

Proletarian Era

Volume 49 No. 8
December 1, 2015

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (COMMUNIST)
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Price : Rs. 2.00
Total — 10 pages

Reintroduce immediately pass-fail system in schools **Demand of resentful people reverberates across the country**

Fierce attacks on education continuing for decades seem to be mounting sharply of late and taking an all-encompassing character, resulting in, as the current Union government even explicitly admits, school *children are not learning the basic skills*. The same Union government, in the same way as its predecessors, as well as the governments of different states can, by no means, be absolved of the responsibility of bringing down these attacks. The former led by the BJP has taken a precious whole year to formally recognize the devastating effect of the policy of no-detention (otherwise referred to as policy of automatic promotion or abolition of pass-fail system) in schools, implemented nationally and later granted legality through the RTE Act 2009 by the previous Congress-led UPA government. It was despite the grueling spell the policy had cast over the nation for over the last three decades. Under the immense countrywide pressure from educationists, students, teachers, guardians and others, the Union and state governments are talking of late of revoking the policy of no-

detention. However, as the latest reports go, the central government has again made a 180 degree twist to buy time sending the issue to a newly formed committee, playing upon the so-called differences in opinions of the state governments.

It was in this situation that people's resentful voice again reverberated across the country. In Kolkata the AIDSO and AIDYO announced a massive law-violation programme on this demand scheduled on 26 November 2015. Despite it being announced fairly well ahead, the police prevented the protestors from reaching the traditional venue of law-violation at Esplanade East. As the nearly 4000 strong rally of AIDSO –AIDYO activists proceeded with their scheduled programme, the police took resort to brute force with indiscriminate lathi charge and arrests. Scores were injured, several seriously enough to require hospital treatment. A section of the media that is used to see red with any movement, discovered indiscipline and harassment of people by the AIDSO- AIDYO programme, while it found the Jamiat rally well-disciplined, though it was the same outfit that had clashed roughly with the police on its last rally.

At the other end of the country, on face of severe attack on education and in fulfillment of its commitment towards people's education, that the All India Save Education Committee organized an all India protest demonstration at Jantar-Mantar, New Delhi, on 23 November 2015 last. It was preceded by a Press Conference on 20 November at Delhi, which was attended by Kartick Saha, Executive member, AISEC and Secretary, West Bengal unit, Prof. Narendra Sharma and Girwar Singh respectively President and Secretary, AISEC Delhi unit and others. Thereafter on the date, a well-organized spirited procession, extensively decorated with Chinese banners and festoons from different states holding up the different demand slogans emerged from the Guru

Condemn both communal acts of the Hindu fanatics and their communally motivated verbal attacks on the intellectuals, the writers, the scientists as well as on Mr. Aamir Khan

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 27 November 2015:

Any sensible and democratic minded person will definitely admit the fact that a series of communal incidents starting from forced conversion, repeated attack on churches, occasional engineering of communal riots, the recent act of beef-lynching and killings of renowned rationalists, have created a situation and atmosphere in which all sections of the minority people are visibly frightened. Many eminent writers, artists or even the renowned scientists have vigorously protested against this growing intolerance, communal frenzy and attempts to muzzle rationalist voice. Many of the distinguished personalities of the country have returned their awards as a mark of protest. When it was necessary on the part of the Central Government to take stringent and immediate

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SUCI (C) strongly opposes doubling minimum fare in passenger trains

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) issued the following statement on 18 November 2015 :

It is now clear that the BJP led central government has declared a war against the penury and misery ravaged common people. After hiking service tax twice, they have now doubled the minimum fare in passenger train from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 at one stroke putting the daily passengers, particularly the vendors, lady domestic aides and such other extremely poor sections of people in immense peril. While strongly denouncing this most atrocious economic assault on the common passengers, we call upon all concerned to immediately launch an organized protest movement gradually raising it to the level of a resistance movement.

Nanak Eye Centre end of the Ramlila Maidan, Delhi to proceed towards Jantar Mantar. Eminent educationists, students and teachers of schools and colleges, different sections of common people including guardians of students from all over the country including Delhi, Andhra Pradesh-Telangana, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra Odisha, Punjab, Tamilnadu, West Bengal, UP and others took enthusiastic part in the procession followed by the demonstration at the Jantar Mantar. From the demonstration a three-member team lead by Dr AK Ray, General Secretary, AISEC and with Sadhna Mishra, Bihar and SH Thilagar, Tamilnadu submitted a memorandum to the office of the minister of the Human Resources Department, Union government as despite prior intimation and continuous follow-up, the Minister, even any responsible official of the department avoided meeting the delegation. In the memorandum the AISEC demanded immediate reintroduction of

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Educationists from over the country leading the All India Protest Demonstration by the AISEC against No detention policy in Delhi on 23 November 2015 from Ramlila Maidan to Jantar Mantar

Why this setback of Communist Movement and what is to be done

Central Committee, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)

[On request from the MLCP, Turkey, a communist party of that country, for a write-up for their journal on the setback of international communist movement, emergence of modern revisionism and related issues judged in the light of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, the present article was prepared by the Central Committee of our Party, SUCI (C). Considering the persisting relevance and importance of the issue, we are publishing it in Proletarian Era in two instalments. The first instalment was included in Proletarian Era Volume 48, No 7, 15 November 2015 issue. This is the second and final instalment being published here — Ed. Board, P. Era]

Reciprocal Role of Idea

To return to the case of the USSR. Evidently, the chief roadblock to solving the problem of transformation of collective-farm commodity circulation to products-exchange with the state was the unwillingness of the peasantry, which derived from their hardened outlook and age-old prejudices intractably driving them to refuse to recognise the problem and reject any efforts to solve it on this approach. Factoring in the entire premise, Comrade Ghosh gave the exposition: "Now, if anybody thinks from this that revisionism came about in the Soviet Union all of a sudden just because the tiny seeds of capitalism were there, then that would be a one-sided analysis, that would be subscribing to sheer economic determinism. ... we should always keep in view the contradiction between and the mutual disposition of the economic base and superstructure, that is, the realm of ideas of society.... it is not that the economic base alone and automatically determines everything. The Marxist conception is not like this." (*ibid.*, p. 303-304) In further affirmation he said that as the socialist production system and production relations go on advancing, distribution system goes on improving and disparities diminishing, "it does not happen that all this automatically moulds the spiritual world, that is, the realm of idea and culture." (*ibid.*, p. 304) "So, the Marxist theory is not that the intellectual faculty automatically changes with the advancement of the economic system and with the change in the material conditions. The theory means that it is the material condition which is prior; unless the material condition is changed, or in the absence of congenial material condition, an intellectual faculty does not make its appearance. *But it should be borne in mind that the intellectual faculty has a role to play in moulding the objective situation, because the intellectual faculty influences the material condition as well. This is why, as the material condition changes the struggle to advance the intellectual faculty in conformity with the changing condition is to be conducted. Otherwise, a total reversal may take place, as we witness in the Soviet Union.*" (*ibid.*, p. 304; emphasis added)

"Politics is Concentrated Expression of Economics"

It follows then, even efforts at initiating the process of bringing material welfare to people cannot, and will not, succeed unless, alongside of economic reconstruction, political-cultural struggle is conducted in full force — at times ahead of economic struggle. Why this? Marx's epoch-making discovery of the general law of social

development has its monumental significance in revealing the dialectical relationship between economy and politics — one influencing the other constantly and ceaselessly, each complementing the other in the act of realising the material process of production whether that augments the production process or does the reverse. Which fact goes to show the reciprocal relation between economics and politics. Comrade Lenin put its essence in strong relief in his famous aphorism: "Politics is a concentrated expression of economics." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 42, p. 278) Of course, politics does not connote here the political outfits, or simply the political institutions. In its inward essence, as a matter of law-governed necessity, the process of building socialism involves economic as well as its essential ideological component in the social-political processes and is not dependent on the use of force *externally*. The working class needs the state apparatus as an *external* force of power to resist and defeat overt and covert machinations of the dispossessed former ruling capitalist class. Otherwise, the state persists as the reflection of class contradiction in society. The battle to eliminate the classes — no doubt this battle is most arduous, prolonged and toughest — has to be conducted under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of ideas alongside conducting struggle in the economic base — the former taking precedence over the latter — through ceaseless cultural movements which, in their mutual interrelation and interaction will be culminating in cultural revolution in phases.

