



"No amount of sacrifices and sporadic battles in numbers totally divorced from higher ethics and culture can bring about revolutionary transformation of the society. The nation can stand up with firm determination against all sorts of injustice only when the movements are conducted on the basis of higher ethics, morality and a correct base political line."

Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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Era*

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Founder Editor-in-Chief :
COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Remembering The Teachings of COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

On Revisionist Neo Revisionist Treacheries

.....Those who say that there is no revolutionary forces in our country, nor there is revolutionary will and fervour among the people, the youths lack fighting spirit, lack the spirit to sacrifice their life, the workers-peasants lag behind in fighting zeal and in the spirit to give away everything for the struggle, in fact, deny history. I say this is not true. The peasants and workers, the toilers, countless students and youths of middle class families have plunged themselves in movements, time and again.....

The real problem is elsewhere. They had not before them the correct path, the correct base political line—here is the real problem. And if the path is not correctly laid, if there is no correct line of thinking in determining the tactics of movement—its object and goal, if the strategy of revolution is not correctly determined that is to say, if the base political line and the very object of movement is not correct, then whatever be the struggle, zeal and sacrificing spirit of the people in the fight, their all sacrifice will go to waste. Does it go to waste for the moment only? Is it not also true that this failure casts its shadow over the minds of those taking part in the struggle and fills those with despair and despondency?

They start thinking in the vein: 'We supported the movement, we gave away our family comforts and were prepared to give our life even. What has been the result? There is no hope in this country. Oh! We have seen much of the political parties, they are all the same'. These feelings of despair and frustration of the people come as aftermath of failure of movement.

(They are to be told): So what? Have you not anything to do? Can you continue in this way? prices are going up, no

security of service, eviction from land continuing, unemployment ever on the increase, families degenerating, no peace in the families, love and affection, fellow feeling are all drying out, sons and daughters going wayward before your very eyes, you yourselves are getting degenerated and that too within your knowledge, will you allow all this to go on? No. Certainly this cannot go on for long. So what happens. Time comes when manhood in them breaks its slumber. Even if the cause of humanity loses its appeal, they can ill-afford to ignore dire necessities. Because hunger is a sterner reality.But when they rise again, they again react like a mad man or a child, full of impatience and incoherence.

This happens because where is the necessary net-work of organisation before the movements? Where is the correct political leadership?

Remember, if you want to lead the mass movements to correct revolutionary goal then you require, first of all, a correct political line. Secondly you require, consistent with this revolutionary political line that is to say, for giving concrete and effective shape of this revolutionary political line—a genuine revolutionary party. This genuine revolutionary political party must be present not only to provide ideological leadership but it must have adequate organisational strength. If it has not that adequate organisational strength with which it can effectively influence the objective situation then you are to give it that strength. Just as a mother nourishes her baby to strength, you are to do the same to your party. This is the responsibility of the people, it is the responsibility of all.

I like to remind you of the three most important parts of the strategy of revolution, one is—what

is the objective of revolution, that is which class or classes are the main enemy and are to be overthrown from power and what type of state will replace the existing one? The second one is which class will lead the revolution. Along with it I add one more important part—what will be the strategic alliance and strategic slogan of revolution? And the third one is the direction of the main blow. This is not my invention. Those who, unlike the social democrats of different countries did not only talk of revolution, but had to actually organise and lead revolution—all of them included this important part—'direction of the main blow' in the strategy of revolution.

... Let us now examine our country's situation. Capitalism in this country is not only reactionary, to some extent it has already attained the imperialist character but what is more, it is that type of capitalism which is throttling progress and it is because of this that you see the catastrophe in all fields starting from science and epistemology, economy and politics, art and literature, ethics and morals—in every sphere. You cannot define it wholly by calling it only moribund reactionary capitalism. Along with this you are to take cognition of the peculiar characteristic features of capitalism of this country.

Capitalism, today, the world over is moribund and has turned utterly reactionary. After reaching the stage of imperialism capitalism is trampling under foot the ideals of humanism, civil liberties and democratic principles which once it upheld and day by day, it is becoming prone to bureaucratic regimentation, coercion, repressive methods and militarism. This general trend by and large, is observable in measure to its strength and the objective condition in all

the capitalist countries.

But what I want you to appreciate is the fact that in every sphere of social life in India the total disregard of human values particularly, the worst sort of corrupt practices that have become the all out and over all features in trade and commerce, administrative affairs have no parallel even in the utterly reactionary old imperialist capitalist countries. You will hardly find in those countries instances of such gross transgressions of laws and norms of administration, the rulers themselves set down in the country. Violation of laws by police and administration the supposed protectors of law and order has become almost a daily occurrence in this country. The way bulk of police and administrative personnels, out of personal grudge or malice or at the instigation of the parties in power, engage themselves without slightest prick of conscience in illegal activities, and often harass workers of opponent political parties or democratic movement by framing cases against them can hardly be found even in the arch reactionary western capitalist countries.

As a sequel to all these, in every level of social life there is a general and all pervading apathy and disregard to the sense of duty and social responsibility.

.....What is the reason for this wide difference in the bourgeois national character of our country from that in those Western countries? The reason is that unlike in the western countries in the Eighteenth century, capitalism in India did not grow and develop through uncompromising revolutionary battle against feudalism, religious fanaticism and superstition. That is why a firm foundation to the bourgeois national character in our country, could not develop.

