



“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 pain 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 revolutionary battle”.

## Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)  
Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

*Proletarian  
Era*

## **WE VOW**

On this historic day, 5th August, we countless workers, supporters and sympathisers, armed with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, vow to devote all our strength and energy to bring to a successful culmination the concrete and comprehensive programme of the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution, he has laid before us as the unfailing guideline for the total emancipation of the exploited people of India and to this end shall engage ourselves to strengthen the SUCI, the party founded and reared by him with every ounce of our energy and till the last drop of our blood.

The great revolutionary thinker Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

has taught us that, in order to bring the revolutionary struggle for smashing the capitalist state machine to a successful culmination we must build up people's movements against the exploitation of capitalism on the base of higher proletarian culture and ethics and build them up step by step making them conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. We vow, following this great teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, to devote ourselves to the task of imbuing the people with revolutionary ethics, morals and culture and, keeping in front of us the goal of emancipation of the people, build up invincible mass movements, freeing

( Contd. to page 12 )

# On some aspects of the struggle to build up communist character

The humanists once held, 'Man is above everything, there is nothing above Man'. But the bourgeois humanists, after advancing some steps ahead in the path of establishing capitalism and bourgeois democracy, for historical reasons, had had to patronize the exploitative capitalist system. And it is precisely for this reason that humanism could not progress much.

Communism is a higher and nobler ideology than bourgeois humanism.

## Historical limitation of bourgeois humanism

Once the bourgeois humanists did much for the progress of human society and its welfare. But they could not give up their sense of individuality, individual interest, personal ego which is distinctly different from self-dignity, could not sacrifice their vanity and self-interest. All these were mixed up with their ideology, their social ideas and sense of social welfare, like a base metal alloyed with gold.

They tried to compromise their social responsibility and duty with self interest. And by doing this, they progressed to the extent that was historically possible for them. But it is due to this deception that despite many declared higher ethical principles of humanism, today all the humanists have fallen flat on their faces. They have all become reactionaries.

Today, the humanists are no more coming forward, sacrificing their home-comforts for redress of people's misery and the cause of their movement.

## Communism begins where humanism ends

Only on the ashes of humanist moral values can communist moral values grow and prosper. Communism begins where humanism ends.

To be a communist, one must have to completely give up one's self-interest and one's individualistic attitude of looking at his self and family.

It is only he whose feeling is completely free from self-interest, who can give up his individual interest happily, voluntarily and without any reservation, can become a real communist.

One and all cannot achieve it. Only he who can achieve it, is fit to be a communist, earns the honour of becoming a communist. He can become a real, a true communist. Those who have failed to give up their self-interest, those who cannot sacrifice their individual interest for the interest of the society without any reservation—their claim that they are communists is a false pride and sheer vanity. They are not at all real communists. They are at best 'assumed' communists. At best they can talk of communism but their characters are far from that of a communist. In their personal life, character and behaviour, in their attitude towards self and their family they are anything but communists. Then and then only they are true communists, if in matters of personal life and character, in culture, moral and ethics and in their attitude

towards their family they are completely free from self interest and personal ego. Then they are communists of the first rank.

So, to be a communist of the first rank, one must have to completely exhaust all the virtues of the humanists and transcend them where they have failed, fallen back and gone astray so as to really become selfless and self-effacing.... ..

## How can one mould the people into revolutionaries without at first trying to transform family members, Kith and Kin ?

There is another vital question.

It is of course something different whether those assumed communists would succeed in transforming their kith and kin, the members of their family into revolutionaries.

---

['Revolutionary politics is itself an all-embracing struggle covering all aspects of life from private to the politico-cultural life, even in matters of sex and love—so noble is the struggle to become a communist' said the great teacher of the proletariat, founder General Secretary of our Party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

We are publishing here compilation of some excerpts from his illuminating speeches and discussions rendered from Bengali on the revolutionary approach and attitude to sex, love, family life, daily behaviours, etc. which an individual must develop through the process of struggle involving his self, guided by the Party, to acquire communist character.

We may further add that this is a subject on which a correct revolutionary guideline was seriously felt and even now is felt not only in our country but also in the international communist movement.

We have made free translation of the speeches and discussions of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on the subject with great care but deficiencies or defects may still remain, the responsibility for which will be ours.

Editor—Proletarian Era ]

---

But the most pertinent question is, how can they urge the sons and daughters of others to become revolutionaries, before urging their own? Very often they exhort the sons and daughters of the starving and ill-clad families to jump into struggle without caring even for their parents. But how is it that they are very much concerned about their wives and serious about educating their sons in missionary or public schools and making them engineers, doctors and so on?

Then, what will be the fate of making the family members revolutionaries? This is no less an important struggle. If not, then

is the struggle for revolution only meant for agitating people in the fields and factories?

If they are really Marxists, real revolutionaries, then why do they avoid this struggle at home? Because, succeed or not, we must have to try to build up this struggle at home to imbue the members of our family, our kith and kin with revolutionary thoughts, ideals and ideology.

May be, this struggle will result in their becoming good revolutionary workers, of course depending on their own potentialities.

But if despite these attempts they do not become, not to speak of good revolutionary cadres, even ordinary party workers, then apprehending that this may raise question among the party comrades, these leaders make their wives members of their 'pocket' women's organisation just to pose as if they have been deputed by the party to work in the front.

## A revolutionary either draws family members towards revolution or faces separation with them—there is no middle course

But let us examine what are the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in this respect. How should the Marxists look at the question of mutual relationship between husbands and wives, among their kith and kin. Is it not true that mutual relationship influences even their culture?

So, the pertinent question is, what should be the object of a revolutionary while giving association to a man who is yet to become a revolutionary?

The revolutionary will always endeavour to turn him into a revolutionary so that the revolutionary thoughts and culture will gradually create influence on his non-revolutionary character and inspire him. If it happens, then being attracted by the revolutionary leadership, he or she will gradually draw closer to revolution. But otherwise the nature of relationship between them cannot be anything other than what exists between a revolutionary and a member of the public. There can never exist any sort of mental and emotional relation between them.

Because if mental and emotional attachment still continues with a non-revolutionary, then non-revolutionary thoughts, ideas and culture will cast their shadow on their mutual relationship.

Let us try to understand it a bit more analytically. Suppose, among a couple, one is revolutionary but the other is non-revolutionary. Now, if in such a situation the mental and emotional exchange continues between them, then what will be the result? If the revolutionary fails to transform his or her partner into a revolutionary then he is bound to become degraded, today or tomorrow. Because, 'none is influencing the other, one character or culture is not creating any influence on the other, but they are continuing their mental and emotional exchange as it is'—this is not Marxism, not any science at all, does not come under the purview of any category or faculty of human knowledge.

This is sure to meet with only one inevitability. The leader, as he is not at all a Marxist in his attitude towards sex, his

(Contd. to Page 4)

(Contd. from Page 3)

self and family, he is a 'revolutionary' in the fields and factories but in his personal conduct and in all questions relating to culture, moral, ethics, love and sex, he remains a petty bourgeois, bourgeois, a filthy person.

If a revolutionary fails to transform the members of his family into revolutionaries then his relation with them should cease for ever.

This is a basic question...

But all these leaders, these assumed communists, maintain a separate private family life other than the party life and revolution. This is impermissible.

It is one of the reasons for which the revolutionary struggle, the communist movement is so much weak in our country.

Will any one be able to cite even a solitary instance where a great communist leader of the world—a leader who dared to lead revolution, failed to transform the members of his family into revolutionaries but still led his life with them?

The answer is an emphatic NO! Either they influenced their family or a painful conflict was inevitable. There was no other course left to them. Either they inspired their family and drawn it towards revolution—succeeded to make their family members the followers of revolution, whatever might be the form and standard, or a conflict became inevitable—inevitable too was their separation from their family. They did not run after any queer theory of "co-existence".

