



DYO Music squad singing the Internationale at the meeting on 14th November at Saheed Minar Maidan. Standing on the Dais Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI and other leaders of the West Bengal State Committee.

Fight Election as part of mass movement on anti-capitalist base political line—Com. Nihar Mukherjee's call

At the call of the West Bengal State Committee of our party a mammoth meeting was held at the Saheed Minar Maidan on November 14, with a view to the forthcoming election and coinciding at the same time with the observance of 62nd anniversary of the great November Revolution, as also Stalin Centenary. This meeting marked the culmination of a seven day countrywide programme by our party for observing the same in a befitting manner. The programme included sale of Comrade Stalin badge, intensive literary campaign, walling, postering and street corner meetings in order to carry the revolutionary lessons of the November Revolution as taught by our beloved leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to the people.

Today in the midst of bourgeois parties when filthy and immoral even the so-called left politics of most unprincipled alliances and bargaining for maximum seats it is alone our party which stands apart holding in the coming election, aloft the banner of leftism and upholding the revolutionary cause of the people. power accompanying infighting and disarray in And with eager anticipa-

tion to hear from our party leaders how a revolutionary party views the forthcoming elections, people came to the meeting from all walks of life in unending streams from far and near. Colourful processions arrived in wave after wave holding aloft red flags and banners and transforming the entire meeting ground into a vast sea of humanity. Throughout the meeting people listened in pindrop silence most eloquently conveying thus their great respect and deep attraction towards the revolutionary politics of our party.

The artistically designed and beautifully decorated dais held three large portraits of Comrade Lenin the architect of November Revolution, of Comrade Stalin his worthy disciple and able defender of the revolution, and of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the worthy successor of Lenin, Stalin and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era. A bookstall with literature from our party for sale and displaying quotations from the works and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the

proletariat drew large crowds. Before the meeting started DYO music squad presented some songs on Lenin and the Internationale. Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, member of the State Secretariat presided over the meeting. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary of our party was the main speaker. In a long and comprehensive speech Comrade Nihar Mukherjee analysed the role of different parties in the background of the burning problems engulfing the entire social life, and integrating the lessons from November Revolution with the experiences and present political situation in our country he presented before the people the revolutionary, the Marxist approach to all the issues involved in the forthcoming election and the task before the people. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: This meeting has been called for discussing the question of the coming election and the task of the people. The meeting is being held at a time, when 62 years back the world shaking event of the November Revolution took place.

This revolution overthrew capitalist exploitation in a part of the globe. Before that event bourgeoisie had scoffed at the idea of illiterate uneducated workers and peasants overthrowing state power and ruling a state of their own. But the November Revolution for the first time demonstrated to the world that the workers and peasants could establish and efficiently run their own state power. This was for the first time that the principles of Marxism-Leninism were put into successful application in Russia. Elucidating the important lessons of the November Revolution Comrade Mukherjee said that we must study all the factors that contributed to the success of the Russian Socialist Revolution because they help us in our struggle for emancipation. Throughout his life Lenin had to wage a most relentless struggle against different brands of social democracy, in order to lead the revolution to success and protect the revolutionary state and keep the revolutionary theory free from distortions and deviations. After his death, Comrade Stalin (Contd. to page-3)

Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Founder Editor-in-Chief: COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 13.
No. 6

NOVEMBER 20, '79
TUESDAY

PRICE 15 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

Grasp the political situation— Rise to the occasion

If any one asks what is consistent in the bourgeois parliamentary politics of India today, the answer would surely be lack of scruple, lack of ethical behaviour and activities of the bourgeois parties and groups. With the accentuation of the crisis of Indian capitalism in this third phase of intense general crisis of world capitalism, the contradiction between the monopoly houses and regional capital and between rural and industrial capital is sharpening more and more. With this is added the factor of personal ambition of the bourgeois leaders for power. That is why group rivalry, group squabbles inside the bourgeois parties centring round different leaders have assumed such a proportion. The parties and groups unite today, to disunite tomorrow. Today's closest friend becomes the bitterest enemy tomorrow and tomorrow's enemy becomes the closest ally the day after.

Much though they try to justify those shifts as progressive—for upholding people's cause, for upholding democratic norms, for fighting authoritarianism etc. these justifications are nothing but attempts to cover up their own personal ambition, lust for power etc. The real intent, the only motive, the sole consideration that is guiding them in breaking alliances today and forming newer one tomorrow is individual or group election prospect.

That is why Jagjiban Ram, the leader of the Janata Party does not hesitate to talk with the emissary of Sanjoy Gandhi, yesterdays bitterest enemy, surely to keep a line open with Congress (I) for eventualities! Mr. Bahuguna who in 1977 joined with the Janata to fight against authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi, in 1979 broke away from Janata for his alleged fight against communal forces represented by the Jan Sangh faction inside Janata

and joined hands with Charan Singh and a few months later broke away from Lok Dal accusing Charan Singh authoritarian and communal and now to make the cycle complete is merging the identity of his CFD faction with Congress (I). Again, the Urs Congress which joined hands with Charan Singh to fight against communalism and authoritarianism does not think it at all wrong to team up with Janata in the South since he thinks that it is not communal there.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi who brought the downfall of the Central Janata Government by teaming up with the breakaway Janata group led by Charan Singh, supports the Janata Government in Bihar on the ostensible plea of saving a Harijan Chief Minister. Why? To uphold what noble purpose? Nothing other than exploiting the Harijan sentiment in Bihar which will help her to get a better foothold in the ensuing election.

Examples can be multiplied. But all these unmistakably show one thing—the bourgeois parties and politicians today matter only one thing and that is the fulfilment of their personal ambition and narrow sectarian group interest.

But this can be understood about the bourgeois parties and politicians. And when in a capitalist country such things develop—when the ruling class is in a state of disarray, let alone a genuine Marxist-Leninist party even a party who claims itself left, tries to make the most of this situation—combining all the genuine left and democratic forces, offer an alternative before the people, organise them in movements and lead them to their cherished goal of emancipation.

But what the CPI(M) who claim themselves Marxist-Leninist is doing? Are not they following the same bourgeois path, practising the same filthy

bourgeois politics? Events show that they have thrown away their much publicised 'resolute fight against authoritarianism - communalism.' Once they called Charan Singh a kulak and then supported him against the Janata—the only condition they set to Charan Singh was that he should not seek open support from Indira Gandhi, if he does so and if it becomes public, it would be difficult for them to extend their support. They have formed a so-called anti-authoritarian and anti-communal alliance branding Janata as communal because of Jan Sangh's 'domination' but align with the same Janata in Tamilnadu, Maharashtra and Assam. Who does not know that in Maharashtra Janata is dominated by Jan Sangh? Who does not know that AIADMK is a parochial force? But CPI(M) has no difficulty in forming alliance with them in Tamilnadu! Let us take another example—that of Kerala. Here, the Congress and Congress(I), each other's bitterest enemy, supported a minority ministry of the Muslim league headed by Koya. This Koya ministry with the support of Congress and Congress (I) passed a land reform bill that CPI(M) branded as reactionary. But yet CPI(M) aligns itself there with the Congress who is supporting according to them a reactionary, ministry. Is that all? They have even formed alliance in Kerala with the breakaway faction of the Muslim league—of course they have labelled them as 'progressive'! A communal party is becoming progressive the moment it joins hands with CPI(M)! Do you find it very difficult to reconcile? Why, the logic is simple! CPI(M) claims that it is a Marxist-Leninist party, and a Marxist Leninist party is progressive, naturally with whom it forms alliance becomes automatically progressive. Likewise Jan Sangh-dominated Janata in Maharashtra too is progressive because CPI(M) has found it to their convenience to make alliance

with it. And if tomorrow they find it to their convenience to form alliance with the 'authoritarian' Congress (I), rest assured they will not be lacking in their ingenuity to improvise a so-called argument in favour of it. Who can doubt their 'Marxism'?