First of all, capitalism in our country, developed in the totally reactionary period of world capitalism. Secondly, it developed through compromises and admixtures with imperialism and feudalism respectively. Therefore, while moral backbone of the people had already got crippled due to the impact of centuries old Brahmin supremacy and injunctions as also caste divisions and various religious superstitions, the freedom movement centering round the emergence of capitalism faltered and stumbled down. The dirt and filth, therefore, that accumulated over the ages in social life which could not be removed due to the compromising character of the freedom movement have come out in the worst form after the establishment of a bourgeois state. So much on the aspects of the special features of Indian capitalism.

.....Now, if a state is for protecting and defending a definite economic system then what else the Indian state can be other than the state machine, armed to the teeth for defending and protecting the most corrupt and redoubtable monopoly capitalist economy of the national bourgeoisie, its rule of capitalist exploitation, notwithstanding the glorification of the democratic state, the glorification of the constitution, that they make? And what else this state machine to defend the exploitative capitalist system is called in history other than a capitalist state? That is why we call the Indian state a modern type of capitalist state. This is a capitalist state that is protecting capitalism, helping it to prosper and consolidate. And what sort of capitalism is it? This is that sort of capitalism which can no longer give birth to indus-

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Learning and Re-Learning Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Teachings

Let us prove ourselves equal to the task

On this occasion of the 5th anniversary of the passing away of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, our beloved leader, guide and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, the Central Committee of our party, the SUCI, has adjured us to study deeply his teachings, to learn and re-learn his teachings on all aspects of mass movements towards the cherished goal of anti-capitalist socialist revolution to put an end to all exploitation and on the noble struggle covering all aspects of life to mould and remould ourselves to attain communist character.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was one of the outstanding Marxist thinkers of the present era. It was he who concretised Marxism-Leninism on Indian soil, developed, elaborated and enriched many aspects of it and also brought many other aspects to a new height at this particular stage of the present era of 'Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution' enunciated by Lenin. He also provided a newer and concrete understanding of Marxism-Leninism in course of dealing with the problems that appeared not only in the political and socio-economic fields but also covering all aspects of life and epistemology—science and philosophy, ethics, morality, culture, art-literature and aesthetics in the post-Lenin period.

Comrade Ghosh's thoughts and teachings are the unfailing guides to the Indian revolution. These are guiding us and vindicating our stand in every concrete situation.

In the complex situation of today, when our party, the SUCI, is engaged in combating single handed a thousand adversaries and adverse situation in order to establish the revolutionary line of the proletariat ideologically and organisationally in the country, should we be unnerved at the immensity of the task? Should we not take lesson from the struggle conducted by Comrade Ghosh, with indomitable spirit and against insurmountable odds in a very complex situation to build up the party?

It is really hard for any one to believe and conceive even, at the present stage of development of our party, how inconceivably strenuous and painstaking was the struggle he had to wage, what mountain-high difficulties he had to face with only a handful of revolutionary compatriots against the extremely adverse situation in order to build up this party SUCI. For him and his few dedicated revolutionary compatriots there was no roof over heads, no shelter, no provisions, no congenial surroundings, none to encourage, but what they had was the firm conviction and based on it, the unflagging determination to build up a new, a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat on Indian soil. Everybody ridiculed at the idea and considered it simply impossible if not an act of madness, of attempting to build up a revolutionary party to lead the Indian people to revolution with this microscopic strength and meagre support in a vast country like India, amidst such boundless obstacles.

But Comrade Ghosh was undaunted. Never did he falter. On the contrary, more the difficulties, more the adversities, more firm and determined he would become in his struggle. He said: "I would rather die on the street and think that it was necessary for Indian revolution. If I am to die, I will die with honour raising my head high." Recalling those

days, he used to tell the party workers: I could never imagine of indulging in the thought even that anything, the necessity of revolution prompted me to do, was beyond me. I feel extremely humiliated to think that anything is impossible to a revolutionary. Days in and days out Comrade Ghosh and his revolutionary compatriots had to starve. At a dingy hovel in South Calcutta, they lived together and started the first Commune of the party. Through years of relentless struggle, Com. Ghosh laid the solid foundation of the genuine working class party in India, the SUCI, and gave it organisational shape. His conviction was: 'I understand the simple truth that those who build up the revolutionary movement, initiate the struggle against injustice are to give more at the beginning, die more in number, sacrifice more. They cannot start their struggle if their attitude is—'we shall fight only if we can beat others and if this is not possible we shall desert fight.' Rather, they come in struggle prepared to lay down their lives. They have the attitude that they will rather die but not give up fight against injustice. This mental make up has always created the fertile soil for struggle against injustice, the soil for revolutionary movement in all countries. Thus, by this sense of dedication and fearless struggle, the revolutionaries have built up, brick by brick, the mighty edifice of revolutionary movement whereupon revolution has been victorious".

And brick by brick did he build up the edifice of the toiling people's own party, the SUCI. While doing so, he always took pains to set the party to a higher cultural moral-ethical tune. He was deeply pained to see the cultural degradation all round, to see that ethics, morality and the finer sense of human

values are disappearing from all walks of life, starting from the mass movement, political movement, to the family life even. Time and again he reminded us that mass struggles are to be built up on the basis of higher proletarian morality and ethics.