New Economic Policy: Dialectical Lesson on Finding Way about in the Chaos of Chances

The discourse so far makes it amply clear that grasping the law-governed necessity of social development in a given stage is basic to securing the key to the solution of the problem of that stage. Over and above, we need not only understand the law, we must also take into account the conditions under which the law in question is in operation. Recall here what Hegel said: "Necessity is *blind* only in so far as it is *not understood*." To the extent the specific necessity of a given society is appreciated by men of that society, to that extent necessity ceases to be blind in its operation, and to the corresponding extent men become free from blind slavery to the laws of nature.

When, in 1921, Comrade Lenin called upon workers, peasants and general masses of the people to pursue the line of the New Economic Policy, which meant in substance a temporary, planned retreat to capitalism in certain sectors, but under full control of the proletarian state power, he was exhorting them to grasp the dialectic of

the then situation and find out what stood as the burning necessity of the cause of socialist development and the safeguarding of people's power in the concrete conditions of the new-born Soviet state. "We must say that in the past you worked for the benefit of the capitalists, of the exploiters, and of course you did not do your best. But now you are working for yourselves, for the workers' and peasants' state.", he pointed out. (V.I. Lenin, *The New Economic Policy, Collected Works*, 33, p.71) This exhortation urged upon the people that they realise that revolution had created the condition for them to win free access to the necessities of life by augmenting production, straining every nerve of theirs, and, thereupon win freedom from coercion. He urged them to bow to their heightened sense of obligation and grasp the dialectic and the necessity of socialist development at the stage. And the people, including the masses of peasantry, responded. The Soviet economy started picking up and the NEP's objective was realised in full. "It is absolutely incontrovertible and obvious to all that in spite of the awful disaster of the famine ... the improvement that has taken place in the position of the people has been due to the change in our economic policy.", Comrade Lenin pointed out. (*ibid.*, p. 65) The instance of the NEP goes to show that the revolutionary party and the socialist state must try, first and foremost, to meet the basic needs of the masses of people, organise them, and elevate the level of their political consciousness, else revolution will suffer defeat.

Consider this. The historic alliance between the peasantry, the majority of population in Russia, and the working class, the most advanced detachment of the working people, was the political foundation on which the battle for socialist revolution was fought and won, and the peasantry stood firmly by the side of workers in the struggle for socialist reconstruction. In the hard days immediately after revolution, ideological-political unity of the people, in particular of the workers and peasants, was the foremost necessity. The real hurdle at this stage was not scarcity of provisions alone. Seen more critically, the hurdle was the relatively low level of political consciousness of the peasants in particular. In reference to this twin challenge, Comrade Lenin pointed out: "But can we go on showing the people what we want to build? No. Even an ordinary labourer will begin to sneer at us and say: "What use is it to keep on saying what you want to build. If you can't build, we're not with you, and you can go to hell!" And he will be right." (V.I. Lenin, *The New Economic Policy, Collected Works*, 33, p. 73) And that could only endanger the socialist system. It is inconceivable that socialist politics and socialist consciousness will thrive indefinitely in the superstructure while its economic base has been undermined. Comrade Lenin called for the realisation that, for its fulfilment, the economic objective necessarily called for elevating the political consciousness and cultural level of the workers and of people in

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Setback of Communist Movement

Intellectual faculty plays its role reciprocally to influence material condition

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general. Hence it is that “Without the correct political approach to the matter, the given class will be unable to stay on, and, *consequently*, will be incapable of solving its *production problem either*.” (*ibid.*, p. 79) “Today we are confronted with cultural task, those of assimilating that political experience, which can and must be put into practice. Either we lay an economic foundation for the political gains of the Soviet state, or we shall lose all. This foundation has not yet been laid — that is what we must get down to.” (*ibid.*, p. 73)

From another angle Comrade Lenin emphasised the matter: “Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside the economic struggle.” (V.I. Lenin, *What is to be Done*, p. 99) He urged party leaders and cadres to release an appropriate struggle to augment production in quantity as also in quality, and in range of diversity too. They must equip themselves, he exhorted, with the specific capacity, skill and efficiency to handle the range of intricacies involved in the production process, distribution, exchange, accounting, and so forth. To accomplish this task, only a heightened level of revolutionary political consciousness can lead them to their goal. Further on, giving the philosophical-ideological-political perspective, Comrade Lenin laid down the guideline to understand the indispensable necessity and rationality of agricultural production under social ownership, how it would inevitably enrich life to broader horizons. Within a few years after its introduction, in the more advanced phase of socialist reconstruction, the NEP was withdrawn — its necessity having been exhausted.

Such is the rock-bottom significance of understanding the true relation between politics and economics, its dialectic. A superficial acquaintance with socialism induces many intellectuals to think that the main object of socialism is to increase production, increase it anyhow. Under cover of the fashionable slogan, repeated at every turn, that socialism cannot have any meaning to workers if it does not bring them greater material benefits compared to those in capitalist countries, they pander to the old sense of bourgeois individual freedom and right. “It does not and can never bring proletarian revolutionary dedication among the working class.” (Shibdas Ghosh, *Cultural Revolution of China, Selected Works*, 1, p. 223) Failure to grasp it, even the tendency to undervalue it, proves disastrous in the end.

Dialectic of Socialist Development

Everything goes to show that the economic basis of socialism in the USSR had been maturing to the point whence the ways and means of transition to communism, which Marx termed the second phase of communism, could be addressed in *concrete* terms. Essentially, these tasks involved issues arising out of the contradiction between productive forces and production relations under specific socialist conditions, and the contradiction between individual interests and social interests.

It is wrong to think that having overthrown capitalism “people will at once learn to work for society *without any rules of law*” and that “production and distribution would go on at communist bidding”. It is because, in this transitional period, “communism *cannot* as yet be fully mature economically and entirely free from traditions or vestiges of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that communism in its first phase (i.e., in the phase of socialism — added) retains “the narrow horizon of *bourgeois law*”....It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois law but even the bourgeois state, without the bourgeoisie!”, Comrade Lenin clarified. (V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Progress Publishers, 1977, p. 94) Here “equal right” still conforms to bourgeois law, “which, like all law, implies *inequality*.” This is bound to be so because all law is “an application of *equal* measure to *different* people who in fact are not alike, are not equal to one another.” That is why, in socialism too “equal right is a violation” of equality and is an injustice. Second, as economic activities go on changing, connections between men to one another likewise go on changing, and so arises, correspondingly, the necessity for change in thought process, sense of values, outlook and cultural moorings of men. Without gaining insight into this necessity and its working, because they are law-governed, it is impossible to give direction towards definite ends of the desired change or transition. Third, in socialism, people no longer see the enemy in the open as they formerly saw. They cannot picture to themselves that the enemy is the same old one, that the enemy is in the midst of people, lodged now more in the mental complex and in the forces of habit. This is what stands out today as the formidable stumbling block on way to eliminating the vestiges of capitalism. Fourth, transition from socialism to communism, and the communist principle of distribution of products according to needs preclude all commodity exchange, and their conversion into value.

A question which presents itself with force here is why workers lose attachment to work in capitalist society, in exploitative society in general. Or, more noticeably, how is it that the surge of inspiration and initiative so characteristic of the working people in the USSR under revolutionary leadership reversed later totally under the revisionist leadership? Consider, what is the actual position of workers in production under capitalism. They are only forces of production, not the aim of production. The capitalist owner appropriates their labour power to make maximum profit. The capitalist production does not aim at satisfying the need of the worker, its sole aim is to earn profit. Marx’s analysis of bourgeois political economy led him to a philosophical consideration of labour and material production in the development of the individual and society as a whole. Marx rejected bourgeois political economy’s tendency to regard labour as a possible human occupation for those who cannot obtain a living in some other way.

But labour is not only an activity creating commodities, labour is, on the other hand, a specific human creative force which shapes man.

The distinction between man and animal emerges and develops in the process of production throughout human history. But the class-society creates *alienated* labour which distorts and degrades man. The substance of alienated labour consists in the fact that “...the object which labour produces — labour’s product — confronts it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer. The product of labour is labour which has been embodied in an object, which has become material, it is the *objectification* of labour. Labour’s realization is its objectification.” (Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, p. 68) In consequence, labour comes to be something that is external and coerced. “The worker therefore only feels at home when he is not working, and when he is working he does not feel at home.” (*ibid.*, p. 274) Therefore, *to create the condition in which the worker will feel at home when he is working is central to the task of socialist construction.* Its accomplishment is possible only by way of creating abundance in material production as the *prior* condition to free labour from alienation, alongside making possible realisation of revolutionary transformation in the cultural makeup of society, especially its outlook on labour, and removal of the *essential* distinction between physical labour and mental labour, between industry and agriculture, between town and village.

We are now in a position to conclude that the goal of socialism is emancipation of labour from its coerced imposition, that is, freedom to perform labour which would provide access to material and spiritual necessities of life. Freedom from coerced necessity would be entitlement to receive the highest individual freedom, as individuals would then be free to pursue their own interests. The meaning of ‘own interests’ must not be confused here with self-interests. ‘Own interests’, in reference to communist society free from class antagonisms, “in which the free development of all is the condition for the free development of each”, have nothing in common with the self-seeking vulgar interests of the individual in exploitative society, because in the latter case self-interests stand in opposition to social interests. Unlike in class society, the individual in a communist society is not condemned to one exclusive sphere of activity, each can rather become “accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic.”, as Marx put it. (Karl Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology, Collected Works*, 5, p. 47)

Revisionism Undermined USSR and China

In the light of the above understanding it should be possible to examine by the objective method of analysis the sequence of retrograde developments which saw at its end total degeneration of the CPSU, and then the downfall

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SUCI (C) observes November revolution, the indelible source of inspiration to toiling people of the world

On the eve of the centenary of the great November Revolution which heralded birth of a new society free from exploitation of man by man, a new civilization to be more precise, and confirmed the correctness of Marxism-Leninism, the Central Committee of our Party, SUCI (Communist) asked all its state units to observe the occasion with due solemnity and dignity. It was in fulfilment of the commitment of the Party towards proletarian internationalism, a pledge that the Party, as the genuine Communist party of the country, had taken right from its foundation by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of the Party and one of the fore-ranking Marxist thinkers of the post-Lenin days. The task of holding aloft this banner of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism has become all the more important at a juncture of history when the world communist movement that had once come at the door of bringing in the world proletarian revolution was thrown into disarray with the advent of modern revisionism in the post-Stalin days in the erstwhile Soviet Union, with the debacle in the mighty socialist camp with one socialist country after another, including Soviet Union and People's Republic of China and with the virulent aggression of the imperialists headed by the war-monger US imperialism upon the countries and people of the world.

As a part of the 10-day long programme, the West Bengal State Committee organized a mass meeting in Kolkata on 16 November last. The meeting was presided over by West Bengal State Secretary of our Party, Comrade Saumen Basu, and was addressed by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Polit Bureau Member SUCI (C) and Comrade CK Lukose, Member of the Central Committee and Kerala State Secretary of the Party.

Comrade C K Lukose, Member, Central Committee and Kerala State Secretary

In his speech Comrade C K Lukose spoke in some length on the significance of the Great November Revolution that established the first working-class state under the leadership of Comrade Lenin, the great leader of the proletariat. He showed that the November Revolution in Russia was national in form, yet international in its content in as much as working people in every corner of the world were and are influenced and guided by it. Even after the debacle that occurred in the socialist camp and advent of modern revisionism, Comrade Lukose firmly held, people will be sure to reunite and march ahead since the teachings of the Great November Revolution were not lost.

Comrade Lukose recalled that Comrade Lenin had taught us that socialism is only a transitory phase between capitalism and communism and that even after the success of a socialist revolution, the danger of capitalism remains and even magnifies as capitalism continues to exert its influence in the forces of habits and ideas. This is why, the task of cultural revolution has to be undertaken with due importance with a view to preventing restoration of capitalism. Debacle in the socialist camp and restoration of capitalism in erstwhile socialist states including the Soviet Union and China, establish how wise and correct Comrade Lenin had been.

Comrade Lukose also related that Stalin — the

great disciple and follower of Lenin, had saved mankind from attacks of fascist Germany and Japan and also protected the first socialist state through his remarkable revolutionary wisdom. The great leader Mao had realized the need for cultural revolution and had initiated it in China. After Lenin-Stalin-Mao, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of this era illumined that it was the mechanical understanding of Marxism instead of the dialectical one and emergence of a new kind of individualism-egoism, that caused emergence of modern revisionism and restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries.

Comrade Lukose ended saying that imbibed with the essence of November Revolution and drawing inspiration thereof, mankind will move forward armed with and guided by the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Mao and Shibdas Ghosh, to finally achieve emancipation from all kinds of exploitation of man by man.

Comrade Manik Mukherjee, member, Polit Bureau

Comrade President, comrades and friends,

For quite long you have been listening to Comrade C. K. Lukose, member of our Central Committee and Kerala State Committee Secretary. His dwelling on the significance of November revolution from various angles has been extremely valuable and needs careful understanding.

What the November Revolution first upheld before mankind beyond doubt is that capitalism is not the last word in social development. Giving the lie to the propagation of the bourgeoisie, great Lenin proved that exploitative, decadent, moribund capitalist system can be changed through blow of revolution and in its place, a new exploitation-free social order in the form of scientific socialism can be established. This is a singular education for all of us.

November Revolution threw light on many other aspects.

It is the working class that dared to lead the November revolution and ably run the new socialist state. Once question was raised: was it possible that the working class could get hold of the state machine through revolution and protect it? November revolution provided a befitting answer: yes, it is possible.

Another teaching it upheld before the world is that the main question before revolution is the question of state power. Proletarian Revolution is successful only when it can overthrow the bourgeoisie from state power.

Thus November Revolution brought many lessons from many angles which are historic.

But why are we celebrating anniversary of November Revolution? Because, we need to accomplish Indian revolution by drawing appropriate lesson from the great November Revolution. We need to establish a socialist state in India. All other mainstream political parties including the pseudo-Marxists, for obvious reasons, do not feel any necessity to uphold its significance before the people. Only the genuine revolutionary party does it.

The first important lesson of November Revolution is that not a government but the state machine is to be overthrown if one has to put an

end to exploitation of man by man. Many people think and tell us that well, yours is a good party. Let you achieve electoral victory, gain majority in parliament, frame laws in favour of the people and in the process accelerate the course of emancipation of the toiling people from exploitation.

But November Revolution taught us that state machine and government are not one and the same thing. Through election, a change of the government can be brought about. But the state



Comrade CK Lukose, member, Central Committee and Secretary Kerala State addressing November Revolution observance in Kolkata, with Comrade Manik Mukherjee and Asit Bhattacharyya, members Polit Bureau, and several members of Central Committee including Comrade Saumen Basu, WB State Secretary, president of the meeting, on the dais

remains unchanged. Always you witness this or that party coming to power. Earlier, Congress was at the Centre. Now, BJP is ruling. Some other party might come later. But the present exploitative capitalist system will not change by it. So government may change but state machine does not change through election.

So, the very contention that by gaining majority in Parliament, one can change the state and establish socialism is wrong. Some renegades within communist movement once propounded this erroneous theory by vulgarizing Marxism and Lenin had to combat them based on correct Marxist understanding.

What is a state? State is a permanent coercive apparatus in the hands of the ruling class and is comprised of military, bureaucracy-police and judiciary. These are the three permanent wings of the state. Government is nothing but a caretaker of the state. A government is voted to power by the people. The party in governmental power makes law and asks people to follow those laws. As the state is controlled by the ruling bourgeois class, most of these laws are in the aggregate interest of the rulers. If any government at any point of time tries to bring in laws or adopt a pro-people outlook, immediately a contradiction between the state and the government ensues and the ruling capitalist class pulls strings from behind to topple that government as it happened in the case of first United Front government in West Bengal in 1967. November Revolution changed the state and not just a government. In February, 1917, ending age-old Czarist regime, Kerensky government was formed in Russia. Kerensky was the representative of the Russian bourgeoisie and installation of that very government was indicative of state power having been passed on to the hands of the Russian bourgeoisie. So, Lenin gave the call

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SUCI (C) observes November Revolution

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for anti-capitalist socialist revolution and overthrow Kerensky government. How prudent he was in analyzing the concrete situation of the then Russia based on Marxist methodology was vindicated when the Russian working class captured state power by overthrowing Russian bourgeoisie through revolution.

