

# Proletarian Era

Volume 41 No. 22  
July 1, 2008

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
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Price : Rs. 2.00

## Nepal undergoes a radical change faces still more challenging one

The small yet strategic Himalayan state of Nepal appears to stand at a threshold of change. The main architect were none but the people, who were led, among others and in fact, majorily by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) or CPN(Maoist), headed by Pushapa Kamal Dahal, more known as Prachanda.

For decades, rather centuries, the political scenario of Nepal has been interwoven with turmoil, uncertainties and instabilities. Even the half-a-century long bourgeois parliamentary democracy, since the first general election held in 1959, has been marred with an intense and see-saw conflict on power between the feudal monarchs and bourgeois-petty bourgeois-social democratic parliamentary parties, the former dominating always and in the long run. During all these years people, in turn, could only have the taste of limitless corruption and greed for power centring particularly round the Palace and the Parliament and on the other hand, the extreme backwardness virtually without any industry, modernization and development in the vast hinterland of the country, leading only to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and an abjectly miserable life for the common people. It was on such a background, in February 1996, that the CPN (Maoist) started armed struggle professing their allegiance to Marxism- Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and demanding overthrow of monarchy and feudalism. The armed struggle spread out, eventually to exert its political thrust on the mainstream parliamentary parties of the cities and towns. The CPN(Maoist) leadership struck in November 2005

a 12-point understanding with seven mainstream political parties Nepali Congress, Nepali Congress (Democratic), Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) or CPN(UML), and others and made them arrive at a consensus on overthrowing the King's "autocratic rule" to make way for putting an end to armed struggle. Finally in April 2006, a 19-day long surge of people's movement for restoration of democracy, led by the CPN(Maoist) and the 7 Party Alliance (SPA), forced King Gyanendra to relinquish powers and restore parliament. G P Koirala, a veteran Nepali Congress leader became the Prime Minister of a provisional government which the CPN(Maoists) first supported from outside, but later joined in. The king was stripped of powers and removed from his position of Supreme Commander of the Army. The Prime Minister assumed the position of the Head of State. Hitherto a Hindu state, Nepal was declared a secular state. Passing through the days of mutual squabbling among the parties in power, election to the new Constituent Assembly was held this April 2008. Astounding many in the country and abroad, the CPN(Maoist) emerged as the largest party, bagging 220 seats in the 601-seat Constituent Assembly. The two major parliamentary parties, Nepali Congress and CPN(UML) were relegated to a significantly minor strength in the 240 seat-strong First Past The Post system and less so, in the 335 seat strong Proportional Representation system. In any case, the CPN(Maoist) reached a commendable position in their country's politics after their

decade-long militant, determined and wise struggle; at a right moment the leadership steered from the struggle from the initial phase of armed struggle to the parliamentary form of struggle. And for that, they forged unity with the bourgeois-petty bourgeois-social democratic parliamentary parties, which latter still held their control over this or that section of the masses. The final movement of people thus gained strength and momentum to ensure the downfall of the monarchy. However, it needs be mentioned here, that the different major bourgeois petty-bourgeois social democratic parliamentary parties like the Nepali Congress and the CPN(UML) were found to be not that inclined and vociferous in bringing the very institution of monarchy to its end. As a matter of fact the Nepali Congress was strongly in favour of retaining the monarchy with the King as a titular head. However, they had to accept the demand for ending with the absolute monarchical regime and for establishing democratic republic in its place, only under the pressure of surge of democratic movements of common people that really took shape of mass uprising.

This mass uprising in Nepal is further significant because of the fact that it took place at a time when internationally, the proletarian revolutionary movement is passing through a very difficult stage, from the advent and spread of modern revisionism within the movement and subsequent counter-revolution in the erstwhile socialist countries, including the USSR and the People's Republic of China. Taking advantage of this, the imperialists have unleashed undeterred