He consistently upheld the nobility of communist ideology and taught us that the living soul of any great ideal lies in the higher standard of morals, ethics and culture. He taught us to practise and develop the working class revolutionary politics on the basis of communist ethics and morality. It was also his teaching not to fear any difficulty but to face all adversities with revolutionary zeal and determination and thus be able to turn disadvantage into advantage. Comrade Ghosh taught us: "The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal. Its kernel, the living soul of this noblest revolutionary ideal also is ingrained in its cultural and moral values..... It is not so important whether a party talks of great ideologies. Whether the ideal it preaches is really great is proved by whether the leaders, workers and supporters of the party reflect a high standard of ethics and culture in their personal life, day-to-day behaviour and political conduct..... The acid test as to whether a man has correctly realised Marxism-Leninism is whether a high cultural ethical standard is being reflected in his life..... Old religious values have long ago become exhausted in them (the people), and the bourgeois humanist values are also by now almost exhausted, but the revolutionary ideology and a new sense of values of the proletariat have not yet been able to extend sufficient influence

on the cultural movements and the social life of the country. And as a result, a vacuum has been created in the field of ideology and morality. This has caused this all-out crisis in the realm of morality in the country. With deep pain and anguish I observe the stark reality that the mass movements in all its aspects have become devoid of any sense of ethics and morality..... The cultural tune has been lost and all vestiges of ethics and morality have almost eroded..... Reason is not the only element in struggle—it demands a fine persuasion of reason as well as emotion—revolution is no exception to this. Ideas are developing, if the faculty of emotion cannot keep pace with it a gap will be created. Then the ideas are sure to get confused and the struggles bound to go astray leading to a blind alley.... That is why today slogan mongering has become the dominant feature of the mass struggles. So in waves after waves movements are surging forth and bursting out with the urge of fundamental change, a revolutionary charge of the society. Men are dying, youths are sacrificing lives, but revolution, the radical transformation of the society still remains a far cry..... The ruling class in India is engaged in a conspiracy to destroy totally the moral and ethical standards, the character of the nation. They are shrewd to the bone; they know that even by extreme oppression and repression and by keeping starved, a nation of people cannot be kept under foot for long with the help of the coercive apparatus of the state, of police and military alone. The history of oppression and tyranny of all despotic rulers of all ages tells but one thing—that no amount of brutal and coercive measures of police and

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Political events prove : there are only two forces— SUCI, the revolutionary force, all others are against proletarian revolution

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military can ultimately defend the rule of injustice or put down the organised power of the people. People's power asserts itself and stands up if the masses can keep their moral strength intact and find correct revolutionary ideology. The Indian bourgeoisie, the ruling clique, has not learnt the good part of the lesson of history. Devil as they are, being the exploiter ruler, they have not failed to take that part of it which serves their need—that is to destroy the moral-ethical strength and ruin the very character of the nation.... So, the cultural moral degeneration that you witness today is not just an accident—not something spontaneous.... If you can see through the game you will note that though it is happening beyond knowledge of the people, there is behind it a calculated move of the ruling clique, a definite patronage. In their pulpit speeches they are asking the people to be good and honest. But at the dictate of petty, sectarian party interest, and on the plea of practical politics, not the ruling party alone but even many pseudo-revolutionary parties are inciting the base instincts of man. In the name of militancy and class struggle, they are giving indulgence to the trend of cowardly violence—a gang attacking a lone individual—and showing extreme intolerance to polemics and ideological battle. Greed, avarice and meanness, which make a man inhuman and spoil the courage and self-respect in him, are now being encouraged. The cadres of political parties are being engaged on money to do regular party or union activities and even election work. And all these have been going on in the name of 'practical politics'..... Whichever

party it may be, whatever may be their vocabulary, and it is immaterial whether their leaders are personally honest or not—they are in reality, knowingly or unknowingly, helping the game of bourgeois conspiracy to pollute the ethical-cultural atmosphere in the country and to destroy the moral character of the nation... ..I think that, whatever remnant of ethics, morality that is within the man, if it is kindled and aroused, he can even now fight against injustice. If we try, such a mentality can still be brought about in man that even while in tears for not having been able to provide food to his father, a man will still do no wrong—like we used to think in bygone days... ..I cannot but emphasise ... that a nation going without food, suffering the worst kind of oppression and exploitation, being half-fed and half-clad for days on can also stand up, fight against, acquire the power to combat, organise itself and rise up holding its head high provided its moral strength remains intact and the people have a correct ideology before them..... Our party is striving tirelessly to place the Indian revolutionary movement on a firm foundation of dedication to truth, ethics and morals. And I know that the people of the country today look to this party with great expectations."

On this party, the SUCI, rests the task of accomplishing socialist revolution in the country. Comrade Ghosh has taught us that revolution will remain only a dream unless step by step sustained mass movements on the burning questions in people's lives are taken to higher and higher stages and on the basis of those, people's committees are formed from the village to the highest level as instru-

ments of people's political power. But who can be the leaders of such people's committees? In the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh: "We cannot always anticipate what kind of obstacles, how and when would come from our adversaries. Those who are very intelligent can sometimes anticipate some of the possible attacks but even a wise man cannot always anticipate surprise attacks from the enemy. Revolutionary movements will have to face such a situation any time. That is why the revolutionary organisers must acquire the capability, individually and collectively, in the committees to face such a situation with calm resoluteness, so that essential thing is not missed in the least by losing balance of mind, useless talkings and purposeless debates..... If you fall in the midst of dangers and difficulties created by forces opposing us, natural calamities, unforeseen enemies or your own weaknesses—then revolutionary education consists of at once striving together unitedly to turn your difficulties to your advantage. To raise a clamour as to why the difficulties are there, is not revolutionary education, but just the reverse. We do want that large number of our workers acquire the capability of becoming leaders. But they have to qualify at first to be leaders. Who is a leader? One who can rouse the masses and build up revolutionary organisations among them on the one hand, while he can maintain the unity of the party and secure its health on the other—only he can be a leader. A man was living happily with his family in comfort. That man will voluntarily leave everything, come and fight under the leadership of some one happily. He

will come by seeing what? Just by listening to speeches? No, he will examine the mode of life of the leader as well—such a life as cannot be suppressed by false propaganda and concocted stories against it. We require leaders of this model."

