end another communal wound in the life of the people.

Reports in the press from different sources indicate that the Aligarh incident was the outcome of a preplanned conspiracy. The Statesman reports in its issue of November 17: "About a month before the riots broke out, there were (Contd. to Page 2)

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## No amendment but total scrapping of the black Industrial Relations Bill Comrade Pritish Chanda voices the demand of the working people at Delhi Rally

New Delhi, 22nd November: On the 19th and 20th November last the working people of India recorded their strongest protest and condemnation against the notorious Industrial Relations Bill which the Janata Government is bringing in the Parliament in its present session. As all know, through the proposed enactment of this draconian Bill the government is out to snatch away practically all the democratic rights of the workers to protest, strike and even organise themselves in trade unions of their choice. And to resist this heinous move of the government the entire working class of India forged a unique unity in the history of working class movement after independence with all the major Central Trade Unions together with 40 National Federations of employees of all categories meeting in the Workers' Convention on 19th and Protest March to Parliament on 20th November in New Delhi.

At the call of all the major Central Trade Unions—UTUC (Lenin Sarani), AITUC, HMS, CITU, INTUC, HMP, BMS and UTUC (Bowbazar)—more than 7,000 trade union delegates from all over the country thronged at the Talkotra Garden Stadium, New Delhi to participate in the anti-Bill convention. The large stadium got jam-packed with the delegates and it proved too small to accommodate the entire gathering. The convention, conducted by a presidium with Comrades Gian Singh Chowdhury (UTUC—Lenin Sarani), Indrajit Gupta (AITUC), D. D. Dixit (HMS), Mohammad Ismail (CITU) N. K. Bhatt (INTUC), S. Venkatran (HMP), Ram Naresh Ganguli (BMS) and Srikantan Nair (UTUC—Bowbazar) unanimously adopted a resolution for forthwith withdrawal of the anti-working class Bill amidst

thunderous applause and slogans "Long Live Workers' Unity", "Down With Black Industrial Relations Bill" "Scrap Black Industrial Relations Bill". The resolution unequivocally pointed out that, if enacted, the Bill "will be a death-knell to democratic trade union movement in the country."

Referring to the basic features of the Bill, Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) explained how the capitalist class of this country is successively snatching away even the limited rights of the workers enjoyed by them during the British imperialist rule, and during the 30 years of Congress rule after independence, including the dark days of Emergency, and now through this black Bill by the Janata Government. He observed, it is but natural that more the ruling capitalist class

and the moribund capitalist economy of this country get plunged into deeper crisis, the more they will pass on their burden on to the shoulders of the toiling masses and try to suppress them more and more. He ridiculed that the Janata Government has come to power with the slogan of saving democracy only for blatantly resorting to anti-democratic measures. But working class will have to understand that 'democracy' in this class divided society carries class connotation. Those who talk of democracy in general and not in class connotation defend in reality the bourgeois interest of class exploitation. So, by this bill, the Janata Government in reality is trying to impose class peace between the exploiter and the exploited. The exploited working class will be robbed of their fundamental right to rise against capitalist class exploitation and will be reduced to a state of worst kind of slavery to unbridled capitalist exploitation. The working people will have to see through this class conspiracy and frustrate it by organised movement. They are to be on the alert that there can be no midway, no bargaining over the bill. In this connection he laid particular stress on unprecedented trade union unity demonstrated on this occasion and

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# RSS Communalists Dictated the Government

## Administration and PAC Personnel

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responsible people in Delhi who had heard that 'full preparations for a riot in Aligarh had been made'. Senior officers in Aligarh had confirmed these reports. How were the riots allowed to break out in spite of this is a question repeatedly asked in Aligarh". Despite the accusations and counter-accusations by the bourgeois parties against one another as to whose hand had worked behind the riots, there is no denial that the riots were 'the work of a well-organised group having definite political affiliations'. All eye-witness accounts and reports in the Press point the accusing finger at the RSS. The UP Janata Party Secretary in his report held the RSS responsible for the riots. Another allegation almost universally made is that the Administration behaved with singular partisanship on the occasion. Its partiality had amply aided the provocateurs.

Two major riots broke out in Aligarh almost within a month. The first took place on October 5. Two days before, an anti-social element, locally known by the name Bhura, had been stabbed. It is reported that the stabbing followed a chain of events which had started from a wrestling match a month earlier. During this period a series of communal clashes had occurred in which Bhura had played a part and communal tension had risen to a very high pitch. Bhura died on October 5 in a hospital and a mob took away the dead body from the official custody in presence of a contingent of police personnel and the SP (city) and the Magistrate (city). A procession with the body was taken out shouting slogans promising bloody revenge on those who killed Bhura and marching through the Muslim localities. The riots started from this and spread out in various parts of the city killing and even burning alive many members of the minority

community, though the official sources put the death toll at 13, the people of the affected localities believe that the number is certainly much higher. Looting and arson had taken place freely, leaving many families homeless and robbed of all properties. Reports of inhuman torture and cruelty perpetrated on the common people belonging to the minority community have appeared. Almost every one accuses that Mr. Navman, a former RSS leader who is also the president of the Aligarh Janata Party unit, was particularly responsible for the riots. The one thing about which a consensus is reported among the entire population of the city is that the RSS played the leading role in inciting communal tension all along provoking the riots by defying curfew orders even and directing the murderous onslaughts. The involvement of the Congress (I) forces has also been pointed out and the timing of the riot just before the Chikmagalur parliamentary by-election as a matter of convenience has been a talking point.

