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CALL OF ELECTION BOYCOTT

How far tenable in the present situation

Elections to constitute 17th Lok Sabha in India are just over. In customary fashion, the bourgeois press and lobby had tried to hold out that this was the biggest event of bourgeois democracy in vogue and an opportunity for the people to exercise their rights to elect candidates of their choice to the legislature, the highest law-making body, and hence was emblematic of the political freedom the people are enjoying in deciding their own destiny. While the parties subservient to the ruling bourgeois class were in the fray to brighten their political fortune in the bourgeois power-politics, we have also contested the elections with our distinct political line of strengthening class and mass struggles conducive to bringing about revolutionary transformation of the society by overthrowing ruling capitalism. In the appeal of our Central Committee that was published in the Proletarian Era of 1 April, 2009 (Vol. 42 No. 16), all essential and relevant aspects that our party, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh thought, wanted to place before the people on the eve of the election were covered. Our exhortation has been to vote for the tested and tried soldiers of democratic mass movements so that the voice of people's movements are reflected inside the legislature and thus extra-parliamentary struggle are integrated with the parliamentary struggle. But it was found that certain forces in the name of pursuing Marxism-Leninism and particularly Mao Zedong thought gave call for poll boycott in many places. They also in their own way used force to vandalize elections and debar people from casting votes. As this is being done in the name of

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, some questions are being raised and a host of confusions are being created in the minds of the common people. On the other hand, the ruling capitalist class, its hirelings and pliant media have unleashed a concerted propaganda linking revolutionary Marxism with anarchism and a giant Marxist revolutionary like Mao Zedong with individual terrorism. Hence, there is a necessity for a brief but in depth discussion on the issue from Marxist standpoint.

Imperativeness to grasp revolution

To have a correct understanding in this regard, the question which deserves primacy is that of revolution. Because, revolutionary movement can develop, intensify and reach its logical culmination only if we have clarity about what is revolution, what is the scientific course of revolution and what are the impediments before accomplishing it. Let us proceed to see what great Marxists have meant by revolution. "Revolutions are the locomotives of history," said Marx. Based on the invincible science of Marxism-Leninism which is not a dogma but a guide to action, we know that revolution means a total change, a qualitative change. When a particular social order obstructs the unhindered progress of the mankind, revolution becomes a historic necessity so that the society could be freed from the shackles of the obsolete system. Revolutionary transformation of the society thus becomes the urge of the people oppressed and suppressed in the existing order and hence yearning for emancipation. But the very fact that revolution following inexorable

course of history has become a historic necessity does not *ipso facto* mean it will be accomplished automatically. It has to be organized, shaped, directed and achieved. So revolution is product of a process. Adopting the right process and methodology, therefore, is of supreme importance in bringing about revolution. If the understanding of revolution is erroneous, then the correct process of accomplishing the same will remain ever elusive notwithstanding all sincerity and honesty on one's part. Marxism-Leninism, based on experimentally verified science, has shown that capitalism or bourgeois social order has now become decadent and moribund and is practically in its death throes. Unless capitalism is overthrown by revolution, people's cherished emancipation will not come about. So, by anti-capitalist revolution we mean the politically conscious, organized and revolutionary upsurge of the masses on the basis of a definite aim and object, a correct ideology and the genuine revolutionary political line of the proletariat to overthrow capitalism. That is why great Marx and Engels in their celebrated works of Communist Manifesto and Anti-Dühring said that proletarian revolution means the revolutionary working class will use its political supremacy to wrest state power from the exploiting bourgeois class, free productive system from private appropriation, turn it into public property and sweep away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes.

Task imperatives for accomplishing revolution

Continuing Lenin also said that,

"Victory cannot be won with the vanguard (i.e. the Communist Party) alone...we must not only ask ourselves whether we have convinced the vanguard of the revolutionary class, but also whether the historically effective forces of *all* classes — positively of all the classes of the given society without exception — are aligned in such a way that everything is fully ripe for the decisive battle; in such a way that 1) all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently entangled, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle which is beyond their strength; that 2) all the vacillating, wavering, unstable, intermediate elements — the petty bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois democrats as distinct from the bourgeoisie — have sufficiently exposed themselves in the eyes of the people, have sufficiently disgraced themselves through their practical bankruptcy; and that 3) among the proletariat a mass sentiment in favour of supporting the most determined, supremely bold, revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow. Then revolution is indeed ripe; then, indeed, if we have correctly gauged all the conditions indicated and briefly outlined above, and if we have chosen the moment rightly, our victory is assured. (*Left-wing communism — an infantile disorder*, page 99)

It means that if the suffering of the people reaches an extreme point and even gets expressed boisterously, in protests, stirs and agitations, revolution will not come by automatically. Such a situation

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Revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation

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only indicates that objective condition is ripe for revolution. Great Marxist authorities have further shown that three essential conditions are to be fulfilled for bringing about revolution. These are: a correct revolutionary ideology, a correct revolutionary party based on that ideology and a correct base political line premised on concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Once, these conditions are fulfilled, the task imperative for the revolutionaries is to carry out a ceaseless painstaking intense ideological struggle to expose all the bourgeois ideological traits and prejudices which have penetrated deep into the minds of the workers and peasants, the toiling millions. Lenin explained this in the following words: "a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following three major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the "upper classes", a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for "the lower classes not to want" to live in the old way; it is also necessary that "the upper classes should be unable" to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in "peace time", but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the "upper classes" themselves into independent historical action. Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible. The totality of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation. (*The*

Collapse of the Second International CW. Vol 21 p214-15)

So his emphasis has been on the imperative necessity for the Communist Party to organize and lead the various class and mass struggles in such a manner that they develop as conducive to the revolutionary movement by inspiring complete confidence in the whole of the exploited masses about their ability to overthrow the exploitative bourgeois system.