While dealing with the different aspects of the problems of mass movement and chalking out concretely the path of the Indian revolution, Comrade Ghosh, through brilliant analysis, pinpointed anti-capitalist socialist revolution as the historic task of the hour and showed by detailed, concrete analysis that the petty bourgeois parties calling themselves communists, the pseudo-lefts who are talking about People's Democratic Revolution or National Democratic Revolution in our country are refusing to take cognition of the objective reality of the capitalist state structure and capitalist economic system in the country. As a result, their utterances and activities instead of marking out the ruling bourgeoisie, the capitalist class, as the principal enemy of the people serve to shield them from mass wrath and their programmes of reforms within the existing capitalist system. In Comrade Ghosh's words: "...those who evade the fundamental political question of overthrowing the... .. bourgeoisie from state power through anti-capitalist socialist revolution but make a fanfare of their so-called militancy by raising loud slogans against monopoly capital, foreign imperialist powers and feudalism while scrupulously avoiding the task of overthrowing the bourgeois state machine which is already on the agenda of the day and who even deny the reality of Indian capital's growing imperialist characteristic features,

are propagating in the name of political programmes of their phantom revolutions—be it People's Democratic Revolution or National Democratic Revolution, nothing but bourgeois reformist programme from the point of view of strategic questions of a revolution. In the ultimate analysis these programmes are nothing but programmes for grabbing governmental power through parliamentary election by fanning up in the course of day to day movements of the masses, the anti-ruling party sentiments and feelings and passing such movements for 'revolution'.

Comrade Ghosh further showed by brilliant analysis that these pseudo-lefts, the social democratic parties, are in the process of becoming the last prop of capitalism in the country and are coming to the rescue of this moribund capitalism by helping the same in its bid to move towards fascism as a means of saving and protecting itself.

As time passes, the correctness and historic significance of this analysis is being proved more and more in concrete terms. The most "revolutionary" of the pseudo-Communist parties, the CPI (M), although moving along the path of revisionism ever since its inception, was nevertheless doing so under cover of revolutionary phrase-mongering in order to confuse and deceive its cadres and the people. But at its Tenth Congress at Jullundar in April, 1978 the CPI (M) openly and decisively took the position of practising parliamentarism pure and simple. At this Congress, the CPI (M) adopted a programme for striving to form a govern-

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No amount of obstacles and adversities can stall the march of genuine revolutionary party—SUCI

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ment of "left and democratic forces" at the Centre in order to bring about "basic changes in the Constitution to eliminate the grip of the big bourgeois landlord classes over the state" and to solve the basic problems in the lives of the people and bring about "fundamental" changes through reforms! And on CPI(M)'s admission in the Political Resolution of Jullundur Congress, the "left and democratic forces" include the bulk of the leading bourgeois parties, and even regional and parochial parties like AIADMK and DMK in Tamilnadu, the Akali Party in Punjab and the Republican Parties! Revolutionism indeed!

It is to be noted that even the arch revisionist Khrushchev could not conceive a more revisionist programme than this. While propounding the "theory" of national democratic revolution he at least talked of a majority in bourgeois parliament backed by mass movements outside to convert it as "people's instruments". Our revisionist friends of the CPI (M) have totally given go by to the mass movements of the instrument to bring about social changes!

Today, the task of building the edifice of revolution in our country has historically devolved upon our party, the SUCI. The ruling bourgeoisie, in order to bolster up the crisis-ridden moribund capitalism, are more and more resorting to fascist measures and are trying to arrest the people's discontent within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism by adopting the two-party system so that the people's attention is confined to this or that alternative within the bourgeois electoral set-up and they do not seek out the revolutionary line, their own alternative. It is not that only the

branded bourgeois parties are engaged in this nefarious game. Today the so-called communist parties, the pseudo-lefts of the country headed by the CPI(M) have deserted the people and gone over to the side of the establishment. In the states where they are in governmental power, they are crushing all mass movements with the same ferocity as the Congress Governments and are currying favour with the ruling bourgeoisie in order to emerge on the national scene as a 'left and democratic' alternative with their blessing. Against all these, the SUCI today stands alone as the only force in the political spectrum of the country which is the growing bulwark of the toiling people against the anti-people machinations and conspiracies of the ruling bourgeoisie and their political servants. Starting from the massive civil disobedience demonstration in Calcutta on 15th June, 1979 which was brutally attacked by the police and henchmen of the CPI(M) led government, the SUCI has been developing single handed movements stage by stage against price-rise and anti-people policies of the state and Central governments in West Bengal, Bihar, Haryana, UP and other places. A definite stage in this process was marked by the massive protest demonstration in the capital, New Delhi, on 4th November last year against the anti-people policies of the Central Government. Besides, who can forget the gigantic movement conducted by our party the SUCI, against the anti-people educational and language policies of the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal and the curtailment of autonomy of educational institutions by it, which forced that government to retrace its steps, even though temporarily?