onslaughts, economic, political, cultural or military on common people of the world and a barrage of slanderous campaign against Marxism-Leninism. Particularly heinous and ferocious was the war-monger US imperialism heading the capitalists-imperialists, which practiced limitless cruel overlordism upon the weaker countries of the world, transgressed upon their national integrity and sovereignty through barbarous military attacks, incessantly continued interfering into internal affairs of one and all countries. Even in such a difficult and adverse international situation, the CPN(Maoist) has successfully conducted for more than a decade the intense militant struggle organizing the poorer oppressed people of the country, even forming a liberation army of their own. It was followed by a successful parliamentary battle, which too was convincingly won by the CPN(Maoist). The victory ultimately paved the way to establishment of a secular democratic republic. In all these struggles, particularly the armed struggles for over a decade, the grit, determination and valour exhibited by the brave people of Nepal and the supreme sacrifices made by them in these struggles will ever remain as a source of great inspiration to the revolutionary fighters worldwide. In the end, a coalition government is going to form in which the CPN(Maoist) is the largest party with different bourgeois petty-bourgeois social democratic parliamentary parties including the CPN(UML), as other members of the coalition. That the road ahead is never going to be

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# People achieve glorious victory over monarchy

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smooth, however, was evident from the mutual strife among the major constituents of the coalition particularly centring round the holding of the chair of the President and the Prime Minister. For the present, there seems to be a solution reached with the Koirala of the Nepali Congress giving up the post of the Prime Minister and the CPN(Maoist) taking fresh initiative for forming the government. With turbulent days still persisting in Nepal, albeit in a different shape, the CPN(Maoist) now face a historical moment for assessing and reassessing their deeds as well as the tasks ahead. In face of this, we would like to present here to all concerned, what we think about the prevailing situations in Nepal, from what we see or have come to know of the present developments there.

## Basic question of revolution is the state power

The first point that strikes us is what type of change, as per Marxist teachings, has taken place in Nepal, how should we explain the change in the light of Marxism-Leninism. To be more specific, the questions involved are: what is the class dispensation that has come out of it, or, in other words, what is the new alignment of class forces that has emerged from the present change.

The present change has brought down the 240 year old absolute autocratic monarchy of Nepal finally to declare formation of a secular 'federal democratic republic', (vide Commitment Paper and other documents of the Central Committee of the CPN(Maoist)). During the rule of this monarchy, though a semblance of parliamentary democracy was introduced with the first general election held in 1959, the monarchy did not lose its grip on power and always dominated the scene, with liberal patronage and sanction from the reactionaries within the country, as also without, like the US imperialists or the Indian capitalist-imperialist rulers. Though the bourgeois petty-bourgeois social democratic parliamentary parties might have sometimes gained advantage over the feudal monarchy, sooner or later for the sake of keeping themselves near or around the power and on that, for enjoying pelf and status, they always came into compromise with the monarchy, thus always giving

the latter edge to maintain its dominance. Thus, the national bourgeoisie of the country always remained aspirant, but itself being a part of the world capitalist-imperialist system, it could never assume the uncompromising strength and vigour to accomplish the democratization of their society in this age of decadent capitalism and thus could never assert itself beyond the control of the feudal monarchy.

Here, we should recollect the invaluable teachings of great proletarian leaders. While elaborating the invaluable analysis of Lenin in his famous *April Theses*, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of post-Lenin era pointed out that Lenin knew that in Russia "in the economic and social fields many of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution still remained unaccomplished" and he incorporated these tasks "as the derivatives in the main political strategy and programme of socialist revolution", that is, the November Revolution. Based on Lenin's these enunciations, Comrade Ghosh further added "in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution or, in other words, in the era when capitalism has turned out and out reactionary, it is not possible for the modern bourgeoisie, unlike the bourgeoisie of the previous era, to accomplish all the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution". Therefore, if the toiling people "has to be completely freed even economically from feudal exploitation, for that the seizure of power by the proletariat, the socialist revolution, is indispensable." (*Under the Banner of the Great November Revolution*) Taking lessons from the Paris Commune, Marx also concluded that during the transition from capitalism to socialism, the form of the transitional state of the 'proletarian class organized as ruling class' cannot be anything other than the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is why, with a view to fulfilling the unaccomplished tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution and bringing them to their logical culminations, all anti-feudal, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles must have genuine revolutionary working class leadership established before them in this era of imperialism and proletarian

revolution; they must be carried out only under such a leadership; all alliances of forces, that is choosing the allies of revolutionary movement must be forged accordingly and people must be made ideologically conscious and organizationally equipped to accept and work for such alignment and such struggle.

At this point, genuine Marxists-Leninists can never overlook and must judge the question of revolution on the anvil of another significant teaching of great Proletarian leaders. "The basic question of every revolution is that of state power", thus concluded Lenin in his *April Theses* (4 April, 1917). And while defining which class should lead the Russian revolution after the February Revolution which had overthrown the 'old tsarist power' and had brought the bourgeoisie and landowners who had become bourgeois, to the power, Lenin categorically stated that since 'the state power in Russia had passed into the hands of a new class,' to that 'extent the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia is completed'. While concluding this, he had to combat the argument of different critics of the Bolsheviks, that with the overthrow of feudalism and the Tsar, it was necessary for the communists to wait for the bourgeoisie to complete the unaccomplished tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, and thus to help capitalism consolidate, so much so that it will then pave the way for a socialist revolution. In his elaboration of the tasks of the Proletariat in the Russian revolution, Lenin left no ambiguity in defining the situation and designating the tasks. He indicated that the 'old tsarist power', 'who commanded the entire state machinery (the army, the police, and the bureaucracy)', had been 'overthrown and removed, but not completely destroyed'. The monarchy and the vested interests continued 'to hatch monarchist intrigues'. 'The vast landed possessions of the feudalist squirearchy' had also not been abolished. Notwithstanding these, rather in spite of these, since 'the state power in Russia had passed into the hands of a new class,' to that 'extent the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia' was 'completed'. (*The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*). So, he warned that if the Proletariat

failed to judge the situation in this light and direct their fight against the new class in power, that is the bourgeoisie, the latter would launch their attacks on the forces of revolution and frustrate the prospect of the revolution itself. Thus, as Lenin gave expression to what he envisaged in his *April Theses*, saying: "Politics is a concentrated expression of economics... Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget ABC of Marxism." (*Once again on the Trade unions*), Comrade Shibdas Ghosh commented referring to Lenin's analysis in *April Theses* that "...he showed clearly to the communists of the world that Marxism is not economic determinism - on this stands the valuable teaching of Lenin that politics always supercedes economy" (*Under the Banner of the Great November Revolution*). In other words, for a revolution to take place, it is the question of politics that always supercedes the issues of economy or the like.

## Nepal witnesses a radical change with overthrow of monarchy

In the context of the change in Nepal, Marxists-Leninists cannot also but recollect the genuine Marxist-Leninist understanding on the state. They recognize that a state, a power that has arisen out of a class-divided society, placing itself above it (see Engels: *The origin of the family, private property and state*) is an organization of the particular class .. the exploiting class, for the maintenance of its external conditions of production, and, therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labour). The mainstay of that power, the state structure are its permanent organs, the army, the police, the bureaucracy, the judiciary, all serving the interests of none but the ruling class.

Along with and based on these understandings, Marxists-Leninists are also aware of the relation between state and revolutionary change of society. From the lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx had concluded "All revolutions perfected this machine (state machine: *P.Era*) instead of

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## KARNATAKA ELECTION RESULT

# No Reflection of People's Mandate

When one says that the dust of Karnataka elections has not yet settled down, it is not an idiomatic expression for linguistic ornamentation but a statement of fact. It is the dust of iron and manganese ores of Bellary, the huge money power of the capitalist mines-owner lobby that has pervaded all over and has been one of the major determining factors in bourgeois parliamentary elections in the state of Karnataka. It has decided not simply pulled strings from behind to manipulate the outcome of the recently concluded assembly elections but has also worked upon the consequent and subsequent developments. These include rampant horse-trading, which is purchase of MLAs, formation of the government on the strength of the frail MLAs switching sides merrily if showered with money and other considerations, distribution of portfolios like Pandora's Box and all the shenanigans going on till today. The other glaring feature of this election has been the blatantly undemocratic attitude reflected in the omissions and commissions of the Election Commission. The long and short of it is that this exercise of assembly election has been virtually reduced to a farce.

### ELECTION IN HOT HASTE

The way the Election Commission conducted its business has been intriguing to say the least. First it decided that 'the delimitations of the constituencies have to be completed first so that some rational and logical basis is found for forming the constituencies'. The questions that remain largely unasked and totally unanswered have been, what prevented the Commission to undertake this task well ahead and not just on the eve of the election, or how is it that any 'rational and logical basis' of delimitation is still missing in the newly formed constituencies. However, when everybody had resigned to the fact that another extension of six months of President's rule was inevitable to complete the process of delimitation, the Commission suddenly decided and announced to the contrary and planned to complete the delimitations and the Assembly Elections too, within May last. This indeed was the demand of

BJP while all the other political parties in the state had preferred extension of President's rule and proper preparations for the poll. The result of this unusual haste on the part of the Election Commission is there now for everybody to see. Improper delimitations, shoddily prepared electoral lists depriving lakhs of citizens their right to vote, examination schedule of students going awry on account of the election schedule and the total electioneering process, schedule of printing of school textbooks for students and the calendar of the school academic year going haywire, distribution of fertilizers to peasants being thoroughly disturbed leading to catastrophic consequences—so on and so forth. Who benefited from such haste is there for everybody to see.

### COMMISSION TURNS INTO A DICTATOR

What followed was more mind boggling. The Election Commission started issuing fiats by the day, by the hour, restricting whatever little scope of campaigning was available to the candidates hitherto. Public Meetings were almost banned, vehicle permissions were denied on one pretext or the other. Processions and padayatras were not allowed and in some cases, even door to door campaign and leaflet distribution became a casualty not to mention the ban on wall-writing and pasting of posters. The major contestants, the 'big' bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties did not oppose it as they could afford other costlier publicity means and were continuously getting extensive media coverage. All these bans and restrictions seriously affected parties like ours which uphold people's views and voice for just and revolutionary cause. We were seriously handicapped because available means to reach out to the people with our views and political line were not available. Bourgeois media from its class instinct totally blacked us out. Even we could not make our candidature known to people. Consequently, the major political players who cornered enough propaganda through electronic and print media became the front runners, thus facilitating the long cherished dream of the ruling class to usher in the 'two party' or 'two combinations' system,

at the national as well as state levels.

### MEDIA MISCHIEF

What followed was a well orchestrated campaign in favour of the three major players Congress, BJP and JD(S). For reasons best known to it, the Election Commission had staggered the poll in three phases, which suited the game of a section of the media, who plumped for BJP. While some of them engineered an opinion poll assuring BJP a comfortable majority, others chose the dubious and duping mode of setting in a mindset through publication of findings of exit polls conducted by their commissioned agencies. After the first phase, the voters were told that BJP was ahead of others, thus pumping support for BJP in the second and third phases and thereby jeopardizing the very basis of free and fair election. When the results came out, it was revealed that BJP did not fare well at all in the first phase of polling. But the masterminded media propaganda helped turning the table in the remaining phases.

### ALLUREMENTS GALORE

The bourgeois petty-bourgeois parties vied with each other in enticing the voters through an avalanche of allurements both in cash and kind. The list included Rs. 3,000 per vote, variegated nose rings, ear studs, saris, dhotis, TV sets, 3 months' cable TV bill, cooking gas connection, so on and so forth. While all the major parties indulged in this, it was BJP which stole a march over the others with the support of the mines lobby in the northern districts and the real estate land sharks in the southern districts.

### OUTCOME

However, despite all these manipulations BJP could only inch towards becoming the single largest Party and simple majority remained elusive. The so-called sympathy wave for 'betrayed' Yedyurappa, the BJP chief minister-designate, was not seen anywhere. BJP's tally of 110 seats was three short of a simple majority. To make up for the requisite numbers, the BJP cast net to romp in the six independents, four of whom were none other than Congress rebels. Obviously, it

required quite a fat sum that, as mentioned earlier, was liberally provided by the mines-barons. These independents also ran away with the plum posts. All these underhand deals, horse-trading and unscrupulous activities have shocked even ardent admirers of BJP. In the number game, when one observes that Congress actually got 36% of the polled votes which was two percent more than what BJP got, it becomes clear that the BJP emerged the number one party only because of the 'First Past the Post' system prevailing in our country. That the results are a travesty of real public opinion is abundantly clear when we notice that among the total number of eligible voters only 19% have voted for the BJP! In the immediate aftermath of the elections, the true colours of BJP were glaringly exposed. The BJP government headed by a Chief Minister who took his oath of office in the name of farmers, has literally drawn the first blood by firing upon peacefully agitating farmers who were demanding fertilizers, resulting in the death of two innocents. While the Congress may draw consolation from the fact that it lost 12 seats by a margin of 20-900 votes and narrowly missed the bus, the fact was that the people were not enamoured by the Congress, the most trusted Party of the bourgeoisie, either. Parties like the BSP, SP and the JD (U) also fared miserably.

### ROLE OF CPI(M), CPI

The less said the better about the conduct and performance of CPI and the CPI(M), the two parties who still go by their leftist-jargons. It may be added in this connection that the CPI(M) and CPI have been extending support to the Congress-led UPA at the Centre under, what they said, the 'compulsion of keeping BJP out of power and communal forces at bay'. But are they serious even towards that objective? Karnataka election is a unique example of their double standard in this regard. One would recall that after previous election, the state had a coalition government of Congress-JD(U) which lasted for about three years. Thereafter, JD(U) switched side and a BJP-JD(U) alliance was saddled in power reportedly on condition that JD(U)

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## BJP's gain prompted by treacherous role of pseudo-Marxists

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would vacate the chief minister's seat for BJP after six months. But JD(U) refused to do that after expiry of the stipulated period. Already BJP so hated and discarded by the people till the other day for its downright anti-people policies and nasty communal politics was trying to regain ground cashing in on the misrule of Congress-JD(U) government and posing itself to be an honest attractive to Congress. The JD(U)'s role helped it further to consolidate its position. Rattled and shattered by incessant oppression and suppression of ruling capitalism effected through its pliant governments led by Congress, BJP or JD(U), people craved for a change. At that critical juncture, it was imperative that apprehending possible surge of BJP, one of the most trusted representatives of the ruling bourgeoisie, all left-democratic and progressive forces combined together and released an intense democratic movement involving toiling people from all walks of life so that alongside Congress and JD(U), the communal capitalist character of BJP could also be thoroughly exposed. And in the course of this movement, a pro-people bloc with a left core could have emerged which could face the election as a progressive alternative. Even if this bloc failed to form government, at least its elected members could reflect the voice of extra-parliamentary struggle on the floor of the assembly and keep the government under pressure. Several times we have given call for this. But that was not to come about

because of the perfidious role of the CPI (M) and CPI. Needless to say, in keeping with their role all over the country, in Karnataka also these pseudo-communists have thrown the banner of left and democratic movement to the winds. And so, they are least bothered about developing genuine people's struggle and hence find no urge towards forging unity of left and democratic forces with a view to fighting the election battle as a part of the broader democratic mass movement of people. Rather, they are keen to stay afloat in the power game through all kinds of manipulative politics and be in good books of the ruling class. This time, while the CPI entered into alliance with RPI and some dalit and peasant outfits and contested 9 seats, the CPI(M) contested 9 seats without any formal alliance with anybody. Both of them drew a blank forfeiting deposit in most of the places. It is reported that the CPI(M) tried to retain its lone seat from Bagepalli (Kolar district) by making clandestine deal with the Congress, but abortively. It lost even that lone seat to the Congress. Thus it will be no exaggeration to say that they practically paved the way for BJP's resurgence and betrayed people's cause.

It is worth mentioning that our Party, the SUCI, this time put up 12 candidates from 7 districts and carried out widespread campaigning, as much as it was possible under the restrictions imposed by the Election Commission. Our meetings and

leaflets drew instant appreciation from all sections of people everywhere. This has created extremely favourable conditions for reaching out to a larger section of the toiling masses with our revolutionary politics. The task befalling us now is to consolidate the gains and strengthen party organization to imbue the masses with correct revolutionary ideology.

### ELECTION REDUCED TO FARCE

The Karnataka election thus stands out as another glaring instance of the depth to which the bourgeois parliamentary election has gone down in these days of crisis-ridden decadent moribund capitalism. The filth has permeated every level. We have shown above how the Election Commission parroting text book chapters on free and fair poll openly acted in a partisan manner, disallowed all normative means of election campaign to deprive the parties and forces other than those backed by the ruling class of their legitimate right to apprise the electorates of their political views. It is becoming clearer everyday that keeping a façade of a parliamentary structure in front, fascism is taking a firm root. People's opinion is fractured by overt and covert coercions, manipulations and manoeuvres. The authorities make sure that political contingent fitting to the class design and interest of the ruling bourgeoisie at any particular moment is projected with all fanfare, a vicious nexus of money-media-mafia aided and abetted by them dominate the

scene and genuine pro-people forces are weeded out of the election arena.

### IMPERATIVENESS OF PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

After this entire exercise of electioneering, the common man remains as clueless and helpless as ever. Increasingly, it is becoming clear to people, that there is the least, if any at all, for them to expect from the bourgeois parliamentary elections any more. With total commercialization of health and education, pauperization of the peasantry, and ever plummeting standard of living among the lower middle class, people's discontent is boiling over. The ongoing farmer's agitation spreading like a prairie fire all over the state is perhaps the best indicator of the days to come. But unless this agitation is conducted under correct leadership, it might fizzle out after certain sporadic outbursts which would be suppressed by the power that be. That will entail despair and frustration among the oppressed masses allowing the ruling class and its servitors further tighten the noose of ruthless exploitation. Hence the task imperative is to organize the toiling masses on the platform of legitimate democratic movement over genuine demands of the people and ensure that this movement develops under correct leadership, becomes well-knit to be sustained and mount on the edifice of higher morality and culture. This movement has to be developed against the anti-people character of this new BJP government.



Comrade Satyawan, General Secretary, AIKKMS, addressing the Open Session the 5th Bihar State Conference of AIKKMS held on 7th June at Hazipur, Vaishali district.

## Aspirant bourgeoisie replacing monarchy in state power, fundamental point before Nepal

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smashing it" (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*), and clarified in his letter to Kugelman, that "I say that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and this is essential for every real people's revolution..."

It means that with a revolution, the old exploitative state machine must be smashed along with the overthrow of the old ruling class, whose interests the state was serving. A new revolutionary government is formed as a result of the emergence of a new state to serve the interests of the new ruling class. And the same Marxist-Leninist understanding of state also indicates that a revolution under the leadership of the proletariat today must establish a new state system, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Referring to this invaluable understanding, Lenin wrote: "This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxist theory of the state. And it is precisely this fundamental point which has been completely ignored by the dominant official Social-Democratic parties." (*The State and Revolution*)

So the Marxist-Leninists must judge the newly emergent situation of Nepal on the anvil of these correct understandings. No doubt, massive people's uprising reinforced by armed struggle has forced this monarchy to come down from power. The final stroke is dealt by the newly elected Constituent Assembly, formed through parliamentary election. But to frame further ideas about how the state system of Nepal has changed, or about how far the overthrown monarchy or feudal forces still has influence in the country, or regarding the exact position of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties, through which the aspirant bourgeoisie will attempt to consolidate their position, we can only rely on whatever meagre information we can have from distance. From those, the first point to note is that in Nepal, in spite of the changes referred, or, in fact, over and above these changes, private property and private ownership in the production system continue to exist in exactly the same

condition as they were before the present change; the permanent state organs, viz., the military, the police, the bureaucracy and the judiciary are there to continue to exist and operate in virtually the same old way, with the aspirant bourgeoisie of Nepal having powerful representation in them, not to speak of their influence in economy itself; the bourgeois political parties, reflecting the aspirations and attitudes of the aspirant bourgeoisie, and even those which extend support to the feudal and monarchical system remain present and very much operative; and with all this in the backdrop, a new government is going to take over the task of governing the newly set-up bourgeois republic that has been formed through parliamentary election process carried out as a part of the bourgeois parliamentary politics, about which Marxist-Leninists should not overlook Lenin's words characterizing it: "To decide once every few years which members of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament – this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics." (*The State and Revolution*). Thus, in case of Nepal, as situation stands now, as is the dispensation evident, the CPN(M) will have to act as a major partner of a coalition government going to be formed comprising bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties. CPN(Maoist) face a situation, in which they find that even after waging armed struggle against the monarchy and continuing it for over a decade and a half, it could not fulfill the necessary pre-condition of mobilizing people's firm and conscious opinion in favour of the fight to finish with a view to going for the revolutionary seizure of power. Neither were the other indispensable factors for the seizure of power mature and ripe. So, rightly it has to join the government, whose basic character will simply be that of a caretaker government of the new state, like any other government that might have come up. And this new state is born, in a sense, through a revolutionary change that the feudalo-capitalist state of Nepal has undergone, with the overthrow of

the absolute monarchy and turning out in the process to a capitalist state. It has emerged as a capitalist state, in the manner so many capitalist states of the world emerged in the past. By no means, it is of a kind where a revolutionary alliance of the working class-peasant-petty bourgeois under the undisputed and overwhelming leadership of a genuine proletarian party assumes the state power and takes hold of the entire state machinery as it was in the case, say for example, of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party lead by the great proletarian leader Mao Zedong, or elsewhere.

In regard to the question of state of Nepal and its organs, the CPN(Maoist) has reportedly decided as per its agreement with the Seven-Party Alliance, to disband the existing People's Liberation Army and to get it merged with the Nepalese Army itself. As discussed earlier, the genuine Marxist-Leninist understanding of state and revolution demands that the state organs of an exploitative state, such as its army, need be smashed at the stroke of revolution and new organs for the new state be set up. As it has not happened in Nepal, the Nepalese Army now represents the interests of the newly enthroned capitalist class. Under the circumstances, it is clear that as a result of execution of the reported agreement for merging PLA with the Nepalese Army, in the final analysis there will remain only the present Nepalese Army. It is at the same time clear that as a result of this merger the class character of the present Army does not change. In that case, the existence of the

People's Army of Nepal as a defender of the interest of oppressed people of Nepal will be at stake. It is simply because, a single army bearing a specific class character can never be the defender of two opposite and conflicting class interests. It is not difficult to realize that obviously it will have serious consequences upon the overall political situation of Nepal.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that the goal of achieving emancipation from all sorts of exploitation has still eluded the people of Nepal. With a view to fulfilling that unaccomplished task, they will have to organize themselves anew and continue their struggle for anti-capitalist socialist revolution. For that, evidently they will have to take recourse to both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary means. And for the sake of both these two kinds of struggle, the issue of running a coalition government with a revolutionary orientation and within the framework of the exploitative capitalist system assumes great significance, for the CPN(Maoist) party and the people of Nepal as well.

It brings us to a new set of questions: how and with what outlook and approach, a revolutionary party will take part in a caretaker government formed through bourgeois parliamentary election and will endeavour to run that government, how and with what approach it will lead and advance the revolutionary movement, simultaneously with running the government. We think, a concrete and threadbare discussion on these questions is very important in the

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*Karnataka AIDSO protesting against bus fare hike at Bangalore on 28 June*

## People of Nepal must rise to act vigilant and determined for emancipation

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background of the revolutionary movement in Nepal as well as of the world communist movement. We would like to mention here that the discourse Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker of the post-Lenin era and the founder General secretary of our party SUCI, presented in this regard is singularly relevant. It refers to the brilliant analysis he made outlining the approach and tasks of a progressive government, when in 1967 in West Bengal of India, a number of leftist and a few democratic parties formed a United Front government within the framework of the Indian capitalist state. We think, this brilliant theoretical contribution of Comrade Ghosh will act as a beacon to the revolutionaries of Nepal in their bid to run a coalition government in a bourgeois set-up.

### Vital issues in running a progressive government in a capitalist system

He emphasized that no doubt fighting people have voted in favour of the left and democratic parties to form a pro-people government under the Constitution of a bourgeois system. So it was a government born in the bourgeois parliamentary system and would have to work within the confines and constraints of the bourgeois Constitution and, rather, the total exploitative system of the Indian capitalist state, with a number of bourgeois-petty bourgeois parties as its constituents in the Front. Reiterating the invaluable Marxist teaching, Comrade Ghosh added that 'the government.... is a caretaker of the state' and it 'has really no power of its own'. Insofar as bringing about basic changes in the life of toiling people is concerned, 'the real power is vested in the state'. Comrade Ghosh made it clear that so long as the capitalist state exists in the country, solution of all the basic problems of people's life remain a far cry. The government may change, but the social structure, the state, 'comprising appropriate Constitution, jurisprudence, and organs like the police-bureaucracy-administration, the judiciary and the military to look after the social system' remain the same. Can such a government 'at its pleasure set up socialism in the framework of capitalist economic system and state structure? