

24th APRIL

—A RED-LETTER DAY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLE

On 24th April last, our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, on its foundation day, observed its 21st anniversary. It was a day of firm resolve and a new beginning to rededicate ourselves to the cause of Indian Socialist Revolution

Calcutta Maidan had altogether a new look on this occasion. Throughout the day, people from all walks of life gathered in the Maidan to celebrate this day. The twenty one red flags on the dais which denote the number of years passed since its foundation, the huge portraits of the great international communist leaders like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the hammer and sickle, and above all the small red flags atop the wooden posts spread throughout the field had all put-together, transformed the scene into brightness and a living reality.

The sultry weather which prevailed throughout the day could not however daunt the people who marched towards Maidan. It was a day of processions, big and small, of workers and peasants, of students and intellectuals, of men and women. Throughout the day processions followed after processions, and the city practically collapsed for hours together when these came in from different parts of Calcutta and outside. The peasantry from South 24-Parganas, Birbhum, Purulia, Bankura, Murshidabad, from different parts of North 24-Parganas, the industrial workers of areas around Calcutta, Asansol, Raniganj, Durgapur, Howrah etc., as well as the students, the teachers, the office-employees, all had converged into a vast sea of humanity at the foot of the Monument to commemorate this auspicious occasion.

Leaders of the party representing different states of India, like West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, U. P, Kerala, Delhi, etc. sat on the dais. Before the meeting commenced, the Democratic Youth Organisation (D. Y. O.)

performed the International Song and the leaders on the dais as well as the audience stood respectfully during the song. After a brief inaugural speech of Com. Nihar Mukherjee, the Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, Com. Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and teacher and a profound Marxist thinker on Indian soil addressed the gathering. During his one and a half hour speech he dwelt at length on various aspects of our national life and specifically dealt on the socio-economic problems confronting the broad masses of the Indian people. Besides Com. Ghosh, Com. N. R. Singh also spoke. The meeting was presided over by Com. Subodh Banerjee. We are giving below some excerpts of the speech of Com. Ghosh.

Com. Ghosh said, 'So far, the political movements have been launched and directed only on certain economic and political issues. As a result the people could not attain the necessary moral and ideological standard expected of them. Such a situation as regards the level of political consciousness that the people ought to have reached has

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posed a serious question—that these people who are now extending overwhelming support to the United Front may feel disgruntled and go against it if the United Front cannot fulfil their cherished desires. From their poor level of understanding and cultural outlook, this mighty force may even go on the side of the arch-reactionary forces like Jan Sangh or Swatantra.

Comrade Ghose said, the question of assessing the character of a party is most important. How one is to judge whether C.P.I., C.P.I (M), S. U. C., Jan Sangh, Congress, or Swatantra is the real party to lead the masses to prosperity? Admitting that commonsense and experience are very important factors, but certainly these alone cannot help us to determine correctly the character of a party. Even experience has to be read in the light of a proper understanding. But for such an understanding and angularity, one has to have the knowledge of history and the logic of science. These precisely form the basis of Marxism-Leninism. So Marxism is the only ideology which assists us to understand things and provides a powerful weapon to the working class to win victories. It is more powerful than even an atom bomb. As such, it is indispensable that we have to study and thoroughly master this Marxist-Leninist outlook as it acts as the only guide to comprehend the real nature of things and solve our problems.

Comrade Ghosh continued, innumerable struggles were conducted before which did not however succeed. People in large numbers were in the midst of these struggles, took to pains and hardship, and even sacrificed their lives, but their objective was far from being fulfilled. Why this was so? It was simply because those who dedicated their lives did not reflect the correct ideology based on scientific knowledge and outlook. Consequently, their struggle for emancipation could not culminate in a final victory. There are some 'revolutionaries' to-day who are calling upon the people to wage struggle, as if the people have so long turned their back to the path of struggle and are afraid to continue struggle now. This is only a travesty of truth as people in millions are still in the vortex of democratic mass movements. What they actually lack is a clear ideology of scientific socialism. Unless the object and method of struggle and the ideology of scientific socialism associated with this struggle are correctly understood, then the basic objective of overthrowing the capitalist state machinery and establishing socialism will remain an empty dream.

Comrade Ghosh further stated that our fight against capitalism would be worthwhile and effective only when we have perfectly grasped the ideological weapon of our enemy. When there is direct

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BOOK REVIEW

Bartaman Siksha Padhati Aur Us Par Ek Drishtikon

(Present Educational System—An Analysis) written by Biswanath Prasad Sinha published from Vill—Ausia, P. O. Mirzapur, Dist. Saran, Bihar. Page—24, Price—Rs. 2'50.