Although the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties serving the bourgeoisie are divided into many sides in parliamentary politics, they cannot but instinctively feel the danger posed by the rising stature of the SUCI in the mass eyes and there are signs of their making common cause against the revolutionary line to safeguard the system they serve. In the struggle conducted by the SUCI against jotedars in rural Bengal and in the last Panchayat Elections and the recently concluded municipal elections in the state, there have been numerous instances of collusion between the Congress (I) and the CPI(M) against the SUCI, their different positions in parliamentary politics centring round the struggle for parliamentary power and self notwithstanding. As if to drive the point home, even on a burning question like all the Central trade unions unitedly protesting against the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, an openly fascist measure just promulgated by Indira Government, Mr. Promode Dasgupta, CPI(M) politburo member, has stated categorically that they could even join hands with the Congress (I) for protesting against this measure of the Congress (I) Central Government, but was not ready for joint action with the SUCI under any circumstances. The historic utterance made by our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh a few year back rings even more true today: "Better start with a few people. In fact, this was the guiding principle when we started building our party with a handful of Comrades...with firm determination, and only with this, we went ahead to build up this party. And what has been the result?...The CPI (M) today considers

the SUCI its main enemy—greater than the Congress even. For, it knows that it is the SUCI which will give burial to its politics of deception. The SUCI will unmask not only the Congress but also the design of all the pseudo-Communists donning the cloak of Leftism. Because, it is the SUCI which carries the seeds of revolution. No other party can rip open the real character of those parties who are now making the most in the easy shelter of parliamentary politics masquerading as revolutionaries. The party which can do it is SUCI. That is why all the pseudo-revolutionary parties have come to a tacit understanding among themselves and formed, so to say, a united front against the SUCI."

Are we equal to the task of standing up against this? Yes, we are—provided we unflinchingly stick to the correct anti-capitalist base line of the proletariat and place it on the edifice of communist culture and ethics. While engaged in the strenuous struggle to build up our party, the SUCI, Comrade Ghosh repeatedly stressed this point:

"I want to remind you of a saying of Lenin. Once he said in Russia, fewer but better. That is, let there be fewer men, but let there be worthy of the name man. If they begin, revolution will come, today or tomorrow..."

"Just the other day, the Chinese Communist Party at its 10th Party Congress made a very important observation which I liked very much. A giant party like this which successfully led the revolution there, organised Cultural Revolution, which enjoys an overwhelming command over the masses of as a big country as that—even such a party does not plead that it is correct because it enjoys so much popular support, has so vast membership strength and so many committees are behind it. They are saying on the

contrary that if the base political line is not correct then even if there is mass support and strength, the army at command, and even if the organisation is very big today, these cannot be retained in the long run. If the line is incorrect, every thing will be lost today or tomorrow.... So the Chinese Party, a giant party at that, despite so big a mass following and so many cadres, reiterates that a party even if it begins with one, will double itself, treble itself and thus go on multiplying its strength manifold and give birth to political power and capture the State power one day provided its base political line is correct...."

This has been vindicated by the course of events. Starting from a handful of revolutionary compatriots

Just Out

Chiner Communist Partir Nabam O Dasam Congress

(On Ninth and Tenth Congress of CPC)
(Bengali)

—Comrade
Shibdas Ghosh

Price Rs. 4.00

gathered round Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in a corner of Calcutta without any recognised or reputed leader to start with, without any international backing or support, facing hostility from the ruling class, its state administration and police and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties of all shades, with a virtual blackout about its activities in the big bourgeois press our party, the SUCI, has grown and grown, until today its activities are spread over 18 states of India. Thousands from all walks of life in different parts of the country are gravitating continuously towards our party, being attracted by its correct

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trial revolution, solve unemployment problem or modernise agriculture, but can only plunder the overseas markets by exporting finance capital and suck the people to bare bones by producing less and artificially increasing the prices of the commodities.

Had it been capitalism in the era of industrial revolution, capitalism organising industrial revolution, modernising agriculture, drawing the rural unemployed to towns, giving them regular employment in factories and industries, leading art and literature, science and knowledge to the path of progress then it would have been a different matter. But, this is a capitalism which is throttling progress, science and knowledge, economy and politics, art and literature, ethics and morals, ideals, everything. This is moribund, most corrupt and utterly reactionary capitalism. It is for this that there is so much degeneration and degradation in every sphere of social life. So, to come out of this overall and all out crisis there is no other way than to overthrow this utterly reactionary capitalist social order.....

Those who are talking about the People's Democratic Revolution are, basically denying this reality of capitalist state and economic system—they are, so to say, shutting their eyes to this reality. They are telling that the principal political task before the country is to remove feudalism and imperialism. That is to say, overthrow of the ruling bourgeois class from the state power is not the main and principal task of our revolution, the principal task being removal of the exploitation of the foreign imperialist powers and the feudal exploitation (to whatever extent it is there, only they know whether, where and to what extent it exists!) Fact is however there is no feudal exploitation in the land relations of our country. If for absence of scientific farm-

Strategic programme of PDR and NDR in our country are nothing but bourgeois reformist programme

ing and modernisation of agriculture, they say that feudal exploitation still exists, then they are totally ignorant as to how capitalism makes its inroad into agriculture or land relations in this era of imperialism and Proletarian revolution when capitalism is passing through the third intense phase of general crisis, the world over and more so in a relatively backward capitalist country.

I must say that the protagonists of the People's Democratic Revolution and National Democratic Revolution have totally confused as to how the present day capitalism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, that is, in the era of third phase of intense general crisis of world capitalism and that too in a relatively backward capitalist country like ours, is making inroads into land relation with how capitalism of Eighteenth Century did so and as a result of this profound confusion, modern revisionism is entangling itself in bourgeois reformism.

But while analysing the actual state of affairs in the agrarian economy of our country, they could not but give admission to the fact that capitalism had made 'decisive inroad' into agricultural economy. [Vide CPI(M)'s Party Programme] But in the same breath they are raising slogan that they would resist tractor machine, that is, they would resist modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture because it would make the peasants unemployed. For that the peasants are to be organised in resistance movement against the introduction of machine tractor. [Central Committee (CPI-M) Resolution on Certain Agrarian Issue, 8-15 March, 1975. Muzaffarpur, P. 41]

Similar is the stand of the ruling capitalist class

and its party, the Congress. They, being unable to solve the unemployment problem, are trying to get the rural people arrested in small patches of land. The bourgeois rulers today are searching solution through this means. And those who are talking about People's Democratic Revolution in their programme of People's Democratic Revolution, are telling the peasantry to organise against the introduction of machine-tractor in cultivation; for that will bring in its trail more unemployment. True, I say, this is bound to happen. But what does it imply when the Marxist-Leninists raise the slogan, generally, against the introduction of machine-tractor in agriculture? What is the meaning of this slogan? Is this not a variant only of the same very bourgeois scheme? Is this not a variant only of the same very bourgeois scheme of avoiding, as much as possible, the use of machine-tractor in agriculture so as to keep the rural people confined to small parcels of land amidst dire poverty and destitution with the sole object of shielding capitalism from the weight and pressure of mounting unemployment problem?

So, in conducting day-to-day struggle of poor peasants and agricultural labourers in the villages even if they are to be organised against introduction of machine tractor as a temporary measure in the fight against unemployment, then they are to be made to understand also that there is no contradiction as such between mechanisation of agriculture and social progress. But today, this modernisation cannot be accomplished within the framework of capitalist economy. That is why, unless the agrarian economy can be freed from the yoke

of capitalist exploitation, unless industry can be freed from capitalist productive relation and the door of uninterrupted industrial revolution opened up then there is no other way to bring about over all mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture and consequently the problem of removing poverty and distress of the people in rural life cannot be solved. (The rural people) are to be told straight way: 'If you can not hasten up the anti-capitalist revolution then you cannot have the solution of your problem. To day or tomorrow, tractor or machine will come, it cannot be resisted.'

.....But, look, these people (CPI M) are saying that struggle is to be built up against the use of tractor-machine and that is to be integrated with the anti-feudal movement* but not with the programme of anti-capitalist revolution!

Is it feudalism that is obstructing introduction of machine-tractor? Then it is the introduction of machine tractor that can best remove feudalism. For, who does not know that introduction of machine tractor in agriculture hastens up the abolition of feudalism? See what a self contradictory stand! CPI (M) wants to link up their anti machine tractor movement with their movement to overthrow landlordism, that is feudalism in the wordings of their programme. What a queer theorisation! It is almost akin to the programme of land reforms of the ruling bourgeoisie, the sole object of which is to lessen somehow the

*But to-day, this modernisation cannot be accomplished within the framework of capitalist economy.

impact of swelling unemployed in rural life. That is why I say, this programme of People's Democratic Revolution is neo-revisionist, only a variant of the national bourgeois reformist programme.

...(In) our country, the landless labourers, the share croppers and the poor peasants are actually engaged in a life and death struggle against not only that section of the big land owners who have under their possession land much above the ceiling laws held by means of 'benum' transfer but even against those who own 60 to 75 bighas of land and who belong to the rich peasants or jotedar class in villages. Starting from the Naxalites, all without exception, who are serious about organising struggle in the interest of the landless peasants, share-croppers and poor peasants, have in reality, to wage struggle against the rich peasants or jotedars. Otherwise, despite phrase mongering and tall talks of upholding the cause of poor peasantry they will subserve, in reality, the interest of the jotedars or rich peasants in villages. Are not the struggles of the peasantry which are being conducted against the jotedars in the villages today in fact, struggles directed against the rich peasants? It is obvious then that rich peasants who were allies in the Chinese revolution against the feudal lords are enemies of the Indian Revolution and as a class they stand as allies of the national bourgeoisie now in state power of the country who have transformed land into the means of capitalist production of agricultural commodities for the national capitalist market.

...These people (CPI-M) are creating confusion on the principal question of state power and the strategic programme of revolution. See, for example, they themselves admit that India is a sovereign national state-

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Rally behind SUCI the only Revolutionary Proletarian Party on our soil

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If India is a sovereign national state then what else it is other than a bourgeois state? And if it is also a modern type of state can it be anything other than a bourgeois state? And with this strategic question of overthrow of the capitalist class, dispossessing the ruling bourgeois class of the state power, smashing the bourgeois state machine to free production from capitalist productive relation are inseparably linked up with the question of mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture as also the removal of dire distress of the masses, linked up also is the question of opening the door of industrial revolution. And the solution of the unemployment problem is closely interlinked with these questions. CPI (M) and CPI, these two parties are saying that the questions of modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture, bringing about industrial revolution, solution of unemployment problem and removal of poverty and distress of the people, all are linked up not with the revolution to overthrow capitalism but as if are related to the question of overthrow of imperialism, feudalism. This way, they are trying to divert the attention from the central focal point only to shield the ruling bourgeois class from the wrath and hatred of the people.

...Now, when can you provide jobs to the unemployed? Surely when you can open the door of industrial revolution. But how can you open the door of industrial revolution? Surely, when you can free the productive system from the grip and tentacles of the capitalist motive force of production relation after overthrowing the capitalist state machine. So, only when you can open the bolted door of industrial revolution in

this way, shall you be able to modernise agriculture. Only then shall you be able to create unlimited employment opportunities and provide for the youth of every home.