The failure of the Administration, or its surrender, as the people accuse, to the communal forces and political interference from above is one more example of the Administration's total servility to the party in power and its complete demoralisation and communalist behaviour. Mr. Navman was arrested for breaking the curfew order but only to be immediately released. Even, those against whom first information reports were filed were not arrested. It is widely believed that if Bhura's body was not allowed to be taken out riot would not have broken out on October 5.

The personnel of the Provincial Armed Constabulary who were in charge of maintaining order themselves resorted to a most nakedly communalist and barbarous act by overruling the order on them and

taking aim instead at houses of the members of the minority community to kill the inmates, they are reported to have approached Hindu residents to accompany them to identify houses of Muslim residents.

The incapacity of the Administration and the Government, or their lack of a strong will to firmly deal with the culprits and check communal violence is borne out by the fact that only a month after this riot, the like of which is said to have not experienced since 1947, a second riot broke out on November 6. The same communal forces were at work again and this time the massacre had a tally of 16 lives of the minority community, according to official statistics. The same chain of provocation, killing, setting house on fire, burning people alive and communalist behaviour of the Administration was repeated. The State Chief Minister has shown little inclination to act promptly or take firm measures against the known communal forces. The Janata Party president, Mr. Chandrashekhar, has strongly absolved the RSS of all charges. While his partymen had charged the RSS for instigating the riots, he said that it was not fair to accuse colleagues. Mr. Morarji Desai also took a similar stand. He said that he had not received any report suggesting that the RSS was involved in the communal riots. Mr. Morarji Desai is, of late, talking about taking stern measure. But how can he do that when he himself is soft to the mischief-makers?

The leaders of the Janata Party may disagree with the general consensus on the involvement of the RSS in this Aligarh riots, or they may prefer to deny it at present because of some compelling inner-party circumstances. But they cannot deny, nor they have been able to, that the riots were the handiwork

of a well-organised group, that there were definite instigations, that tension was allowed to be built up over a long period in this communally sensitive area, and that the Administration had abjectly failed to handle the situation firmly right from the beginning. They cannot probably also deny that the group politics inside the Janata Party, to be more precise, the conflict between Desai and Charan Singh-Rajnarayan combine made its impact on the complex and sensitive situation at Aligarh setting one group against the other: Knowledgeable circles seem inclined to point out this nasty aspect too. The Janata leaders wish to be known as a great champion of the cause of the minority communities and the backward classes as Mrs. Gandhi claims herself to be. Then how is it that they do not come down to listen to the complaints of the people, and mobilise the State Government run by their party to take firm and quick measures against the communal forces? The ruling party and Government's attitude to the problem of communal riots makes itself apparent through Mr. Desai's proposal, at a meeting of the parliamentary consultative committee of the Home Ministry, to levy collective fine on people in communal riot-torn areas. The proposal indeed suits the character of the bourgeois parties: the people who suffer in the riots are required to pay further for the misery suffered, while the offenders, the instigators and forces of disruption are to be shielded from the public wrath. The reason for this is that in this moribund stage of capitalism the bourgeoisie is incapable of carrying out a relentless and uncompromising struggle against communalism and various discords among people. Not only incapable, in this acute crisis-ridden phase of capitalism exploitation of discords and disunities

among people is one of the ways by which the ruling class has been trying to maintain its anti-people rule. So, whichever party may now try to defend capitalism, however much hoarse may it cry over secularism, or get tough against some particular communal body, it will inevitably nurture the breeding ground of communalism and other divisive tendencies and use the same to disrupt people's unity. That is why, even as Mrs. Gandhi swears by secularism on every occasion and mounts bitter criticism against the Jana Sangh and the RSS she seeks blessings of all religious and parochial sentiments for winning parliamentary elections. The Chikmagalur and the Samastipur by elections are only recent examples of it.

Therefore, the people themselves will have to organise the struggle to put an effective curb on communal violence and root out the evils of communalism and other divisive tendencies prevailing in the society. To achieve this twin objective the people must understand the root cause of communalism and other divisive tendencies and take to the correct course to curb these tendencies till the ground is prepared for their total elimination.

Communal riots have broken out repeatedly in our country ever since the pre-independence days. And repeatedly the leaders of our independence movement had made appeals to the people of all communities for religious tolerance. But their sincere and well wishing preachings have been of no avail in the matter of removing communalism which continues to poison our life as before. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat and an outstanding Marxist philosopher of this era, had pointed to why this approach to the problem was incorrect and inadequate for eliminating it. On several

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# GOVERNMENT'S GOLD SALE

## A SWINDLE OF PUBLIC RESOURCES

The Government of India by its decision to sell gold reserves at its possession through auctions has straightaway made a gift of crores of rupees to the traders, smugglers and black money hoarders. Its belated announcement not of total withdrawal but of mere postponement of this sale of gold under cover of an enquiry commission merely attempts to conceal a financial swindle of high order. The Janata Government at the centre is therefore guilty of mismanaging the financial resources of the people directly and shamelessly in the interest of the capitalists.

Apart from bringing Rs. 86.2 crores (12,872 Kilogram) was sold through the auctions but instead of stabilising the domestic prices of gold as was the declared intention, it actually pushed the prices up by more than 50 p.c. The RBI argument that the quantity of gold auctioned was small compared to domestic demands is not tenable as the monthly sales of 2,500 k.g. were more than 60 p.c. of total demand placed at 4000 k.g.