The writer Mr. Biswanath Prasad Sinha in his small but thoughtful book has touched upon various aspects of the present educational system in India. He has convincingly pointed out that the pattern and system of education as obtaining in India to-day is not only suffering from serious shortcomings, but also has failed to achieve the basic object of self-development of the pupil, inculcate in them a spirit of selfless dedication to social cause and free their mind from being clouded with unscientific and outmoded outlook inherited through the ages. In spite of vociferous campaign of the Congress leaders that their object is to establish a socialist pattern of society, the educational system and the methods of teaching have become an instrument in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie to serve their narrow class end. From elaborate quotations from eminent thinkers of different schools of thought the writer has sought to establish his point that the present system of education has got to be thoroughly overhauled. The writer in the end, has advocated that for real progress and prosperity of the Indian society, introduction of communist education is of primary importance without which the country will lag in all spheres of activities.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the General Secretary of our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, has in appreciation of this book, written a foreward which provides a fundamental method of analysing educational problems for a Marxist-Leninist in the present day society. We are giving below the entire preface which will act as a guideline to all concerned.

Preface by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

It is a pleasure to me to write an introduction to this small but thoughtful book of Shri Biswanath Prasad Singh on the present educational system in our country. As a student of social science I cannot but admit that in a class-divided society the concept of education and educational system is never free from class pre-conception. Students of social science know that every basis of society has its corresponding superstructure, the basis being the economic system at the given stage of development of that society. The superstructure is the political, legal, philosophical, ethical, artistic views and institutions corresponding to them. Furthermore, the superstructure is

not just a passive force, neutral or indifferent to the basis. It is, on the contrary, a very active force always assisting the basis to take shape, consolidate and strengthen itself. Education system being the superstructure of a given economic base, its role, therefore, is not neutral or supra-class in a class-divided society. As superstructure of the economic base it cannot but serve the class in power which actually controls the material production and hence the spiritual production of the society.

Ours is a class-divided society. Whether anybody likes it or not, it is a stark reality which exists independent of our likings or dislikings. Nobody can have one single approach to the problems of education, serving at a time the interest of both the classes, standing historically antagonistic to each other. Under the circumstances, there can only be two outlooks, two objects, two purposes, in regard to the system and method of education—one serving the politics, ideology and the interest of the capitalist class, the ruling bourgeoisie, and the other serving the politics, ideology and the interest of revolutionary struggles of the toiling masses. Anybody who stands by the interest of the toiling masses and claims to think in terms of the people must adopt such outlook in regard to education as would become conducive to the interest, ideology and the politics of the proletarian masses.

Hence, in a capitalist society like ours, the dominant educational views, the education system, and the educational institutions that have already taken shape and consolidated in our country are not at all neutral in the constant struggle that is going on in our society between different classes, nor

are they supra-class instruments for the advancement of 'pure knowledge' among the people, as philistine intellectuals often propagate. They are definite class instruments in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie to carry on attacks on the mode of thinking and revolutionary ideology of the working class and other exploited masses of the people.

The system, pattern and object of education which the author has advocated in his book are, consequently, incapable of being achieved in the existing social order in our country. They can only materialise under socialism, when there will be no question of national oppression and exploitation of man by man.

But, this does not in any way mean that we should sit idle and shall not make any serious effort to reform the present educational system till we achieve socialism. On the contrary, the democratic forces of our country should resolutely fight for bringing in educational reforms not only to make education cheap, universal and secular in the truest sense of the term, but also to democratise the entire educational system to conform with the democratic principles of life. Therefore, the aim of any such reform in our educational system shall be to strengthen the democratic struggle of the masses for completing the unaccomplished tasks of Bourgeois Democratic or National Democratic Revolution, namely, the social and cultural revolution which is long overdue in our country.

We all know that because of peculiar conditions under which Indian capitalism developed, the national bourgeoisie which led the national liberation movement here compromised with feudalism and imperialism although in

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RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN—

A STUDY IN RETROSPECT

Last few months have seen mighty democratic movement by the people of Pakistan against their autocratic rulers. This movement by dint of its intensity and momentum has compelled Ayub to abdicate his power. But Ayub has abdicated after imposing Martial Law and handing over power to Martial Law Administrators headed by Yahya Khan. The Martial Law Administrators in their turn, like their fascist counterparts in other countries, have taken recourse to all Draconic measures to throttle the democratic voice in Pakistan on the hypocritical plea of protecting national solidarity, maintaining law and order and ensuring peace in the country.

The imposition of Martial Law and the barbarous suppression of the legitimate democratic movement by the people of Pakistan is a matter of deep concern to all the freedom loving people in the world. We strongly condemn this barbarous action and express our firm solidarity with and deep fraternity to the struggling people of Pakistan. Their struggle has met a temporary setback but, we are sure, ultimate victory is theirs. Autocrat rulers are sure to fail before the onward march of the Pakistani people.