This is the truth. But the quarters of vested interest as well as a section of self-styled Marxists-leftists try to vulgarize this truth and call upon people to view election as the panacea. But friends, this is a mirage! As I have already said, despite electoral changes, capitalist exploitative state remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Ultimate power lies with the state. Unless the exploitative state machine is smashed by revolution, new state, new socialist system cannot be established. It is Lenin who built up a new state, the proletarian state smashing the old one with the blow of revolution, established dictatorship of the proletariat defeating dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In socialism, the state does not wither away. It stays as a state of the working class and there is indeed a dictatorship, dictatorship of the proletariat. But this dictatorship is fundamentally different from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In bourgeois dictatorship, a handful of bourgeoisie oppresses common people with coercive state machine. But in dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class coerces the microscopic minority bourgeoisie, the capitalists, and advances socialism, in strides to ultimately reach classless exploitation-free communism.

Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our leader, teacher and guide warned that reversal from socialism to capitalism might happen before communism is reached if in socialism, the science of dialectical materialism is not correctly applied and followed. In course of developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Ghosh showed that in socialism, unless there is a continuous elevation of ideological-cultural standard, conduction of

relentless struggle against the menace of individualism and defeat of the attack of bourgeoisie in the realm of mind and forces of habit, revisionism would creep in and ultimately make counter-revolution successful. Exactly that has happened. But this setback of socialism is temporary. Again working class will rise up, revolutionary movements would firm up and proletarian revolution would be victorious everywhere. Then, following correct process and fulfilling all necessary conditions, there will be transition from socialism to communism. This is inexorable course of history.

These are the teachings of November Revolution. These are the specific laws to change the society. Change cannot be spontaneous. Change, radical change can take place only through conscious organized mass and class struggles. Haunted by the fear-complex of anti-capitalist revolution, the ruling bourgeoisie, in order to disrupt unity of the oppressed people, is fuelling all kinds of divisive thoughts, fomenting casteism-communalism. Toiling people ought not to fall victim of these sinister machinations. Similarly they should harbour no illusion that real change can be brought about through election. Imperativeness of accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution ought to be imbibed.

So friends, we are observing November Revolution not as a ritual but to prepare ourselves for revolution.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, emphasized on building up people's committees for developing mass struggles. These committees will be people's own instruments of struggle. Subsequently, these committees will emerge as the alternative power of the people, just like the soviets in USSR.

All these are well known. I just reiterated them. What is needed is to grasp these learnings and teachings. Prepare we must ourselves in body and mind for upholding the cause of revolution and successfully accomplish revolution.

Long Live Revolution!

Reintroduce immediately pass-fail system in schools

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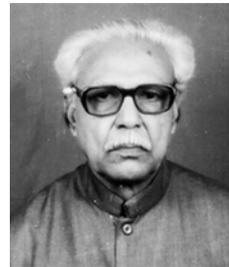
pass- fail system in school education as well as stopping of unbridled privatization- commercialization leading to exorbitant fee-hike in education as also to the union government's readiness to offer the WTO-GATS regime to establish educational-professional institutions as commercial venture in the country as a part of the virulent attack of those world bodies on service sectors of different countries. It also demanded stopping of the dangerous trend of bringing in obsolete, unscientific course content to the detriment of a truly scientific, secular education, leading not only to saffronization of education, but even vitiating the total ambience in the country with virulent communalization, putting an end to the menacing trend of curbing autonomy of educational institutions, even state or regional education boards and councils. Further it demanded against the recent discriminatory move from the UGC to discontinue fellowship for Non-NET (National Eligibility Test) students- research workers and to retain the fellowship of only the NET-completing students and such other vital issues, education of the country faces today.

The demonstration rally at the Jantar Mantar was addressed by Dr. Dhruva Mukhopadhyay, former Professor of Geology, Calcutta University

and Presidency College (now University), Kolkata; Prof. Joynal Abedin, erstwhile HOD English, Goalpara College, Assam; Prof. JS Patil, former Vice-Chancellor Karnataka State Law University, Prof. of Law & Chairman, Dept of Law, Gulbarga University; Dr. AK Ramakrishnan, Prof. Centre of West Asian Studies, JNU and Prof. Nandita Narayan, President, DUTA, both from Delhi; Prof. P Mahapatra, Assam, Prof. Ramavatar Sharma, MP, Sumit Roy, Jharkhand, K Uma, Karnataka, Aminder Pal Singh, Punjab, Prof. N Chandrasekhar, AP- Telangana, Dr. Chandravan Yadav, UP, as also K Saha, Secretary West Bengal, AISEC and Dr. AK Ray, General Secretary, AISEC and others. Prof. Narendra Sharma, former professor of Zakir Hussain College of Delhi University presided over. The speakers dwelt upon various aspects of attacks on education and expressed that in case the government failed to act promptly to meet the demands being raised, the AISEC would have no alternative to stepping up its efforts for a still more powerful movement across the country. They appealed to education-loving people of the country to come forward to help the AISEC build up massive efforts to thwart the ominous peril the education field as also the common people of the country face today.

Comrade Aminuddin Akhand passes away

Comrade Aminuddin Akhand, former member of West Bengal State Committee and member of South 24 Parganas District Secretariat of our Party, breathed his last on 5 November at 11.20 hrs at Calcutta Heart Clinic and Hospital at the age of 83 years from



an attack of pneumonia and multi-organ failure. Paying tribute to him at the hospital were among others Comrades Ranjit Dhar, veteran Polit Bureau Member, Debaprasad Sarkar, Central Committee Member and South 24 Parganas District Committee, Sankar Saha, Member, Central Committee and Tapan Ray Chowdhury, West Bengal State Secretariat Member. At Party's Central Office, where his body was finally brought to, enroute his ancestral home at Amtala, Comrades Chhaya Mukherjee, Member, Central Committee and Manab Bera, State Secretariat Member and the mass organization leaders paid their respect.

Comrade Aminuddin Akhand came in contact with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, in 1960s. Gradually he grew into a very popular and important peasant and mass leader and organizer in the vast region of South 24 Parganas. His spirited and courageous role in developing intense mass struggles against brute exploitation of the poor peasants and sharecroppers as well as the common people, against deceptive and conspiratorial activities of the landowners, enabled the poorer sections of the masses to stand up for their rights and endeared him as their leader. At the same time, it made him an eyesore to the landowners and people with vested interests. He was implicated in false cases one after another, had to face life threat. Along with this role in the battlefield, he also developed proficiency in dealing with both civil and criminal cases to help the comrades and the Party in legal course. He also took active part in various social-cultural activities in the region, one such was founding of Amtala Motiram High School. With his exemplary struggle and painstaking efforts he got numbers of poor peasants, share-croppers, youth, students and also the members of his family, including his wife and son, to be imbued with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and join the party. In later years of his life, despite his physical frailty, he made it a point to attend every important party programmes, including Party Foundation Day observance and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial meetings. As wished by him, his body was donated to the Medical College and Hospital for academic help. A memorial meeting was held on 17 November at Amtala School Ground, which was addressed by Comrades Debaprasad Sarkar, Tapan Ray Chowdhury, Dr. Tarun Mandal, former MP of Joynagar Constituency and others.

Red Salute Comrade Aminuddin Akhand

Setback of Communist Movement

Grasping the dialectic of concrete situation is key to solving its problem

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of the USSR. What did happen? In the aftermath of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, the advancing tide of socialist construction reversed as direct consequence of the complete turnaround of the Khrushchevite clique—led revisionist leadership of the CPSU in respect of outlook and percept in the matter of revolutionary struggle and planned advancement of socialist reconstruction, including the revolutionary idea that politics takes precedence over economics. From the platform of the Congress the Khrushchev clique dished out distorted and deviationist views on major issues, albeit in the name of Marxism-Leninism. The policy matter pursued was, however, nothing other than a capitalist formulation couched in socialist phrases. For nearly three decades and a half, from under Khrushchev through Brezhnev and Kosygin to under Gorbachev, the revisionist-virus infected economic-political-social-cultural malady and affliction of the USSR and the CPSU continued to aggravate. The political kernel of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which in substance means that the capitalists, the dispossessed oppressors, “must be suppressed in order to free humanity from wage slavery, their resistance must be crushed by force”—was diluted and denied, which in sequel went to foster the bourgeois sense of equality and liberty. Not only to suppress the minority former ruling class, not only to protect the interests of the majority masses of people, but, more importantly, to bring about revolutionary transformation in the realm of idea, to create conditions for the withering-away of the state and the individual’s true emancipation, the dictatorship of the proletariat is an historically-determined indispensable necessity. “Forward development, that is, development towards communism proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat and cannot do otherwise, for the resistance the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way.”, explained Comrade Lenin with all the more insistence on this necessity.