The Government of India after conducting 13 rounds of auctions since May 3 and releasing 13 tonnes out of about 80 tonnes in its reserve, has suddenly realised that a review of its gold sales policy has become necessary and announced instead of abandoning the policy its mere postponement. Obviously the intention was to cover up the whole issue in the face of wide public criticisms and adverse comments from the press. The government has said in its statement, ".....in view of bullish trend in the international gold market in the recent past, the erratic behaviour in gold prices in the domestic market in the past few weeks and the consequent increase in speculative and other undesirable activity it has decided to suspend gold auctions."

It seems therefore that the government has not abandoned the idea but has only suspended it to find a suitable cover. In the face of wide public criticism about this big financial scandal of the government, it has now appointed a 'high level' committee under the chairmanship of

The auctions are estimated to have put more than Rs. 10 crores in the pocket of a ring of gold traders. Gold valued at

the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India to review the gold sales policy and suggest "suitable recommendation". It is clear therefore that the government is still guiding its policy in deference to the wishes of the gold trade lobby that induced the government to take a measure from which it minted high speculative gains.

Now let us see the worth of the government's explanation. The government's belated realisation of the cold facts may be naive but the explanations are atrocious to say the least. For, the erratic behaviour in the international prices of gold because of the frequent tumblings of dollar was not unforeseen. Even then, the international price rose within a range of Rs 150 to Rs 170 between October 1 and 21 whereas during the same period the Indian domestic price of gold zoomed from Rs 632 to Rs 825 per ten grammes and touched Rs 970 as the climax. But the very object of government's gold sales policy was to narrow the margin between international and domestic gold prices so as to make smuggling unprofitable. Instead of doing this, it did just the reverse.

So, the governments' first objective of narrowing the margin is a clear flop. As to its second objective of fetching profit so as to narrow the gap of budgetary deficit, it may be pointed out that where as the government earned only Rs 87 crores by selling 13 tonnes of gold, the actual budgetary gap run well up Rs 1000 crores. So, by this exercise not even 10% of the gap could be bridged. This is all about the government's so-called declared objectives and actual performances. The question is: did not the government know of the results to come when it actually resorted to this measure?

Facts of the matter in-

dicating an underhand deal. Commenting on the whole exercise, the Economic Times wrote in its editorial of October, 28:

"... There is reason to believe that auctioned gold has been used elsewhere in the economy to launder black money into white. For the trade which successfully lobbied for the release of official gold, the auctions have been a terrific bonanza....."

The auctions were a managed affair, the secrecy of the reserve price was flimsy... We have frittered away one-sixth of our gold reserves, precious resources which could have been used to dampen speculative demand for gold through surprise releases.... The gold operation has whetted the appetite of the speculators and the black money operators".

RBI officials are now trying to defend their position by holding. "You should not call it an RBI policy, as the Bank is the only agent of the government".

But despite protestation, it is now widely known and in fact spelt out by a Bombay based journal (Blitz, October 21, '78) that "...the cause of the sudden spring after the 12th auction goes much deeper. It is believed that there was a sinister understanding between a syndicate of leading gold dealers and smugglers and a high Finance Ministry official to peg up prices.

The condition was that the syndicate would pay Rs 1 for every rise of Rs 5 per ten grammes to the official of the Ministry, it is rumoured.

Cornering of the auction stock, also was cleverly manipulated by the syndicate. The big dealers, it is learned, mobilised a number of small traders and goldsmiths to bid for a maximum of five kg's at a price fixed by the syndicate members. The small traders got a commission of Rs 5,000 for a successful bid.

The bid amount was

paid by the member of the syndicate by cheque in the form of a loan, to cover also the taxes, at a normal rate of interest. The commission was adjusted as so-called profit earned by the small dealers on the sale of the gold to the syndicate man."

Even the spokesmen of the Bullion Exchanges have complained that from the very first auction, the RBI's objective was seen to have fetched a high price and at times they even acted to push up gold prices.

The jewellery merchants too have got a share in the spoil. They got the gold at the intrinsic value of 24 carat but jacked up the prices of jewellery which are of 22 carat, at the same rate.

It is thus obvious that by this single measure, the government satisfied a long list of beneficiaries.

All told, there can be no two opinions that by this financial swindle, the government has only rewarded the smugglers, blackmarketeers, business community to bleach their black money into white at the cost of people's interest and public exchequer. No doubt such filthy deeds have become an usual part of a filthier political atmosphere of decadent capitalist system. Not a trace of minimum ethical standard and pro-people attitude are becoming scarces in the bourgeois political order of the country, no matter which party is in government.

The toiling people have before them the only task of bringing this corrupt system to an end. This is a solemn task to save the country and people's resources from swindles of the capitalist robbers and their henchmen.

## Industrial Relations Bill

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exhorted the workers to "preserve this unity and and strengthen it in the battle fields." He pointed out that there are some forces who for their political liking and dislikings refuse to sit with some forces or other in united trade union movement. This type of petty, sectarian and opportunist reservations must be totally discarded for it nails at the very spirit of trade union unity. Comrade Chanda struck a note of caution that the government, caught in its game is trying to wriggle out by holding out an air of discussion and dialogue with the trade union leadership. But we must take guard that this is nothing but a clever manoeuvring and we can not walk into the trap. Those who will talk of responding to this invitation of the government are in reality the forces of compromise between labour and capital and willy nilly are helping the government's move to deceive the working class to succeed.