For better understanding of our readers it may perhaps be not out of place to recall in brief the history of dismemberment of our country and the emergence of Pakistan as a theocratic state. They say that Pakistan is the result of the divide-and-rule policy of the British Imperialists who ruled our country before independence. It is also said that Pakistan is the inevitable result of the two-nation theory propagated by the communal leadership of the Muslim League. This is not exactly a correct analysis. Why did not the policy of divide-and-rule of the imperialist alien rulers succeed in case of Burma or Indonesia? Why did the two-nation theory fail in these countries? These countries

have mixed population with the Muslims forming a substantial part of it. Still then the divide-and-rule policy of the alien imperialist rulers and the two-nation-theory could not take material shape there. Hence the ground of success of the two-nation theory and the divide-and-rule policy of the British Imperialists and the consequent dismemberment of our country is to be traced in the nature of the leadership of the national liberation movement in the country. The cause has been pointed out wonderfully by our leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh in his address to the delegates of the National Democratic Convention at Delhi. He said, "The Indian nationalist leadership not only did not try to free the Indian masses from the bondage of religion and democratise the society, by carrying out the tasks of social and cultural revolution, it, on the contrary, took up religion as a vehicle of nationalistic ideas. Indian nationalism therefore, was basically religion-oriented. This religion-oriented nationalism expressed itself in the form of Hindu religious revivalism. The psychological reaction which the Hindu revivalist Indian nationalism produced in the non-Hindu masses was by and large responsible for keeping

them, especially the Muslim masses away from the national liberation movement of our country. Furthermore, it also gave every opportunity to the British imperialists and the anti-nationalist pro-imperialist Muslim leaders to impress upon the Muslim masses that India when freed from British rule would be no better than a tyrannical rule by the Hindus, where no Muslim could have any security and freedom of faith." Thus the success of divide-and-rule policy and the two-nation-theory resulting in the vivisection of our country and formation of Pakistan is due to the weakness in our national movement and bourgeois reformist character of the leadership leading this movement.

The two-nation-theory propagated by the communal pro-imperialist leaders of the Muslim League got a boost from the Communist Party Of India (at that time the Communist Party was united and those who have formed the C. P. I. (M) and the Naxalites were within that party). Marxism says, "A nation is a historically constituted, stable, community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." The Communist Party of India gave a silent burial to this Marxist position and held religion alone as the sole basis for the formation of a nation and supported the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan on the basis of religion. This is indicative of the utter anti-Marxist outlook of the C. P. I. The present C. P. I. (M) cannot be absolved of this anti-Marxist outlook on the question of nation.

Thanks to the betrayal by the Communist Party of India and Congress the country has been divided with the result that the Indian people who were

proceeding towards the formation of one single nation, were divided artificially into two nations, and the emergence of Pakistan as an Islamic Theocratic State headed by feudo-capitalist political regime. From available reports it seems that feudalism is still existing on a large scale, in the form of intermediary rights in land in Pakistan. Along with the feudal land relations growing trend of monopoly is marked. 65% of the total national income and capital is shared and accumulated respectively in hands of only 22 families in Pakistan. The supremacy of these monopolists and feudalists has been responsible for the alignment of Pakistan with imperialist powers in military blocs like SEATO etc. A country thus plundered by foreign imperialism, native monopolists and feudalism naturally cannot fulfil the aspirations of the Muslim masses of the people who were made to believe at the time of formation of Pakistan that Pakistan when formed would be an El Dorado for them. Reality—unbearable exploitation—has rudely shocked the Pakistani people.

Secondly, we all know that under capitalism the people are not only exploited economically, they suffer from national oppression as well. Under capitalism the dominant nationality invariably oppresses the national minority, in matters of language, way of life etc. This national oppression is seen in almost all multi-national states in some form or other. The Negro question in the U. S. A., the Scotch question in Great Britain are examples of it. In our country, the attempt to impose Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking people is another illustration of it. The people of East Pakistan had a bitter taste of this national oppression. Not only their mother tongue,

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ECONOMIC RECESSION IS A PERPETUAL FEATURE OF INDIAN CAPITALISM

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confrontation with the known enemy our struggle becomes easy. But as the enemy puts on the air of a priest and a sacrificer for the sake of the poor, our fight becomes complicated. He quoted Lenin as saying that an honest priest was more dangerous and difficult to contend with and did more harm to the cause of revolution than a dishonest one. One can easily detect the danger of a dishonest priest. But an honest priest who helps the poor, stands by him in all his difficult days, and constantly preaches that the fact that there are the rich and the poor is only a manifestation of the inscrutable will of God and it is nothing but sin to act against this will—does the greatest harm to the promotion of revolutionary ideas. Revolution is thwarted as they spread on the illusion when they say, not class struggle and revolution but subservience to the sacred will and carrying on the present disposition as His worship will bring about the true salvation of mankind.

In all the capitalist countries a definite class force exists which acts as a compromise between labour and capital. While the bourgeoisie directly assails the working class and the revolutionary forces, the petty-bourgeois forces, in the disguise of 'revolutionaries' attacks the revolutionary forces in various ways with a view to simply crush the revolution. In political terminology such a compromising force is termed as, Social Democratic force. For the success of revolutionary movement, the political ideology of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie must be thoroughly exposed. No doubt this is the most painstaking task of every revolution.