The revisionist leadership overturned, one after another, the policies framed and pursued by the preceding revolutionary leadership, only to push the economy to stagnation and bring down national income by more than half in a space of three decades. Material incentives including large bonuses failed to check workers’ aversion to work and hence to prevent the sagging of the level of production, not to speak of the leadership’s failure to diagnose the malignancy. Contrast this with the tidal upsurge of people’s initiative witnessed in the period of pursuit of the NEP and in later phases, when, notwithstanding the fact that people were immersed in conditions of famine, war, and starvation, they straightened their back and faced every vicissitude with inspiration and grit. Whereas, with the policies and measures of theirs, this revisionist leadership dowsed the revolutionary fervour and the spirit of people. They advanced the untenable argument that since there was no capitalist owner class in the Soviet Union, so the Soviet state needed no longer continue as the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor the CPSU as the party of the working class.

Instead, they claimed, the state and the party had transformed to the state of the people and the party of the people, respectively. All they sought was to drive home the travesty that the classes, hence class struggle, had ceased to exist in the USSR. But the class is not an economic category only. Even after overthrow of the bourgeoisie from the state power the bourgeois class exists in manifold forms till the historical conditions of its existence were eliminated. This deviation in respect of basic approach and outlook had far-reaching consequences on economic, political, social and cultural life of the people. Worst of all, a clear line of divide began to surface between the privileged and the non-privileged in the party and the government establishments — as though it were class division of a new type. Whatever identity had been achieved between labour and its product in the course of socialist pursuit started faltering and wearing off fast. The more the workers felt alienated, the more fell production. While the crying need was to elevate the ideological standard of the workers and the people in general under strict rigour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and fight off the growing individualist trends, this leadership took recourse to measures like offering vulgar inducement. Measures as these, which are divorced from ideology, cannot raise the cultural level and outlook. These are qualities to be attained only through ideological struggle. Inevitably, therefore, the policy of material incentives as recompense for work failed to stave off the slide. Side by side, in the agriculture sector, farm output had increasing entry into commodity circulation. As a result, increasingly capitalist elements infiltrated the socialist economy. Revolutionary initiative, consciousness and spirit of participation of the working people in socialist construction waned, and, consequently, production dwindled further in quantity, quality, and efficiency. Under the new imposed conditions, which were totally alien to socialism, *the mentality of attachment to work fast eroded, yielding room not only to return of the sense of alienation and consequent aversion, but to hankering after more of incentives.* In the place of self-interest being overcome in favour of social interest, the self grew keener to grab pelf at the expense of others. Against the burning necessity to attain higher levels of scientific and technological development to assist productive forces grow, the chain of setbacks in the wake of revisionist policy-pursuit hindered progress of both science and technology. What is more, the tested and tried Leninist course, consistently followed by Comrade Stalin, was discarded covertly. As a result, the socialist mode of production started to erode gradually. The resulting scarcity of production brought distribution on the verge of collapse. The economic power and standard of living of the people fast declined. In every sphere degeneration set in, first among the party and government leaders, then among the party cadres, gradually encompassing vast sections of the masses of the people.

This retrograde development bore down oppressively on the social fabric of life knitted during the period of socialist construction,

unsettling the same. The capitalist approach to life began to sneak in with the acquiescence of the revisionist leadership. Soon after, the stage was set where vices of all forms witnessed in capitalist societies flooded in. Shattered were the conditions for progressive growth of identification of the individual’s sense of interest with society’s interests, even on the scale of rudiments. Dissent and resentment grew apace. Erosion in the superstructure, continuously at work, weakened the economic base. The fact was that the process of reciprocal interaction between base and superstructure affected either retrogressively. The fallout was that social life in the USSR dipped into an abyss. Labour, which was due for transformation from being ‘a means of livelihood’ to becoming ‘life’s prime want’ through radical change in productivity and mindset, which was to have materialised through unceasing conduct of cultural revolution, began to weigh upon workers as though it were a veritable ‘burden’. In consequence, a ‘new form of economism’ made headway. This economism, with the bourgeois sense of individual right and equality ingrained in it, as also a mentality to seek privileges—termed ‘socialist individualism’ by Comrade Ghosh—obstructs the process of identification of individual interests with social interests, between society and individual. And so long the relation remains antagonistic in nature, the state will continue to exist as a reflection of this antagonism, as reflection of persistence of class antagonism in socialist society. “And so long as the State exists as a reflection of this antagonistic contradiction, even in socialism, the trend of revolt against the oppressive character of the socialist State would appear repeatedly in individuals and, for this, the social objective would suffer time and again.” (Shibdas Ghosh, *Cultural Revolution in China, Selected Works*, 1, 1967, p. 243) *Till resolution of this contradiction, the state will not wither away. It will not wither away till society is freed of socialist individualism.*

With the counterrevolutionary revisionist current sweeping across the USSR for three decades, unresolved problems kept piling up. Corruption reigned supreme at all levels and in every nook and corner. Black money ran a parallel economy. Bribe-taking, report padding, figure manipulation became the order. Parasitic sentiments grew ever wider, and the mentality of wage-leveling took hold. Signs of self-seeking individualistic tendency, of spreading amorality, of apathy to social activity, were manifest all around. With everything in the grip of arch revisionism, the downhill slide ultimately bordered on counterrevolution. These developments, on the one hand, and the growing scarcity of essential commodities, on the other hand, fomented dissention, disaffection and despair among the people. The thought overtook them that the privileged few in governmental and party high-ups were the beneficiary who were amassing wealth, leaving the masses in the clutch of sufferings. Towards the end of it, to deal with people’s legitimate grievances and deep-rooted resentment, Gorbachev initiated the sly scheme of all-out reforms and restructuring under the rubric

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Setback of Communist Movement

Class politics comes to workers from without, from outside of economic struggle

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of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, which had been designed actually to carry out anti-socialist measures with the catchwords of 'renewal of socialism' and 'socialism with human face' with the ulterior motive of channelising people's wrath against, first, individual leaders of the government and the party, then against communism itself. It hastened up the retrograde development to lead to a counterrevolutionary upsurge. Decentralisation of administration and a host of other measures like extension of the sphere of commodity production and promotion of contractual and lease collectives led to disintegration of the central structure of economy, opening up the floodgates to everything that is alien to socialism — beggary, prostitution, reactionary national and ethnic feelings.

This revisionist sway not only fostered vulgar bourgeois individualism, prodding the individual to renounce his or her sense of obligation to society, it fomented socialist individualism to disrupt the ties of life and society. In the absence of revolutionary thoughts, revolutionary leadership and revolutionary party, capitalist elements were sneaking into the party. In this course, agent provocateurs abetting from within and without, the internal condition for restoration of capitalism matured in rapid pace. All this experience, especially after Gorbachev came to power and whipped up a calumnious tirade against great Stalin, made a deep dent in the trust and belief of a great many people who now began to share the thinking that socialism-communism had failed. Thirtyfive years of uninterrupted arch-revisionist rule, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, had brought people's political consciousness down to such a low level that they succumbed to the propaganda of the capitalist elements within and the imperialist machinations without and they confused vulgar revisionism with communism. Watching revelry of degraded elements take hold, who wore the garb of 'communists', and the vile conduct of those passing as 'leaders' and 'cadre' of the communist party, the youth of the new generation in particular gained the notion that 'communists' are a breed of crooks. The party and the state led by the revisionists became isolated from the people. Overtly capitalist-roaders, in the persons of Gorbachev and his gang, who rode to power seizing upon the prevailing chaos, succeeded to hasten up the process of restoration of capitalism through adoption and pursuit of legislative and administrative measures to that end. There are clear indications that several top leaders of the party and the government had established contacts with the imperialist powers. The shock wave impinged upon Man, the soul of all activity, irretrievably harming his historically determined prospect of socialist transformation, while vulgar capitalist mentality and psyche wormed back to every nook of life and society. Thereafter, the inevitable happened. Counterrevolution overtook, capitalism was restored.