Great Stalin, worthy disciple of Lenin, in course of providing foundation of Leninism also clarified that the working-class movement itself consists of two elements: the objective or spontaneous element, and the subjective or conscious element. While the objective element is the stage of given socio-political condition of a country independent 'of the conscious and regulating will of the proletariat', subjective side is 'the conscious and systematic movement of the proletariat', the aspects of strategy and tactics, towards accomplishing revolution by correctly responding to the objective need. "A most important function of tactics is to determine the ways and means, the forms and methods of fighting that are most appropriate to the concrete situation at the given moment and are most certain to prepare the way for strategic success. Consequently, the operation and results of tactics must be regarded not in isolation, not from the point of view of their immediate effect, but from the point of view of the aims and possibilities of strategy. (SW. Vol. 5 p. 169)

Great Mao Zedong, while dwelling upon the question of subjective preparation for revolution in a given objective reality laid maximum stress on mobilizing widespread and popular mass support in favour of revolution. He said: "the so-called theory that 'weapons decide everything'... constitutes a mechanical approach to the question of war. Weapons are an important factor in war ..., but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale." (*On Protracted War*, SW, Vol. II, p. 143) "Communists must never separate themselves from the majority of the people or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents

in an isolated and rash advance, but must forge close link between the progressive elements and the broad masses." (*Role of CPC*) One would recall that Mao Zedong himself, in the concrete Chinese situation, built up numerous cooperatives and peasant organizations to ensure that the people, imbued with revolutionary ideal, stand by the communists fighting the enemy. In his treatise on strategy and tactics of guerilla warfare, Mao repeatedly emphasized that Red base areas could neither be developed nor sustained without mass support. "The fundamental condition... the indispensable condition for establishing base area is ... to arouse the masses for struggle... We must organize the workers, peasants, youth, women, children, merchants and professional people – according to the degree of their political consciousness and fighting enthusiasm into the various mass organizations necessary for the struggle." (*Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla Warfare*, SW, Vol. II, p. 98). Mao Zedong also observed that a revolution does not take place just because a party decides to have it. A revolution comes about only when tens of millions of people decide that it is of no use in going on living as before.

Enriching the idea further, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary of SUCI and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, taught us that unless toiling people at large broadly rally behind revolution consciously or at least a majority of them remain benevolent neutral, the proletarian revolutionaries who as vanguard of revolution grasp the need of revolution both rationally and emotionally can not lead revolution to victory. Genuine Marxists sincerely strive to ensure that through every agitational movement, a measure of political consciousness grows within fighting people; they identify correct revolutionary ideology and the correct revolutionary leadership. So when this necessary class consciousness dawns upon the people and the revolutionary party musters requisite strength to lead the masses, both ideologically and organizationally, to victory in their battle of insurrection, the subjective condition for revolution is stated to be fulfilled. So unless both objective and subjective conditions are met,

revolution cannot be accomplished.

What hinders revolution?

Naturally, any trend of thought or action which contradicts the above mentioned basic formulations of revolution will obstruct the objective process of materializing revolution. It has been seen right from the time of Marx that a number of bourgeois thoughts have sneaked into the working class movement, either in the shape of reformism or revisionism or petty-bourgeois romanticism which have considerably harmed the world proletarian revolutionary movement. While the reformist trend is undermining the necessity of developing conscious militant class struggle so as to be able to smash the bourgeois state machine through revolutionary action and establish, in its place, a new working class state as an intermediate step before ultimate transition to classless communist society, the other trend stemming from petty-bourgeois impatience has often been leading to individual terrorism, indulgence in violence and use of force when it is not called for. Both have been immensely harmful for revolution. So it has been incumbent on the great Marxist authorities to wage uncompromising ideological struggle against all these deviationist tendencies and lines of thought.

Marx had to relentlessly fight and refute the utopian socialists, liberals as well as opportunism of Lasalle and others. Likewise, way back in late eighties of nineteenth century, Lenin had to take up cudgels against the methods of political struggle employed by the principal Narodnik (derived from the word *narod* meaning people) groups who could not understand the revolutionary role of the working class in revolutionary transformation of the society and hence abandoned mass revolutionary work among the workers and peasants and instead chose to follow assassination of individuals and individual terror as line of combating Tsarist autocracy. Narodnik policy of individual terrorism was based on their erroneous theory of active 'heroes' and a 'passive' mob. They asserted that the masses are nothing but a mob, and that it is 'heroes' who make history and convert mob into

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24 April observed with resolve and solemnity

On the occasion of the 61st anniversary of founding the party SUCI on 24 April, there were different programmes round the country in observance of the day, though state level meetings could not be organized in many states on account of the 16th Lok Sabha election being held in the country since mid-April. We have already published a few reports in the last issue of *Proletarian Era*. Here we add a few more. Among the few instances where a state level observance was possible, one was in **Guwahati, Assam** organized by the Assam State Committee. Held immediately after the 17th Lok Sabha election had been over in the state by 23 April, the meeting was organized at Lakshmiram Barua Sadan in Guwahati on 24 April last. It was presided over by Comrade Siddheswar Sharma, a veteran member of Assam State Committee and a workers' leader of distinction. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Central Committee was present as the main speaker.