Comrade Ghosh said, the, idea, consciousness, thinking,

in one word, the ideology grows as the superstructure on a definite economic base. It is true, that both economy and its superstructure, in the form of ideas influence each other. But still an ideology cannot supersede the limit of a definite economic base. Material conditions give birth to thought. For example, the bourgeois revolution or the industrial revolution, while tore aside the feudal relations of production, also gave birth to its own ideology, commonly known as the bourgeois humanist ideology. This is a distinct ideological category and a powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Democratic consciousness and the concept of equality, liberty and fraternity, personal freedom, secularism and freedom of woman, form the distinctive products of this ideology. Since politics, ideology, culture and psychology of the people form the superstructure of a particular economic base we should investigate what is the character of economy obtaining now in India. We think Indian economy is nothing but a capitalist economy and the Indian capitalist state is a superstructure corresponding to this economy.

Now what is capitalism? In a capitalist society the production is based on worker-employer relationship with a view to earn maximum profit. Since production is related with market, as the market shrinks due to the lowering of the purchasing power of the people, the usual feature of the capitalist class is to curtail production and even to diversify the installed productive capacity for destructive purposes. As for example in Durgapur, the installed capacity is not fully utilised. The production of steel does not find any ready market. For full utilisation of steel, consumer goods

industries have to be expanded. But who will consume the resulting increase in production of consumer goods? The common people who are to utilise these consumer goods are hard hit and are facing a constant erosion of their purchasing power. There are three important factors which underlie the existing low purchasing capacity of the people. (1) since agricultural revolution has not been carried out, peasantry constitutes 75% of the total population in the country, 75% of which again form the category of agricultural labourers, with their average earning capacity not exceeding Rs. 1.00 to Rs. 1.50 daily even a few years back. (2) the wages of workers and employees are too low (3) the ever-increasing number of the unemployed in our country. It is for these predominating factors in our economy, that the capitalists in our country do not find an urge to develop the consumer goods industries on a large scale.

When the Indian bourgeoisie initiated planning, our party correctly analysed it and observed that such a planning would always be associated with a shadow of crisis. The Socialists in India and even the Communists who claim themselves as Marxist-Leninist supported the capitalist planning and setting up of industries in the public sector. The primary and basic industries like steel were founded in Bhilai, Rourkella and Durgapur which led many to believe that India had entered upon a phase of industrial revolution. But as soon as the production was started in this public sector Steel Plants, excess production was incurred and the installed capacity could not be fully utilised. Setting up of defence industries and supplying of defence equipment gave a jolt to the sluggish Indian economy for the benefit of the capitalists. As a

sequel to this, hectic preparation for war had ensued. The ruling class exploiting the patriotic feeling of the common masses were in a feverish bid to create the necessary war psychosis in the minds of the people for obtaining the national sanction behind their political manoeuvre of national emergency. Subsequently the war broke out giving a boost to the industrial activity. But the war could not continue for an indefinite period. With the cessation of war, the spurt in the market disappeared. But the ruling clique are still striving to foist war psychosis on people's mind for perpetuating the temporary boom in the market. As a result more than half of our national budget is being spent on defence. But still since the close of war, no amount of artificial stimulation could prevent the developing crisis in the Indian market. Economic recession is but an inevitable outcome and a perpetual feature of capitalism.

If anybody thinks that keeping this economy and the capitalist state machinery as it is, the change in administration can bring about mitigation of people's distress, then he is surely harbouring an illusion. If the United Front believes that the problems of the masses can be resolved through capitalism, it will definitely hoodwink the people. Keeping capitalist structure in tact, no basic problem of life can be solved. What is then the significance of the United Front? Can it not do anything for the people?

The U. F. Govt. can expose to the people that no basic problem can be solved, keeping in tact the capitalist economy and its state structure. Then it may be questioned why have we participated in the Govt.? Firstly we must show that emancipation of the common people cannot be actuated

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In A Class-Divided Capitalist Society The Emphasis on Industrial Peace Alone Strengthens Capitalism

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averting the path of civil war and revolution. Secondly the myth of those who preach that people will be liberated in the constitutional way has got to be exploded and thirdly the U. F. Govt. can help in strengthening the legitimate democratic movement, and encourage all movements against capitalism even if these are not in conformity with the existing laws of the land.

Explaining the present situation Com. Ghosh said that pressure are being exerted from within and without to shift the U.F. from its declared policies. Our party is probably the only party that is fighting against this pressure. The constituent parties of U.F. and particularly the leaders of C.P.I.(M) are repeating in parrotlike way that they are firm in the 32-point programme of U. F. But they are telling the employers "we shall look after your interest, we shall try to secure orders from the Centre and you are in turn only to be sympathetic to the worker". Again to the workers they are telling— "we are the workers' representatives. The gherao that you are taking recourse to is alright. But now you please lift the gherao". If the movement of the workers is legitimate then why do they hasten to stop it? Why are they eager to come to a hasty compromise and channelise the movement on the legal track on the plea of keeping production unhampered?