What do all these prove? Whatever their public pronouncements their sole aim is to grab maximum seats in the parliamentary election and for that just like the bourgeois parties they too have scant regard for scruples.

One may argue that in West Bengal at least the CPI(M) did not resort to such opportunism, they did not align with any bourgeois party! May be they have not openly aligned. But what prompted them to such change in tactics? West Bengal is a state with long tradition of left movement, here the people would not like left parties aligning with the bourgeois parties. If they do, they would become isolated from the people—example of CPI is before them. So, from election prospect also it would not at all be prudent for CPI(M) and their allies to align with the bourgeois parties—so this heroic (!) gesture in West Bengal!

Mr. Promode Dasgupta said that people in West Bengal are more conscious, so they did not make alliance with Congress here. Are not the people of Kerala conscious? But they had no difficulty in making alliance with Congress there! We do not, of course, know how CPI(M)'s rank and file in Kerala would react to such a comment of Mr. Promode Dasgupta which if analysed means that the people of Kerala are less conscious! But what we want to emphasise—does a party become reactionary in one state and progressive in another with the difference in the level of consciousness of the people? It does not—and those who profess such queer ideas are either simpletons or consciously hoodwink the people to cover up their ill motive. Is there an iota of class approach in it?

But assuming the unevenness in the standard

of political consciousness of the people what should be the approach of a Marxist-Leninist party or even a leftist party in analysing a political situation and presenting it to the people? Should not there be a uniformity of approach notwithstanding the difference in level of consciousness? Should a leftist party, a Marxist party trail behind the backward sentiments or thinking of the masses? Or on the contrary, it should educate the masses with adequate political consciousness? These are very elementary questions. And are we to suppose that the CPI(M) leaders are so naive as not to understand these elementary truths? They do know but what they are trying is to prop up so-called defence for their rank opportunism in parliamentary politics.

That is not all. A few days back, Kamalnath the emissary of Indira Gandhi met Mr. Jyoti Basu in private. According to newspaper report they discussed about the political situation and Mr. Basu said that Congress (I) would get about six seats in West Bengal. Mr. Jyoti Basu later contradicting the report said that he did not say anything about Congress (I) getting seats here but said that in six constituencies Congress (I) has strong base. Not only this, according to newspaper report Mr. Kamalnath has told Mr. Basu—in future, progressive parties like Congress(I) and the CPI(M) might have to work together! Nothing should be done to create personal animosities. (Statesman 11.10.79). It is, therefore, obvious that notwithstanding the public posture of CPI(M) and its fire against Congress (I), both parties are in close connection and dialogue and there is also no dearth of cordiality between the two.

CPI leader Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said that the incoming parliament will become a parliament of struggle. But the question is when all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties are in reality mutually

(Contd. to page 3)

Rise to the occasion

(Contd. from page 2) sharing seats—they are all friends, and their combination or contention varies from state to state, can their fight be anything other than a mere show of fight between themselves. So from this mock fight, a friendly fight—how can an emerging parliament be a parliament of struggle? Even if fights occur, these fights cannot be other than for distribution of parliamentary privileges. Has it got anything to do for the furtherance of people's cause?

So it is obvious from our discussion that not only the branded bourgeois parties but even the pseudo-left parties like CPI and CPI(M) are all in their frantic bid to get share of spoils in bourgeois parliamentary politics by making all sorts of unprincipled electoral alliances. One thing is however common among them, that is, their defence to this moribund capitalist order. And this they are doing at a very critical hour of Indian politics.

The people must take serious note that whoever may come in power cannot assure any sort of stability in government because of the all pervading and ever mounting crisis in the capitalist system. When the left and democratic forces fail to take full advantage of the situation the bourgeoisie will not sit idle. They will surely try to exploit this situation to their favour. Already there is a move afoot behind the curtain to vest the president with power or even a military takeover cannot be entirely ruled out. These will spell serious threat to democratic mass movements and people's cause. People cannot invite such a situation. They must grasp the situation fully and rise up to resist this dangerous drift in the country's political situation.