Speech of

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

24 April brings us the message every year to recognize and work out the historic necessity of developing and strengthening SUCI, the revolutionary party of India with that minimum of necessary strength with which people's yearning for coming out of the unbearable oppressive capitalist rule and exploitation can be led into an organized protracted massive struggle for revolution. The day reminds us of this task that history has enjoined us. After explaining this revolutionary significance and importance of observing 24 April all over the country, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, analyzing the economic-political situation prevalent in the country, said: Due to capitalist exploitation 85 to 90 per cent people of the country have practically no way to earn a living. Over 70 percent live below poverty line, with no guarantee of securing the next meal. Most of the rural people have been reduced to landless peasants. Those who had small land holdings are being pressed hard under debts and are being compelled to sell out their land to village usurers and become rural proletariat, to rush to the cities in search of employment. But in cities too, the situation is till graver. There is no scope for employment there. Industrial development is a must for creating employment with an eye to meet the ever-increasing demand from the rising population and the rate of growth in the number of people with sound health and mind. This is what the task of economy is, which is neither impossible nor unreal from the standpoint of science of economics. But the whole capitalist world is suffering from acute recession

stemming from endemic crisis of capitalist economy. Thus in all capitalist countries, including India, the process of setting up new industries is totally halted. Purchasing power of people in India too is sharply declining due to capitalist exploitation. Faced with



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya addressing and a part of the gathering

acute market crisis, leave aside setting up of new industries, the capitalists with no guarantee for their profit, are curtailing production and retrenching workers, closing down the existing mills and factories one after another. The few new industries that are coming up are hi-tech ones requiring very few workers. So there is practically no scope for new employment generation in the country. In consequence, during these 62 years of capitalist rule since independence, the process of the handful rich getting richer and poor becoming poorer has continued unabated. The total wealth of the country has concentrated in the hand of 10 per cent rich while the remaining 90 percent people have been pauperized. The minimum asset these people once had, is no

longer there in their family. They can not make both ends meet even with all the family members working hard.

It is in such an unbearable stifling condition the present Lok Sabha election is being held. Election is a very important political event, since it leads to forming a government that can govern peoples' life and country's economy. Those who wish to participate in this election from patriotic feeling, should go deep into the problem of this suffocating economic condition in the country and should reflect upon how to struggle, what programme of work is to be adopted and what path is to be taken to provide at least some relief to people. It is meaningless, even criminal, to participate in the election without this outlook and disregard such basic questions. Yet why are the big political parties

proclaimed that election must be based on definite principle, ideology and democratic consciousness. When capitalism crossed its youthful heydays, it lost its erstwhile progressive character and became crisis-ridden and reactionary, and the earlier bourgeois democratic concepts and norms started disappearing gradually. Decadence set in the democratic concepts and norms governing parliamentary activities. Election in all capitalist countries too, ceased to reflect democratic concepts and consciousness, and started being reduced to a farce. In our country which attained independence in the era of imperialism, which is nothing but decadent capitalism, election has come to be reduced into a total farce, a disgusting play of black money power of the capitalist class. In the present election too, all the

participating in this election silent on such vital questions? There is no effort to determine the root cause of the heart-rending plight of the people in the barrage of their propaganda, speeches and comments that flood the newspapers, journals, radio and TV. Rather, it is observed that there is a ceaseless effort to conceal the basic cause.

Tracing out the history of bourgeois parliamentary system, Comrade Bhattacharyya said: Election was not ever-present. Parliamentary election emerged as an inalienable part of bourgeois democracy in order to replace dynastic rule of feudalism-monarchy and to set up a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Proponents of democracy

parliamentary parties including the pseudo-Marxists with the cloak of Marxism, and their candidates are engaged in the race to anyhow win the election by employing black money, along with it, propaganda, communalism, casteism, muscle power and corrupt practices. What is the source of the huge sum of 50/60 crore (500/600 million) of rupees that each of these candidates spends? The capitalists provide all this money because they need a government to be formed through the election which will continue to serve the capitalist class helping them to exploit people and amass heaps of profit. What about people? For them, the stifling economic condition will be further aggravated during the following years. To determine what course of action

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CPI(M)'s 'development model' is the same whether in West Bengal or Kerala

Whether it is Nandigram and Singur in West Bengal or Moolampilly and Vizhinjam in Kerala, CPI(M)'s programme of 'development' is one and the same — forcefully evict people from their land and habitats and hand over vast stretches of land to private agencies in the name of development projects, real estate business forming an integral part of the process.

Moolampilly : Heroic Struggle against eviction forcing CPI(M)-led LDF Government to accept rehabilitation package

The people of Moolampilly, an islet in the estuary of Periyar River in Ernakulam (Cochin) is in the

midst of an uncompromising struggle for the past two years. Moolampilly strategically located at the gates of the booming Cochin City has long been eyed by the profit hunting real estate sharks. Vast tracts of prime farm land have already been acquired by these real estate companies. In pursuance of

the policy of capitalist globalization, a Container Transshipment Terminal of international standards at Vallarpadam, an islet adjacent to the Cochin port was envisaged with foreign collaboration. The project was conceived as a BOT scheme with Dubai Port World (DPW) as the operator. As per the agreement signed by the Govt. of India and DPW, the profit generating Rajiv Gandhi Container Terminal already existing within the Cochin Port should be handed over to India

Gateway Terminal Limited, the Indian subsidiary of DPW. The foundation stone of this Rs 4000 crore "dream" project was laid by the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in August 2004. Immediately after that, the move to acquire necessary land was initiated in the nine densely populated villages of the area. Though it is a central government project, state government undertook responsibility of arranging land.

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Party Foundation Day Observed in States

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should people take as the way out of the prevalent situation, is the cardinal question before them.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya recalled the teachings of Lenin, the great proletarian leader and the architect of the Russian revolution, on what should be the outlook on the parliamentary election in a class divided society. In Lenin's days, election had not been reduced to shameless game of black money. Yet he pointed out that in a capitalist society, election was the process which elected who would exploit people for the next five years. Comrade Bhattacharyya added: In the class divided capitalist society of India, while election stands for the exploiters, it is imperative for the exploited people to free themselves from the illusion of this election. People's emancipation can come only through putting an end to the capitalist rule and exploitation by establishing proletarian democracy, that is the socialist system. For this, it is necessary to create the concrete condition conducive to the revolution for overthrowing capitalism. Continuing, Comrade Bhattacharyya said: Emancipation for the masses can come only through putting an end to the capitalist rule and exploitation by establishing proletarian democracy, that is the socialist system. For this, it is necessary to create the concrete condition conducive to the revolution for overthrowing capitalism. Lenin taught us that to make people realize this necessity of revolution, the revolutionary party would have to stay with the masses, not moving far ahead nor

lagging behind them, and engage itself in democratic movement, and parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, legal and so-called illegal, open and clandestine all these various types of activities. That is why Lenin who had once termed the bourgeois parliaments as pigsties, advised the revolutionaries to get into the parliaments if that was necessary. The Leninist teaching is that the revolutionaries have to enter into the parliament in order to expose the character of bourgeois parliament and free the masses from illusions about bourgeois election till revolution becomes imminent. The question of the revolutionary party's making use of parliament before the revolution did not arise in China as capitalism had not developed there and bourgeois parliament had not emerged in that country. Even then Mao Zedong urged the revolutionaries of capitalist countries where bourgeois parliamentary system was functioning, to participate in elections in order to free the masses from the illusion about the bourgeois democracy.

Comrade Bhattacharyya added further: In continuity with the great leaders Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party SUCI and one of the eminent Marxist thinkers of the present time, has left important teachings on this issue. He showed that unless the vast majority of the people can be freed from the illusion about election, it is impossible to accomplish revolution. The exploited masses must realize that their emancipation is not possible

through election. For this, the revolutionaries would have to make use of elections at all levels. They must remain with the exploited masses through their experiences of life to expose the real character of bourgeois election. So, the revolutionaries should view election as a form of mass movement, and making use of elections is an indispensable part of revolutionary movement. Election may be boycotted only when people are ready for revolution in every way. Till such time, along with conducting class struggle and democratic movements and working upon united front politics, the revolutionary party would have to participate in elections whenever they come in course of time. We note with concern that even from within the Marxist movement of the country, a section of those known as Naxalites is precipitating some activities based on their call for a boycott of elections, right at this present juncture. They are doing this from their inability to understand the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong. We are trying to drive the point into them that barring a small section, people at large are not free from the illusion about election. It is totally wrong and is against teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to conceive that people will be freed from such illusion just by issuing a call for boycotting election. Their sporadic activities, on the basis of the wrong idea that call for boycotting election or killing of some military or non-military individuals will make exploited masses conscious of the necessity of revolution are not benefiting revolution in any way;

rather these are only alienating people from Marxist movement.

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya concluded adding: Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that the present stage of revolutionary movement in the country is that of democratic movement. In this stage, class consciousness will have to be developed among the people by building up movements on the burning problems of their life. Through these movements, it is necessary to accomplish the anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Comrade Bhattacharyya concluded his address, appealing to people, on the occasion of 24 April, to come forward to build up mass movement conducive to the revolutionary movement on the basis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, the most advanced form of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought today, with a view to advancing towards the goal of accomplishing anti-capitalist revolution in the country.

Durg, Chhatisgarh

SUCI Foundation Day was observed through a meeting at Durg in Chhatisgarh. It was presided over by the famous educationist of the state, N K Verma. Comrade Rabin Samajpati, Member, Jharkhand State Organizing Committee was the main speaker. Comrade Badsah Khan, veteran leader of the party was present in the meeting.

Massive Struggle against Eviction in Kerala

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The Congress led UDF then in power in the state proceeded to acquire land without any rehabilitation using the notorious 1894 - Land Acquisition Act. Naturally the families who were facing eviction tried to organize resistance. People's struggle committees in their rudimentary form sprang up in several villages. Our party SUCI and *Janakeeya Prathirodha Samithi* played an active but subdued role in shaping up these committees. The LDF Government which came to power in 2006 proceeded to take over land by deception, cunningness and force under the plea of loosing the project altogether. Realizing the gravity of the situation and taking into cognizance the aspiration of the people, *Janakeeya Prathirodha Samithi* stepped in to co-ordinate the activities of the various struggle committees. Thus the 'Co-ordination Committee of struggle committees of people facing threat of Eviction in the name of development' popularly known as "Co-ordination Committee" came into being. The apex body comprised representatives from all village level committees, affected by the International Container Transshipment Terminal project. Comrade Francis Kalathunkal, member, SUCI Ernakulam District Committee was elected general convener of the *Co-ordination Committee* which chalked out a series of programmes to sensitize the public, media and authorities. All appeals for ensuring proper rehabilitation before eviction fell on deaf ears, and the government continued with its policy of intimidation and deception. On 6 February 2006, consequent upon a decision taken at a meeting held on 2 April 2006 at Cochin port trust in which the Chief Secretary of Kerala, DM of Ernakulam etc. were also present, the revenue authorities used police force to forcibly evict families from their houses in Moolampilly. This barbarous act was enacted with the active support of the local CPI(M) organization and in full glare of the media.