Com. Ghosh, later on referred to the topic again and stated that the leaders of C. P. (M.) were emphasising on maintaining peace in industry for unhampered production. To the industrialists they expressed their desire of maintaining growth and prosperity of trade, industry and commerce and as such the industrialists should not get nervous. Again to the workers they are saying that they want their betterment. But were they incapable to understand that any attempt to satisfy the employer and employee at the same time is in reality nothing but a betrayal of the cause of the

workers? If the conscious workers of their party pondered a little over these statements of their leaders it would have been clear to them that their attitude did not fundamentally differ from bourgeois liberalism and reformism.

They are speaking about industrial peace. But who have disturbed it? Peace in industry is disturbed because of capitalist relation of production. Production is to be freed from the grip and tentacles of capitalist relationship in order to ensure peace in industry. Such is the Marxist-Leninist angularity. Industrialists, on the other hand mean by industrial peace that the workers must devotedly work for their maximum profit and they should refrain from launching any movement and strike.

The C. P. I., C. P. M. and Naxalites, all are saying that the stage of Indian revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in nature. The main enemy of Indian people is imperialism and feudalism and not capitalism. But where is feudalism in Indian agriculture? Capitalist relation of production is dominant in Indian agriculture. Agricultural produce has become the commodity of Indian capitalist market and land has been transformed into a capitalist means of production. The land-owning class is investing capital in land either through engaging agricultural labourers or through share-cropping and producing with a view to selling the same in capitalist market for profit. In rural areas even employer-employee relation has become dominant. So on one side there exists a handful of land-owning class and on the other a vast majority of landless peasants and agricultural labourers. The class struggle between these forces has become the main determinant in rural India. Indian capitalism itself has now acquired the character of imperialism. India has become a partner of international trust and cartel of monopoly capitalist, albeit a junior partner, still a partner indeed. Indian capital is being invested in the backward countries of Asia and Africa. Indian Banks are investing capital through their branches in these countries. Finance capital is the other name of imperialism. This is

why the main character of Indian economy is capitalistic and imperialistic. If State is the superstructure of economy then Indian capitalist State must be the superstructure of Indian capitalist economy. The main question of revolution is the question of State power. If the Indian State is capitalistic then Indian revolution is surely anti-capitalist socialist revolution. But according to C. P. I. (M) and others Indian revolution is not anti-capitalist revolution. According to them India is a bourgeois-landlord State. But this does not mean anything. They have to state clearly whether India is a colonial, semi-colonial or national bourgeois State. But they are silent about it. Being confronted with the Naxalites the C. P. M. leadership had to state that India is not a satellite State and Indian national bourgeoisie is the dominant force of the Indian State. But still they are reluctant to recognise India as a bourgeois-State.

During the split with C.P.I., the C.P.M. leadership took a militant posture with a view to win over the support of the general rank and file of the party. But with a certain amount of stability achieved in the mean time the trend of parliamentary politics began to prevail upon them and has very soon become a dominant one. The C.P.M leadership is in fact the creator of the Naxalites. After inciting the rank and file with militant posture the C. P. M leadership took recourse to parliamentarianism and as such the incited and the frustrated cadres of the party revolted against the leadership with an ardent desire for revolution.

The Naxalites have confused the present day situation in India with the pre-revolutionary situation in China. But they should know that in pre-revolutionary China centralised state was non-existent; it was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial and medieval pre-capitalist State, whereas in India there exists a centralised modern capitalist type of State. According to Com. Mao-Tse-Tung the urban middle class in China was termed as the national bourgeoisie; but in India national bourgeoisie means the monopoly capitalists who are at the helm of

State power. A well-knit communication system was non-existent in China whereas it definitely exists in India. As a result military can move to any remotest place of the country within two hours.

In pre-revolutionary China there existed localised agricultural economy whereas in India this is a capitalist national economy. So any attempt of revolution in India on Chinese model is doomed to fail. If the Naxalites try to build up their party for making Indian revolution successful in Chinese line—that party is also sure to split like the C. P. M. That section of the new party who will enjoy some stability will lean towards parliamentarianism and the other section who feel restless for revolution will revolt against them. Such is the outcome of petty-bourgeois politics.

As regards the U. F. in W. Bengal Com. Shibdas Ghosh stated that in spite of its inherent weaknesses the U. F. is the powerful instrument of struggle of the exploited people, in the present state of democratic movement and peoples' democratic consciousness. If U. F. is conceived as the instrument of democratic mass movement then these movements must be protected at all cost and people must be alert against any attempt to curb the democratic movement or to channelise the same in the legal way. The U. F. leaders in the government will have to accomplish this task. Democratic movements are to be freed from police interference. It does not mean the protection of anti-social elements or the use of police for the interest of a particular party in power. Moreover the policy of appeasing the bureaucracy has got to be stopped.