Against this dismal political situation the only redeeming feature is SUCI. It is SUCI which, armed with the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade

Shibdas Ghosh have all along upheld higher proletarian ethics and culture. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that politics minus ethics is Devils workshop—today that aptly describes the political situation. The bourgeois and pseudo-left parties all are trying to keep the people confined within the confines of parliamentarism reformism and are practising all unethical, unscrupulous means in their mad hunt for power and position in bourgeois politics. People should understand that only consciously organised people's movements can give a fitting rebuff to all these treacheries of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Only their consciously organised people's movements can avert and resist the bourgeois conspiracies. They are to realise that only two courses are now open before them. Either to succumb to the deceits and conspiracies of the bourgeois and pseudo-left parties who all now stand in defence of this moribund capitalist order. This will mean perpetuation of their salaries to this exploitative system. The other course remains open is the one represented by the only party in our country—SUCI. It is the course of development of strong and turbulent mass movements on the basis of higher proletarian ethics and morality and on the revolutionary line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Only the weight of organised mass movement can save the country and the people from dire disaster.

It is, therefore, the call of SUCI to the people: Lose no time, grasp the full implication of the present political situation. Build up people's struggling committees down to the village levels. Heighten your class consciousness. Only by this you can create your own guarantee, you can chart out the road to emancipation from capitalist bondage. On the success of this revolutionary political initiative depends the country's

Fight election as part of mass movement

(Contd. from page 1) upheld the thoughts of Lenin and carried on the struggle against social democracy in stout defense of Marxism-Leninism. In our country too, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had to carry on a relentless struggle against modern revisionism and all brands of social democracy both in the national and international sphere thereby further developing and enriching Marxism.

All the great leaders of the proletariat Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung contributed to the treasure-house of Marxism and in the post-Lenin period Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the course of organising revolution had to concretise Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions and in the background of international situation. In doing so they developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism. They have all taught that Marxism is an ideology and philosophy developed on scientifically experimented truth covering all aspects of life and the universe and evaluates and judges everything on the basis of these experimented truths. Only a party which can bring about such integration and concretisation of Marxism as also release a cultural movement within society—a cultural upsurge based on higher sense of values, proletarian culture can lead the socialist revolution to its successful culmination. So the main issue Com. Nihar Mukherjee said: How can we therefore, recognise a true Marxist party? Not from its pseudo-revolutionary verbiage but from the fact of whether or not they initiate and develop such a cultural movement in society and themselves—leader and cadres—reflect higher sense of values and ethics in their life on the one hand and on the other future. Can we afford to lag in discharge of this historic task? Let the people stand up and take up in their own hands, as active agents of history, the destiny of their country.

whether their approach to and analysis of events, problems etc. reflect proletarian class outlook and approach or not. Do the so-called Marxist parties in our country reflect proletarian class approach and angularity or just exploit the bourgeois thoughts and sentiments? They are doing so because in reality not only the branded bourgeois parties but also the fake Marxists stand in defence of capitalism.

Analysing the historical emergence of capitalism in our country its particular characteristics and development into moribund monopoly capitalism and with imperialist features, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said: today the problems in all aspects of life are casting their shadows on the entire society as crisis in the capitalist system is growing more acute bringing in its wake increasing poverty, destitution and unemployment. These problems confronting our country can only be solved and prosperity of the people achieved through mechanisation of agriculture and uninterrupted industrialisation. But here capitalist production relation and profit motive stand as the main obstacle. The bourgeoisie is bypassing these questions and instead trying to keep the people confined in small uneconomic plots of land in the most backward conditions and setting up some small cottage industries under the slogan of decentralisation etc., while at the same time raising a hue and cry about overpopulation. Even the CPI(M) has joined in these slogans. Yet human power itself is wealth, and not a cause for poverty and backwardness. The example of China has amply demonstrated the fallacy of those slogans. In fact all these parties are trying to confuse the issue and hide the truth from the people. But to a revolutionary party it is the foremost duty to educate the illiterate workers and peasants, make them acquainted