**Understanding Marxism just intellectually is skin-deep, unless it acquires an emotional base**

All Marxists and men of profound wisdom and erudition know it very well that man's emotional relation bears strong influence on his character and culture. If a man understands revolutionary theories only intellectually but fails to realise them in the level of emotion then it cannot influence his character, intellectual ability notwithstanding. These then remain stored in the surface level of his intellect and can be used only for academic exercises like writing, discussing or giving lectures—but they are of no avail in influencing their character. Any man can become very much acquainted with theories of revolution, but these can influence him and change his life only when they penetrate in him in the form of emotion and feeling. Therefore it is quite clear that emotional vehicle is a very powerful medium.

Affection, tenderness, compassion, love etc.—all these are no doubt important qualities, fine and lofty emotional faculties. These may make a man great, help him to become noble, but again in the reverse, may degrade him and lead him to degeneration.

**Either a revolutionary inspires and uplifts those surrounding him or he must himself degenerate**

The friendship of a revolutionary with others, his mental relation and emotional exchange with them basing on the relations of sex, love, affection, tenderness etc. means that the revolutionary thoughts and culture, the finer and lofty emotional feelings that the revolutionary possesses will penetrate in their level of emotion through this exchange bypassing their intellect.

## ON COMMUNIST CHARACTER

To achieve this intellect has a little role to play.

Through close association, dialogue and emotional exchange either the finer emotional feelings and faculties, the taste, culture, thoughts and character of the revolutionary will influence the taste and culture of others, or consciously or unconsciously, whether one admits it or not, the mental make up, taste, attitude, culture, the sense of love and affection of the decadent bourgeois society that others possess—with whom he maintains emotional exchange—be they his wife, sister, son or daughter, are bound to influence his nature, character, taste, culture—his finer emotional feelings and faculties unknowingly.

So, either the revolutionary will influence and inspire them or they will influence and degrade him. 'None will influence the other'—no, this can never happen.

It may very well happen that out of a struggle, a conflict both of them have fallen apart. And in that case there can never exist any mental relation.

But, 'mental relation exists, emotional feeling is also there, there is conflict and concord, yet none is influencing the other'—what is it? Is it science?

Moreover, if the revolutionary does not influence others, others will surely influence him.

Viewed superficially, this problem is sure to escape attention, but critical observation will reveal that this is influencing his intellectual faculty even.

Many a time we fail to understand why despite a high power of intellect, knowledge and intelligence, the intellectual faculty and power of critical observation, fail to be keen and sharp. In fact, the reason lies here and nowhere else.

Many a time it is observed that a man whose sacrifices know no bounds, who does not lack in method, discipline, dedication and devotion to the cause of revolution—a man who is not deficient in any of these conscious mental faculties, who is arduous and possesses an average intellectual standard—a level from which one can have access to any intellectual height—but despite all these he may lack in critical observation and sharp intellectual power.

This means that however subtle it may be, a damage has already been done. Even if I am able to protect me, in the main, from degeneration, I cannot avoid the derangement of my thought process, cannot detect where and why the intellectual puzzle is created within me and what poses as great hindrance against further growth of my power of intellect, intellectual ability and development of my critical insight.

So, in the reverse order, my political ability too—though I am always engaged in political struggle, has also to a certain extent, been slipped out of my hand.

And in the long run, this may lead to serious degeneration. Because, "since I always remain along with the people, I had been in the midst of revolutionary struggle and an ardent fighter all through, so I cannot deviate, I cannot deteriorate"—such a notion is completely erroneous—this is not at all correct.

Again, whenever a man of this calibre deviates, some Marxists are found to explain the phenomenon by a simple logic that 'no man is infallible'. Since any man can deviate, Liu-Shao-Chi too deviated, this is nothing unusual.

But have you ever pondered why a man deviates, even after remaining life-long in the midst of revolutionary struggle—life long Trotsky was a revolutionary, so also were Bukharin and Liu-Shao-Chi.

Nobody would be able to show that they had always deceived revolution. They struggled, reached the top of the hierarchy in the party, always engaged their brain on the party and struggle, practised and led struggle themselves by remaining in the forefront, but still then, why this fall? Was it an accident? Or was there any unseen factor that caused this deviation? This type of thinking is sheer mysticism.

The fact is, when a man does not take care of these subtle things and niceties, slowly and gradually impairment accumulates and ultimately it is found that a would-be-revolutionary of one day, is a degraded man, a revisionist, the other day. An ardent fighter, a Materialist of today, is a blind disciple of Sain Baba, the other day.....

Now, when we discuss about such degeneration, we highlight its main trend and feature. We do not treat an incident of degeneration in isolation.

And moreover, what we like to stress upon is to see whether the party has taken note of this phenomenon and necessary measures to fight against it.

Because, the forces which exist and are at work in the society to degrade us—the forces which each and every moment try to cause deviation in the leaders and cadres of the party are very much powerful—they strike us again and again.

**To say: 'Being hard-pressed by realities of life I cannot do anything'—is merely an attempt to cover one's weakness in a sober language**

The things which you term 'the impact of life, the realities of life in the society'—or when you say 'being pressed by the realities of life, we cannot do anything'—what these things do really mean? In reality it is the reflection of the class struggle—the attack of the bourgeois ideology on the revolutionary movement, the movement of the working class.

To say that 'being hard-pressed by the realities of life I cannot do anything'—is merely an attempt to cover your weaknesses in a sober language.

In reality, one of the manifestations of the bourgeois conspiracy and its attack on the revolutionary movement of the working class is to create such impact on life that makes you crippled and weaken your mental strength and stamina.

Then why do speak of the 'realities of life?' You should admit that you are completely ignorant of this bourgeois onslaught and you have not even thought of resisting it. It is the kind of bourgeois

(Contd. to Page 10)

## IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

# THE NATIONALITY AND TRIBAL PROBLEM IN INDIA

Fourteen years ago, our party, SUCL, led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, uttered this note of caution: "Only on the basis of the rights of full autonomy can the distinct identities of the minority hill tribal people and nationalities be protected to some extent from the domination of the bourgeoisie of the dominant nationalities. If the Indian Government fails to show wisdom and foresight in granting autonomy to them then the rebellions of the Nagas and Mizos may not be the end of such incidents. Rather, the sense of 'dominated nationality oppression' spreading further, even those who today prefer to remain within the Indian union on the basis of autonomy may opt for a different course.

"It should not be missed that the stirrings among the minority nationalities on the basis of local nationalism are spreading fast in the shape of militant struggles. In such a situation repressive measures of any kind to put down such struggles will not only be of no avail but may prove counter-productive. Such repressive measures will be viewed as attack of the dominant nationality over the dominated ones. As an inevitable consequence, the minority nationality problem will erupt in different places one after another, to engulf the whole country and weaken it greatly".

[Translated from an article: "On Naga-Mizo and other nationality problems", Ganadabi, 15th August, 1966]

Today, every word of this warning has not only come true but the apprehension of the country being torn into pieces is very much real. What is the picture, today?