Analysing the whole situation and nature of attack of the government through this Bill, he declared amidst thunderous cheers and warm applause that the Bill was totally reactionary and any attempt to amend it through dialogue and discussion would be only a mockery. The government is trying to curtail the basic right to strike and working class have to defend their right by asserting that right itself. The Bill must go lock, stock and barrel.

The CITU General Secretary, P. Ramamurti accused that the government did not give any opportunity to the Central Trade Unions to amend it through consultation due to which the Bill has been severely plagued with some anti-working class provisions. He declared that if the government does not sit with the Central TUs this Bill cannot be allowed to pass.

The HMP Secretary Sri S. Bagaitkar, a Janata MP, pointed out that this government had come to power with the promise to restore democracy and now it is trampling workers' basic democratic rights. So, he demanded, the government should immediately resign on this single issue only.

Others who spoke were among others Sri K. G. Srivastava (AITUC), J. C. Dixit (INTUC), D. P. Thengri (BMS) Jatin Chakraborty (UTUC—Bowbazar) etc.

The next day, the 20th November '78, turned into an all TU day for the capital and the whole of the city of New Delhi turned red. Thousands of workers and employees in small and big processions from all corners of the city and outside converged at the Firoz Shah Kotla Maidan in the morning wherefrom a huge procession of not less than 50 thousand workers of all TU organisations were taken out which paraded through the main thoroughfares of the city, more than six kilometres, to reach the Boat Club Maidan.

The Protest March rally was really unprecedented both in its struggling fervour and massiveness. Never before had the capital witnessed such a gigantic workers rally in its history. Most notable was the fighting mood of the common workers both during the convention and on the day of the Parliament March. Thousands of workers beaming with fighting zeal and determination were passing along the streets of the capital and thousands of general workers-employees and common people on the roads and from the building expressing their solidarity to the workers in rally for their struggle. It can be well ascertained that never before in history on any issue the leadership could have at their disposal such a unique solidarity and struggling fervour of the common workers and

## Port & Dock Workers' Strike : Role Played by CITU and 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal

The 11-day dock worker's strike all over India at the call of All India Dock Workers Federation has been called off. The terms of settlement are yet to be known till the time we are going to press. Dock Worker's Unions affiliated to CITU, AITUC and INTUC have not only endorsed the authoritarian methods of the Janata Government in declaring the strike illegal and the threat of deployment of Navy to break the strike but have whole heartedly worked for the government. The 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal led by CPI(M) also did its best to cooperate with the Janata Government in imposing 'peace' on the workers. CPI(M)'s cooperation with 'friendly' Janata Government is coming to clearer view in the concrete background of worker's fight for legitimate demands although the striking union leadership is not free from trade union sectarianism and petty manoeuvrings.

The strike of dock workers was not on new demands but to press for implementation of already decided and agreed issues. The leaders of the striking union explained that the government had been bungling over clarification of some of the issues as also in the matter of giving effect to already accepted items of the agreement reached some three years back. There are many serious points against the AIDWF leadership. No doubt the demands were genuine and legitimate and the port and dock workers had widespread grievances and urge for settlement of the issues. But was the leadership of the striking union serious about building up a strong

the necessary and adequate organisational preparation for that? Did not the leadership show more interest in showmanship and petty manoeuvrings to outwit the rival unions than any real concern for a struggle on the right track. But these deficiencies notwithstanding, when the strike struggle was on and it was faced with the Central Government's challenge, could any trade union leadership championing the cause of the workers afford to take any other course than to plunge in the struggle and try sincerely to give a correct orientation to the struggle? What did CPI(M) and CPI led union leadership do other than helping the Central Government in its anti-

employees to fight up to the last for their total victory. Now it is up to the leadership how they will bring that success.

Later, the Central Trade Union leaders presented petitions signed by over two million workers to the Lok Sabha Speaker and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha demanding immediate withdrawal of the black Bill. The delegation of the Central Trade Union leaders included Comrades Pritish Chanda (UTUC—Lenin Sarani), S. Venkataran (HMP), Santi Patel (HMS), P. Ramamurti (CITU), K. G. Srivastava (AITUC), R. N.

Sing (BMS), and Jatin Chakraborty (UTUC—Bowbazar).

Earlier in the Boat Club rally also, leaders of all the Central TUs addressed the workers. On behalf of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), Comrade Pritish Chanda declared again that it was only the uncompromising struggle and nothing else that could desist the government from this heinous act and save the workers' interest. So, he urged the workers to prepare for the bitterest struggle, against the government and to make others in factories and offices stand up to the occasion.

workers stand and moves?

Even the bourgeois dailies squarely blamed the Central Government and the minister of state for shipping in particular for the strike having taken place. They have pointed out that when revised pay scale with retrospective effect from January '74 had already been implemented involving about Rs. 46 crores there were no earthly reason for removing certain anomalies, bringing parity between categories of labour, regrouping of some scales, rates, review of peace rate incentives, liberalisation of increment etc. which are some of the major points, the striking dock workers demand immediate implementation. The government had enough time at its disposal to settle the issues and in fact, a committee appointed by the government to go into the anomalies in the pay scales dillydallie in hammering out a settlement.

Not only this, when the strike date was announced the minister of state for shipping took a very rigid stand and fixed a date a week after for discussion. CITU-AITUC-INTUC combine took up the queue and opposed the strike on the plea of a date being fixed for discussion! The government promptly declared the strike illegal and threatened deployment of the navy to break the strike. The non-striking unions not only endorsed this patently anti-labour repressive method but also rallied behind this stand. The Calcutta Port Trust authority chairman expressed satisfaction at the unstinted help and support that came from the West Bengal Government's police headquarters at Lalbazar.