The families who faced eviction resorted to peaceful means of protest. The gory scenes that unfolded on the visual media forced the civil society to take note of it and condemn the high handedness

of the state government. Led by their own instrument of struggle, the *Co-ordination Committee*, the brutally evicted families marched to the residence of district collector. Stopped by a huge contingent of police force, they initiated a peaceful *satyagraha*. This *satyagraha pandhal* turned to be a pilgrimage centre where people from all walks of life cutting across their political affiliations came forward to offer their support both material and spiritual to the struggling people of Moolampilly. Sensing that the public opinion was steadily crystallizing against the government, the authorities tendered an apology for the forceful eviction in Moolampilly. However the district administration with the full backing of the LDF government refused to sit with the *Co-ordination Committee* for negotiation. But the families in all the nine villages refused to part with their property and took the firm stand that they will abide by the decisions of the *Co-ordination Committee* only. Failing in their attempt to cow down the people by means of terror, the authorities changed track and started a campaign to malign the people's movement by branding it as being led by extremist elements. The Chief Minister himself at a press briefing after the cabinet meeting alleged that trouble in Moolampilly was being precipitated by Naxalite elements. This caused a hue and cry and no less a person than the venerable Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer condemned the police brutality at Moolampilly and asked the CM to desist from branding the protesters as extremists. The CM had to retreat and withdrew his misleading and maligning statement. Exactly one month after the forceful eviction the state government was forced to spell out a rehabilitation package, which among other things offered six cents (240 sq. M) of habitable land with all basic facilities — electricity, water supply, road — and Rs 50,000 as house rent for ten months for all families whose households have been acquired for this project and under pressure of movement, the same was notified. After that, the *satyagraha* form of struggle was formally called off on 23 March, 2008. The Moolampilly package that the government was forced to concede in the face of organized people's struggle was widely hailed as the Magna Carta of all people

who are engaged in struggle against forced eviction without rehabilitation in the name of development. It immediately caught the imagination of the struggling masses.

Nearly a year has elapsed since the package has been notified. The government true to its colours is now busily engaged in undermining the package. Anticipating that the issue, if left unsettled, will seriously affect its poll prospects of the LDF, the government using the ever pliant district administration hastily arranged a "Pattaya Mela" to hand over the titles of the plots of land meant for rehabilitation. Evicted families led by the *Co-ordination Committee* saw through this sinister design of the government. They boycotted the function and organized protest on the streets to enlighten the public that these so-called rehabilitation plots were actually swamps without any basic facilities like, water, electricity and roads. With the beneficiaries boycotting the event, the function though attended by the CM turned to be a damp squib. To foil the attempt to bury this unsettled issue during Loksabha election, *Co-ordination Committee* decided to field Mrs. Mary Francis Moolampilly, an ordinary housewife whose house and furniture workshop was forcefully acquired, as an independent candidate. Her candidature evoked a good response among the people.

Vizhinjam: Peoples' movement thwarts land-grab by CPI(M)-led government for land mafia

Development of Vizhinjam Sea Port in Trivandrum district is a long standing demand of the people of Kerala. Capitalizing on this, the CPI(M) led LDF government hatched a conspiracy to grab thousands of acres of land in connivance with land mafia. For that a government order was issued on 8.8.2008 for acquiring 1088 hectares of land in 6 villages. Subsequently a land acquisition notification was also issued by the LDF government on 3.9.2008. When the people, alarmed at this notification, came out in protest, the government tried to hide the truth and mislead the people. CPI(M) leader and the Minister for Ports first said that only 85 families would be evicted.

Then he raised the number to 174 and then again to 227. The Chief Minister also echoed the same lie. But it was glaringly clear that if the 1088 hectares of land was acquired, then at least 10,000 families would have to be evicted.

In fact, the government was moving in a clandestine manner to acquire land. A company by the name Vizhinjam International Seaport Ltd., with the CM as the chairman was formed and it decided to make the project area with a radius of 20km a Special Economic Zone. People, of their own, came out in protest against this outrageous move of the government. They got organized by forming their own struggle committees. Many programmes like road block, human chain, torch-lit rallies etc. were organized. It is to be mentioned that the historic Nandigram movement has been a great source of inspiration for the people in this struggle. Our party played a leading role in coordinating various struggle committees and leading the movement in the right direction. It was our comrades who helped the people formulate the precise demands of the movement by making them clearly understand the hidden scheme of the government. Comrades Shajar Khan and Benny Joseph, Trivandrum district committee members, alongwith the district leaders of Kerala Samsthana Janakiya Prathirodha Samiti (JPS), a platform of people's struggle led by Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer and other eminent persons of the state, emerged as prominent leaders of this people's movement. Public opinion was mobilized statewide by JPS in favour of the struggling people. Many leading figures in the cultural field of the state rallied in programmes organized by JPS in support of the movement. Seeing the determination of the people to fight till the end and the growing public support to the movement, the government ultimately withdrew the project by repealing the government notification for land acquisition on 20 November, 2008. Thus the toiling people organized in their own struggle committee could score a historic victory over the state government led by the pseudo-Marxist CPI(M) Vizhinjam out to implement the anti-people policies of capitalist globalization.

Both “Right” and “Left” deviations harm revolution

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a people. In a number of writings including the book “*What the friends of the people are*”, Lenin criticized the Narodnik tactics as extremely harmful to the revolutionary movement and showed that history is not made by the ‘heroes’ but history makes heroes. “When it came into being, Bolshevism took over the tradition of a ruthless struggle against petty-bourgeois, semi-anarchist (or dilettante-anarchist) revolutionism”, said Lenin. (*Left-wing communism — an infantile disorder*) Later, he had to wage uncompromising struggle against both ‘right’ and ‘left’ deviations within working class movement and impressed upon the necessity to expose and isolate the revisionists-reformists from the masses to accomplish as well as defend revolution. He resolutely fought the constitutionalist approach of Kautsky and other renegades of the Second International as well as the ‘left’ adventurists of Russia, Germany, Great Britain and other countries to defend Marxism and successfully bring about first proletarian revolution in the world through correct application of Marxist science.