### Spate of revolts of tribal and minor nationality people

The whole of north-east is in ferment. In Assam, the agitation for driving out 'foreigners' has taken the form of a 'misguided mass upsurge' and, thanks to the bunglings of the Indian Government led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi as also the politics of exigency of the parliamentary bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, it has been

continuing for about a year. This agitation on parochial line had its chain reactions in all other contiguous states like Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura etc. In Tripura, the bitterness and enmity accumulated over years between the tribals and non-tribals erupted in mad fury resulting in an unprecedented carnage. In Manipur, young people have taken up arms not against the real exploiter—the capitalist class—but against the Nepalis and Bengalis who went there to eke out a living. In Meghalaya and Mizoram as also in Nagaland the same battle-cry against the 'foreigners'—the Bengalis, Nepalis, Oriya or Bihari workers or employees, shopkeepers or professionals can be heard. In the large tracts of land covering four states—Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, the tribal peoples are astir over the demand for Jharkhand state with the same battle-cry against the 'Diku' or 'outsider'. Here also the target of attack is the same, poor and middle class bread winners from neighbouring states. And wonder of wonders, in West Bengal, once the citadel of left and democratic movements in which the poor and oppressed of all communities and castes not only did participate in large numbers but played glorious role, the ugly heads of parochial demands like those of 'Gorkhaland'

and 'Utterkhand' in the three northern districts—Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar are being raised. While the Gorkhas demand their homeland and recognition of Nepali language, the Rajbanshis demand Utterkhand and the Santhals and other tribal people of Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia want these three districts separated from West Bengal to join with their dreamland Jharkhand. The demand of the Gorkhali-Nepali speaking people numbering about 12 lakhs 87 thousand according to 1971 census, for listing their mother tongue in the VIII schedule of the constitution is justified and supportable. In fact, but for the bunglings of the Janata-Congress Governments this demand would have been realised by this time. The demand has received support from all sections of the progressive people. But the demand for 'Gorkhaland' will be deemed as a secessionist move and estrange this support and weaken their cause.

Similar is the demand for Utterkhand of the Rajbanshis. The Rajbanshis of North Bengal are very much Bengalis in every sense of the term and therefore the demand for a separate state is absolutely unjust and anti-people in character. The root cause of the grievances of the Rajbanshis lie elsewhere—in the socio-economic oppression and injustice.

So, this is the grim picture in the body politic of the country. Three decades after the political independence of the country; after much talks and fanfares about national integration, it seems as if a process of disintegration has set in, to tear to pieces whatever integration was developed among the different nationalities through decades of common struggle against imperialism before independence and democratic mass struggles against capitalist exploitation after independence. And this is happening in

the backdrop of deep crisis of world capitalism in general and of Indian moribund capitalism in particular and when the class offensives of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie against the toiling and exploited millions are ever on the increase. The situation calls for the urgent need of iron-like class solidarity of the working people belonging to every caste, linguistic and religious communities, nationalities and sub-nationalities, tribes and sub-tribes, not only to repulse those attacks through wave of democratic mass movements but to turn it in favour of their ultimate battle for emancipation from capitalist yoke. Instead of this right course why this fateful divisive trend that strikes at the very root of class cohesion and solidarity of the exploited masses? What are the concrete reasons for this dangerous development? What is the way out? These are the questions that must be agitating the minds of those who feel concern for developing revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses on an all-national plane to bring emancipation from all sorts of oppression including the oppression of minority nationalities and tribal people by the bourgeoisie of the dominant nationalities. In the light of the revolutionary teachings of the great teacher of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which alone provide the correct guideline amidst welter of confusing thoughts and deeds, we endeavour to touch the salient points of the minority nationality problem as revealed now in concrete terms among the different minority nationalities and tribal people.

### Naga-problem

The problem of Naga and Mizo people being the one that came to surface more than two decades back and still being living, let us begin with that. Lot of confusion still persists even among the 'Marxist' circles in our country as to the true character, aim and objective of these struggles.

It may be recalled that a section of the Nagas led by the Naga National Council (NNC) and its self-exiled leader Z.A. Phizo formed a rebel government to conduct armed struggle for the establishment of an independent Naga state. This armed struggle started in 1956. The Indian Government tried to suppress the movement by military forces. This being proved abortive, the Nehru Government took to other course. And on December 1, 1963, a separate state, Nagaland was formed within the Indian union comprised of the former Naga Hills district and Tuensang Frontier division of NEFA. Naga people are divided among various tribes and sub-tribes and the Nagaland state is also divided almost district wise by those tribes and sub-tribes, each with distinctive language or dialects and culture. So, Kohima district is inhabited by the Angamis, Kukis, Rengmas etc, Zuhato district by Semas, Wakha district by Lothas, Mokokchung by Aos etc. Even after Nagaland state was formed the underground movement for independence continued. But in the Shillong Accord of 1976, the representatives of the underground organisations conveyed their decision "of their own volition to accept the constitution of India."

Since then, relative stability reigns over the state despite instability in governments caused mainly by the ruling party at the centre to buy up the local party in its fold. Mr. Jassoki, the present Chief Minister, also warns that 'local people have a regional complex'. So interference in local political situation by the ruling party and the government may breed frustration and generate parochial feelings.

Meanwhile, Indian industrial houses have started building industries in the area. Plastic, Moulding, Hume pipes, Polythene bags, Rubber chappals are some of the industries that have developed. They draw the Nagas in the national nexus of trade and commerce. A thin  
(Contd. to page 6)

(Contd. from page 5)  
layer of the rich is finding interest in the capitalist development of the area. They are the spokesmen of local politics although the inter-tribe conflicts cast their reflections in the recurrent topplings of government by defection of MLA's. The area still remains economically and socially underdeveloped and the exploitation of the immigrant moneylenders, businessmen, contractors have caused general revulsion against the 'outsiders'.

The educated youth, mostly christian, because of these reasons, are being drawn to militant movements with intermixture of vague Marxism and christian faith. A section of Nagas, has formed Naga Socialist Council (NSC) which is opposed both to their older generation of politicians engaged in parliamentary politics as also the underground Phizo groups. This NSC led by

ship of the people" with "Nagaland for Christ" slogans. The influence of church is clearly marked in the slogan: 'Come for Christ, come for Nagaland freedom' that finds a place in the manifesto. The president of the council Issakchishi Swu is said to be a "Staunch christian".

#### Mizo Problem— Laldenga's change of position

Now, to resume the thread of our earlier discussion, the Mizos also, like the Nagas, were divided in regard to approach to their problems. A section under MNF (Mizo National Front) started armed underground struggle for an independent national state while the other section was in favour of autonomy within the Indian union. The underground forces drew their support from the people of Khasia, Jyantia, Mikir hilly tracts which were all brought together into a single state, Assam. These

with the demand for independent Mizoram state is now for reconciliation. On February 18, 1976, Mr. Laldenga signed an agreement with Indira Gandhi Government acknowledging Mizoram as an integral part of the Indian union and a solution within the Indian constitution but later he backed out. After the Janata Government came to power, Mr. Laldenga tried to come to terms with it but talks failed in 1978. The then Home Minister Mr. Charan Singh informed the Parliament in March that year that Laldenga was not playing fair. He was imprisoned. Later informations transpired that Mr. Laldenga wanted to instal himself as the head of the an interim Government in Mizoram when it was under President's rule. The Janata Government did not accept this term. Even now, after his recent talks with Sm. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Laldenga behind the cover of his

the problem of Naga-Mizo and other minor nationalities and tribal people. We may humbly submit that when the so-called 'Marxist circles' in our country were suffering from utter confusion and were defining the struggles of these border people as national movement expressive of their right to self-determination thereby accepting without any critical examination the claim of the leaders of these people that they were already different nations and had the right to self-determination, our party did not commit the same mistake. It was our party alone, led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, brought before the people of those areas in particular and our countrymen, a few facts which are not only valid even today but are confirmed by subsequent developments.

".....The rebel Naga Council (NNC) [like its counterpart in Mizoram—Ed. P. Era] in defence of its demand for independence contends that the Naga people were always free and at no time were integrated with India. They constitute a separate nation and have no commonness with the people of India as regards language, culture etc. During the British rule too, they claim to have enjoyed relative independence of livelihood. Naturally therefore, they have a right to independent sovereign nationhood.

"...It appears that in the main, the different minority nationalities are feeling the urge to advance their civilisations according to their own respective language, culture, psychological makeup and on the basis of equal political rights. Basically this urge is nationalist in character. For the fulfilment of this urge, they are voicing the demand for creating congenial atmosphere. But how far the particular demands they raise for the fulfilment of this urge are logical and justified requires critical examination....."

"It is a fact of history that before the establishment of the British rule in

the Indian sub-continent it was divided in innumerable tribes, feudal kingdoms and empires. The Nagas were also divided in host of tribes and sub-tribes locked in strifes and internecine warfares. Language, culture, psychological makeup, life-style, mores and customs of the different tribes and sub-tribe under respective chieftains were not also one and the same. In the economic field too, there was no centralised system on the basis of inter-relationship and interdependence of different tribes and sub-tribes. As a result what developed among the Naga people was not an integrated nationhood concept but distinctive tribal consciousness. Tribal consciousness, cannot be equated with even nationality consciousness, let alone with nationhood consciousness. By no stretch of imagination, tribal independence can be defined as national independence.

"But fact remains that before the Naga tribes and sub-tribes could be fused into one nationality through the process of nation formation, they were brought under the British empire. If before their integration with the Indian empire, the Nagas could develop a nation consciousness then there could have been a possibility of their developing an independent sovereign nation.

"Again, if before the formation of the Indian sovereign national state within a definite geographical territory, Naga nation consciousness would have appeared and on the basis of this, they could have released a national liberation movement for the formation of an independent sovereign state outside the Indian Union then historically there could have been the possibility of coming into being such a sovereign national state. But fact is that none of these developments did take place. This is equally true about other minority nationalities like the Mizos."

(Contd. to page 7)

## Chauvinism of big nationality bourgeoisie, military & other repressive methods, criminal apathy to urgent socio-economic problems caused alienation of minority nationality & tribal people from the national mainstream

Muivah-Swu-Cha khasang triumvirate in its Manifesto, condemns the Shillong Accord and asserts that if negotiations are indispensable, they should be done only from a position of strength". It warns the Indian Government that: "The dominated people and nationalities are bound to rise against their suppressions and discriminations". It admits: "Indian capital has created hitherto unknown divisions among the people—the exploiter and the exploited. It has created reactionary traitors in Nagaland". It therefore proclaims "to strive for socialism which alone can do away with exploitation". And to achieve this goal, the Manifesto mixes "dictator-

people wanted to go out of Assam either in separate states or in one united states.

Later, Meghalaya state was formed within Indian union on January 21, 1972 comprising Khasi, Jyantia and Garo Hills and in the next year, Mizo hills with a population of 3 lakhs 23 thousands were taken out of Assam to form the Union territory of Mizoram. In 1972 NEFA with a population of 4 lakhs 67 thousands became another union territory under the name Arunachal Pradesh.

The significant development in Mizoram is that while a section of the Nagas under the leadership of Mr Laldenga started underground movement from 26th February, 1966

demand for "more autonomy", actually wanted the assembly to be dissolved when the present Chief Minister Brigadier Sailo had a two-thirds majority in a house of 33. This shows power struggle between the various tribal groups in Mizoram but from Mr. Laldenga, no longer there is cry for independent Mizoram. This also proves that nationalist politicians like Laldenga are now inclined towards bourgeois development of their areas and are only bargaining for individual tribal or group interests within the state politics.

#### Our party's stand recapitulated

Let us recall now the stand, our party took on

(Contd. from page 6)

'But as the matter stands now, even if the Naga people succeed in carving out an independent state, the economic underdevelopment will make them dependent on others for industrialisation, the inherent weakness in their social and cultural life because of divisions and subdivisions into tribes and sub-tribes as also their reliance on others for defence arrangements are the very factors which the Anglo-American imperialist powers will not surely miss to exploit to their favour. Moreover, the Indian and Pakistan bourgeois governments will also surely try to expand their spheres of influence in Nagaland from economic political and military interests. As a result, Nagaland will be reduced to a playground of strifes and contentions among the neighbouring states for expanding their spheres of influence and of political-military intrigues and conspiracies of the Anglo-American imperialist powers. As an inevitable consequence of these probable developments, the nationalist movement that the Nagas are conducting for their free and unhampered development on the basis of freedom and democracy is bound to end in failure....

"The pertinent question here is not to achieve formal freedom but economic-political cultural freedom that is freedom in the real sense untrammelled by direct or indirect imperialist interferences.

"This condition can only be created by a social system led by proletarian leadership. That is why all the freedom movements depend, for their ultimate success, on the success of proletarian movement. This is why all the struggles for freedom should be integrated with the proletarian movement for emancipation from capitalist yoke. Naturally, the future of the Naga nationalist movement, or for that matter, similar movement of all other dominated nationalities is interlinked with the future of

the Indian proletarian movement.

"The Naga-Mizo, and other minority nationalities and tribal people will have to realise that on the success of the Indian proletarian movement depends the emancipation of the people of the oppressed nationalities along with other oppressed sections of Indian people. Therefore, they are to integrate their movements with the broader and bigger revolutionary movement for emancipation of the Indian proletariat." —(Ganadabi 15th August 1966)

#### 'United States' idea in the north-east— a myth doomed to failure

An explosive situation is developing in the north-eastern regions where a section from the ethnolinguistic tribal groups from Arunachal Pradesh from Tripura, an idea is being floated for the formation of a 'federal nation' covering this area and further down, stretched to the Burmese port of Akyab. Biseswar Singh, the PLA leader of Manipur and Muivah of the Naga Socialist Council are reported to be the Co-sponsors of this move. They stress on the strategic importance of the area as also on the economic viability of the projected nation but admit that without the help and backing of foreign powers there is no chance of this idea being brought to reality.

[Report in India-Today June 16-30 '80]

In our opinion, in today's concrete international perspective as also due to definite economic political developments within the region itself, the idea of this 'federal nation' cannot be other than a wishful thinking. For, first, the contemplated federal state will comprise the states and union territories of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram which were once all within one state, Assam, after India's political independence. The different ethno-tribal groups and nationalities within these states and union territories

agitated for long to go out of Assam and for separate states on the ground of being dominated by the Assamese nationality. Now once going out of Assam state to be within the Indian Union and then after pretty long period to toy the idea of forming a united or federal republic with the same regions or areas with multi-lingual, multi-nationality people outside the Indian union is a freak of fancy, to say the least. Development of nationality and of state goes through a definite process of social development. It cannot be the product of somebody's whim or caprice.

Secondly, that the societies in these states, coming into the vortex of capitalist transformation of economy are witnessing a new kind of division between the capitalist exploiters—be they bourgeoisie of dominant nationalities like the Marwaries or their local partners and the exploited, is an economic reality which had to be admitted even by the Manifesto of the NSC of Muivah.

The bourgeois development has its own imperatives. But the process of capitalist transformation is more painful at this stage of moribund capitalism. On the one hand, the capitalist development of the economies of this region and more particularly the competition of the manufactured goods are evicting the traditional handloom and cottage industries resulting in number of unemployed labourers swelling along with the number of educated unemployed. But the swelling number of unemployed are not being absorbed by speedy industrialisation because moribund Indian capitalism can hardly do this particularly in this third phase of intense general crisis of world capitalism. So miseries and destitu-

tions of the people, more so in the backward areas like this region, are more acute. This is one side. On the other, is the growing alliance of local bourgeois forces with the bourgeoisie of dominant nationalities. The local bourgeois forces have serious grouse against the bourgeoisie of dominant nationalities for not being allowed to take the proportionate share in local capitalist development and market. That is why they use the local people's resentments and 'local nationalism' for enhancing their leverage in the bargain with the bourgeoisie of dominant nationalities and the Central Government for better share in economic and political fields. But the nationalist sections of these nationalities are opposed to any move for secession as is obvious from the attitude of hostility of even Phizo group, let alone those engaged in bourgeois parliamentary politics, against the Muivah group in Nagaland. The nationalist sections who aspire to rise as bourgeois class wants to remain within Indian union to take advantage of its big market and government backings. The NSC's accusation against this section as 'reactionary' has its class reality in this social development. But one cannot fail to notice that even the Muivah group is not altogether averse to negotiation with the Indian government but what they want is to do this from a 'position of strength'. This shows that they also do not rule out the possibility of more autonomy within the Indian union as a good bargain from the Indian Government.

#### Tribal unrest—root cause lies in economic and social injustice

Before we delve deep into the historical reasons for the sense of separation

and exclusiveness still persisting among the different nationalities, caste and races, we need to refer to the serious grievances and resentments among the tribal people in different parts of the country whose clear manifestations are in the recent happenings in Tripura, northern districts of West Bengal as also in the renewed demand for a separate Jharkhand state within the Indian union.

The demand for Jharkhand state has a long history. It was voiced for the first time before the Simon Commission in 1928 mainly inspired by the Christian missionaries who took care to see that the tribal people do not join the mainstream of national movement. It was demanded again in 1954 under the leadership of Jaipal Singh who later merged his followers with the Congress, persuaded by Pandit Nehru.

The area comprising 16 districts now distributed in four States of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, formed once a compact tribal range which was partitioned four times by the British rulers as anticipatory moves after series of rebellions of tribal people in this area between 1832 to 1857 (Santhal rebellion). The tribal people rose in revolt against dispossession of lands by Jagirdari system introduced by the British, as also against money-lenders, tax collectors and police. The British at last brought Chotanagpur Tenancy Act in 1908 to forbid alienation of tribal lands but by then the tribals had lost most of their lands to the Jagirdars appointed by the British rulers as also to the money lenders who were all immigrants in the places.

The story was not different after independence. For, the tribal people who according to

(Contd. to page 8)

**On the success of Indian proletarian movement depends the emancipation of the people of the oppressed nationalities along with other oppressed sections of the Indian people**

(Contd. from page 7)  
1971 census, number 38 million and form 7 p.c. of the total population have lost most of their lands for setting up public sector projects or big projects of the private monopoly houses like those of the Tatas, forests to the greedy contractors and even their wives and daughters suffer almost daily indignities at the hands of police, traders and business people. Due to this long history of savage exploitation from immigrant landowning class, money-lenders, contractors, businessmen, and professional people, 'exploiters' for them have become synonymous with 'Diku' or outsiders. This is a common feature in all the border and relatively backward areas. So, with savage economic exploitation mingle the social indignities and injustice for the tribal people even today, three decades after independence.

But this movement has certain peculiarities to be marked. First, the 'Jharkhand' area comprised mainly of Chotanagpur-Santhalparganas accounts for one-fortieth part of the total geographical area of the country—but more than one-fourth of the total mining activity in the country takes place in this small region and nearly a fifth of India's total public sector investments in industrial activities is located in this region. Apart from public sector projects, big projects of private monopoly houses like TISCO, TELCO, aluminium factory at Muri, copper plant at Ghatshila, lead smelter at Tundoo, uranium mining in Jadugoda, mica mining and industry at Giridih are just a few to mention. But the lion's share in this industrial development has gone to the non-tribal immigrants although the tribal people had to suffer evictions from lands in thousands. Not to speak of skilled or technical jobs, trade and commerce but even in unskilled jobs of labour, the tribals suffered discrimination. Before nationalisation of mines when the wage rate was low, the tribals got jobs in mines but in a week after

## Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, although Verbally fight against separatism, vie in practice, with each other to fan up regional and parochial sentiments to reap dividends in parliamentary politics

nationalisation 50,000 tribal labourers lost their jobs replaced mainly by labourers coming from Bhojpur region.

[Nirmal Sengupta's article Economic and Political weekly, April 5 '80]

Secondly, the Jharkhand movement may be defined as a conscious efforts for assimilation of different tribes, sub-tribes and castes to form one homogeneous community of original inhabitants of the region—economically, socially, culturally oppressed through centuries. But as it is led by the elitist, urbanised section of the tribal people drawing their inspiration from christian missionaries, their fight is not directed against capitalist exploitation as such, not against the capitalists, businessmen, money-lenders, contractors, jotedars who are all 'Diku' or immigrants but against the immigrant labourers and employees who as poor bread winners are equally exploited by the common enemy. So, the missionaries who once obstructed the tribal people to join the mainstream of national freedom movement are today obstructing these people to join the mainstream of working class struggle against capitalist exploitation.

This is why the bourgeoisie is taking advantage of the movement to set one section of exploited people against the other to obstruct class solidarity to grow. Even the Raja of Ramgarh, Basant Narayan Singh, has become a supporter of the movement and the bourgeois press, industrialists and businessmen all 'Dikus' patronise the movement.

Thirdly, the tribes and sub-tribes in this region who still now have not been fused in a distinct nationality, asserts their rights through this movement against century old exploitation and injustice in economic, social, cultural fields. In the Report of

the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1977-78, it has been revealed that out of the total working force of 29 million among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, 15 million or 51.8 p.c. were agricultural labourers and 8 million cultivators—most of them being marginal farmers having less than 2.5 acres of land in 1971.

The movement therefore, in essence, wants economic and social justice as also end of administrative discriminations. For example, more than 50% of jobs in industries of the region goes to 10% of the immigrants, only 17% of original inhabitants (Adivasis) live in urban areas that too mostly in slums. Again although the seven districts of 'Jharkhand' in Bihar comprise more than a fourth of total cultivated area in Bihar, they get less than 7% of total irrigation facilities. Moreover, this area provides 90% of electricity generated in Bihar and 7% in India but proportion of villages electrified in the area is one of the lowest in the country. No doubt, they all point to the urgency of end of savage exploitations and ghastly discriminations against the tribal people but they too will have to realise that for end to this injustice, they are to join the mainstream of working class struggles in India. By directing their fight not against the common enemy,—the capitalist class but against other sections of the exploited people of the country, they play as pawns at the hands of the common enemy and the opportunist leaders and only perpetuate the exploitation and indignities.

### Historical reasons for the sense of separation of tribal and minority nationality people

Our party led by the thoughts of Comrade

Shibdas Ghosh has pinpointed the inherent weaknesses in our national freedom movement to be the historical reason for the sense of domination and separation still pervading among the minority nationality and tribal people.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that as every Marxist is well aware of Comrade Stalin's definition of a nation, being "a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language [our party does not think that it is an essential factor for nation formation—Ed. P Era], territory, economic life and psychological make up manifested in a common culture", the same cannot be found in our country. After independence though India emerged as a politically free nation, socially, culturally it remained as a conglomeration of different communities distracted by religion, caste, language race etc. The reason for this phenomenon is to be found in the historical causes.

First, a nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch of rising capitalism for the nations in Western Europe, whereas for us, it was the epoch of moribund capitalism and proletarian revolution.

So, for the European nation building movement, elimination of feudal disunity by smashing the supremacy of the church was an essential step towards the constitution of the people into a nation as also for a national market.

In India the process of formation of the nation started much later, in the second half of the nineteenth century when capitalism as a world social force had lost its revolutionary character. Over and above this general

characteristic, Indian capitalism had its specific features. Unlike the growth and development of capitalism in the metropolitan countries of the West, Indian capitalism could not develop independently. It grew and developed under domination of foreign finance capital with feudal relations surrounding it. Moreover, like all colonial bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism, Indian national bourgeoisie suffered mortal fear from revolution. That is why, its fight against imperialism-feudalism was reformist-oppositional in nature. It made compromises with both imperialism and feudalism because of its basic non-revolutionary character. And because of this compromising character of its fight, it failed to carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions necessary for the democratization of the society and the development of a unified nation.

Secondly, the British rulers pursued a policy of separation to fence off the plain people from the tribal people particularly of the hill areas in the north-east which were declared "protected places". The christian missionaries also fostered a feeling of separatism among these people as a result of which they kept themselves aloof from the mainstream of national movement.

Thirdly, the process of alienation of these people from the national mainstream was further reinforced due to big nationality chauvinism of the bourgeoisie of the dominant nationalities. The bourgeoisie of the dominant nationalities not only looked down upon the people of the tribes and minor nationalities as inferior 'second class citizens' but foisted on them savage economic exploitation, social and cultural oppression and injustice.