Comrade Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in a statement condemned the

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*"The bourgeoisie needs lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust, and who would paint in fine colours, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would divert the people from the revolution by depicting in glowing colours the charms and the possibilities of the reformist path."*

—V. I. Lenin

## RED SALUTE

**Comrade Lenin  
The Architect  
and**

**Comrade  
Shibdas Ghosh**

**The Worthy  
Successor of  
The Great  
NOVEMBER  
REVOLUTION**



*"Remember, it is not that the enemy or the bourgeoisie always hits at mass movement directly. They keep their agents too within the ranks of mass movements. These enemy agents put up a show of mass movements on various demands of the people and sometimes create an air as if they are more militant than the real revolutionaries. While doing this they, at the same time, keep constant touch and maintain 'dialogue' with the enemies and miss no chance to create a cleavage in the fighting front of the people and thereby disrupt it. Thus they act as agents of enemies against the very mass movements.... The sweet catchwords and apparent militant behaviour mask their real character from the people. It is impossible to give birth to peoples' political power without exposing their trickery and anti-revolutionary politics and without isolating them from the people."*

—Shibdas Ghosh

## Sixty First Anniversary of November Revolution Observed with Great Enthusiasm Throughout the Country

The Central Committee of our Party called upon all the Party units in all the States and Districts throughout the country to observe the 61st Anniversary of the Great November Revolution with a ten-day long programme to carry the lesson of the November Revolution as taught by our beloved departed leader, teacher and guide, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the workers, peasants, students, youths and all sections of the downtrodden people.

Starting with a pin-flag collection on 7th November the programme included extensive ideological campaign through sale of party literature containing the revolutionary teachings of our great leader covering all aspects of life, wall posterings, street corner meetings, and innumerable group sittings and mass meetings. In the meantime we have received reports from different States about the successful completion of

this programme which created a great response among the people everywhere. For lack of space even now we shall have to confine ourselves to only a few such reports.

In Calcutta the programme of intense ideological campaign was concluded on 17th November in a solemn ceremony at the foot of the statue of Lenin, the great proletarian leader, the architect of Russian November Revolution. Countless

wreaths were placed on behalf of the party and different mass organisations. Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, member of the West Bengal State Secretariat addressing the large gathering which had assembled in the morning hours to pay homage to Lenin said that with the accomplishment of the November Revolution in Russia the working class which had hitherto been considered an ignorant, illiterate mass had proved for the first time to the world that they were capable to carry out a revolution, overthrowing the bourgeoisie from power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Discussing the significance of the great

November Revolution in the Indian context he said that our great leader, teacher and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has always emphasized that revolution cannot be achieved by blindly copying the model of revolution from any other country and he himself in the light of Marxian science concretised the strategy and tactics of revolution in the concrete conditions of our country.

Elaborating the three essential preconditions required for revolution—correct revolutionary theory, correct base political line and a genuine revolutionary party, Comrade Banerjee recalled the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**

that a genuine communist party should be built up on higher moral and ethical values and showed how **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** had devoted his entire life in the ardent struggle to build up a genuine working class party on the basis of this higher cultural and ethical standard. Comrade Banerjee called upon the people to strengthen SUCI, the only genuine communist party in India.

### Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh

On 17th November, in Kurnool under the auspices of the Kurnool Town Organising Committee, SUCI, a huge public meeting at the Open Air Theatre marked the success of the 10 day programme for

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## Janata Government's attempt to cover up the crime and shield the criminals is prompted by narrow parliamentary party interest

(Contd. from Page 2) occasions and especially through a letter of address to the delegates of the Democratic Convention on Communal Harmony held in Delhi in 1964, he analysed the causes of the vexed problem of communalism and other divisive tendencies in our country and pointed to the way to combat and eliminate them.

In the first place, the cause of the problem has to be understood. It has to be realised why the problem has been plaguing our society since the pre-independence days. The British imperialist rulers no doubt tried to create conditions of continuous hostility between the different communities. But it is wrong to think, as our great teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has pointed out on so many occasions, that the 'divide and rule' policy of the imperialist rulers was the sole cause of the communal problem. It should be remembered that the nationalist leadership of our independence movement could win over only individual Muslim leaders, but it had failed to win over the general Muslim masses into the freedom struggle. The freedom struggle, however, had opened up the path of initiating the process of integration of the different communities professing different religions. The cause of this failure lay in the very nature of the nationalist leadership. On numerous occasions we have shown by analysis that the nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie, because it was born when capitalism as a world force had become moribund and reactionary and because it grew and developed under the domination of foreign finance capital, had a stunted growth and had acquired a compromising character like all colonial bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It was mortally afraid of revolutionary mass struggle and apprehended that if the

national liberation struggle was allowed to move along revolutionary path and it became successful, it would not only end the imperialist rule but also, along with it, remove the national bourgeoisie from the leadership of the struggle and shatter all possibilities of establishing capitalist rule in India. It tried to develop, therefore, through compromise with both imperialism and feudalism. The result of compromise with feudalism was that this reformist-oppositional nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie which led the independence movement could not and did not carry out the task of social cultural revolution essential for merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions into a nation. In the course of political movement against imperialism, the Indian people became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the nationalist leadership remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited on religion, caste, language etc.

On the contrary, as **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** pointed out that this leadership took up religion as a vehicle for propagating nationalistic ideas. "Indian nationalism therefore was basically religion-oriented. This religion-oriented nationalism expressed itself in the form of Hindu religious revivalism. The psychological reaction, which the Hindu revivalist Indian nationalism produced in the non-Hindu masses, was, by and large, responsible for keeping them, especially the Muslim masses, away from the national movement in our country." (**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**—On Communal Problem). The imperialist rulers took advantage of it to implement their 'divide and rule' policy.

Following the independence, the bourgeoisie who has become the new rulers

in our country, in place of carrying out the task of social and cultural revolution, has been only aiding more enthusiastically, in the name of secularism, the anti-secular forces and tendencies, by encouraging all sorts of religious customs, convention and prejudices, which have increased these tendencies manifold compared to the pre-independence days. As pointed out by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, "It should be realised that true secularism does not mean encouraging the individual to profess, practise and propagate his religious faith. Nor does it presuppose State patronage to every religious faith so as to expand the influence of religion over the masses of the people.....A really secular State considers religion as the private affair of its citizens and does not, therefore, interfere, either by encouragement or by opposition, in the professions, practice and propagation of religion by the individual. It, on the contrary, guarantees full freedom to the believers to profess any faith as well as to the non-believers. By carrying out the task of social and cultural revolutions, it democratises society and takes the wind out of sail of religion in so far as its influence on the social activities of the individual and on the State is concerned. As a result of the more Hindu revivalist tendencies of the present ruling bourgeoisie of our country, the Indian people even today are a conglomeration of socially and culturally different communities distracted by language, religion, caste and race.....The correct process of solving the communal problem in our country, therefore, lies in democratizing the society through the completion of social and cultural revolutions." (On Communal Problem).

It should be also realised that the bourgeoisie is incapable of fully completing the process of democratizations which it itself had

started. So under the bourgeois rule some task of democratic revolution still remains unaccomplished, the national question is one such unaccomplished task. Besides, capitalism which had tried to integrate different communities of people in a given territory into a national whole at a stage when it was a historically progressive force, also tries at a different stage of its development—that is at the present imperialist stage to disrupt the unity of people for its own security against popular uprising. "The more acute its crisis becomes, resulting in more intense struggle by the working people against capitalist order, the more fascistic capitalism becomes, when it tries to fan religious or racial sentiment of people to misdirect popular struggle against capitalism.....Thus, so long as capitalism will exist, there will remain the root cause of anti-people ideas like communalism, casteism, racialism, etc. and consequently ground of communal violence will also be there. Only when the working people led by the working class will capture power, eliminate the survivals of and fully complete the tasks of democratic revolution in order that socialism can be successfully built, national, communal or racial problem will find its permanent solution. Those, who really intend to eliminate communalism and communal disturbances in our country for good, should keep this teaching of history in mind and cannot but work for the overthrow of capitalism and establishing socialism." (On Communal Problem).

**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has also pointed out that by discovering the root cause and strengthening the force that will ultimately eliminate the root cause we can restrict and even temporarily prevent the effect of the cause—that is periodic outbreak of communal riots in our country. "Hence, only by constantly streng-

thening the democratic movement, which is the anti-thesis of communalism, in our country, we can restrict communalism and temporarily prevent communal violence".

But it is a sad commentary that the so-called Marxist parties in our country including the CPI and the CPI(M), have so far confined democratic movement only to movements for realising economic and political demands. The unaccomplished tasks of social-cultural revolution has never been incorporated in the programme of democratic movement by them. This has objectively aided the continuance of the conditions for communal disunity and in utilisation of these conditions by the ruling class. It should also be emphasised here that the democratic movement is never to be directed against religious faith of the people as such, but it will certainly wage relentless struggle against all sorts of religious customs which impede the democratization of life and society. The task is not only to rally all democratic forces in our country and link up the programme of accomplishing the unaccomplished tasks of social and cultural revolution with the legitimate democratic movements for realisation of political and economic demands, but also to rely upon the working masses fighting for emancipation from capitalism. As pointed out by the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, "the security of the members of the minority community here does not lie in living in terror and siding with the ruling authorities. The strength of the democratic movement under correct revolutionary working class leadership is the only guarantee for the safety and security of the members of the minority community in our country."

The CPI and the CPI(M) have called democratic

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# CHIEF MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

## They All Stand For Further Strengthening The Bourgeois Law And Order

In the last Chief Ministers' Conference Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai asserted that law and order situation was 'not alarming' to which "others concurred", reports Economic and Political Weekly October 7, 1978.

We all know that by the maintenance of law and order the bourgeoisie and their agents mean absence of any legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people against exploitation and oppression. When the toiling people rise against exploitation of the capitalist class and conduct struggles, the bourgeoisie cry hoarse that the law and order situation is in jeopardy. So, when either by brutal suppression or by hoodwinking or by back stabbing from inside or by all these methods together the toiling people are kept away from movements they consider that law and order has been maintained. Needless to say that working people has got nothing to do with such law and order.

However, it is painfully true that at present movements are not developing though peoples' miseries and privations are ever on the increase. Though ruthless capitalist exploitation is mounting, thanks to the opportunist-revisionist politics of the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties like CPI(M) who have now succumbed to parliamentary politics, people are not immediately coming in the field of battle. Be it the Central Janata Government, be it the State Governments run by the branded bourgeois or petty bourgeois or the communal, parochial parties all have started an unwritten competition as to how best they can serve this moribund capitalist system. They are adopting all means to suppress the legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people. It is no wonder that the branded bourgeois parties are doing this. But how is it that CPI(M) who is so much vociferous about the peoples' cause has joined the race? Not that they are not making any show of struggle anywhere. But just as the branded bourgeois parties like Janata and the Congress, they are, where they are in the Government, asking the workers not to resort to movements. Their trade union and peasant wings are backstabbing from inside the movements of the workers, peasants and middle class employees and just begging the capitalists

to give some concession to the workers. When and where working people are not conceding to their dictates and persuasions and are trying to develop movements the CPI(M)-led Governments do not hesitate to use even the coercive apparatus of the state to crush them.