After Lenin, the mantle fell on Stalin to continue this fight against the “Right” deviation of Bukharin and others and the “Left” deviation of Trotsky and the ilk. In fighting these counter-revolutionary thoughts, he sharply pointed out that social-democracy, which with a radical cloak seeks to strike a compromise between labour and capital, was emerging as menacing trend. “Present-day Social-Democratism”, showed Stalin “is an ideological support of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present-day Social-Democratic politicians are “real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement... It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democratism in the labour movement. That is why the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying Social-Democratism in the labour movement.” (*October revolution and the tactics of the Russian communists* p. 276)

Mao Zedong following the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin kept alive the struggle both against “Right” and “Left” deviations within Chinese

Communist Party as well as the revisionist Khrushchevite leadership. In his language, “History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously ... but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat “Left” opportunism on the one hand and “Right” opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war.” (*Strategy in China’s revolutionary war*) “Dogmatism is divorced from concrete practice, while empiricism mistakes fragmentary experience for universal truth; both kinds of opportunist thinking run counter to Marxism.” (*On Coalition Government*) He further added, “people ...often neglect to criticize revisionism...It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism ...revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism...What they advocate is in fact not socialist line but the capitalist line” (SW, vol. Vp377, 434, 435) “...we must keep in mind the uprooting of revisionism and strengthen our capability to resist revisionism at any time.” (*People’s China* p 262) As we all know, Mao in order to fight and isolate revisionist tendencies creeping into the CPC embarked upon historic Cultural Revolution which stands in history as a magnificent struggle in the annals of Marxist movement.

He bitterly criticized the erroneous line of the “Left” adventurists who, according to him were suffering from ‘revolutionary impetuosity’ reminding one of Narodnik doctrine, outstrip “a given stage of development of the objective process...regard their fantasies as truth... strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future... alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves adventurist in their actions.” (*On Practice*, SW Vol. I page 307) They, he added, “disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and

detailed work among the masses, but riddled with illusions, want only to do big things. This is remnant of putschism (‘relying only on a small number of party members and a small section of the masses and attempting to a series of local uprising’).” (*On correcting mistaken ideas in the Party*, SW, Vol. I, p. 107) According to him, they “overestimate the subjective forces of the revolution and underestimate the forces of counter-evolution. Such an appraisal stems mainly from subjectivism. In the end, it undoubtedly leads to putschism. On the otherhand, underestimating the subjective forces of the revolution and overestimating the forces of the counter-revolution would also constitute an improper appraisal and be certain to produce bad results of another kind.” (A single spark can start a prairie fire)

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, worthy continuator of the giant communist authorities too had shown while dealing with the Naxalite movement that those “who lack comprehensive revolutionary consciousness... do not understand the complex process of bringing about revolution... do not realize how, by co-ordination of countless struggles through a myriad of complex processes the cherished revolutionary struggle takes shape suffer from desperation and restlessness, thinking that nothing is being achieved, indulge in mistaken action of revolutionary adventurism.” These forces think that if some actions happen, that would clinch the issue. They argue that if there is continuous precipitation of such stray incidents of individual terrorism and violence, increase of such loots, robbery, arson, murders, a general feeling of insecurity will descend on the country. So, there will be panic in the state machinery and it will be enfeebled. And if such acts are undertaken in the name of revolution, the suffering people seeking revenge will be attracted towards revolution. He also drew attention to the fact that those who were pursuing this line of thought had not only “gone a step further beyond the theory of Che Guevara but were following the Debray theory which, in essence, virtually negates the indispensable necessity of conducting painstaking ideological-political struggles ...to strengthen, step by step, real

revolutionary party and develop mass organizations under it...Naxalites are trying to pass off this theory ...as Mao Zedong thoughts “ (SW Vol.II p 246) Explaining the reason for such erroneous understanding of the Naxalites, Comrade Ghosh showed that since they, as split factions of the undivided CPI and subsequently CPI(M), were also following “the same non-Marxist process of thinking and methodology and group politics (of undivided CPI)...two opposite trends...are bound to appear in them. That is to say, one section will gradually seek to take refuge in parliamentary politics while the other, from their impatience for revolution, will manifest a growing tendency for adventurism. And in future this party, too, will meet the same fate of split.” (SW. Vol. II p. 247-48) History has vindicated his analysis in no uncertain a term as is discernible today.

Where do the wrong thoughts stem from?

Coming back to our original discussion, we find that Mao had also shown that “Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice.” (*On Practice*, SW Vol. I page 307) “The reason why such evils as dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work are definitely harmful and intolerable, and why anyone suffering from these maladies must overcome them, is that, they alienate from the masses. ...”(On the *People’s Democratic Dictatorship*) So the crux of the problem lies in correct appraisal of both subjective and objective conditions and thereby realizing whether the essential conditions for revolution as discussed above have been fulfilled or not. If some people with a “left’ phrase-mongering assume, as Mao observed, “that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses”, they are wrong and are advocates of “commandist” method. On the other hand, “Tailism in any type of work is also wrong, because in falling below the level of political consciousness of the

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Revolutionaries participate in election to expose futility of parliamentary democracy

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masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward, it reflects the disease of dilatoriness". Hence, every revolutionary worker must "listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and according to their present level, awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually organize themselves voluntarily and set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place. ..." (*On Coalition Government*)