In a situation more or less similar to the USSR's, after demise of great Mao Zedong and other stalwarts of the Communist Party of China, a group of revisionists headed by Deng Xiaoping,

all who had been identified as capitalist roaders during the cultural revolution, usurped power both of the state and the party. Shrewdly manipulating the situation, they engaged in a covert bid to undermine the overwhelming influence of Comrade Mao on people's minds and malign the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which Comrade Mao had initiated in order that it might act as the bulwark of people's conscious power against the danger of restoration of capitalism. In quick succession they disbanded peasant communes in the countryside, they disowned the revolutionary slogans of 'class struggle is the key link', 'politics in command', as well as the principle of 'continuing class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat', and presented the false argument that 'China is passing through the primary stage of socialism' dropping it as the smokescreen to hide their design to restore capitalism. Using the catchword of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics', they introduced 'socialist market economy' on a wide scale, giving alongside material incentives to workers. In actual fact, the economic practice was capitalist economy with socialist label. In the name of modernisation and augmentation of production they introduced this policy; and inevitably, it resulted in prices of essential consumer articles shooting up, leading to an imbalance in the production sector and to increasing dependence on foreign capital inflow. The socialist sector economy contracted, and degraded bourgeois culture polluted the cultural ethos. Step by step, inexorably, this course led to restoration of capitalism. China is no longer a socialist country.

It is clear beyond doubt that the basic process of deviation and downfall has been the same in both the countries. It began with the condemnation that the revolutionary pathway mapped out by the respective architect of revolution in either country was the pathway of a naked force with inhuman face and devouring freedom and individual liberty; then was denied class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat on this or that frail argument advanced; thereafter was adopted policy measures to provide material incentives to workers; and, after that, the process of reforms rolled on to the market economy, deploying whatever catchwords; next followed the opening of the floodgates to infiltration of imperialist capital and its inevitable accompaniment, the most lowly-seductive form of bourgeois culture; finally, this all ending up in the restoration of capitalism. Revisionism, which availed of the lowering of ideological standard, pulled down constantly the level of thinking; this, in turn, led to fall of production in quantity and quality; thereafter, in cyclic turn, the furtherance of the revisionist policy of material incentives to raise production-level, which action created the ground for appearance of a new kind of economism and its inevitable accompaniment, that is, socialist individualism. Small production re-emerged, undermining the centralised economy. Commodity circulation, which earlier had been on the decline, gathered momentum in the new condition. In cyclic operation, socialist individualism hastened

up the decline of ideological standard still more, still more of revisionist erosion in turn, and, again, still more of vulgar individualism, so forth. In culmination, the USSR fell on to dusts. Marx had cautioned long back: "An increase in wages arouses in the worker the same desire to get rich as in the capitalist but he can only satisfy this desire by sacrificing his mind and body." (K. Marx, *Economic and Political Manuscripts of 1844*, p. 102) In the USSR under the revisionist leadership the worker had lost attachment to work, so he went adrift from the course of returning to his natural self, his mind; consequently, his productivity declined, sustenance fell, he suffered in body too.

Two basic questions pertain here, concerning the essence of the socialist man — the ultimate goal of socialism. One is the question of the 'true needs' of man; the other is the question of creating the conditions for growth of abundance in production as a pre-requisite to freeing labour from *compulsion* of 'necessity' — that is, production of the necessaries of life which are basic to sustenance of man, and, therefore, for man it is an instinctive compulsion to secure them. This natural or instinctive 'necessity' is rooted in unconsciousness in man's blind subjugation to the laws of nature and society, in man's animal inheritance. It is not the sense of necessity born of man's consciousness which makes him 'the lord of nature' and permits his ascent to the 'kingdom of freedom'. Man's true needs are those whose fulfillment is necessary for the realisation of his essence as a human being — cooperative, free to develop in every direction, enjoying free labour. Whereas, capital creates and exploits the false needs of man, — needs like amassing wealth and power by appropriating other men's labour for self benefit, exploiting nature indiscriminately to reap profit, enjoying luxury at the expense of misery to others. And man is often unconscious of his true needs and the real purpose of labour. He is unconscious that capital estranges labour, and that estranged labour turns his life activity into a means for his narrow individual existence. He thinks in terms of his own living only, as if he can live by himself. Hence the principal goal of socialism is to create a social order on a form of production as its basis which serves man and makes possible the recognition and realization of his true needs so that man can return to his true, un-alienated self. Until then, however, labour remains in the realm of natural, instinctive 'necessity', where labour is required under compulsion of corporal 'necessity'. Passing beyond this point, Marx explained, commences the true realm of freedom which is its own end. It must not be missed here that the realm of true freedom "can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis." That is, man's basic need for living must be fulfilled first. Thereby and thereupon will grow his consciousness, whence he will have freedom. Alienated labour reverses every relationship to other men. Since it is the historically determined role of man, the *sine qua non* or key factor both to accomplish revolution and to ensure uninterrupted social development after revolution

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Setback of Communist Movement

In socialism the same old enemy, capitalist relations lie cloistered in the mental complex

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— role to perform as the engine to drive the whole process of social change — performance of this role is an indispensable necessity for realization of the ever-evolving essence of Man.

What it enjoins the revolutionary is that the identity between economics and politics, on the one hand, and, the objectively defined necessity of identification of the individual being with the social being, on the other hand, be grasped correctly, concretely and precisely on the philosophical plane and put into practice. It is here, here at the roots of this burning necessity, that modern revisionism has dealt its mortal blow, monstrously jolting the social process of development toward communism, crookedly vulgarizing individualism, engendering colossal setback to communist movement. It shook the foundation of socialist economy, blocking the operation of socialist economic law and leading surreptitiously to abandonment of the socialist principles and policies. Inevitably, this pasture of modern revisionism turned into a breeding ground of capitalist ideas, capitalist mode of thinking, capitalist psyche — all which caused production level to decline steeply and labour to become a burden on workers. The ground for all this to happen was created by the sense of privilege which grew among the people with the standard of living rising, while the level of consciousness remained low or inadequate. Discoursing long back upon the institution of the NEP and its operation, Comrade Lenin had sounded warning about these possible consequences in the event of violation of the objective historical law and process of socialism. This setback confirms his analysis and reminds us of his warning. To overcome this situation and build up socialist movement, communist revolutionaries ought to begin from Marx and Comrade Lenin, their teachings on the necessity of shaping out the Socialist Man, in particular Comrade Lenin's teachings on the identity of politics and economics.

Let us recapitulate the lesson. First, the communist revolutionary ought to remember constantly that he or she must grasp the necessity of a situation in a given chain of developments. Second, it is not possible to grasp the present, nor assess it, in separation from the past, because the present sprang from the womb of the past. And that, the past is not dead altogether, nor disentangled right away. In its transformed being it is veritably weaved into the present. So, relying on the specific law of this motion, the concrete necessity under the concrete conditions in which the law in question is in operation has to be addressed in every given situation. Such is the role of consciousness in turning the possible into the actual. The basic material needs of people have to be fulfilled, but *not* in separation from fulfilling the spiritual needs. Neither the opposite. The struggle for meeting the two has to be conducted ceaselessly and in an integrated fashion. Cognition of this concrete necessity is the wisdom of the genuine Marxist, who is the true dialectician. That is why the giant Marxist dialectician in the person of Comrade Lenin did assert that the proletariat should assume power under favourable conditions of assumption

without waiting until capitalism has grown to full measure. That is why later Comrade Lenin urged for temporary retreat from socialist economy and launched the NEP. In either instance the guiding principle had been that 'politics supersedes economics'. In the brilliant exposition of the great leader: "It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or a communist in general. You must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for transition to the next link; the order of the links, their forms, the manner in which they are linked together, the way they differ from each other in the historical chain of events, are not as simple and as meaningless as those in an ordinary chain made by a smith." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 27, p. 274)

Creative development of dialectic, the dialectical approach to socio-economic and ideological phenomena, the understanding of each and every phenomenon in their respective concrete conditions and being free from dogma of any kind—such are the qualities of all great Marxist leaders. They reckon with the correspondence between the economic structure and the political edifice, their inter-dialectical relation and reciprocity. With them, idea becomes an effective force of social development, since their idea corresponds to the requirement of real life. In their hands spiritual force transforms into material weapon, giving a dialectical expression to the relation between the two. Their life activity is embodiment of the pursuit of truth of their times. The lesson to keep in mind is that revolution in every country and every age entails practice of either of its essential components — theory and practice. Intense has to be the conduct of this socialist practice, so it could create the conditions for emergence of its concrete embodiment in the being of a true dialectician.

Overcoming the Roadblock on Way to Revolution and Transition

Marx made it clear that alienated labour goes hand in hand with private property and private property mental complex. It is at once the objective means of exploitation. It leads to distortion of man's true essence, his sense of true needs, and turns man into a privilege-seeking individualist. This bourgeois individualistic trend tends to outlive into socialism as a capitalist outgrowth and till it will not be rooted out from people's mental make-up it will thrive in socialism as the breeding ground of revisionism- reformism in various guises. The foremost prerequisite for leap from socialism to communism, that is, from the first phase of communism to its higher phase, is that the social outlook on labour be radically transformed — from its being looked upon as a possible means of earning living of those who are not entitled to accessing any other means to earn their living to its being the 'prime want of life'. It is a question of changing the mindset, the entire psyche of people — one which has been cast over thousands of years of class rule. How to accomplish this task? This question is entwined with the other question: What is it that stands

today as the roadblock to accomplishing revolution and materialising transition from socialism to communism? What is the contradiction to be resolved on this count?

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh went into the heart of this question, emphasizing all along that the roadblock on way to organizing revolution and ushering in communism is the vulgar individualism of the present day decadent capitalist order. It is the crux of the whole issue. How to fight it out? The struggle belongs to the realm of idea, the realm of spirit. The traditional understanding of communist morality, that is, the interests of revolution being primary, individual interest secondary — in other words, the sacrificing of the personal interest happily and unconditionally to the interests of revolution — is inadequate to fight bourgeois individualism of today, when, in particular, individualism has been vulgarized and reduced to a privilege of the worst kind. Consequently, pursuit of a new and qualitatively higher standard of ethics and human values, one which is capable of ultimately "transforming the antagonistic nature of contradiction existing between individual necessity and social necessity into a non-antagonistic one", is the crying necessity both of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and of socialism's transition to communism. Its realization is the behest of history. Comrade Ghosh explained how the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China did project the proletarian revolutionary politics in the course of conducting struggle to eliminate obsolete ideas and overcome the influence of bourgeois ideas, in particular the sense of bourgeois individualism. The CPC talked of proletarian humanism against bourgeois humanism, their struggle having, however, been directed in the main "against bourgeois humanist ideology and political thoughts, but not so much against bourgeois culture." As a result, their ideological struggle was inadequate for the task to free the then Chinese society from the evils of bourgeois individualism. The problem which the Chinese society confronted at the time was a trend which aimed at reducing the "sense of individual freedom and liberty, emancipation of the individual and individuality to individual privileges and vulgar individualism, with the attainment of more and more stability in economic and political spheres in the socialist society, which I have already termed as 'socialist individualism', meaning a new kind of individualism in socialist society... They (the CPC — added) have not yet been able to provide any theoretical formulation confirmed by history and social sciences as to the fundamental difference between the moral value of bourgeois humanism and proletarian culture." (Shibdas Ghosh, *Cultural Revolution in China, Selected Works*, 1, p. 239) Further on: "So long as antagonistic contradictions between the individual and the state (socialist state — added) on the one hand, and between the individual interests and social interests on the other remain, the state will not wither away, that is, it will not disappear even after the problems relating to production and other issues have been resolved.... And so long as the state exists as a reflection of this antagonistic contradiction, even in socialism, the individual must have to submit to the social

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Identification of individual necessity with social necessity is the way about

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interests, and the trend of revolt against the repressive character of the socialist state would appear repeatedly in individuals and, for this, the social objective would suffer time and again... Because of the continuance of class struggle in the socialist society, the oppression by the state still remains necessary to some extent — mainly to curb the conspiratorial activities of the dispossessed bourgeoisie and the vile self-centred individualistic activities of certain individuals that stand in the path of development of individual's real freedom and complete emancipation with the gradual development of the socialist social system." (*ibid.*, p. 243)

Comrade Ghosh showed that though accomplishment of the Russian and the Chinese revolutions had been possible with this traditional understanding standard, no longer is it adequate to meet the necessity of today. In the context of today's complexities of life, when the concept of individualism has degenerated to individual privilege and, as a result, the individual's indifference to social problems is aggravating continuously, this concept falls short of meeting the requisite standard for the communists. Comrade Ghosh cautioned that the immediate objective of the Cultural Revolution would be fulfilled, but this programme of cultural revolution cannot free the party completely from the danger of reappearance of revisionism in the future. Wherein is emancipation of the individual? "...individual's struggle for emancipation has reached a new and complex height and has assumed a new character in the socialist society where to resolve the problem a more intense and arduous struggle is to be conducted for complete identification of self-interest with the interest of society through unflinching dedication and constant vigil." (*ibid.*, p. 244) Moreover, "...the main object of the struggle for emancipation of the individual should be to transform the antagonistic nature of contradiction existing between the individual necessity and social necessity into a non-antagonistic one." Only by carrying out this struggle for cultural revolution through to logical conclusion, a basic and qualitative transformation of the content and character of the individual's want and desire would be possible. Which means, a radical transformation of the character and content of self-interest is to be brought about by carrying out the task of cultural revolution. Identity of individual necessity and social necessity will transform self-interests into 'social interests *individualised*'. A new and higher standard of ethics and values will then evolve out, this one differing basically from and rising higher above the highest standard of bourgeois humanist category of ethics and values. "Where humanism ends, communism begins.", thus Comrade Ghosh put it in his immaculate expression.

Only thus, only thereby, only then will labour be completely freed from alienation, estrangement, and will transform from being only 'a means of supporting life into life's *prime want*', labour will become 'a *pleasure* instead of being a *burden*'. This is the same as fulfilment of the basic condition for emergence of the *new man*, the truly *renaissance man*. It is not the impoverished return to primitive simplicity, nor flight to abstraction from

the objectively real. It is the actualisation of Man's true self, his essence, the emergence of the truly free, rational, active, independent Man. This man is *free* from self-interests, he is *free* from the false sense of need for incentives as recompense for work, which sense the exploitative classes through millennia injected in him as the virus of slavery in 'human species', and which the learned hirelings of the rulers describe as innate and basic to human essence. This new man, the true *renaissance man*, is free to develop in all directions.

Clear is the question of what the communist revolutionaries should make their centre of activity on the question of this setback to the communist movement. The economic determinant of the law of social motion, of human activity, of production to meet the growing needs of life is no doubt the basic factor, the prior, the primary, the *raw* necessity. But this determinant is incapable of doing anything, of itself and automatically. It is not the whole. The superstructure standing upon it and surrounding it, that is, the realm of idea, is weaved into it and is in constant and reciprocal interaction with it. This interaction is the engine of social motion and progression, the dialectic driving force behind all human activities. Its governing law determines man's historical role. With socialisation of the means of production, man obtains control of his means of production, thereby he is set free from the yoke of social and economic relations, and he becomes 'master of his social life'. This freedom is appreciation of 'necessity'. It means, having come to know of the objective law, man becomes conscious of his historically determined role, whereupon he proceeds to apply the law in the interests of society. "The laws of his own social action hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding and so mastered by him.", Engels explained. Failure to understand it, or skirting it willfully, is to run counter to the operation of law, which action attracts reaction in equal and opposite measure, like it happens to objects in the realm of nature in accord

with the laws of mechanics. It is the failure in the matter of correct and thorough grasp of the law, and hence in the matter of correct grasp of what is the 'necessity' in a given situation, what are the true needs of man, what is the man's true essence, and the deviation from all this into extreme distortion in the shape of vulgar individualism under the present decadent capitalism that reversion of the direction of operation of the governing law came about — so characteristic of the consequences witnessed in the final stage of decay of the USSR and the PRC. It is inevitable.

To mistake the wayward for the way, to confuse the misdirected with direction itself are commissions of grave error. Still graver is the commission of confounding the downfall of the USSR as the negation of socialism itself. The truth which, however, burns through is that it was the USSR and the CPSU, led by the revisionists, which bit the dust, not socialism. The law of social development asserts, the history of revolution proves that if the revolutionary party of the proletariat does not flinch and deviate from Marxism-Leninism, if ceaselessly it carries on the struggle to enrich Marxism-Leninism in correspondence with economic and political development, if it engages constantly in the struggle to raise continuously the level of ideological consciousness of the party, the class, the masses, if with unflinching dedication and constant vigil it sets about in a ceaseless, arduous struggle to attain complete identification of self-interest of each and every member, and of itself as a whole, with the interest of society, then certain it is to grow into an invincible force to sweep off capitalism-imperialism and found a society free from exploitation of man by man. "Then the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state."

Long Live Revolution!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism!
Workers of the World, Unite!

Condemn both communal acts and motivated verbal attacks on the intellectuals, the writers

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action against all these types of dastardly communal acts, it, by remaining silent instead, has virtually allowed the members of the Sangh Parivar and Shiv Sena to continue attacking these renowned personalities branding them as anti-nationals and thus made the situation deteriorate all the more. Such a situation with tacit support of the Central Government cannot but create feelings of insecurity among the minority people which actually made Mr. Amir Khan, a noted film personality, to express a feeling of disgust and annoyance. Instead of realizing the gravity of the situation, as came out in the statement of Mr. Khan, the Government by maintaining eerie silence has virtually provided handle to the Hindu fanatics to make vitriolic attacks on Mr. Khan causing the situation to worsen further. The Hindutva fanatics are charging that Mr. Khan's statement has tarnished India's image before the world. But the fact is just the reverse. The

repeated communal acts, orchestrated frenzies, mindless violence and killings, hate campaigns against minorities and stoking communal conflagration by the Hindutva fanatics have actually maligned the image of India and vitiated the democratic atmosphere of the country—a fact they are now trying to hide by creating a hullabaloo over the statement of Mr. Khan.

We strongly condemn both the communal acts of the Hindu fanatics and their utterly motivated verbal attacks on the intellectuals, the writers, the scientists as well as on Mr. Khan simply from communal angle and demand of the Central Government to immediately take firm steps to stop the communal activities and venomous propaganda of the Hindu fanatics and ensure safety and security of all sections of the minority people.

We call upon the people to remain firmly united and resolutely fight the growing communal and fascist atmosphere.

Successful convention of renowned intellectuals and Civil Society in Kolkata against rising intolerance and communal-fundamentalist fanaticism

Religious intolerance and blatant encroachment upon individual's freedom of expression, even cultural –personal- food habits, going to the extent of brute nonchalant murderous attacks rearing an ugly head in India, Bangladesh and the Middle East, and the last but not the least instance having been witnessed in Paris and its aftermath, are leading many stalwart personalities from all walks of life and intellectual activities join their ranks in protest. Eminent authors, scientists and intellectuals of the country have ventilated their views and many have returned the prestigious national awards that they had been conferred earlier.

Forum for Artistes, Cultural Activists and Intellectuals, that was formed in 2007 to voice protest of the civil society, against the growing fascist trends in the then government's

former VC, scientist Amitava Datta, Professor Miratun Nahar, Prof. Salman Kurshid, Prof. Sujato Bhadra, Prof. Meher Ali Engineer and singer-cum-musician and former MP Kabir Suman, journalist Paranjay Guhathakurta, former Advocate General of West Bengal Bimal Chatterjee, former Calcutta High Court Judge Shushanta Chatterji, Musician Pratul Mukherjee, singer Pallav Kirtania, sculptor Niranjan Pradhan, writer Gitesh Sharma, eloquitionists Rupasree Kahali and Urmimala Basu, addressed the gathering joining in the protest and also pledged to resist communalist forces. Also present on the dais were educationists Dr. Pabitra Gupta and Professor Dhruva Mukhopadhyay, Malabika Chattopadhyay, Nargis Sattar, and former MP, Dr. Tarun Mandal. In addition a number of eminent personalities, like renowned scientist PM



The dais of the convention against rise in intolerance and religious fundamentalism by Forum for Artistes, Cultural Activists and Intellectuals at University Institute Hall, Kolkata on 19 November

suppression of people's movement for their hearth, life and livelihood at Singur and Nandigram in particular. Since then the Forum has expressed its solidarity on different occasions to people's genuine causes. In keeping with its tone and tenor, the Forum organized a convention on 19 November last, in Kolkata to express indignation and apprehension at the mounting spate of intolerance and in solidarity with the protesting voices as well as the victims. Eminent intellectuals including film-maker and Actress Aparna Sen, leading theatre personality Bibhas Chakraborty, Professor Shamik Banerjee, noted writer and critic, Professor Aditya Mukherjee of JNU, Delhi, Professor Maidul Islam of Presidency University, Professor Ajoy Roy of Shibpur IIST, Dilip Kumar Sinha, Professor and

Bhargava, eminent historian Irfan Habib, author Nabanita Deb Sen, President of the Forum and renowned poet and educationist Professor Tarun Sanyal and others had sent their ardent messages, as they could not attend the convention for different reasons. For want of time, only the message of Prof. Sanyal was read out at the convention, in which he raised caution that fundamentalism has seeds of fascism ingrained in it. It is the need of the hour that well meaning people close ranks in solidarity with each other and be united in raising effective voice of protest.

The meeting was conducted by Dilip Chakraborty Joint Secretary of the Forum and veteran journalist. Santu Gupta, the other Joint Secretary read out the main resolution adopted by the house.



Massive rally of AIDSO-AIDYO held in Kolkata on 26 November for law violation in demand of immediate reintroduction of pass-fail system in schools and other demands

Deliberate distortion of the term 'secularism' by Mr. Rajnath Singh, Union home minister

Strongly criticizing the deliberation of Mr. Rajnath Singh, the Union Home Minister in Parliament on secularism Comrade Provash Ghosh, the General Secretary of SUCI (Communist), has issued the following statement on 29 November 2015.

We strongly disapprove the deliberate distortion of the concept of 'Secularism' by Mr. Rajnath Singh, the Union Home Minister to suit the agenda of the RSS, BJP and other members of the Sangh Parivar as well as of Shiv Sena. Every student of history knows that the concept of secularism evolved in western Renaissance during the rising period of capitalism and at the advent of Parliamentary democracy by discarding feudal autocracy and religion-based obsolete feudal ideas, and denoted non-recognition of any supernatural entity. A truly secular state neither encourages nor discourages religion; it puts religion in its proper place by making religion a purely personal affair of faith having no connection with the state. As in a secular state religion has no role in politics, in education and in public affairs so also in a truly secular democratic society both the believers and the non-believers enjoy equal rights.

So, historically and scientifically, and in all senses secularism cannot mean any other thing than 'Dharmarapekshta' (neutral to religion). But Mr. Rajnath Singh says secularism means 'Pant Nirapekshta' (neutral to sects) and not Dharmarapekshta. His statement clearly sanctifies the role of religion in politics, education and in all public affairs and encourages the religion oriented parties and forces to play role in politics. One has to understand the simple fact that a state which instead of following the principles of true secularism patronizes one single religion reduces itself to a theocratic state, while a state which patronizes all religions reduces itself to a multi-theocratic state. Mr. Rajnath Singh is advocating for such an understanding of secularism. Further, the very argument of Mr. Singh that secularism is a concept of western countries and hence not applicable to Indian condition is another misinterpretation as the very concept of parliamentary democracy, which he too eulogizes like all bourgeois ideologues, also has its origin in western countries. Such a definition of secularism cannot but vitiate the socio-political-cultural atmosphere of the country.

It is high time that all true secular democratic parties and forces unitedly raise their voice against such a motivated effort to mislead the people so that the growing mass struggles on burning problems of life do not develop on true secular principles.

At the same time we appeal to the people to stubbornly resist the growing communal frenzy in the country, restore democratic norms and values and create a congenial atmosphere in which democratic mass movement can freely develop.

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