That is why, those who are avoiding the all important question of anti-capitalist revolution, that is to say, the question of overthrowing the bourgeoisie from the state power but are blowing hot against only the monopolist capitalists against imperialism against feudalism but are disavowing the task of overthrowing the bourgeois state machine, denying the fact that Indian capitalism has already attained to some extent, the imperialist features no matter whether they propagate the People's Democratic Revolution or the National Democratic Revolution, their strategic programme of revolution is no better than bourgeois reformist programme—only a programme of grabbing governmental power through parliamentary electoral battle by calling as 'revolution' the day-to-day movements on various demands of the people!

These revisionists and neo-revisionists who are talking about People's Democratic Revolution or National Democratic Revolution are themselves giving admission to the fact, that capitalism has made 'decisive inroad' into agriculture [See CPI(M)'s party programme]. But can there be decisive inroad of capitalism into agriculture without breaking feudal relation? If it can, according to their theory, then it boils down to this that even with feudal relation and feudal exploitation remaining intact, capitalism can make decisive inroad into agriculture. As for CPI(M), it has gone even a step further. While replying us in a polemic they have even said that the more

monopolist exploitation is intensifying and their wealth swelling up, the more feudalism is gaining in strength. ['Once more on the SUCI, People's Democracy, May 20 1973]

Queer indeed are these self-contradictory prattlings!

Their real objective is not to touch the bourgeoisie. They are to shield and protect the national bourgeoisie, for, with the direct and indirect help and patronage of a section of the national bourgeoisie this party has been nourished and is still being nourished. It will be crystal clear if anybody takes note of their links and liason with the social highups. That is why they have always to try hard so that the masses do not stand up against this bourgeois set up itself. But, in order to draw the people behind their party, they have to talk of revolution, so chant the catchwords: 'monopoly bourgeoisie', 'big bourgeoisie'! The ruling bourgeois party, Congress too, adopts the same tactics to shield and protect the bourgeoisie as a class from the wrath and indignation of the people by shifting the whole burden of capitalist rule and exploitation on to the shoulder of a small section of the ruling class, the monopolists.

... My question to the CPI(M) leader is: you say that your 'revolution' is against the monopoly capitalists, the big bourgeoisie. Very well. But you yourselves admit that this big bourgeoisie, big industrial bourgeoisie, that is, it is they who are the monopoly capitalists in our country. So these monopoly capitalists are not like the 'compradore' in pre-revolution China. ... If this be the fact then can there be any other means of freeing the country from the rule and exploitation of monopoly capitalists or big bourgeoisie except by dislodging the bourgeoisie from state power and overthrowing the bourgeois state machine?

... CPI(M) has held in its strategic programme that is to say in its programme of People's Democratic Revolution that not only there is contradiction but even conflicts between the Indian monopoly capitalists or big bourgeoisie and foreign imperialist power and such conflicts occur quite often. In their opinion the question on which such conflicts occur are war, peace, national freedom, sovereignty, the interest of Indian economic progress etc. On every issue where the Indian bourgeoisie are said to have conflict with imperialism, these protagonists of People's Democratic Revolution have assured 'unstinted support' to the ruling bourgeoisie on behalf of the workers, peasants, the exploited masses. [See paragraph 108 of CPI(M)'s programme]

If this be so, then by virtue of their assertion in article 108 of their Party Programme, their thunder to dislodge the big bourgeoisie or monopoly capitalist from state power ends in whimper by calling the same monopoly capitalists or big bourgeoisie 'progressive' 'defender of national interest' and 'patriotic'. For, if they do not consider the big bourgeoisie or monopoly capitalists 'progressive' 'nationalist' and 'patriotic' then the question of offering unstinted support to the government of monopoly capitalists or big bourgeoisie on the issue of its conflict with imperialism does not arise at all. But this is what they have spelt out in their programme of Peoples' Democratic Revolution. What is to be marked here especially is that in this regard they have outstepped even the revisionist CPI.

Judged from all these aspects, if you examine their programme of 'revolution', you can see very well that under the cover of revolutionary phrasing it is nothing but some reform programme after being seated in governmental

power through election. That is, within the present capitalist setup, within the structure of capitalist state machinery, if this party leadership can form the government, then they will call it a People's Democratic Government and after making some changes or reforms in the state structure, they will declare that it has been transformed into a People's Democratic State!

[See the paragraph on the state structure in CPI(M)'s party programme].

... Can such a programme have any bearing with revolutionary transformation of the state? All this, what they call a programme of revolution can be achieved through parliamentary means, through election.

And can they whose programme is such, develop such types of movements which are essential for leading the masses to the ultimate solution of their basic problems in life?

The sole concern of these parties is anyhow to inflate their party strength and delude the masses by claiming falsely that this so-called increase in strength and influence is the alternative power of the people. They also claim deceptively that the unity or understanding reached at the top between the leaders of these parties in opposition to the ruling party is the unity of the masses and pass it for people's struggling unity within a front!

These political forces, are therefore, of the worst kind, the most crafty of the social democratic forces who according to the definition of political economy, are, compromising force between labour and capital within the working class movement. Donning the mask of socialism or sometimes communism, these social democratic parties come forward to the rescue of the bourgeoisie and their state machine by urging

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Down with this Black Ordinance

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

condemns

Calcutta, 27th July '81 : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary, SUCI has issued the following statement to the Press in protest against promulgation of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance by the Central Government :

"We strongly condemn this draconian Ordinance promulgated by the Central Government to prohibit strike in all essential services and to empower the Government

to extend it up to any length. This is a brazenly pro-monopolist and anti-working class measure. Needless to say, that since occupying office this time Mrs. Gandhi is trying to implement those very measures one after another which were adopted at the time of Emergency and apart from thus bringing in an undeclared state of Emergency, pushing the country fast towards total Fascisation in the interest of crisis-ridden capitalism. This is of grave conse-

quence to the future of workers' movement, mass struggles, individual liberty and democratic rights and values in our country.

"We strongly protest against this fascist design and call upon not only the left democratic parties and the toiling workers, but the entire democratic minded and well-meaning people to raise their voice and build up mighty democratic mass movement against it".

UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Calls upon the working people to resist

Delhi, 27th July 1981 :

"UTUC (Lenin Sarani) strongly condemns the promulgation of "Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance" by which the Indira Gandhi Government usurps absolute power to deny the working class its fundamental right to strike.

"We had been warning the people for long about the possibility of such oncoming all-out attack on working class and on democratic rights of the people, and as such we are not surprised at this fascist measure of the Government in its bid to protect the super profits

of the capitalists and to keep the working class under bondage of exploitation, at this hour of grave crisis.

"In a situation when total number of industrial strikes are much less than of 1974-75 period or even the Emergency days, the intention of the Indira Gandhi Government in deriving such extraordinary power is clear, the Government is bent upon to pass the entire burden of crisis of economy on the shoulders of working class. While the Government by its own measures of abnormal price-hike has accelerated

the inflation, it intends to deny the working people the minimum relief in respect of earnings and wages. The Government now plans to introduce not only wage-freeze but also wage-cuts by gagging the voice of working class and denying its right to protest.

"UTUC (Lenin Sarani) calls upon the Indian Working Class in general and to all the Central Trade Unions in particular to unitedly resist such attack and to protect and extend the basic democratic rights of the working class and the people".

SUCI West Bengal State Committee's rejoinder to Mr. Promode Dasgupta

Calcutta, August, 1, 1981 :

Commenting on the statement of Mr. Promode Das Gupta, in which he said that his party would join hands even with Congress (I) but never with SUCI in the united movement against the Ordinance reflecting his party's attitude towards SUCI, Comrade Sukomal Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI has said :

"It is really very suprising that let alone

history of the past, when the CPI (M) leadership is constantly violating all norms and code of conduct even in its relationship with the partners of the 'Left Front' by going to the extent of physical assaults against them and in conducting, to cite a recent instance, the last Municipal elections and forming Municipal bodies by taking all sorts of nasty and nefarious means—the CPI (M) leader Mr. Promode Das Gupta has the mouth to label our

Party, SUCI as a disruptive party, obviously in his bid to malign our growing image, despite the fact that our party alone has been striving hard and consistently trying to build up a united left-democratic movement, since long, on the basis of a minimum programme and Code of Conduct.

"When the political object of the CPI (M) leadership is, for the present, to defend and serve this crisis-ridden capitalism and emerge, if

Grasp the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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revolutionary base political line, its ethical-moral base, the cultural tuning of its cadres, their honesty, selflessness and dedication. Under the wise stewardship of our beloved leader Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, a life-long Comrade-in-arms of Comrade Ghosh, our party is inexorably gaining in strength and stature. We are bound to go from strength to strength and be capable of leading the Indian revolution before long. Revolution shall come. Remember Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's clarion call :

"Revolution in India is knocking at the door. You should realise that the present society has nothing to offer, it is totally bankrupt. Despite

all attempts, the ruling class can, by no means, sustain this social system any longer. The society is writhing in pains for emancipation. Only the organised and politically conscious movement is lacking. What is wanting is the minimum necessary strength of the genuine revolutionary party, the SUCI, that can give the revolutionary urge and emotion of the people the concrete shape of an organised and protracted battle.....

Let us rise to the occasion, pledge to re-dedicate ourselves to learning and re-learning Comrade Ghosh's teachings which are like beacon-lights across the present era and strive to become worthy disciples of him.

Revisionist neo-revisionist treacheries

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them to 'reconstruct' the bourgeois democracies with deceptive slogan 'peaceful attainment of socialism through bourgeois parliament, keeping intact the bourgeois state machine'.

Such theories and formulae no where could establish socialism. Wherever socialism was established, it had to be accomplished through revolution by smashing the capitalist state machine and by freeing

possible, as a parliamentary alternative at the national plane with the direct or tacit support and blessings of the monopoly bourgeoisie it is no wonder that the CPI (M) will find no difficulty to combine with the rightist parties including the Trade Union organisation led by the Congress (I), but not with a genuine left and struggling party like SUCI. The democratic and left-oriented people of West Bengal can very easily understand the kind of 'movement' they can build up."

production from the capitalist motive force and relation of production.

In our time those 'communist' parties within the international communist movement who have already degenerated to revisionist parties and reduced themselves to the position of national communist parties (or in other words, who are communist in name only but social democratic parties in practice) do have every possibility of turning themselves into fascist parties, if these parties while waving the red banner and moving under the cover of Marxism can combine blindness and fanaticism with their so called militant character.

Extracts taken from the speeches of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as indicated below.

- On Problems before the mass movement : Suri, West Bengal, 20-22 June, 1975.
- DYU foundation day, 26th June, 1973.
- Why SUCI is the only genuine Communist Party in India, 18th March, 1969.
- 24th April Maidan Speeches 1973, 74.