Question of conducting 'legal' movement

Naturally, what is of prime importance is to take correct cognizance of the objective reality, the level of political consciousness of the toiling masses, the various bourgeois illusion and infatuations shrouding the minds of the people the extent of ideological and organizational leadership of the genuine revolutionary leadership over the masses. With this is linked inseparably the question of right approach of the genuine revolutionaries towards bourgeois parliamentary democracy in the given conditions of various countries including India. Given the socio-political scenario obtaining in present day capitalist India, is it that the phase of conducting 'legal' (i.e. what is permissible in the existing capitalist order) movements within the framework of bourgeois democracy is completely exhausted and the masses being imbued by the revolutionary thoughts are ready, both ideologically and organizationally, for insurrection? Are they completely disillusioned, not in the negative sense by seeing the electoral and other processes being gradually sapped of democratic content but positively imbibing consciously the need of revolution, about parliamentary vote politics? If one is not alienated from the reality and is not carried by any fantastic notion both of which the great Marxist authorities have repeatedly advised to spurn, one can not but agree that though objective condition is ripe for revolution, subjective condition is not. Parliamentary illusion is galore.

Since it is multi-party democracy and not an arbitrary autocratic rule that at times concede some of the people's demands, the most ruthless character of exploitative bourgeois rule hiding behind does to a great extent remain shielded. So the task is to strive for expediting maturing of subjective condition in Indian reality, is to build up, on the edifice of higher culture and ethics, waves of democratic movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution over legitimate demands of the people and in the process evolve the instruments of people's alternate political power like the Soviets in Russian revolution, exhaust all forms of parliamentary illusions, isolate from the people all variants of social democratic forces working as a compromise between labour and capital to thwart growth of revolutionary struggle and thereby firmly establish the ideological-organizational leadership of the real revolutionary party of the proletariat over the masses. It is in this sense that the present Indian context is the phase of intense democratic mass movement which in its cumulative effect creates the necessary ground and conditions favourable for final overthrow of capitalism. In this phase of revolutionary preparedness, advantage of open activities or in other words, use of the available legal avenues to the maximum possible extent definitely prevails over other modes of struggle. Hence, nothing should be done at this stage as a result of which a revolutionary party could be banned from undertaking open political activities or in other words, declared illegal.

In this connection, we once again recall the invaluable guidelines provided by the great Marxist authorities. "Revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are poor revolutionaries indeed," commented Lenin (*Left-wing Communism* p.202) "Bolsheviks would never have succeeded in doing this had they not carried out a correct tactic of combining illegal work with the obligatory utilization of "legal possibilities." (*ibid* p.6) Mao Zedong taught that, "... it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal

struggles and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of long legal struggle of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers ... insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie become really helpless," (*Problems of War and Strategy*; SW, Vol. II, p. 219)

Question of participating in parliamentary democracy

Since, as we have seen above, we in India are in the stage of building up democratic mass movement using all available 'legal' form, the next question that arises is should any genuine revolutionary take part in elections to the legislature and other democratic bodies or abstain from the same. This is extremely important because right from the days of Lenin till today, while one group wearing a Marxist cloak has been outright immersed in nasty parliamentarism, the other group with revolutionary phrase-mongering has been opposing participation in parliamentary democracy. Here again, we turn to the history of communist movement and the lessons to be drawn from that. We know that Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership had boycotted participation in Russian Duma in 1905. Lenin even called bourgeois parliament a piggery at that time. But later Lenin strongly advocated participation in the Duma and other bodies like local municipalities etc. Why? Because, the two contexts were different. In 1905, there was a possibility of breaking up a bourgeois democratic revolution against autocratic Tsarist rule and Lenin wanted the proletariat to not only take an active but a decisively leading role in that revolutionary movement so as to transform it into a proletarian revolution. But, when due to various reasons, the revolution did not come about, the objective situation demanded fresh initiative to build up revolutionary struggle by making full use of the legal avenues. So in what Lenin said, "growing tide" of revolution, Bolsheviks correctly understood that the announcement of convening the Duma, a consultative assembly of representatives of the landlords and

the big bourgeoisie, elected under the supervision and with the assistance of the autocratic government's servants on the basis of an electoral system so indirect, so blatantly based on property and social-estate qualifications, was a sheer mockery of the idea of popular representation. And hence at that time, according to Lenin, "participation of the liberal bourgeoisie in the Duma means a slackening in its agitation at the present time, its appealing more to the tsar than to the people, and the approach of a counter-revolutionary deal between the Tsar and the bourgeoisie." (*CW* Vol.9 p181) But Lenin made it amply clear that "it is a very great mistake indeed to apply this experience blindly, imitatively and uncritically to other conditions and to other situations." (*Left-wing Communism* p.22) Subsequently when the revolution did not mature in the way Bolsheviks desired because of various factors, task that falls to them was to reorganize revolution. During that "receding" tide of revolution, Lenin said that a call of boycotting the Duma would harm the cause of revolution. Hence the Bolsheviks decided to participate in it for using the forum to accelerate preparation for revolution. "The alternation of parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, of tactics of boycotting parliament and tactics of participating in parliament, of legal and illegal forms of struggle, and likewise their interrelations and connections — all of this is distinguished by an astonishing richness of content", observed Lenin (*ibid* p. 10) "Bolsheviks would never have succeeded in doing this had they not carried out a correct tactic of combining illegal work with the obligatory utilization of "legal possibilities." (*ibid* p. 6) Rebuking the "childishness of those who "repudiate" participation in parliament", Lenin said in no uncertain a term that, "You think, my dear boycottists and anti-parliamentarians, that you are "terribly revolutionary," but in reality *you are frightened* by the comparatively small difficulties of the struggle against bourgeois influences within the working-class movement, whereas your victory — i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of political power

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Nothing should be done to obstruct development of democratic movement

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by the proletariat — will create *these very same* difficulties on a still larger, an infinitely larger scale.” (*ibid* p. 122) And finally, his teaching was that, “It is the ABC of Marxism that the tactics of the socialist proletariat cannot be the same both when there is a revolutionary situation and when there is no revolutionary situation.” (*ibid* p.83)

Mao made it very categorical that “the characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal, that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and in her external relations she has no national independence, but is oppressed by imperialists. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically the task of the communist party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggles before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse ... All this shows the difference between China and the capitalist countries.” (*Problems of War and Strategy, SW, Vol. II, p. 219*). He also advised “not to transplant Chinese experience mechanically. The experience of any foreign country can serve only for reference and must not be regarded as dogma...” (*SW, Vol. V, p-326*).