In conclusion Com. Ghose said that this criticism is not to weaken the U. F. In our opinion the ideological struggle between the different constituents of the U. F. does not weaken unity. The purpose of all criticisms is to raise the level of consciousness of the people so as to make the conscious people exert the necessary influence to keep the U. F. on the right track.

Fascism Is A Peculiar Fusion Of Science With Spiritualism

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coming to power. As a result it could not accomplish the task of social and cultural revolution essential for the democratization of the society and complete merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions into a nation and establish a really secular state. Moreover, it is always to be remembered that under capitalism the people are subjected to not only economic exploitation but also national oppression. This is why even today we see in all the capitalist countries where there are more than one nationality, the dominant nationality suppresses other nationality or nationalities. It is also clearly evident from the nature and the character of our society. Though we have developed as a nation politically, yet socially and culturally we are nothing but a conglomeration of different groups and communities separated from one another by religion, language, race, caste etc.

To achieve the unity of our people our education system should be really secular and free from religious tutelage. Thanks to the nationalist leaders and leaders of the then radical left movements, secularism has come to mean virtually in our country equal encouragement for all religions by the State. Truly speaking, this is not the proper meaning of secularism. In actuality, secularism means non-recognition of any supernatural entity. Thus a secular state puts religion at its proper place by making religion a purely personal affair of faith having no connection with the state and no bearing on politics, social action and educational

system of the country. In a secular state both the believers as well as the non-believers enjoy equal rights and opportunities. It is one thing not to interfere in one's faith and injure one's religious feeling, while it is altogether a different thing to encourage and indulge in one's religious susceptibility. So, the attitude of a secular state shall be that it will neither encourage religious faith nor obstruct it. Secularism in no way means that government will lend its support equally to all religious faith. But to the credit of the Congress and to the pseudo-communists and socialists a peculiar conception of secularism has developed in our country which implies equal encouragement for all religious faith. Under such circumstances, what else we can expect except whipping up of religious fanaticism. Moreover, if secularism means equal encouragement to all religions then have these protagonists of this idea ever thought that, then the difference between India and Pakistan objectively boils down to this that the former is an Islamic theocratic State while the latter is a multi-theocratic State.

To reform education in accordance with the democratic principles of life, it was the bounden duty of all the forces clamouring for democracy to first of all free education completely from the influence of religion. But contrary to this expectation, of late, we find our education system is aiming at incorporating religion in it as much as religious education has been included in the curriculum, to best serve the interests of the reactionary forces of our country. By taking recourse to this type of capitulation

with religious heritage all declarations of democracy have been virtually reduced to a verbosity. It is no wonder therefore, that the products of our present education system are showing distinct inclination towards parochialism, communalism and casteism.

Besides this, our education system is becoming more and more restrictive and undemocratic. The demand for free universal education of the pre independence day is getting the worst jolt from the present rulers of the country. Under the pretext of improving the standard of education, even the existing scope of education, especially higher education, are being squeezed and education is being made more costly, resulting in curtailment of education. Courses of studies are being drawn up in such a way as to develop neglect for those subjects that can make our students acquainted with the latest modern intricate scientific and revolutionary thinking of the world and foster human values. If judged from the class basis it is not at all difficult to realise how the courses of studies whether in the branch of humanities or in science are providing absolutely mechanical knowledge divorced from the very essence of discipline itself. As an example, a student of history comes out of the University being enriched only with certain informations regarding historical events without developing any creative knowledge of how to analyse and correlate the events of history in the yardstick of the law of the development of human society. The studies of science present no better picture. Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Mathematics etc., are taught in such a way as to provide only a technical knowledge in utter

disregard to the ethics and philosophy of science. As a result we find in despair that most of our students of science even after completing their studies in the Universities do not acquire adequate standard of having a scientific and systematic approach to various problems confronting our life.

Due to the lack of elementary understanding of ethics there is a growing indifferent and callous attitude towards any social problem amongst our students, youths and intellectuals. Instead of instilling students with scientific and systematic reasoning we observe that there is a growing tendency to bring about a peculiar fusion between spiritualism and science. This trend in our educational life is indeed alarming as it is characteristic of fascist culture. Fascism is a peculiar fusion of science with spiritualism. It adopts the technical aspects of science in its bid to develop and strengthen the economic and military might of the fascist state while in the matter of ethics and morality, it installs in the minds of the people all sorts of anti-science religious fads in the name of national culture and heritage in order to retrograde the mental process of the people from the scientific path of causality to the mystic alley of blind faith, pre-conception and obscurantism and ultimately develops contempt for social action. All these symptoms are distinctly found in our cultural life. The inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that fascism has made deep inroad in the cultural life of our society.

Then again do not we see that in spite of chorus of sermons by the national leaders to the younger generation to be good citizens and observing the anniversaries of

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AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-FEUDAL, ANTI-MONOPOLIST, NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC

FRONT SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE APPROPRIATE SLOGAN FOR THE PAKISTANI PEOPLE

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Bengali, is being sought to be suppressed and replaced by Urdu, invidious discrimination is being perpetrated against them in the matter of government services, state help to East Pakistan etc., etc.

Thirdly, we all know that fascism is the general characteristic of present day capitalism. Pakistan is no exception to this general rule. Military dictators like Iskandar Mirza and Ayub backed by the monopolists have taken away all the vestiges of bourgeois democracy. Even direct election on the basis of adult franchise has been denied to the people of that country.

All these things have combined together to rouse the Pakistani people and inflame hatred against the Ayub regime. The movement by the people, particularly by people of East Pakistan assumed mighty shape where students played the pivotal role. This movement was directed to bring out Pakistan from the military alliance with imperialist powers and make her adopt an anti-imperialist pro-socialist foreign policy. It also aimed to bring about the downfall of the autocratic Ayub regime and restore normal democratic life in Pakistan. It at the same time was directed to secure greater autonomy consistent with the principle of self-determination to the different nationalities like the Bengalis in East Pakistan, Beluchis in Beluchistan, Sindhis in Sind and Pakhtoons in Pakhtoonistan.

The forces against Ayub may be divided into three categories. Firstly, there was the Rightists comprising the religious fanatics, the blind followers of Islam represented by Madoodi and others. This

force belonged to the extreme Right. Secondly, on the left was the Radicals, the left-oriented force led by Maulana Bhasani who is very often posed as a pro-communist Radical. The existence of this left-oriented political force was felt mainly in East Pakistan where the Maulana commands a deep regard from the people. From reports so far available it has appeared to us that the two forces, the Rightists and the Radicals, came into conflict with each other at a particular phase of the movement due to unwise tackling of the situation by the Radicals resulting in confusion in the united movement against Ayub. Taking advantage of this confusion, a third force representing the moderate bourgeoisie appeared on the scene with Muzibur Rahman as its spokesman. This force of the moderate bourgeoisie tried to capture the people's imagination and channelise the movement for the realisation of parliamentary reforms.

We have already stated herein before that under the long autocratic rule of Ayub the fundamental democratic rights of the people suffered from the worst type of suppression. Hence restoration of democratic environment and national democratic life in order that legitimate democratic movements can be organised and developed became the primary objective of the anti-Ayub movement. This being the position our party led by our leader Com. Shibdas Ghosh thinks that the first and foremost task of the Radicals in Pakistan was to create a National Democratic Front (this has nothing in common with the Khrushchevite concept of National Democracy), consisting of all democratic forces with the

workers, peasants and students, the real fighting force of the movement, united together and acting as the core of the Front. The Rightist forces, the blind followers of Islam even could have been accommodated in the Front, provided that they had accepted the policy and programme of the Front. It goes without saying that this Front would be anti-imperialist, pro-socialist and supporter of progressive movement in different countries. It would be anti-Ayub and its fight would be directed against monopoly and feudalism and for uninterrupted industrial progress in the country. It would aim at bringing out Pakistan from the military alliances with the imperialist powers restoring normal democratic life and establishing democratic government elected on the basis of adult franchise. It would also enlarge autonomy of the different nationalities speaking different languages. If this suggested National Democratic Front had been formed and through it ideological political struggles conducted correctly and people's own instruments of struggle created then with the intensification of the movement and its influence spreading among the masses of the people, the fanatical religious forces of right reaction would have been isolated from the people, the moderate bourgeoisie contended, the people freed from the influence of parliamentarianism and constitutionalism and if conditions favoured, the movement pushed towards a revolutionary path.

But the fact is such a thing did not take place. The National Democratic Front was never organised. Though the workers, peasants and students actively participated and

courageously fought against the Ayub regime yet they were not properly organised, nor were the people's own instruments of struggle formed throughout the length and breadth of the country. This lapse on the part of the Radicals was taken advantage of by other forces particularly the moderate bourgeoisie which organised a Democratic Action Committee wedded to the task of establishing bourgeois parliamentary democracy on the basis of adult franchise.

Maulana Bhasani was correct when he refused to participate in negotiation with Ayub on the ground that the representatives of workers, peasants and students had not been invited to the discussion though they were the leading force of the movement. But at the same time we are constrained to say that he and the Radical left-wing which posed him as its leader completely failed to visualise the situation. Instead of organising the struggle correctly and raising its tempo step by step adventurism had been encouraged. To illustrate, Maulana openly declared at different times that the workers and peasants would burn the polling booths if attempts were made to foil the movement by introducing parliamentarianism and capture the factories and the organs of state power. And this was said without making any attempt whatsoever to develop people's own organs of struggle without which such utterances are nothing but empty verbosity and an act of adventurism giving the autocratic rulers a handle to suppress the movement violently on the plea of maintaining law and order and safeguarding national solidarity. The present setback

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THE IDEOLOGY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM THE ONLY CORRECT IDEOLOGY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

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all great men with utmost Eclat petty-selfishness, moral depravity and cold unconcern for social activities are eating into the very vitals of the young people? Why is it that the generation which a few years back was seething with national fervour and social action against injustice and oppression during the period of foreign rule in India is showing these ugly symptoms of moral degradation? Definitely our children are not born depraved and corrupt now. It is something in the general atmosphere of the country, in the system which is serving as the breeding ground of this fall in the moral standard. Therefore, no tangible purpose will be served by simple murmuring about petty-selfishness, moral depravity and cold unconcern for social activities among our young people without probing into the root cause of the prevailing crisis in our socio-political and cultural life.

A philosophy and ideology and a given category of sense of values which play a progressive revolutionary role at a particular stage of social formation become a privilege and an instrument of reaction at a different stage of social formation. This has been the case with the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, the sense of value of bourgeois humanism which we held aloft during the national liberation struggle. In the pre-independence period bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois sense of humanism was not a privilege. It had then historically a progressive and revolutionary role as it essentially merged with the collective interest of the society. With the attainment of national independence and with the establishment of bourgeois rule in our country

the ideology of nationalism and the sense of value of bourgeois humanism have lost their progressive and revolutionary role and become a privilege into the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie, requiring no sacrifice for being a nationalist and ultimately standing in the way of further social progress. It does no more represent the collective interest of the society which historically merged with the class interest of the proletariat and is directed today mainly against the progressive and the revolutionary movement of the society. So, we see the ideology, the sense of values, the banner of which at one time we raised high, that governed the courses of entire progressive and revolutionary movement during the period of national liberation struggle, have to-day become complete and exhausted in as much as it has been transformed into a privilege in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Moreover, the malady of our social and cultural life has been further accentuated by this education system which does not inculcate among the students and youths any understanding of ethics and hence any sense of social obligation. The basic teaching of ethics should be that before asserting any right one will have to first of all fulfil one's obligations towards society.

Our society today is passing through a period of intensive crisis in the field of ideology and culture. It requires the emergence of a new philosophy and a new ideology which is capable of imbibing our younger generation for social action. The ideology of Scientific Socialism is the only way out of the present impasse which can

alone correlate our patriotism with Proletarian Internationalism. Because, it is patriotism guided by Proletarian Internationalism, at this stage of our social formation, which only represents the collective interest of the society. It provides an invincible ideological weapon of struggle in the hands of the toiling masses against all privileges. Dialectical Materialism is the only philosophy of struggle against all sorts of injustice and privileges calling for sacrifice and self-dedication as it alone is capable of stemming the rot and raise the moral standard of the people.

Therefore, those who think of reforming the education system, in order to raise the moral standard of the people will have to consider it on the broader perspective of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Otherwise they will find no reply to the vexed question as to why the cultural standard of our youths is showing steady decline inspite of the floods of sermons by the leaders and setting up of numbers of commissions. In fine, the task of reforming the education system of our country is inseparably linked up with the question of completing the unaccomplished task which the bourgeoisie in our country is incapable of performing in the present era. It is a great task for the revolutionaries, progressive thinkers and the educationists to correlate the educational, moral and ethical approach with the basic ideology and politics of the proletariat fighting for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation in India. I request the readers to give a serious thought over the questions raised above.

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PAKISTAN

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of the heroic struggle by the Pakistani people is due to this weakness of the working class leadership in that country. We must however admit that this study of ours is based on the report so far published in the bourgeois Press and therefore is liable to possible mistakes though our study is based on the science of probability. Then again we also admit that it is for the people of Pakistan to judge if the leadership was right or wrong and the revolutionary working class leadership to formulate what should be the strategy and tactics of revolution. But a fraternal party has a duty to express its view in a friendly way on the situation in another country. Our suggestion therefore should be taken as a suggestion of a fraternal party guided by the sole desire of helping the struggling comrades in Pakistan.

The adventurists in our country should take a lesson from the Pakistani incident. They should realise that before giving any call to the masses for seizure of power, be it by creating liberated areas in farflung villages amidst reactionary encirclement or capturing any other part, the level of political consciousness of the people, their organisation, mass base of the revolutionary nuclei throughout the length and breadth of the country, formation of people's own organs of struggle, creation of revolutionary army, etc., should be taken into full cognisance, otherwise, all talks of revolution and seizure of power are nothing but barren phrase-mongering of a coffee-house chatter-box. These adventurist utterances do extreme harm to revolutionary preparation.

In conclusion we in unity with all the democratic and freedom-loving people of different countries in the world demand the immediate withdrawal of the Martial Law so that the normal democratic life may be restored in Pakistan and the Pakistani people can decide their own fate according to their desire.