with all the features of our capitalist society and the basic class character of the state power, so that they can grasp truth. Leaving aside the question of the bourgeois parties, who cannot be expected to wish to educate the toiling millions; but even such parties as CPI(M) what is their attitude to these problems? Take for example the educational policies of the CPI(M) led Government in West Bengal. Far from extending the scope of more education to the toiling people they are further restricting the scope for education skillfully; and this they are doing through their language policy which will actually close the door to higher education to the toiling millions and deprive them of any opportunity to get acquainted with the scientific thoughts and knowledge. Not to speak of a Marxist Party even a leftist party with minimum feeling for the people cannot pursue such a policy which is fraught with dangerous consequences in the realm of education. Even the Congress did not dare to take such steps.

Today taking advantage of the disillusionment of the people about the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Governments and of the infighting and disarray within the Janata party Indira Gandhi has emerged again in the political field and is putting forth the slogan of a stable Government in the coming elections. But what kind of stability will she achieve? The people have tasted it during her 10 years' rule, especially her 19 months' reign of emergency. It is the stability of constant poverty and destitution, the stability of most ruthless suppression of all democratic movements and democratic rights of the people, the stability of backbreaking capitalist exploitation and oppression together with the stability of continuous fattening of purse of the capitalists.

Just before the last
(Contd. to page 4)

Fight election as part of mass movement

(Contd. from page 3)

parliamentary poll when the ruling class found it expedient to put up second alternative to the discredited Congress in their bid to establish two party democracy in order to keep the mounting wrath of the people confined within the ambit of parliamentary politics, the Janata party was formed overnight. But the unity of those parties did not last long and internal squabbles, in fighting, defections and naked ambition for power have thrown these bourgeois parties in complete disarray. Congress being in no way different. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said that our party has again and again given a warning of the impending danger of fascism if such a situation persists; for if the ruling class cannot succeed in putting up a viable alternative before the people the introduction of constitutional dictatorship or even military rule cannot be ruled out. Rising up to the occasion our party again like so many times previously took the initiative to invite all the leftist parties to form a United Front on an agreed common minimum programme on the basis of firm principles and as an instrument of people's struggle, which alone can answer the need of the hour and go a long way in staving off the danger of complete fascist rule in our country. But to our dismay we have not got any answer from any of the parties except for the CPI(M). Which in a letter written by Mr. Namboodiripad himself could not but admit that there is a basic difference in outlook regarding content and aim of Left and democratic front, stating then that the left parties should co-operate with such anti-authoritarian and anti-communal bourgeois parties as the Janata (S), the Congress, the CFD, etc.

How can bourgeois parties who are standing in open defense of capitalist system be counted upon as a force to fight communalism and authoritarianism? On the contrary, it is these very parties that foster communalism to divert people's attention from the main problem and to sow disunity among them and taking on worst authoritarian character as soon as they are seated in governmental power. Congress rule in the past is still fresh in people's memory and does not need any elaboration. While Janata party was in power CPI(M) called it a friendly party and was full of praise for having restored democratic rights. But did not the massacre of peacefully demonstrating workers on some legitimate demands in Kanpur take place when Charan Singh was Home Minister, the list of most ruthless police suppression of workers and people could be multiplied indefinitely. The same Charan Singh in the short span as Prime Minister without enjoying majority in Parliament introduced a most undemocratic ordinance. If this is not most naked authoritarianism then what is authoritarianism? Yet the CPI(M) is hailing the Lok Dal as a force to fight communalism and authoritarianism.