When such is the state of affairs, when "peace" and "tranquility" is continuing in the factories and the fields—peace of the graveyard for the toiling people and a heavenly peace for the capitalists, the jotedars—for which the Prime Minister as well as the Chief Ministers, two of whom belong to CPI(M) expressed satisfaction, Central Janata Government is revising their earlier decision of reduction of CRPF and is reviving the disbanded two battalions. The States Governments are asking for more power. They are asking for special power to enact preventive detention laws, they are proposing further strengthening of police force and more powers to the Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrates. Why?

The answer is obvious. In our pages many times we have dealt on this, so we shall not go into a detailed discussion here now. But suffice it to say that in this phase of third intense general crisis of capitalism, any government and for that matter any party that would try to defend this crisis ridden

capitalist system is bound to depend more and more on police and its brutal strength and the police in turn would ask for more unfettered power in order to ruthlessly suppress the organised movements of the people.

Naturally, though 'peace' apparently persists in the industrial and agricultural field—the owners are having a field day—toiling peoples' miseries are mounting more and more but this 'peace' of the exploiters, they are afraid, will not last long. They know that people will sooner or later come to the field of battle in order to realise their demands—mighty movements will surge forth against exploitation and oppression, injustice and privations. To suppress the movements the ruling class will then require stronger coercive instruments at hand—so their urge for more power, further strengthening of police and para-military forces.

But if the people are consciously organised with determination and courage, if they are united and unitedly offer resistance no power on earth can keep them under subjugation, no amount of torture and repression can dissuade them from the path of struggle. The ruling class know it very well and so they try to create division amongst the toiling people and set one community against another, one sect against another, people of one province against another. Communal, parochial, provincial, caste riots burst forth—toiling people fight with one another, their enemy the capitalists, the jotedars, laugh in their sleeves and make this also an excuse to strengthen the grip of the coercive instruments of the state.

Why we say this? Neither the Janata Governments at the Centre or the States, nor the governments run by the CPI(M) and other parties

## Strengthening of democratic movements on correct ethical line can alone save the people from the cause of communalism

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forces to unitedly campaign to isolate the arch communalists and protect the minorities. "It is the urgent task of all secular and democratic forces wherever they are to join hands to make the utmost efforts to isolate the communal virus and ensure that shameful episodes like Aligarh are not repeated again." (People's Democracy, Editorial, 12.11.78). We like to remind the rank and file of these parties that mere such calls or even some well intentioned initiatives along these lines will be of no avail in the face of the stark reality. As we have repeatedly pointed out on so many previous and different occasions, it is only by developing a genuinely left and democratic front as an instrument of struggle and not the kind of front the leaderships of these parties envisage as a means to be reckoned as the third alternative in the parliamentary battle and by organising legitimate democratic mass movements by forging unity of the people and incorporating the programme of accomplishment in different States despite many assurances of a happy future could solve any of the problems of people's life. What is more, in their bid to earn the confidence of the bourgeoisie they have given a free hand to them to exploit the people more. Realisation is dawning on the people that they have been befooled—they are gradually becoming restless. The ruling class also took notice of this. And what we see? A spurt of communal, parochial, provincial and caste riots throughout the country.

"In the last eight months 55 persons have been killed in 140 communal clashes. In the whole of 1977 and 1976 there were 35 and 40 deaths in (Contd. to Page 8)

ing the unfulfilled tasks of social-cultural revolution that we can actually rally the secular forces, curb the communal forces, restrict communalism, provide protection to the minorities and force the Government and the Administration to take effective measures against communal forces.

Our Party, under the leadership of our great teacher, leader, and guide, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, has been voicing all along that unless our people are freed from the bondage of social and religious prejudices, conventions and institutions, unless the barriers separating them culturally are demolished and they are transformed into a homogeneous compact community not only politically but also socially and culturally, communalism cannot be effectively done away with. We reiterate here some of the demands we have been raising all along:

1. Educational institutions be freed from all sorts of religious influences.
2. No religious customs be observed in functions sponsored directly by the State or under the State patronage.
3. Inter-caste and inter-religious marriage be effectively encouraged.
4. Common association of different communities in social and religious functions be actively encouraged.
5. Public meetings, group meetings, etc., of members of different communities be organised in large numbers to discuss the communal problem and devise ways and means to solve it.
6. Social sanction be actively enforced against those who preach or practise or cause to preach or practise communalism.

We call upon the people to forge unity and strengthen legitimate democratic mass movements under the revolutionary working class leadership.

## Sixty-first Anniversary of November Revolution Observed

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observance of the November Revolution. Comrade B. Sreenivasa, Secretary, Town Organising Committee, presided over the meeting and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, an important organiser of our party was the main speaker. He explained the Significance of the Great November Revolution in the context of Indian situation as shown by great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. He said that the observance of the November Revolution would only be meaningful if we can find out and strengthen the correct revolutionary party and the leadership defeating the pseudo-revolutionary lines and parties. The proletariat of Russia under leadership of Lenin had accomplished this task and thus had been able to emancipate themselves from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and establish the first socialist state in the world. Comrade Chakraborty said that concretising Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** had shown that in a capitalist country like ours where capitalism had reached even the stage of monopoly finance capital and attained imperialist character to speak of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal national democratic or people's democratic revolution will invariably give birth to two tendencies—one to combine with the ruling bourgeoisie and practise worst form of reformism, revisionism and parliamentarism—and the other—extreme form of adventurism. The CPI and CPI(M) are persuing the reformist revisionist line while the dominant section of the CPI(M-L) is persuing adventurism. Explaining the role of CPI and CPI(M) he stressed how their

politics has helped the bourgeoisie in power to consolidate their class rule and establish two party parliamentary system. Comrade Chakraborty appealed to the people to strengthen SUCI, the only genuine communist party in India.

### Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh 13th November

On 12th November, a big mass meeting was organised by the Jaunpur District SUCI. The large mass rally was attended by thousands of people from all walks of life including workers of the Pratap Garh and Sultanpur District, at Junior High School of Sivgaman. The mass meeting which was held in the afternoon in the campus of Junior High School was presided over by Comrade Jagadish Chandra Asthna, District Secretary, Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey was the main speaker. Comrade Pandey at length discussed the significance of the Great November Revolution in the light of Indian context and stressed upon the necessity to correctly grasp the revolutionary teachings of the outstanding Marxist philosopher and thinker of the age, our great departed leader, teacher and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. He said that **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has concretised Marxism-Leninism covering every aspect of life, in the concrete conditions of our society and taught that the science of Marxism becomes the re-revolutionary force in history, an invincible weapon in the hands of the proletariat when its universal truth is correctly integrated and correlated with the concrete condition of any society. He urged the people to isolate the social democratic parties which act as forces of compromise between

## Port & Dock Workers' Strike

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Janata Government's anti-labour move and the authoritarian method in suppressing a legitimate struggle of the workers as also the help and assistance of CITU and 'Left Front' Government both led by CPI(M) to all this. He demanded of the Janata Government to accept the just demands of the workers and adhere to the policy of non-interference of police in the legitimate democratic movement.

It speaks of the abysmal depth of the ethical standard of the leadership of the three non-striking unions who while backstabbing the dock worker's just struggle, had no qualms to sit in rounds of discussions with the Central Ministers while the strike struggle was still on.

It appears that the Central government set these non-striking unions against the striking union and the casualty was the worker's cause. That is why after eleven day's strike, the striking union suddenly withdrew the strike with no concrete results at hands. What has been the upshot of the discussion of the leaders with the ministers remains secret. So, a just and legitimate struggle of the dock workers has been the casualty at the altar of trade union opportunism. CPI(M) led union and the government show their readiness to cooperate with a bourgeois government in this nasty game, in lieu of patronage of various kinds that it hopes to receive.

labour and capital and to strengthen SUCI in order to hasten process of socialist revolution for the emancipation of our society from capitalist yoke of exploitation and oppression.

## They all stand for bourgeois Law and O. der

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180 and 170 incidents respectively, crimes against Harijans have also been on the increase from 5,970 in 1976 to 10,889 in 1977 and 5,950 in the first six months of the current year. During 1977-78 in three states alone the number of Harijans killed came to 264 with UP in the lead with 174. Marthwada recently saw organised violence against Harijans on a mass scale". [Editorial Comment, Economic Times of 20.10.78]

Not only this. An environment of rural-urban conflict is also being deliberately created—a campaign to create hostility between the organised and unorganised sections of the working people is also continuing. The peasantry is being posed against middle class employees, as is evident from the recent Kishan Morcha in Madhya Pradesh opposing the demand of the government employees for increased dearness allowance.

What did all this lead to? In 1977-78, "in fifteen states alone there have been 57 cases of police firings, killing 179 persons with UP and Bihar in the lead. What is more disconcerting is that death in jail or police custody continue as before. In one year there have been 17 such cases. Most of the people killed in police action were agricultural labourers, students tribals and Harijans." [Ibid] We must not forget that these are all official figures and needless to say that the actual figures are far more.

The bourgeoisie is perpetrating such an all out conspiracy against the toiling people.

Brutal police atrocities and indiscriminate firing on workers at Panthnagar where more than two hundred people died, police firing at Bailadilla,

Madhya Pradesh where according to official report 11 people including a woman and a child died, the communal riot of Aligarh, the caste riots in UP and Bihar, the Marthwada incidents—all unmistakably show the heinous conspiracy of the ruling class and its parties against the toiling people. Despite all this, the law and situation has not caused any alarm to the Prime Minister and all the Chief Ministers of the country! This is sad indeed.

The CPI(M) too is not lagging behind this race. They too are suppressing legitimate democratic movements with the help of police, sending police inside university camps, college buildings, brutally beating students, they too are opening fire on Dandak refugees, on flood-stricken hungry people, on workers and peasants. Of course how can they help it? They too, like the branded bourgeois parties have taken up the holy mission of defending this crisis-ridden capitalist order!

Toiling people must realise that all these parties have now sided with the bourgeoisie—the CPI(M), CPI and other so-called leftist parties have now thrown away the banner of leftism. It is only SUCI, the party, built up brick by brick by the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that is holding aloft the banner of leftism, the banner of proletarian revolution. The sooner the toiling people will realise this and muster strong this only revolutionary party on Indian soil earlier will come their long cherished emancipation from the clutches and tentacles of exploitation of all sorts.

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