It is to be recalled in this connection that the bourgeoisie of the dominant nationalities were at the helm of the Indian freedom movement. So, by this chauvinistic

(Contd. to page 9)



(Contd. from page 8) attitude, they actually pushed the people of oppressed nationalities and tribal groups in the reverse direction instead of freeing them from the influences of the church, racial and caste prejudices or other parochial feelings. Even after independence, this sense of being dominated by the minority nationality and tribal people not only remained but expressed itself in the shape of 'local nationalism' which came in sharp conflict with the big nationality chauvinism of the dominating nationalities.

Fourthly, the revulsion of these people stemming from sense of deprivations, economic, social and cultural oppressions, miseries and destitutions burst forth in anger against the government and nationalist leaders. The Indian government responded to this situation with army interventions and other repressive steps. This created an enemy relationship. Later, the government changed its attitude and came to political settlement with the leaders of the minority nationalities and tribal groups but even here, the interference of the government and the ruling party at the Centre in the internal politics of this region made the people suspicious about their motives. Indian Government always tried to create a band of loyalists among the leaders of these people. They once put one leader at the head of a government and then replaced him by another.

So, big nationality chauvinism of the bourgeoisie of the dominant nationalities free use of military and paramilitary forces as also other coercive methods against the minority nationality and tribal people, utter indifference and neglect to the urgent needs of economic, social and cultural reconstruction of their societies, guaranteeing at the same time their clear identities, language etc. all combined have engendered a spirit of separatism that divides these people from the national mainstream.

Fifthly, what the bour-

geois leadership in our country failed to accomplish due to its historical weaknesses and limitations devolved on the left and democratic forces and the parties claiming to be Marxists for completion. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh stressed again and again on the importance of fulfilling this task of democratization of the society by integrating the social, cultural movements with the democratic mass movements. But the parties like CPI, CPI(M) have miserably failed to discharge this responsibility. The best testimony to this bitter truth is the ghastly incidents in Tripura where the CPI and CPI(M) have been working for long and CPI(M) claims it to be a stronghold.

If this be so, how is it that after democratic mass movements for three decades in that state, the tribal people could not come out of the crust of tribal mental complex

and the Bengalis of similar complex. How is it that to tackle the situation in Tripura CPI(M) too is depending heavily on CRP and Para-military forces and on extraordinary MISA type law? Does it not prove that in the matter of social-cultural integration and uniting the toiling people in class solidarity, the performance of the CPI(M) is like that of the bourgeois party, Congress? In fact, absence of scientific outlook to the problems of minority nationality and tribal questions and pragmatic politics of parliamentarism have made all these social democratic parties to stand at par with the bourgeois parties so far as solution of these questions are concerned. First, parties like CPI(M) etc despite claiming themselves to be left and even 'Marxist' did nothing to give ideological-political defeat to parochial forces and sentiments. This could only be done by

uniting all sections of toiling people on the basis of class consciousness in democratic mass movements against capitalism, the ruling party at the Centre and the Central Government who are all fomenting and encouraging the parochial forces to divide the ranks of toiling people. Not only this, even when the parochial forces were raising their ugly heads in Assam, despite our party's persistent efforts and appeal, these parties did not come to build up a united movement against the central government led by Congress (I), rather they virtually endorsed the stand and all the administrative measures of the Indira Government.

By all this, these parties have done what incalculable harm to the left and democratic movement not only in Assam but in the country as a whole by leaving the field open for the manipulative politics between Congress (I) and the parochial parties and

and ethno-tribal groups to ponder deeply into the real causes of their miseries and where lies their solution. They will have to realise that their problems are at bottom and in essence, political in nature. The minority oppression, social-cultural indignities and injustice, criminal indifference to socio-economic problems that they witness today in their life emanating from the big nationality chauvinism and the government at the Centre affected by it, all stem from the same source i.e. the Indian moribund capitalism which is the breeding ground of exploitation and oppression of all other sections of the toiling people of the country. The solution to these problems must therefore be a political one—in the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist exploitative system.

Prior to this ultimate struggle to win the emancipation, all sections of toiling people of our

are not only actively fostering disunity and divisions among them but are involving themselves directly in all parochial moves in order to perpetuate these disunities and divisions and thereby put obstacles to the growth and development of class solidarity and cohesion of the toiling people.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned against this danger. Let us recall his warning:

"Capitalism which for the sake of national integration and formation of the nation at a certain stage of its development tried to unify different communities of the people in a given territory, also tries at a different stage of its development i.e. in the imperialist stage, to disrupt the unity of the 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 fascist capitalism becomes when it tries to fan religious and racial sentiment of the people to misdirect popular struggle against capitalism".

—(Address at the National Democratic Convention, November, 1960)

Our party appeals to the people of all the oppressed nationalities and tribes never to miss this correct direction of their struggle. They are to join their forces with the mainstream of revolutionary working class movement that our party, SUCI, is striving hard to build up in every nook and corner of this vast country. They are to realise the truth that the revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh alone can save them from a self-defeating suicidal course of fratricidal strifes or secessionist blind alley.

We would remind them of another invaluable teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that obstacles to class unity and solidarity come not only from big nationality chauvinism but also from its reverse—petty parochialism and narrowness of inferiority complex. If the one is

(Contd. to page 11)

## INTEGRATE THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY OF THE MINORITY NATIONALITIES WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION FROM CAPITALIST YOKE

forces!

Secondly, CPI(M), CPI etc. have proved by their political approach and behaviours that what matters most to them is the prospect of vote catching. Ideology, principles are just for pulpit lectures to them. Otherwise how can these parties who sometimes talk of fighting regionalism-parochialism feel no qualms to align with regional-communal parties like the Akalis, AIADMK, Kerala Muslim League etc. in electoral battles? How can CPI(M) identify these regional and communal parties as 'left and democratic forces'? This is sheer parliamentary opportunism and has got nothing to do with fighting the menace of regionalism-parochialism that looms large in the political horizon of the country.

### Our Appeal

In the background of all this, we would appeal to the people of the oppressed nationalities

country belonging to every caste, community, tribe, sub-tribe, nationality or sub-nationality will have to build up mighty wave of democratic mass struggles to fight and defeat particular acts of injustice and tyranny of the ruling capitalist class as also to hasten up the political-organisational preparations for that great task. Toiling people will have to integrate therefore all their particular struggle and movement for autonomy and freedom, justice and equity with the revolutionary proletarian movement on all-national plane. It is on the success of this revolutionary movement depends the success of their particular movements. Why so?

Because, in the era of moribund capitalism, the bourgeoisie governments and its administrative wings, instead of cementing the unity between various nationalities, tribes, communities, religious and linguistic groups

(Contd. from page 4)

conspiracy, their decadent ideology that acts upon you.

Had you been alert then you could have realised that this is one aspect of their conspiracy to make you weak. Many big things we understand, but the tragedy is this that this simple thing we fail to realise. This shows how superficial our understanding is.

..... One cannot understand Marxism or realise this science simply by academic exercise.

You can grasp Marxism-Leninism correctly only when you can assimilate it through your life's struggle involving your feeling, emotion etc. and integrating it with your flesh and blood.

We should understand that the things which exist or appear in our mind carry the influence of either working class struggle or bourgeois ideology.

Why do we confuse such a simple thing?

If anybody develops such a bent of mind that he always feels a kind of despair and does not get interest in anything of life—does he understand that this trait of mind is nothing but an impact of bourgeois ideology on him which, in the ultimate analysis, helps protect the bourgeois class interest and nothing else? It is the decadent bourgeois ideology that generates this apathetic attitude, inaction and indifference in him.

Because, we know that in a class-divided society, no idea, thought or ideology can be free from the class interest and class motive. Can there exist any supra-class mentality within the society?

**In a class-divided society, even sex is not free from class mental complex**

Even the question of sex impulse—regarding which many people think, how can the bourgeois class interest work in it, and argue that when there was no class division, no bourgeoisie in the society this impulse still worked in man, the animals too possess this impulse—even this question on close examination, will reveal that in a class-divided society sex too is not free from class mental complex.