The parties like CPI and CPI(M) are waxing eloquent on authoritarianism but what sort of democracy are they practising themselves? Are they not behaving in the same authoritarian manner in crushing the legitimate mass movements as the bourgeois parties are doing? Do the sending of thousands of armed policemen to crush the movement of the electricity workers at Santaldih, the spilling of blood of the refugees from Dandakaranya, forcefully driving them away like cattle, the suppression of all democratic movements—like brutal atrocities on the port

Resist Central Government's design to link Bonus with productivity—COMRADE PRITISH CHANDA

Calcutta 13. 11.79 :

(Lenin Sarani) in course of a statement on 18. 11.79 stated :

"The Charan Singh Caretaker Government has announced bonus for the Railwaymen and Post and Telegraph workers. Those of us associated with the struggle for bonus to all do surely feel glad that it has no longer been possible for the Government to deny the justifiability of the demand for the Railwaymen and Post and Telegraph Employees, although many more yet remain deprived. But Trade Unions genuinely interested to uphold the cause of the working class cannot but take a serious note of the heinous attempt of the Government to shift the basis of bonus from being a deferred wage to one linked up with productivity. While it is common knowledge that in a capitalist economy the workers have no hands as regards the productivity targets as also their implementation particularly at this phase of acute capitalist crisis because the management themselves are restricting production instead of boosting it up. In such a situation to link bonus with productivity is

workers by the police, firing 47 rounds and killing 6 workers, do all these reflect democratic rule by the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal? These social democratic parties have left the path of struggle and become the trusted agents of the bourgeois class and are striving their utmost to win the confidence of the ruling class.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee exhorted the people: Witnessing and experiencing the politics of these pseudo Marxists do not become disheartened, do not lose faith in Marxism. Side by side another kind of politics is there, too. SUCI is upholding Marxist ideology and higher proletarian culture, and is consistently upholding the politics of democratic mass movement on the basis of correct political line of anti-capi-

Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary, UTUC

a fraud on the workers. No genuine Trade Union can accept this, because, once it is introduced the danger of further extension of this scheme of wage linked with productivity as designed by the capitalists comes to reality.

"One can not forget that it is the top monopolists like the Tatas who have been so long advocating the line of bonus to be linked with productivity. Thus the

Charan Singh Government has rather satisfied the capitalist class by accepting their line.

"We, therefore, urge upon the working class in general and the Railwaymen and Post and Telegraph Employees not to be swayed away by paltry monetary gains but read through the sinister design of the Government and foil it in order to achieve the right to bonus as a deferred wage".

MASSIVE CITIZENS DEMONSTRATION AT PATNA

Patna, 8th November '79 :

At the call of the Bihar State Committee of the SUCI, a massive demonstration was held in Patna on the 7th November last demanding that the whole state of Bihar be declared as drought affected and protesting against price-rise, non-availability of essential commodities, police oppression and the opportunistic, parliamentary manoeuvring politics of the bourgeois and social democratic parties.

The demonstration marked culmination of mass movements recently conducted by the party in

talist socialist revolution. The future of our country and the emancipation of the people depends on the strength of people's movement. Today we must view the election as part of the movement and build up people's committees as instruments of struggle to develop the political power of the people on the guidelines handed down to us by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and guide. Finally Comrade Nihar Mukherjee called upon the people to make SUCI candidates successful and in those places where no candidates from our party had been placed to build up people's committees and put up their own candidates from within the democratic movement. The meeting ended with the song composed on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh by the DYO music squad.

all the districts of the state, down to the block level at some places. People from all walks of life joined the demonstration which was believed to be some 50,000 strong by the citizens of Patna. Comrades Hiren Sarkar, Pritish Chanda, Shankar Singh, members of the Central Committee and Comrade N. R. Singh, member, Bihar State Committee, led the procession which was stopped by the police in front of the Secretariat. Comrade Pritish Chanda and Comrade N. R. Singh addressed the demonstrators explaining the significance of the present political situation and the task of the people. Comrade Chanda cautioned the people against the dangers posed by the ruling capitalist class and the opportunistic, parliamentary manoeuvring politics of the bourgeois and the social democratic parties. He urged the people to build up mass movements and struggling committees to defeat the bourgeois design.

Despite prior intimation, the Chief Minister and other Ministers had left without receiving the memorandum submitted on behalf of the demonstrations. A large number of people had gathered at the site of demonstration the character and purpose of which evoked enthusiasm among them.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE