

# India Govt.'s Latest Move On Sikkim

## An Affront to Justice-upholding People of the World

A concrete historic event gives an opportunity to the working people in our country to judge from the respective political stands and approaches of different political parties their basic class character and class approach notwithstanding the public postures of those parties. The 35th Amendment to the Indian Constitution (not the 36th as originally drafted) recently formalised in the Parliament in a day with only token opposition to it by 7 members (what about the total strength of 25 members of CPI(M) ?) making Sikkim an "associate State" within Indian Union which in plain words means nothing else than virtual annexation of Sikkim by the Indian State short of total merger, is such an event. It has unmasked not only the ruling bourgeois party of its being the true representative of the growing imperialist character of the Indian national bourgeoisie but also the opportunism of parties like CPI, CPI(M), the Socialists and other so-called opposition parties. The volteface of CPI(M) only shows its sham attempt to hide its guilt from the discerning eyes of the class conscious working people. It has also indicated the correctness of our party's reading of the situation and the political approach, based on the base proletarian world outlook by the ensemble of facts and events.

### The 35th. Amendment

True to our reading (we would recapitulate here-in after some relevant portions for the benefit of our readers) the bourgeois government has lost no time in translating into reality its basic motivation contained in the Government of Sikkim Act finally enacted on July 3 by amending the constitution to make Sikkim an "associate state" within the Indian Union from its hither-to position of an independent identity as protectorate state. The Protector Indian State now assumes the paramount power over it. Sikkim will have one representative each in both houses of Indian Parliament, the representative to the Lok Sabha to be directly elected after a specified period and shall have all the rights of members of Parliament other than taking part in the election of President and Vice-President of the Indian State. Members for Sikkim in the two Houses could be subject to the same disqualifications applicable to Indian MP's except the fundamental requirement about Indian citizenship.

The external affairs Minister Sri Swaran Singh, while piloting the bill in the Parliament declared

that the constitutional link now forged between India and Sikkim was 'sacrosanct' and "could be altered only by mutual consent and to mutual advantage." This is the sum and substance of the enactment.

Now, apart from the serious political issues involved in the Government's hasty attempt to 'legalise' its crime, the method applied will surely provide a curio in the history of constitution making exercises. For, the Indian Federal State is composed of 21 states (former provinces in British India as also new provinces formed) and 9 union territories centrally administered and there is no provision for

(Contd. to page 4)

## Com. Banerji in Critical Condition

Since 10th September last, Com. Subodh Banerjee's health condition has been deteriorating. High temperature, acute anaemia and serious weakness all these symptoms are daily developing further. He is now passing through an extremely critical stage.

# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA ( FORTNIGHTLY )

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

VOL 8  
No. 3

15th SEPTEMBER '74  
SUNDAY

PRICE 30 P.  
Air Surcharge 4 P.

## A FEW QUESTIONS BEFORE MASS MOVEMENT

It has become a serious question before the people of our country as to how to meet the challenge of mounting problems confronting their lives in all spheres of activity. Ever soaring prices of essential commodities, non-availability of food-grains because of rampant operation of black-money and black-marketing, prevalence of near-famine condition in so many parts of the country, acute problem of unemployment—both in rural and urban areas, periodic retrenchment, lay-offs, closure of factories, etc., illegal eviction of peasants from lands, complete chaos in the educational field, continuous moral and cultural degradation, unthinkable administrative corruption etc. etc.—all combined together—have created a dangerously suffocating situation that has already encroached upon the limit of forbearance of the common men. There is hardly any sign for these problems to be on the wane, rather waves of newer problems are being created daily. In fact, yesterday's severity of crisis is being surpassed by that of today's, awaiting further crisis to-morrow.

But the real problem lies not so much in the economic sufferings or political and cultural persecutions that have gripped the life and activities of the people as in the near-complete absence of awareness regarding these problems; a kind of unbound apathetic and callous attitude seems to have been developed as if our sense organs have become blunted and inert, incapable of transmitting the very feelings which they are supposed to do as human beings.

But those days are not far behind when a single act of injustice by the government, a single repressive measure, imposition of any fresh economic burden would spark off utter indignation of the people bursting out in the

masses. The series of additional taxes and fresh burdens that have been imposed upon the people by different measures of the Central Government are not evoking even a semblance of serious protest which the Calcutta people witnessed previously because of increase of tram fare by one pice only.

But why? Is it a fact that the people of our country do not have any grievance against the present state of affairs? Are they not really seething with simmering discontent? Do not the recent movements in Guzrat and Bihar—in spite of the fact that the right reactionary forces are trying to capitalise them in furtherance of their narrow political interests and in spite of their serious limitations as sporadic and unorganised movements, which any government not to speak of a capitalist government can quell without much difficulty—confirm the very fact that the whole country is virtually sitting on volcano? The question is, why in spite of prevalence of such an explosive situation the mass movements are not getting necessary momentum and taking organised shape capable of conducting protracted battle against all possible onslaughts? If for all this, anybody holds the common men responsible and take them to task that

(Contd. to Page 6)

form of mass movement against the Congress Government. But today we find an altogether different picture. Indiscriminate firing on the innocent people taking toll of any number of lives in recent times have failed to create a stir on the basis of which a protest movement can be built up. The "poor" Sanker Chakravarty, a teacher of Cooch Behar in West Bengal, who succumbed to CRP bullets on 28th August last could not rouse the people so much as did Nurul Islam in 1966. The audacious atrocity of the Congress Government let loose on the recent All India Railway strike has not met with a fitting rebuff involving the members of the public for thoroughly isolating the government from the

## NEWS LETTER FROM KERALA

## CPI(M) IN THE LABYRINTH OF PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS

The Kerala State Committee of CPI(M) at its meeting on June 28-30th has taken decision that all the democratic forces in the state should jointly exert efforts to oust the Achutha Menon government through all means including civil-disobedience because in its opinion, *"the only way the people can be rescued from the daily intensifying economic crisis, the burning problems like food scarcity, etc. the all-pervading corruption and the crisis engulfing the ruling front is to seek the verdict of the people through a mid-term election. Only a new democratic front which will seek to solve the economic crisis and in this process fight the bourgeois-landlord policies of the Central Congress Government can find solutions to our burning problems."*

[Resolution of the Kerala State Committee (Italics ours—P. Era) of CPI(M)—People's Democracy, July 14, 1974]

As to the composition of this new democratic front envisaged by the party, Sri E. M. S. Namboodripad gave a clear hint before the pressmen in Trivandrum on July 7 that his party was trying to form a front based on "leftist programme" as could be acceptable to "non-leftists" also. He informed the press that a dialogue was going on between his party and of all parties, the Kerala Congress, the political party of the plantation owners, landed gentry and commercial capital and they, in their turn also had already shown indications to come to this political compact. Not only this. This open signal from EMS was promptly responded to by K. M. Moni, the General Secretary of Kerala Congress, the very next day by issuing a press statement, calling a "mass upsurge" to end the Achutha Menon government and holding that for this, a united front of parties "without any reservation as to the political outlook of those parties" should be formed. But the composition of the "new democratic front" of CPI(M) does not exhaust here. The party's all-India journal, People's Democracy has been, for sometime past, devoting much of its speculations on the possibility of having the political support and backing from at least a section of the leaderships of Muslim League after the 10th March resolution of that party which as a pressure

tactics threatened to withdraw its political support from the ruling coalition if the ruling Congress party leadership did not give up its big-brotherly attitude and eschewed violent methods with the help of administration against its supporters in a bid to destroy its political base.

Giving a detailed background of the split that surfaced on May 10th in the Muslim League when six of its legislators being aggrieved with the weak-kneed, conciliatory attitude of the top leadership towards Congress(R) even in the face of their domineering attitude and over the selection of candidate of the party in the biennial election of the Rajya Sabha, declared withdrawal of support to the government reducing it thereby to a minority in the Assembly. Sri E.M.S. Namboodripad, in his article "Developing Crisis of Kerala Coalition" in People's Democracy of 16.6.74 however noted that the situation had since changed in favour of the ruling Congress due to hectic move of top leadership of the Indian Union Muslim League. It is due to the personal initiative of its President, a rapprochement between the warring factions could be brought about and the threatened rupture was not visible in the legislative forum as the Muslim League nominee won the Rajya Sabha seat and there was no separate legislative grouping in the Assembly by the "dissidents" of

Muslim League.

But EMS is not a man to lose heart in Parliamentary game. For he says, "There is no doubt that if at all they lead to a patch-up solutions (which itself is rather difficult) it can not last long.

"For, the differences between the two groups are not only personal as the leaders of other ruling parties try to make out. Together with the personal factor (which of course, does exist) is the fact that the so-called "official" and "dissident" groups of the League Leadership represent two groups of Muslim upper classes—those who want to perpetuate and if possible further extend the collaboration between the ruling Congress and the Muslim League which has continued in Kerala for nearly five years ("official group") and those who are disappointed and disgusted with the way in which the Congress has used this collaboration in order to humiliate the League (the "dissidents")" [Italics ours—P Era].

So, the State Committee of CPI(M) under the able leadership of EMS is trying to woo a section of the "upper class Muslim" when its rapprochement with the other, in the assessment of the Polit Bureau member can not be expected to "last long" as it is very much "disappointed and disgusted with the way in which the Congress has used this collaboration in order to humiliate the League" in their "new democratic front" with such "leftist programme" as could be acceptable to "non-leftists". And who says that at least a section of a Communal Party like Muslim League can not be "non-leftist"? The entire party of Muslim Communalism had no difficulty to be a partner of a Progressive Ministry headed by EMS Namboodripad. Not only this. Compare the attitude of Congress (R) towards Muslim League to what it got from CPI(M). It got a separate Muslim District, "Malapuram" "to safeguard the minority

interest" strictly in fulfilment of the promise it received from CPI(M) as one of the conditions for joining the front before election!

And, so contrary to the charge of humiliating the League by the Congress(R) leadership in Kerala, the CPI(M) leadership can justifiably claim to have helped the League leadership to spread its politics in Malabar and elsewhere when it joined with the League's leadership in bringing home to the working people that minority interest could only be protected by forming separate district for them!

But let us see the other side before we come to the question of the 'new democratic front' CPI(M) style. What has been CPI's reaction to this challenge from CPI(M) in Parliamentary game?

Releasing the resolution of the Executive of the Kerala State Council of CPI, the party's State Secretary N. E. Balaram said that "Before also the CPM had conducted many struggles here in open alliance with rightist parties like the Jana Sangha and the syndicate but this is the first time they have openly declared that their aim is to topple the State Government." (New Age July 14, '74).

Sri Balaram deplored the sudden change in CPI(M)'s stand because till recently the CPM leadership in the state was talking about economic crisis and food crisis and demanding the calling of the assembly to discuss them and to exert pressure on the Central government to meet the state's demands in these spheres and he linked up this sudden change in the CPI(M) stand with the recent meeting of their PB and with the confabulations which the "Marxist" leaders have initiated with Jay Prakash Narayan.

The CPI State Committee resolution, therefore says:

"The present move of the CPM leadership is

therefore far more ominous than their declared aim of toppling the Achutha Menon government. *In effect the CPM leadership is out to carry out the wishes of rightist forces in the country. What they are trying is to forge alliance with rightist forces, to echo their slogans and to subvert the only existing left and democratic government in India today.*" (Italics ours—P. Era) [New Age—July 14, 74].

CPI's anguish can be well understood. It has been spelt out in not too uncertain words by Sri K. U. Warier writing in, "Kerala! CPM Wooing All Hues of Reaction", [New Age, July 21, 74] that Sri Namboodripad, "not long ago... had publicly announced that his party would not do anything to topple the Achutha Menon government in the state but would wait till it "rots" in office and goes out stinking" after a full term. But he has now changed his tune and wants his faithful followers to start a liberation struggle to immediately topple the ministry." The writer also deplores referring to the proposed front by CPI(M) that it was virtual repudiation of the joint stand of the left parties taken at their meeting in New Delhi on April 4 and 5.

The CPI, therefore while calling upon the democratic forces of the state to come in rescue of the "only existing left and democratic government in India today" (!) basically depends for its survival on the strength of the big partner, Congress(R) to smash the CPM's challenge! It is however, apprehensive as to the attitude of Congress(R) in regard to meeting this challenge because a section of Congress(R) leadership is against sharing the cake of administration with them any more and will, therefore, try to extricate the party from the alliance particularly when the tenure of the Assembly will be coming to an end just a

(Contd. to Page 3)

# CPI(M)'s 'New Democratic Front'—election oriented opportunistic alliance to damage People's Struggle

(Contd. from Page 2)

year after. A year's president's rule can give them better dividends in the coming polls. CPI is also perturbed over the growing closeness between the top leadership of Congress(R) and CPI(M) and has been reacting rather sharply on it publicly. It will, therefore, try its level best, by repairing its relation with Congress(R), to keep the so-called "left and democratic government" running for the full term and hopes that if it succeeds, CPM will not "find mass support to change it in the next election." Shri Achutha Menon, the Chief Minister, therefore, declared on 15th June in New Delhi that the decision of CPI to quit the defunct PDA in West Bengal would not affect the UF-Congress Coalition Government in the state. CPI leadership is now labouring hard to show "The Contrast to PDA in Kerala Alliance" (New Age, 23rd June issue) to its supporters and rank and file.

As the CPI banks on the support of Congress(R) which is the strongest political arm of the ruling bourgeoisie with the sole intention of sticking to administration to take advantage of loaves and fishes, so also CPI(M) is trying hard to have them by forming a so-called "new democratic front" with a queer assortment of parties and forces like Kerala Congress and a section of Muslim League. The working people experience today, the rank opportunism of both the parties that carry the banner of Marxism-Leninism. They have to take particular note of CPI(M)'s reformist opportunistic politics that create maximum damage to working people's struggle against the capitalist system and the various bourgeois class policies that are accentuating the crisis in the capitalist economy today.

Our party has been consistently trying to persuade CPI(M) and other left and democratic parties for the formation of a programmatic united front to conduct the struggle of the masses against the crisis-ridden capitalist economy and the bourgeois class policies in general and on some of the urgent issues before the masses in particular. CPI(M) leadership always avoided this suggestion of ours by insisting on "issue-based" "joint actions" which objectively put serious obstacle in the process of developing a united front of left and democratic parties and forces.

Our Kerala State Organising Committee in its statement to the press (Proletarian Era—Sept. 1, '73) rightly pointed out to the working people of the state that "The CPI(M) is interested not so much in developing a sustained united mass movement to alleviate the suffering of the people owing to price rise and food crisis as in fishing in troubled water, exploiting the sentiments of the people and making political capital for prospects in election. In spite of repeated appeals by the SUCI to forge a unity of all the left and democratic parties and forces on the basis of an agreed programme and code of conduct to the development of sustained united mass movement, the CPI(M) has not shown any interest in forging such a unity. On the contrary it is out to make a common cause with such parties of right reaction as the Congress (O), the Kerala Congress, etc."

Not only this. In order to defend its line of "issue based", "joint action", the Central Committee of CPI(M) at its meeting, 15-20 July 73 offered a queer logic: "Every party, group or organisation has its own specific approach to the problems facing the country—an approach different from that of the

other parties, groups and organisations. It would, therefore, be unrealistic to attempt the formulation of a common programme covering all aspects of the economic and political life of the people."

Our party exposed the utter hollowness and opportunism of this logic at that time (P. Era—Oct. 1, '73) by reminding the CPI(M) leadership as well as the working people, of the Marxist-Leninist principle of United Front Politics: "Political united front of the left and democratic parties is formed on the basis of agreed minimum common programme, which exists in a historically given phase of development of struggle, and not on the basis of a common programme covering all aspects of the economic and political life of the people as stated by the CPI(M) leadership."

Our party also showed in that analysis that behind the tall talks of "unity in action" on the basis of specific issues, the CPI(M) leadership wanted to keep the door open for uniting with any party that would best suit its petty sectarian interest notwithstanding the serious harm it would cause to the genuine movement of the working people.

The reading and analysis of our party regarding CPI(M) leadership's rank opportunism are unfolding today, in bare realities of Kerala politics.

In the Delhi meetings of left and democratic parties on April 4-5 where the CPI(M) General Secretary Sri Sundaraya joined hands with Sri Rajeswar Rao, General Secretary of CPI in opposing our party's specific proposal for formation of a united front of left and democratic parties and forces on the greatest measure of agreement on common issues with a definite code of conduct. But, today, when the Assembly's tenure is just one year left and squabbles

inside and in between the parties of the ruling coalition are surfacing, the CPI(M) leadership threw all their brave utterances of the past and even the minimum scruples into the four winds and is making all out efforts to form a so-called hotch-potch "new-democratic front" in alliance with communal and reactionary parties and forces with such a "leftist programme" as can even be acceptable by "non leftists" meaning thereby these reactionary political forces. In order to cover up its utterly bankrupt opportunistic politics its State Committee have listed as to the causes of people's sufferings—crisis in the economy, unemployment problem, unemployment caused by mechanisation in agriculture, price rises etc. but have not shown minimum honesty by explaining to the masses that the root cause of all these evils, lies in the very crisis-ridden capitalist economy in general and the particular bourgeois class policies pursued by the bourgeois government in the shape of economic and fiscal policies that accentuate the inflationary spiral which is but the symptom of the growing crisis of a capitalist economy. Instead, the State Committee of CPI(M) wants the oppressed masses to believe that electoral victory of such an opportunistic alliance of various assortment of parties, communal and right reactionaries included, will bring a salvation to them. Working people of Kerala have had much of experiences about the use or abuse of the administration in petty sectarian party interest and about the so-called struggle against the central government even under a ministry headed by CPI(M) Polit Bureau member, Sri E. M.S. Namboodripad. This does not mean that we deny the necessity of building up any anti-Congress mass movement in Kerala. Rather we strongly feel that there is, an immediate and urgent nece-

ssity to build up an organised and united mass struggle against the Congress not with an outlook of parliamentary power struggle for simply attaining governmental power by the present opposition in the coming election but with the clear-cut attitude that it is the capitalist system as a whole which is the breeding ground of all problems of people's life for defending and protecting which the Congress has become the main enemy of the people. So one must be able to distinguish between an anti-Congress movement prompted by sheer exigency bereft of any perspective of anti-capitalist socialist revolution with that of an anti-Congress struggle arising out of the indispensable necessity of fighting out capitalism itself.

The common people of Kerala have, therefore, to take the important class lesson and instil in them the base political approach of the proletariat which will teach them that the concretisation of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of present day Indian Society made by the genius of Comrade Shibdas Ghose, one of the foremost Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era and the leader and teacher of our party leads to one conclusion and that is by overthrowing the capitalist social system through the successful completion of the tasks of socialist revolution the working masses of our country can only liberate themselves as well as the society from the crassest of capitalist exploitation whose inevitable symptoms are the ever and ever swelling number of unemployed, mass pauperisation and cultural degeneration at an alarming pace. But in order to develop the revolutionary forces within the country, every opportunity of united mass struggles should have to be taken up to bring the base political line and the concrete political leadership of the party of the proletariat, i.e., the line of Socialist Revolution and

(Contd. to Page 6)

# INDIA GOVT.'S MOVE TRIGGERS CONDEMNATION

(Contd. from Page 1)

associate state.' Sikkim was so long enjoying the status of an independent state juridically but a protectorate of the India Government. It was never a state within the meaning of the Indian Constitution. But by this novel constitutional exercise it becomes virtually a state within the Indian Federal structure.

Because combination of two states changes basically the character of a Federation into a confederation but Indian Federal State remains as such even after this enactment. Sensing this basic incongruity, even the Jansanghites, Swatantra-wallas and the Socialists who gave vigorous support to the government move wanted to make a short end of this farce by an outright merger of Sikkim into the Indian State. But displaying bourgeois prudence (!) of his leader, Swaran Singh advised them "not to hasten the pace" as "at present the government was going upto the point that Sikkim (or what should have been correctly stated, the subservient Sikkimese Congress leadership?—writer) was prepared to go." The Minister was merely emulating the example of the imperialist rulers when he was telling that Sikkim was not losing its independent identity and what was happening was in fulfilment of the desire of the Sikkimese people and that they still retained their right to have a separate constitution of their own.

But the cat was out of the bag when in reply to a query of a member as to what would happen if the Sikkim Assembly decided later not to send a representative to the Indian Parliament, Sri Swaran Singh counterposed, "if some state assembly in India decides not to send a representative to the Rajya Sabha what can you do about it?" He meant by this that so far as the question of accession of Sikkim to the Indian State was concerned, it was final and irrevocable.

Nor did the Minister explain as to how does the opinion of Sikkimese Congress in the Assembly reflect the true aspiration of nascent nationalism of Sikkim as the Assembly was formed with 'one man one vote' formula in suppression of the interest of the original inhabitants of the land, the Lepchas and Bhutias who are in minority numerically, to the Nepalese migrants. Besides surrender of independent identity of Sikkim was never placed before the electorate in the last election by the Sikkimese Congress in their manifesto and as such they could not claim to have got the mandate of the people of Sikkim in this regard.

Besides, the hot haste in which the 35th Amendment of the Constitution was rushed through in the Parliament only indicates that the Government of India did not like to take any risk of a possible massive resentment in Sikkim against this move of India Government which would necessarily create serious obstacle in its path. In fact, what the Government did is to anyhow get the rubber-stamp of the Parliament on the executive decision making the Parliament a cipher and nothing else.

## Reactions Inside and Outside

The Students Community and the patriotic intellectuals of Sikkim in particular have sharply reacted to this move of the Indian bourgeois government in league with the subservient Sikkimese Congress leadership. Mr. K. N. Upsety, representative for Gangtok Sikkim youth Congress, in his letter of 3rd September (Published in the Statesman, 5th September '74) while demanding referendum on the issue of Sikkim's representation in the Indian Parliament has said that: "Lendhup Dorji Kazi..... was elected on the mandate of representative government and domestic reforms; his election manifesto....did not say

anything about participation."

He has also said: "The Assembly 11th May resolution about new forms of association with India took us by surprise. The Assembly members were never given a chance to discuss the resolution drafted by an Indian officer...It was read out once in English which 80% of the members do not understand and then passed by a show of hands."

He further adds that on the next day when he as a member of the Youth Congress delegation, met Mr. Bajpai, the political officer, "He told us that it only meant that we Sikkimese could watch the functioning of Indian democracy as observers and that there was no question of Sikkimese members in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha"

The Chogyal has also voiced the demand of independent identity of Sikkim in tune with the Treaty of 1950. He has charged the Indian government with "a unilateral abrogation of 1950 treaty" by the recent hasty moves in the Indian Parliament for Sikkim's representation without the genuine consent and knowledge of the Sikkimese people."

Not only these reactions from Sikkimese students and intellectuals that were pouring into the pages of Indian newspapers but even a section of the bourgeois newspapers actually questioned the propriety of the government's action in no uncertain terms.

The Statesman, in its editorial, captioned, "Is It Necessary" on September 1, had the following to say:

"The pretence that there is nothing questionable about the proposed change is unlikely to impress even all members of the Congress party whether Sikkim becomes an associate state or is given representation under some other intricate formula, it will in effect be brought under Indian

sovereignty; the protector will become the paramount power; and if the protectorate does not become a part of the Indian Union, it will be widely seen to be something like a colony, which is worse. Do the people of Sikkim want this change? The issue has never been placed before them.....Do the people of India want the change? They have not been asked either.

....As for international opinion New Delhi can hardly expect support from any quarter, unless Moscow thinks that the new arrangement will strengthen its own defences against China. Peking will conclude that its worst suspicions have been confirmed; and suspicions in Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh will considerably deepen."

"Hindusthan Times", another nationalist daily in its editorial of 30th August and 6th September questioned the government's action in forthright manner.

In its editorial of 6th September, "Strangers In The House," it nailed the lie in the India Government's claim of having the will of the people of Sikkim behind its move by pointing out: "the scant regard the India Government has shown for the Sikkim Assembly is evident in the acceptance by Mr. Swaran Singh of an amendment to the Constitution 35th Amendment Bill. Whereas the original Bill envisaged that the Sikkimese members to the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha would be indirectly elected by the Sikkim Assembly it has now provided that the Sikkimese member to the Lok Sabha will be directly elected. ...It is nowhere stated that the Sikkim Government was 'consulted' about this fundamental change in its statute. The wishes of the people of Sikkim in this regard have quite obviously not been taken into account at all even through the Sikkim Assembly.....so much for wishes of the Sikkimese people." The editorial

concludes by saying "Sorrow rather than exhilaration must mark India's acquisition of an associate state."

As for the reactions of the neighbouring states like Nepal and China, Nepal's foreign minister Mr. Gyanendra Bahadur Kirki in a speech to Nepal Rashtriya Panchayat said; "it is difficult to foresee the eventual shape of relationship between Sikkim and India....As close neighbours we wish that Sikkim should continue to make progress through preservation of her traditional entity." There was mighty student demonstration in protest against the India Government's act in Nepal.

The Chinese Communist Party in its organ, "People's Daily" said in an article that "This flagrant act of colonialist expansion is just the same as that of the old-time colonialists. The grave incident has shocked and infuriated all justice-upholding countries and people. The Chinese people strongly denounce this despicable act of the Indian Government".

(Economic Times—Sept. 4)

## CPI's Abject surrender To National Chauvinism

Although the common people has nothing to expect from the CPI but still then it should be noted that what the CPI MP's did in Parliament, of course in tune with the basic stand taken by the party, was a grand specimen of abject surrender to national chauvinism and nothing else. The most interesting point is this that there was practically no difference in approach of the CPI with that of the right reactionary parties like the JanSangh, Swatantra etc. in spite of the fact that the CPI always poses itself to be the main enemy of right reaction. But alas, on all such questions involving national issue the CPI is found to its best friends in the enemy camp!

The basic weakness from which the CPI as

(Contd. to Page 5)

# CPI AND CPI(M) FALL VICTIM TO NATIONAL CHAUVINISM

(Contd. from Page 4)

well Soviet leaders suffer is the utter confusion that since Sikkim is proceeding towards parliamentary democracy so it is a fight for progress against the reactionary. But what they have failed to notice is the question of self-determination of Sikkimese people as a growing nation and also the aspect of expansionism of the India Government.

## Volte Face of CPI(M)

The position of CPI(M) too presents no better picture. By-passing the basic question involved in India Government's move for accession of Sikkim to Indian Union on the so-called plea of strengthening the process of democratisation in that land against the feudalist Chogyal's rule, the CPI(M) in fact came in support of the move.

The CPI(M) leadership from the manner of their argument took a liberal bourgeois stand and was trying to support the accession of Sikkim to the Indian territory on the plea that it would accelerate the growth and development of democratisation in Sikkim. To it the major contradiction in Sikkim just like the CPI, the Soviet leaders and also the nationalist forces of India was not between the Indian Capitalist Government having its ally the Sikkim Congress leadership on the one side and the growing aspiration of Sikkimese people for a free sovereign national democratic state but between the feudal monarch and the Sikkimese people. It was therefore all praise for the role of Indian Government in helping the 'process of democratisation' in Sikkim barring its compromising attitude to Chogyal and vesting overriding constitutional power to the Chief Executive Officer, appointed by it to manage affairs of Sikkim.

In its Polit Bureau's resolution on Sikkim, dated July 26, the CPI(M) leadership therefore held:

"The Chogyal encouraged by U. S. support sought to stem the tide of democratic movement and continues his autocratic rule. He has been forced to retreat in his conspiracies before the joint pressure of the Government of India and the people of Sikkim....In the last conflict also he could have been completely vanquished but once again there was a compromise. But the Chogyal's mischief making capacity has been curbed to a great extent."

The P. B. of CPI(M) demanded "complete end to the rule of Chogyal". It also demanded "abolition of the Post of Chief Executive Officer with his powers of veto." On the provision of Sikkim Assembly can seek representation in political institution of India, it has only to say that, "any effort to restrict the right of the Sikkim people to frame their own political economic institution would only lead to bitterness among the people of Sikkim" and could be harmful to the interests of people of India and Sikkim." (Peoples Democracy, August 4).

The PB of CPI(M) is absolutely silent on the basic question as to what should be the future of self-determination of Sikkimese people as a growing nation, which no Marxist worth its name can ignore. In its overzealousness to be in the good book of Indira, the CPI(M) has not only failed to note the naked expansionism of India Government manifested in this accession of Sikkim to Indian State but has also created an absurd contradiction by advising that there should not be any interference by India and pleading in the same breath the demand for removing Chogyal to none but India Government itself!

This basic stand, CPI(M) leadership has maintained although but, forces of events and reactions inside and outside the country and even the forthrightly

comments in some bourgeois dailies prompted the leadership of that party to take some tactical manoeuvres in public postures. While, therefore, the Party representatives inside the Parliament herped on the line on possible adverse international reaction and "lowering of India's international prestige" they just recorded token opposition to the 35th Amendment of the constitution which makes virtual annexation of Sikkim to Indian territory complete as the recording of votes in Lok Sabha will prove beyond doubt. The central committee of the party just on the eve of the enactment, came out with statement to the Press, (The statesman, Sept. 5), where it made few changes only in expressions and clauses over its earlier stand in the PB. It only added that "the move will be interpreted by the whole world as the Indian Government's desire to absorb Sikkim as a part of India". And this will lead to worsening of relations with other countries, especially our neighbours". Any liberal bourgeois national opposition party would have taken the same stand.

The CPI(M) leadership is very much conscious that India's (Indian people's?) international prestige is not lowered and India's (India Govt's) move is not interpreted by the whole world as an attempt to absorb Sikkim as a part of India. To CPI(M) of course the present move of the India Government is not an attempt of annexation in any way, but because of the bad handling of the case it may look like. Thus the criticism made by the CPI(M) MPs on the floor of the Parliament, the token opposition votes by its MPs (only 9 against its total strength of 25) supposedly done with the sole object of highlighting its anti-government stance in its bid to capture the imagination of democratic minded people of India could not hide the basic

fact that it has at last come out as the chief adviser of the India Government to proceed cautiously and not to do things in a clumsy way lest it creates ground for interpretation otherwise. The stand of CPI(M) is, therefore, most dangerous in as much as it is more difficult to detect because of its critical tune but serving although very subtly, as the agent of Indian bourgeoisie.

## Our Stand

To our Party, the "basic question of the issue is whether the urge of the Sikkimese people for freedom, their aspiration for emerging as a separate national entity have in reality been manifested in the strong opposition that the most conscious section of the Sikkimese People, consisting of the students community, the government employees and the educated people in general have raised against these two particular articles of the constitution (articles relating to provision of representation of Sikkim in Indian political institutions and the selection of Chief Executive officer with supreme constitutional power by Indian government—writer).

"Now if the existing conflict between the Sikkim Congress and Indian Capitalist Government on the one hand and the students community, the government employees, the most conscious section of the people of Sikkim and Chogyal on the other does really reflect the national aspiration of the Sikkimese people and their urge for independent growth and development, then this struggle in spite of being led by a feudalist ruler like Chogyal has attained national character and under the circumstances he has reflected a tune more or less identical with that of the people of Sikkim urging for their free development into a separate nation and national state. For obvious reasons, the suppression of this struggle by the Indian capitalist government even

under the pretext that the struggle since it is led by the feudalist ruler of the country, tantamounts to a forcible suppression of the urge and aspiration for independent development of a growing nation and thereby falls in the category of national suppression.

...And under these circumstances any attempt on the part of the Indian capitalist government to accede Sikkim to India and thereby trans-

(Contd. to Page 8)

## READ :

### SARBAHARA YUG

Organ of SUCI in Hindi  
Published from SUCI Office,  
Patna, Behar

### GANA MUKTI

Organ of SUCI in Assamese  
Published from SUCI Office,  
Gauhati, Assam

### UNITY

Organ of SUCI in Malayalam  
Published from SUCI Office,  
Quilon, Kerala

## A CORRECTION

Com. Tapas Datta, Secretary, Orissa State Committee SUCI, has requested to publish a letter addressed to Editor, Proletarian Era in which he observed that the news published in Proletarian Era, dated 15th August regarding Civil Liberty Protection Convention held at Cuttack was defective. By going through this news item it might appear that our party was the main initiator of this Convention.

But the fact is that it was because of the initiative taken by Shri Naba Krushna Choudhury, Sm. Malati Choudhury, Rabi Sahoo, Shrinibash Misra, Advocate Rabi Singh and others of Civil Liberty Committee that the Convention could be held. Our party workers throughout the state being associated with this Committee actively helped in the holding of this Convention as we support this great cause.

## A Few Questions On Movements

(Contd. from page 1)

will be absolutely erroneous in spite of recognising the fact that common men too have some responsibility to perform at the present juncture. This will be equally unjust to presume that the people of our country do not have any record of sacrifice, not only in the pre-independence period, but also in post-independent days. The reality is just the reverse. They fought heroically, sacrificed tremendously on numbers of occasions and they will not be lagging behind in future also to wholeheartedly jump into such a struggle only when it develops. It is true that a sense of frustration, finding no way-out, is working among the people. It is equally true that beneath the layer of frustration there is a strong feeling that something must be done and people should not accept these things lying down. But the question that cannot but haunt the mind of all concerned is that why in spite of such a sacrifice, in spite of massive movements being built up against the Congress Government in the past, the situation has only changed from bad to worse and from worse to worst without showing any sign of improvement?

So anybody who is really serious about building mass movements in correct path and is ready to learn appropriate lesson from the mistakes of the past must keep in his mind certain important points. He must not forget that the ultimate object of all mass movements must be to overthrow the capitalist state machine which is the real enemy of the people. There must not be any confusion with regard to this particular point. Whatever may be the magnitude of a mass movement strong enough to compel the government to concede to the vital demands of the people, if as a result of all these movements people do not develop in them a clear-cut idea that so long as the present capitalist exploita-

tive system will prevail and remain in tact there cannot be any permanent solution of the vital problems of peoples life—then confusion of diverse nature is sure to vitiate the mass mind resulting in utter frustration of the people. It must also be examined why, at all, we are anti-Congress? We are anti-Congress because Congress is protecting by all means, by hook or by crook, the present exploitative capitalist state and the capitalist economy, which are the root causes of the sufferings of the people. So, there is absolutely no point in simply being anti-Congress, if we are not at the same time anti-capitalist—if we do not take any programme of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Com. Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the age, the leader, teacher and our guide has taught us the following. "What is most important for you is to have a correct idea as to the nature of these struggles and to acquire an appropriate understanding about the correct political line that should govern these struggles. Your day to day struggles for achieving certain political and economic demands, for the preservation and extension of democratic rights etc. shall have to be developed into struggles for the overthrow of capitalism. When you will be able to acquire this correct political approach and correct style of work it is then and then only that you will be able to influence and change the present situation. Otherwise, simply raising slogans against the Congress, winning elections and even forming an alternative government and also conducting innumerable battles for proper distribution of land and higher wage—you will not be able to bring about a change in the existing state of affairs. But these battles which you have to conduct on and often will bring about a change in the situation, will ameliorate the suffer-

ings of the people if, while conducting these battles, you become politically conscious, remain firm about your political aim, can give such shape to your organisation that with the help of it you can ultimately overthrow the exploitative capitalist system, that is, the capitalist state" (On Some Vital questions of Peasants' life (Proletarian Era dt. 15th July 1974).

From the above analysis it will be clear why in spite of serious urge, however latent at the present moment, of the people for building up of an effective mass movement against the anti-people, pro-monopolist policies of the government that are responsible for the present unbearable situation, no stable and serious movement is actually going to crystalize. This is a question which is intimately linked up with the character of leadership conducting the struggle and the base political line of the movement itself. The political parties who are to some extent organisationally strong to influence the mass movements, do not possess this correct political attitude that should govern these struggles. Not to speak of CPI which has formed an open alliance with Congress (R) in so many states, or the Socialist Party, the well-known social democratic party, which acts as a compromising force between labour and capital in spite of its strong anti-Indira stance—even the CPI(M), which never lags behind in talk of revolution and about which there is still some illusion among a considerable section of our people, has failed to pinpoint the real enemy of the people and hence to guide the struggles in correct path. Since the CPI(M) thinks that Indian capitalism has still a progressive role to play, but which, in reality, is the main enemy of the people as the generator of all the basic problems of peoples' life, the ultimate object of mass movements, to CPI(M), is not to replace

the existing exploitative capitalist state by a socialist state but to replace the Congress Government by any government having CPI(M) as either the leader or a partner of the new government. From this basic fact it follows that what the CPI(M) is interested in, is nothing but agitational form of movements, just like all petty-bourgeois or even right reactionary parties, which are found very effective in posing a party in election battles as the champion of peoples' cause, particularly to the unconscious masses, but not in organising a sustained movement on the basis of politically conscious disciplined organisation of the people necessary to combat the organised offensive of the capitalist state as a prelude to build up revolutionary movements which alone can lead the proletariat to power and can bring about emancipation of the people. But this interest of CPI(M) in organising even some agitational movements against the Congress, being completely devoid of the base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution, has been, to some extent, inhibited by some absolutely wrong characterisation of Indira Congress by CPI(M) itself. The tactics of raising most popular slogans which the Indira Congress is now used to do, mingled with so-called militant postures masked the vision of the CPI(M) leaders (who are themselves champions in slogan-shouting) so much that they missed the very menacing character of the Indira Government which is widely known in Marxian terminology as 'dual character of fascism'. The CPI(M), just like CPI, considers the right reactionary forces as the danger for fascism in order to fight which they have lent their support to Indira Government which, under its radical cloak and social democratic measures, is acting as the bulwark of fascism in India. Now calling all the social democratic economic measures adopted by Indira Government as 'progressive'

## Kerala Newsletter

(Contd. from page 3)

the political-organisational leadership of SUCI in the van of such movement. And in the course of conduction of such a movement if the opportunity comes for electoral battle, that also is to be utilised in furtherance of the basic cause of proletarian revolution.

Unless this basic class approach and base political line of the proletariat can play an effective and leading role in the struggles of the masses, they will remain as in the past in blind alley of reformist petty-bourgeois opportunist politics, serving in reality the preservation of the rotten capitalist system and compounding the mounting miseries of the people.

We appeal, therefore, to the working people of Kerala to deeply ponder over the various brilliant analyses given by our party under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghose on every concrete problem of today, be it the problem in economic life, or the root causes behind cultural decay and perversity running rampant amongst the youth. Comrade Ghose's teachings are the beacon light to the oppressed working people who not only suffer today heavily from the attacks of the ruling bourgeoisie in the midst of ever deepening crisis in the capitalist economy but from the reformist social democratic parties who hide this basic fact in order to defend this capitalist system from a definite class purpose.

but shouting slogans against 'semi-fascist terror let loose in West Bengal and Kerala' by the same Indira Gandhi Government has practically led the CPI(M) to a very ludicrous position.

In this connection, a brief mention of a feature of fascism will not be out of place to discuss. The most dangerous thing that

(Contd. to page 8)

# FACTS SPEAK

★ ★ ★

Right from the era of Prime Ministership of Mr. Nehru down to her daughter's regime, Congress from its platform and through the mouths of its leaders, in loud voices have declared pledge to establish socialism in India—"Democratic Socialism", socialism Congress Style! The air and sky of India, many a times got filled with high applauses, sounding and resounding to reach even a newly born baby's ear. 'The great Marxists' CPI and CPI(M) too joined in the chorus of praise when the "great socialistic" measures, Rural Land Ceiling, Bank Nationalisation, Abolition of Privy Purses etc. were adopted by the architects of "Democratic Socialism." Working people, people in toils in their livelihood are enjoying the harvests of the great achievements of 'Congress style socialism'! After all the successes of that socialistic measures that have brought about to the lives of the toiling people great changes (!) Sm. Indira Gandhi and Co. are thinking of bringing about another measure which will bring the country on to the verge of complete success of "Democratic Socialism"—the Urban Property Ceiling. And needless to say that our new President, the first citizen of India and his family has set a fine model ought to be followed by all those who believe in Congress style socialism.

The Congress nominee in the last Presidential election, Mr. Ahmed, being challenged by Mr. S. N. Misra, had to make a declaration of his property. He declared, he had a property worth Rs. 6 lacs and a sum of Rs. 10 lacs in cash received as compensation from the government, besides the house at Gauhati which he had gifted to his sons and a house at Shillong possessed not by him but by his wife. Mr. Misra challenged the declaration of Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and observed that Mr. Ahmed's property worth Rs. 48 lacs and if Sm. Gandhi could prove that Mr. Misra was wrong,

he would resign from Lok Sabha.

We do not intend to enter into the controversy. As Mr. Ahmed is an honourable man we may take his declaration as correct. But 16 lacs! A great sum indeed!! The toiling people, the wage earners, the unemployed exclaim! Of course neither the constitution of India nor the ideology of 'Democratic Socialism' is so narrow as to bar a President from being the owner of property that worths Rs. 16 lacs. "Democratic Socialism" and the constitution of India, on the contrary aims at, true to Gandhian ideology, establishing a condition of "peaceful co-existence" of the rich and the poor, the owners of the means of production and the have-nots. Of course, the "black sheep of the country", the working people and the revolutionary forces are not realising the greatness behind this "social democracy"! But the architects of "Democratic Socialism" must not be baffled at these remarks. After all the first citizen of India, the "greatest democracy of the world" should not be a penny-less man! A great question of prestige before the world is involved here!

But the half-starved, half-clad 70% of the population of India who are groaning under the great achievements of the measures of "Garibi Hatao", "socialism", which have strengthened the rule of the monopolists, and brought about ever aggravating privations to the lives of the millions now exclaim—"how grand is the 'socialism' practised by Sm. Indira and Co." To the toiling millions, the architects of such "socialism" are appearing as hypocrites and deceivers. "And if hypocrites and cheats are 'anti-socials,' the toiling people say, 'then this is no doubt a 'socialism' but a 'socialism' of the anti-socials, by the anti-socials, for the anti-socials.'"

At the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Committee Sm. Indira Gandhi on August 6th said, "There is an attempt from some quarters to sow the idea that food is abundant in the country, the defect in the distribution system is responsible for the present food crisis". "But", she emphatically declared, "this is wrong."

Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed at a meeting of the Rotary Club at Jaipur on 11th August said, "Defect and chaos in the distribution system of food is at the root of the people's present sufferings". He said further, "In reality there is no shortage of essential commodities in the country. But we failed to develop a well organised distribution system due to lack of discipline."

Minister of Agriculture, Mr. C. Subramaniam has admitted in the Lok Sabha on 12th August, "The wholesalers have not kept their promise which created difficulties in the distribution of food in the country." In reply to a question he clearly admitted that "though there was enough supply of wheat in the open market, but necessary quantity of wheat could not be procured for government's distribution." He assured, "The government will try to co-ordinate production, collection and distribution in future."

Central Minister of States of Agriculture Mr. A. P. Shinde has opined, "The wholesalers of food have let the government down". In reply to the three and a half hour long debate on the subject "The new wheat collection policy and its application" he said, "the government did not change its policy due to any pressure from the businessmen. The government changed it of its own accord." He opined, "The whole food policy needs a change keeping in view of the basic demand of the country. The government must take the responsibility of supplying food to

the majority of the people, through government distribution system."

Sm. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India being intelligent,—a little more intelligent than her colleagues—true to her character has tried to shield the fact that her government's policy of appeasement to the rural bourgeoisie and the black-marketeers and hoarders, has brought the meance, which she and her party leaders have clamoured much to fight. But her colleagues could not suppress it and unintelligently admitted the fact that "The wholesalers have let the government down."

Our party since 1959 under the guidance of our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh have been saying, that unless all out state trading is introduced, by all out state trading is meant, both wholesale and retail, banning all private business in foodgrains and essential commodities, any tall talks and promise of supplying food and essential commodities to the majority of the people is bound to meet with failure. Moreover, when the government decided to introduce partial wholesale state trading in wheat, appealing to the good gesture of the wholesalers, we cautioned that this measure was to meet with complete failure. The black marketeers, hoarders will not part with their super profit. Even banning of wholesale state trading, not partial, will not solve the problem as because the wholesalers will overnight turn into retailers, retail trade not being banned, and will continue their plunder as before.

Mr. Shinde said. "The government did not change its policy (much clamoured policy of partial wholesale state trading) due to any pressure from the businessmen." Then what? "The government changed it of its own accord." To give premium to whom? Certainly the toiling people did not benefit by this. Then for whose benefit is

this change? Certainly those "who have let the government down"! Certainly those who are sucking the people white! Socialism indeed!!!

Mr. Subramaniam said, "The government will try to co-ordinate production, collection and distribution in future". Noble decision indeed! Mr. Shinde said, "The government must take the responsibility of supplying food to the majority of the people, through government distribution system." Nobbler indeed the remark!! But anything short of all out state trading i.e. both wholesale and retail trade take over by the government by banning all private business, is utter bunkum and will mean in reality the reign of the anti-socials, blackmarketeters, hoarders, speculators, jotedars, police and Congress goondas as before and more sufferings of the half-starved, half-clad toiling millions.

Toiling people must understand this and rise up to respond to the call of the hour without any loss of time to give a befitting reply to the sheer hypocrisy and betrayal of the ruling class and its representative, Sm. Indira and Co.

## BIHAR NEWS

Com. Shiv Sanker, Secretary, Muzaffarpur District Committee SUCI, Com. Baleswar Rasoolpuri, another member of the Muzaffarpur District Committee of the party and eighteen other important workers of the party have been falsely implicated in a murder case and have been arrested recently. Com. Shiv Sanker and Com. Baleswar Rasoolpuri have the brilliant records of conducting heroic battles of the agricultural labourers and sharecroppers against the jotedars. This incident has created strong resentment among the local people as they consider it to be an onslaught on their own right to conduct democratic struggles and also a conspiracy of the jotedars.

# Establish Genuine Working Class Leadership Over the Fighting

(Contd. from page 6)

fascism fosters is to feed the people, particularly the intelligentsia, with all sorts of unscientific fads, religious revivalism, fatalism, authoritarianism, blindness and fanaticism, national jingoism etc. are some of the important ingredients through which fascism works in the realm of ideology and culture. The fascists always take recourse to such tactics so that people become victim of all sorts of national chauvinistic ideas keeping their eyes closed to the real cause of their sufferings. This is why they always try to kill all noble sense of values and morality in the people so that even in the midst of tremendous crisis created by the exploitative capitalist set up, the people remain absolutely unconcerned and do not feel the necessity of organising any protest against it. Thus the conspiracy of the Indira Government to emasculate the people in the ideological front on the one hand and the absurd failure on the part of the CPI(M) leadership to detect and characterise the nature of this conspiracy which is necessary to provide the people with ideological weapon against Indira Government on the other are some of the main factors that are responsible for the present stagnant situation.

Let us make here a brief reference to the question of united front. Had there been a united front, which we call a political united front, the only organ of struggle in the hands of the people, then serious attempts could have been made for organising sustained movements of the people in order to mitigate their vital problems. But here also, sheer exigency of situation has been found to prevail upon the indispensable necessity of a broad-based united front of different left and democratic parties and forces on the basis of a common minimum programme, as a result of which different types of loose combinations of

forces on some specific issues are working in different states just to be in touch with people's struggles with more or less an attitude of 'mark-time'.

So when the prime necessity is to build up struggles of the masses, organise the people in area-wise struggle-committees to give the whole movement an organised shape, to make people ideologically free from the myth of Indira-brand of socialism and to teach them an important lesson that it is fascism indeed, when it is necessary to abhor all sorts of domineering attitude and shun blindness and fanaticism and also to remain free from the ideological influence of sham Marxism or in other words, when it is our task to make people politically conscious which only can give a fillip to all mass movements, we observe a peculiar attitude of the CPI(M) leaders to create a hue and cry of struggle but not to plunge the party in a massive struggle lest they are involved in a risk.

A few words in conclusion. We are sure that the frustrated people will not remain frustrated for ever. Disillusionment about the Indira Congress, thanks to the anti-people, pro-monopolist policies of the Government, is taking place quite rapidly. The present lullness in atmosphere will not last long. The working people will start mobilising themselves in battle field today or tomorrow. There will be united battle in future also. But the question is, whether the people will place the real revolutionary party in the position of leadership or the leadership will remain usurped in the hands of those who are moving with out and out parliamentary interest and nothing else. If the leadership remains in the hands of the pseudo-Marxist parties, those who simply play with the slogan of revolution but under the slogan of which works the unquestionable desire to arrest these mass move-

## people

ments within the span of parliamentary politics, then these movements can never be led to successful culmination. People must not forget that to become a big party does not *ipso-facto* prove that it is the real revolutionary party. To make a wrong party bigger means to create greater obstacle in the path of Indian revolution. So while seriously trying to build up country-wide mass movement on a gigantic scale, care must be taken to project the leadership of that party among the people, the history of which has proved that all stands taken and analyses made by that party are basically correct in order to help in the establishment of revolutionary leadership in mass movement. If the common people run after this or that party by the simple consideration that it is big and anti-Congress as well and do not feel inclined to go into the deep of the problem of the base political line of the party and the concept of mass movement etc. then the same history of betrayal of the people by these so-called big parties will repeat again and again with only one difference that the magnitude of frustration will increase each time and a sense of absolute lack of confidence in any political movement is bound to crop up inviting complete surrender to fatalism and nothing else. Even with temporary victories here and there and formation of alternative Government in some states people will not be able to proceed by even an inch in the direction of overthrow of capitalism—the only way to emancipation of the people. It is true that to lead the Indian revolution, the leading party must acquire sufficient organisational strength to make this great task possible. But the question of strength, although very important, should always come second to the first question, should

come just after the first question is thoroughly examined and convincingly concluded whether this party is a real revolutionary party or not. Since the question of leadership is very big and important one any blind and bewildered attitude towards this very vital question will simply help in the bartering away of people's cause to the altar of authoritarianism, blindness and big party fanaticism. Whether the people will allow such a situation to continue or come forward to shape out their destiny in their own

hands is absolutely their own concern. But before they jump into such a massive movement which is sure to build up in different parts of the country, today or tomorrow, as the inevitable outcome of the present unbearable situation they should seriously ponder over these questions lest they become pawn in the hands of so-called big pseudo-Marxist parties. These are the most vital questions that confront the mass movement of our country and we appeal to all to give a serious thought to these questions.

## Sikkim affairs expose the real Character of Indian Govt.

(Contd. from Page 6)

*form her into a part of Indian territory or to establish its domination and control in the internal administration of the country is a clear case of suppression of the right of Sikkimese people to self-determination."*

(emphasis added)

Our party therefore concluded that "no democratic minded people who have faith in the right of nation to self-determination can ever support this heinous attempt perpetrated by the Indian capitalist government to forcibly accede to India a growing nation like Sikkim and thereby transform her into a component part of the Indian territory. None have this right of acceding any country to her and thereby convert the said country into an integral part of her own territory, after the growth of national aspiration and urge for freedom among the people of that country."

(emphasis added)

Our party alone, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism when all the pseudo-Marxists let it down in their subservience to the bourgeois government, therefore, gave the clarion call to the Indian working people to realise that "more the expansionist

activities of the Indian capitalist government will grow, the more it will acquire the strength to exploit the other countries, and more it will possess the might to exploit and oppress the working people of our country. So, it is for the cause of socialist revolution, for the cause of struggle for emancipation of the working people, that the expansionist activities of the Indian capitalist government should have to be successfully repulsed by our working people."

History will bear witness to the fact that while the Indian capitalist government committed this grievous crime of accession of Sikkim in brutal suppression of the justified national aspiration of freedom, sovereignty and democracy of her people it is only the SUCI, the real working class party in Indian soil fulfilled its solemn duty by upholding the revolutionary banner of proletarian world outlook enriched by the teachings and guidance of our beloved leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a leading Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era. The pseudo-Marxist social democratic parties only added one more instance of their treachery to the great cause of the working people.