Sex is not free from the private property mental complex. If you study the curvature and character of modern sex you will find that it is not free from the sense of private property and private property mental complex. .... In case of many people, the character of sex is individualistic and self-centred—it is beyond the control of culture, ethics and education. It is not based on the sense of dignity. It compels them to surrender even to the most unreasonable and capricious demand and degrades them into sex-slaves.

Just like accepting his wife's request, 'bring mustard oil from the market', he has to submit to her most unreasonable and audacious demand 'you must not do politics'—however high and noble may be appeal of politics to him.

But there is another distinctly different category of man to whom sex loses all its appeal and creates repulsion, if their wives urge them to do anything mean and filthy basing on that relation.

Thus, here we find two fundamentally different types of sex curves, sex behaviors.

These very facts clearly reveal that sex too is not free from the impact of production relation and class motive.....

Love, emotion, tenderness, compassion, affection etc.—none is harmful or ominous, provided we can differentiate all these from weakness and detect it, if intermingled. Because very often we confuse weakness with tenderness.

One is not supposed to behave unethically for his tenderness and appeal of affection. One is not supposed to sacrifice his ethics and morals too for that.

As the religious preachers did not give up their religion, the revolutionaries too do not renounce their ideal of revolution.....

To a revolutionary, emotion, pain, tenderness, affection, love, sense of duty and responsibility, anger and hate—all of them carry a meaning, a significance. To a revolutionary these are not mere personal affairs. At least, one, who is a revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist and who realises what revolution is, should understand that the expression of these emotional faculties in him, merely for personal reasons, do not carry any sense at all. If these are for personal reasons then he is not a revolutionary of the first rank. These are quite natural

## ON COMMUNIST CHARACTER

for a common man. Again, at times this may happen even among the revolutionaries. This happens because we live in a society which is class-riven, where a constant struggle is going on between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—a struggle in which we too get involved. The dirt and filth of the present society which we want to wash off—but since we so desire we have been able to cast them off—no, it is not that simple. Moreover, one cannot claim that these are not accumulating again or trying to accumulate at every moment within them also who have once been able to wash them off. So, even for a moment if we become oblivious of it, then we may fall victim to all these filthy things. But only that revolutionary can at once save him whose revolutionary consciousness is clear, precise and profound and who can see things and understand them very clearly. Just as he can understand simple things very easily, so equally can he unravel complex problems as well. So, a genuine revolutionary can at once get at the futility of these personal feelings. He can realise that to him these personal feelings and emotions have no value if they are not conducive to the interest of revolution and party...

We know that love plays an important role in our life. It is a higher human quality which provides foundation to our character, creates the sense of obligation, makes us noble and inspires us to be ardent fighters.

But still then one must analyse its nature and character. One must appraise it before accepting it in his life. Because love is only a part and not the whole of his life and moreover one has to evaluate if a particular love is noble or filthy...

**To a revolutionary love to his beloved is a part of his greater love for people, revolution and party**

What love really means to a communist? Our love for our comrades, our beloveds, or say, the love between a man and woman—what should be its real character, its true nature? We must know that these are particular expressions or manifestations of our greater love for the people, revolution and the party....

So, our love is for the advancement of revolution, for the growth and development of the party, of course so long the party remains truly revolutionary. This is how the love of a revolutionary can be devoted to the cause of revolution and can find concrete manifestation in a given situation.

Therefore, we must examine if our love is conducive to the revolutionary object of the party and conform to the accepted standard of culture as viewed by the leadership....

If love appears as a part and parcel of our struggle to carry forward the cause of revolution and party, then and then only we may accept it in our life. To a communist, love is filthy when it does not appear as a part and parcel of his greater love for the revolution and party.

You must remember another aspect of ethics.

Those who practise excesses in love and come in conflict with others, disturb unity and cohesion and create hindrance in social movement for progress and development they are bound to degenerate. Even the humanists hate it and cannot do it. Those who indulge in it consciously or unconsciously they are not humanists, far less communists....

**A Communist should always remain engrossed in revolution**

Every individual has his own personal problems relating to his family or centring his love, sex, affection, tenderness etc. etc.

But the mental make up of a revolutionary should be such, as I understand, that even when he reposes, he thinks of party and revolution.

Suppose, your beloved comes to your side at such a moment. You smile at him or her and make some cheerful and intimate exchanges, but that's all. And when he or she leaves, your brain again becomes engaged with party and revolution.

But many of our comrades are habituated to a different practice. If they are involved in an affair of say, love or affection, then saving the period when they are engaged in political activities, the rest of the time their brains remain pre-occupied with the problems of love and affection.

If a revolutionary reflects on all these things throughout twentyfour hours of the day, then what scope is left for revolutionary thoughts to occupy his brain?

I say, all these things do exist—they are neither loathsome nor useless. But then and then only they are beautiful and meaningful in our life when we are able to accept them in the manner I have just now mentioned.

(Contd. to page 11)

## On Communist Character

(Contd. from page 10)

These are very powerful things. And whenever a man can accept them in his life in this way, then love becomes very beautiful. Because then it does not beg. It is patterned in a way and made up of such metal that it acquires the invincible strength to withstand extreme pain and sorrow.

So, our mental make up should be such that we always remain engrossed in revolution....

The revolutionary may feel pain if his beloved is not a comrade. Suffer he may, but momentarily. But he knows that his anguish is transient—it will burn in the fire of revolution and newer and newer comrades, countless beloveds will come, relieve him of his torment and fill up his heart with full of love.

Human mind changes—so do change man's feeling, emotion, love, tenderness and affection. So, why should a revolutionary fall victim to weakness in the name of love or affection or feel pain for that?

If a man in the name of love or tenderness or in the name of performing his duty and responsibility in response to the appeal of these emotional feelings, forgets his responsibility and obligation to revolution then it means that bourgeois class ideology and class interest are working through him.

If not, then why should I forget the main object of life, my ideal? Or, why should I argue in defense of my weakness?

Emotion, feeling, love, affection tenderness—are they for obstructing revolution. Are they 'co-wives'?

I need happiness only to become a revolutionary. I need pleasure only for becoming a revolutionary. So, my love, emotion, feeling, tenderness and affection—all these are for the enhancement of the cause of revolution.

If a man is degraded—what's to be happy about it? Is it really happiness? What that happiness will give me?

So, if we, as conscious human beings, reflect a little on these thoughts and ideas then we will realise how class ideas, class prejudices, preconceptions, outlook and class mental complex work within our mental and emotional faculties—even within our sex impulse.

And they are the real revolutionaries, the communists of the first rank who in all matters relating to mental and emotional faculties, in behaviours and livelihood, whether in personal life or while conducting movements, always manifest the proletarian class outlook and proletarian class culture.

And what is the essence of this proletarian culture? What do you mean by it? The acid test for whether they have acquired the proletarian culture, as I have already said is whether or not they have really been able to completely free themselves from the private property mental complex. By this I mean that their ethics and culture, all their mental and emotional faculties, their day to day behaviour as well as free from property sense—meaning private property mental complex—or in other words, they are free from bourgeois individualistic thought process.....

So, the principal struggle to be a revolutionary, a communist, is the struggle to

acquire this cultural and ethical standard which enables one to submit his or her individual interest most happily, voluntarily, without any reservation to the cause of revolution, class and party by participating, first of all, directly and actively in the revolutionary movements of the toiling people and thereby grasping the revolutionary politics of the proletariat....

You should keep in mind that the struggle to become a communist is an arduous task. Revolutionary politics is itself an all embracing struggle which grows only by integrating political economic, social and cultural movements. It is possible to conduct the proletarian revolutionary movement correctly only when we can achieve this integration. Without the emergence of the political power of the workers and peasants and formation of people's own revolutionary organisations, the instruments of struggle cannot be built up despite hundreds of militant struggles.

Not of the leaders only, the sole object of dedication of even the cadres of proletarian revolutionary movement will be to unleash a struggle covering all aspects of life so as to strengthen this course of revolution. It is an all out struggle covering all aspects of life—from the private to politico-economic and socio-cultural life, from even sex to love—so noble is this struggle of becoming a communist.

We cannot forget for a moment even that our emotional faculties, the sense of morality and ethics, the sense of duty and responsibility, or in a word the sense of values which still today majorly guides all of us in the present society is nothing but bourgeois values. It is only by conducting a correct, conscious and relentless struggle to acquire the communist moral values in place of the bourgeois moral values, to replace the bourgeois outlook by the proletarian class outlook which we call dialectical materialist or Marxist outlook that we can develop ourselves as communists. This struggle should be a constant and living struggle inside the party and even outside. We should simultaneously build up such ideological and cultural movements as prelude to the cultural revolution that will help develop a mental make up conducive to revolution in our country. It should always be borne in mind that this struggle to become a communist can never be successfully conducted individually outside the party—it is the collective struggle inside the party which is its only guarantee.....

So, you can follow from the whole discussion, that to be a communist everyone will have to conduct a conscious struggle in a correct way individually and collectively by accepting Marxism as the philosophy of life which will greatly influence all aspects of his life and change him altogether....One can become a leading member of a communist party only by engaging oneself with one or other of the units of mass or class organisations of the party in the struggle for developing the people's revolutionary movement through a relentless struggle for identifying one's individual thinking and interest with the revolutionary thinking and interest of the proletariat—attaining thereby a higher cultural standard. Avoiding this struggle none can

become a communist, however talented he may be.

**Those who cannot surrender his self, love, affection, tenderness, family, his everything to the party, can never be communists of first rank**

...And those who cannot surrender his self—even his love, affection, tenderness, his family and everything to the party for the cause of revolution, unconditionally, voluntarily and happily can never become communists of the first rank.

Comrades, remember, you have a great historic responsibility, great historic task ahead.

If you take this task seriously, and not in words, in your life then you must have to understand this fundamental truth that—be it the question of the welfare of the individuals and their families, be it the question of freeing man, his love, affection, tenderness, even all artistic faculties and science from cultural and ethical degeneration, from economic exploitation, or in one word if you sincerely desire to change the society, thereby save the people and the country—there is no alternative to revolution...You must have to realise this truth.

The more you will realise this truth in detail covering all aspects of your life, more your understanding will be clear and precise, more you will have firmness and strength of mind and more you will be active in releasing your political initiatives.

And then and then only you will succeed to build up within you the base of the character of a real, a true communist, which I have discussed so long—the character, which with all humility and pride, I do claim, is possessed by the leaders of the first rank of our party.

Comrades, rise to the occasion, transform yourselves into real, into true communists and prepare yourselves to discharge the responsibility that history has bestowed upon you.

### References :

1. Party class on Code of conduct and Sex—Muslim Institute Hall, 24. 10. 69.
2. School of politics, Mahajati Sadan, 2nd—5th July, 1973.
3. School of politics, Joynagar, March, '73.
4. School of politics, 11th—14th February, 1974.
5. Why SUCI is the genuine communist party of India.
6. In memory of Comrade Subodh Banerjee ( Bengali booklet )

## Nationality and Tribal Problem

(Contd. from page 9)

reprehensible, the other too is equally so. Free from complexes and bias, conscious of the historic role and responsibility, the toiling and oppressed people of all nationalities or sub-nationalities, races, castes ethno-lingual tribes or sub-tribes, religious faith etc. will unite on class basis to accept the challenge of the ruling capitalist class and win their emancipation to bring an end to all sorts of oppression and indignities. This was the dream of the great revolutionary Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This is the call of history.

# WE VOW

( Contd. from page 2 )

them from the influence, of all forms of opportunism-reformism-revisionism and parliamentary illusion. We vow that standing by the people we will engage ourselves with all our might to organize their struggle, and thus bring to a successful culmination the programme of country-wide movement laid before us by the Central Committee of our party.

Finding no other option the crisis-ridden, Indian capitalism has placed, Indira Gandhi once more in power when she was rejected and discarded by the people. We vow that in the interest of protecting the democratic rights, we will build up an all out struggle with the last drop of our blood to resist the threat of authoritarianism and fascism that has surfaced anew with the return of Indira Gandhi, the faithful servant of capitalism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that once fascism came out of the womb of social democracy and now the same social democracy is the last prop of fascism. He has also shown that with the exposure of the true character of the known social democratic forces and their total isolation in the world communist movement, those parties within the movement who have turned into national communist parties and have virtually degenerated into social democratic forces are the potential forces for bringing fascism in different countries while waving the banner of Marxism. In India, the two parties, the CPI(M) and the CPI by confusing and misdirecting the mass movements, while they were in the opposition in the past, and now by savagely suppressing the movements from their position in the government, have once more proved correct this historic analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We vow, following the correct guideline he has laid before us for carrying on intense ideological struggle against social democratic forces in order to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution to its successful culmination, we will be unrelenting in our struggle to defeat and isolate these forces completely, both ideologically and organisationally, from the masses.

When alarmed at the growing mass movements, the ruling bourgeoisie with the motive of sustaining the crisis-ridden capitalism, is, on the one hand, adopting authoritarian and fascistic measures, and on the other, is engaged in a heinous conspiracy to divide the rank of the exploited masses, by fostering and fomenting communalism, casteism regionalism, parochialism, nationality sentiments, whose tragic consequences spell numerous losses of life in different parts of the country including Assam and Tripura. We vow, armed with the revolutionary teachings of the great leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we will defeat this conspiracy by releasing a surge of country-wide, united mass movement.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, through his analysis reflecting great revolutionary wisdom, has shown that as the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party could not be established over the democratic mass movements which developed on the boundless sacrifices and sufferings of the exploited masses of our country, and since instead of trying

to give birth to the people's alternative political power by building up the people's committees as the people's own instruments of struggle on the firm foundation of higher cultural-ethical-political standard those movements were sought to be kept confined within agitational forms in the interest of parliamentary politics, and for all this despite the great sufferings and sacrifices the movements met with failure again and again. The parties which were once in the leadership of the mass movements are today engaged in the various heinous attempts to protect capitalism, being seated in governmental power in different state. In this situation, when the people oppressed under the yoke of capitalism, have lost faith in almost all the parties and are turning to SUCI with eager expectation and when our Central Committee has taken up the programme of country-wide mass movement, with the pledge of making this movement invincible we vow, by conducting relentless ideological struggle following the guideline of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we will make the exploited masses conscious of the revolutionary ideology of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and shall carry forward the struggle with all our might to establish the leadership of the revolutionary party, the SUCI, on the mass movements.

We will organize the entire exploited masses from the village to the national level and shall build up the people's own instrument of struggle in the shape of people's committees, and guided by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, will engage ourselves whole-heartedly in the relentless cultural movement to develop people's committees on the edifice of proletarian ethics, culture and morals, so as to transform them into people's power.

Applying the science of Marxism-Leninism in the present-day concrete national and international situations, Comrade Ghosh has elevated its understanding to a new height and bequeathed a treasure-house of knowledge to the oppressed people of the world and we vow that through constant cult of his teachings, we will remain unflinching in the struggle to build up ourselves as true communists.

We vow, following the great example of unique revolutionary character of completely identifying self with the class and the revolution, as has been set by our beloved leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we will engage ourselves with greater initiative and enthusiasm in the revolutionary struggle and the struggle to identify ourselves more and more with the party built up and reared by our great leader, teacher and guide, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

We vow, we, the countless revolutionary workers, educated and taught by him, shall with every drop of our blood, hold aloft the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism.

We vow, armed with his teachings we will turn our deepest grief into firm determination, courage and revolutionary purposiveness and standing as 'one man' we will engage ourselves in the struggle to fill in the void created by his departure.

*Editor-in-Chief*—NIHAR MUKHERJEE