Approach of a revolutionary party towards elections

In the context of above teachings of the great Marxist authorities, when a revolutionary party in India engaged in building up democratic mass movements on the correct base political line and higher culture needs to participate in an election as a part of these movements, what ought to be its right approach? What is seen today is that while one group masquerading as Marxists-Leninists, true to their social-democratic character are completely immersed in vile parliamentarism and like any other bourgeois party are spreading parliamentary illusion, the other group in the name of revolution and pursuing Mao's thought are giving

call of election boycott and taking recourse to individual terrorism and violence. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of concretizing Marxism-Leninism on the Indian soil did address this issue with necessary clarity and enriched Marxist understanding in this regard. He showed that as taught by the great leaders of the proletariat, revolutionaries can neither lag behind the people (tailism) nor move too far ahead of the people. So, “when the party of the proletariat participates in the election with the object of revolutionary purposiveness, being compelled by the necessity to remain with the people, it does so on the basis of mass revolutionary political line... educate the people as to how to fight the election on the basis of a mass revolutionary line” In course of participating in the elections, its focal point should be to expose before the people the hollowness of the bourgeois parliamentary system and thereby completely free them parliamentary illusion. He further clarified that if a revolutionary party gets to win the election, it can contribute to preparation for revolution in two ways. First of all, it can have the voice of movement reverberated inside the legislature and thus coordinate parliamentary struggle with extra-parliamentary movement. It can also to the extent possible try to provide some relief to the people by exercising whatever limited power its legislators have in the system. At the same time, it can expose to the people the hard reality that even if one is honest and sincere, one, except offering some relief in some areas, cannot bring about any fundamental change in people's life, solve any of their basic problems because of limitation of the parliamentary system. Even reform beyond a point cannot be brought about if the same goes against the very class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie. He can also prove that even to wrest some legitimate demands, people have to depend on keeping pressure of movement alive and can hardly afford to gain anything tangible by running after even an elected representative. Comrade Ghosh also

showed that even if a situation so arises that a revolutionary party gets a chance to form government, singly or in association with others, it should not shirk the responsibility. Its object will be to show that even if it tries to run the government with total honesty and sincerity, it cannot solve any basic problem. On the otherhand, it in order to strengthen revolutionary preparedness, it, instead of suppressing democratic movement, ought to function in such a manner as to encourage the same, even by inviting the wrath of the ruling class and risking being dislodged, growth and development of the legitimate democratic mass movements on widest scale free from any encumbrance by preventing the police-administration from crushing legitimate democratic movements raising bogey of law and order. If that happens, then toiling people through struggle become conscious about the nature and modus operandi of the exploitative system and based on that get further impetus to build up the movements much more actively on the edifice of higher ethics and culture to expedite revolution.

Indian context is of legal struggle today

There is no doubt that with the misery and distress of the people reaching nadir because of increasingly oppressive and repressive capitalist rule, objective condition is conducive to revolution. But subjective preparedness has miles to go. Because of incessant fomenting of various divisive policies by the ruling bourgeoisie and its servitors and treachery of the pseudo-Marxists, Indian working class is virtually nowhere near recognizing its class identity. So, guided by revolutionary object and proletarian class angularity and spurred by the necessity to bring revolutionary consciousness among them, it is imperative to build up, strengthen and intensify the democratic mass movements on the burning problems of life and cement solidarity of the working class and other sections of the toiling people. It is only in this way that it is possible to inspire the toiling masses release class struggles and gradually

move towards seizure of power through revolution. So, at this juncture any move that impedes the process of developing the democratic mass movement would work against the interest of revolution. Those who are espousing boycott of elections, abandonment of legal movements and instead are, in their own way, resorting to sporadic violence and individual terrorism including individual assassination, are, in reality, not by their words but by dint of their action, inhibiting the course of growth of revolutionary movement in right direction. Such activities on their part which are stemming from their inability to assimilate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought are not only harming revolution by hindering the process of building up mass and class struggles but providing a handle to the bourgeois administration to array, in the name of containing terrorism and insurgency, its entire arsenal to muffle the voice of protest, harassing and torturing people, enforcing stringent measures to suppress any sprouting of people's movement and bringing out draconian laws to further curb political and fundamental rights of the people and thereby wipe out even the last and least vestiges of democracy paving way for clamping autocratic fascist rule. Alongside, their erroneous line is also enabling the oppressive rulers to undermine revolution, malign great revolutionary authorities like Lenin and Mao Zedong and distort their thoughts and thus push away the people from revolutionary ideology. By militating against the very Marxist principle of revolution, it is also providing fodder to the canon of the arch revisionists-reformists who are joining the chorus of the ruling class in cunningly denigrating revolution as terrorism and succeeding in perpetuating illusion about bourgeois democracy. Danger inheres here. We sincerely urge upon those pursuing this line of individual terrorism taking the name of great Mao Zedong to calmly ponder over all these issues and take a rational re-look into their strategic and tactical lines.

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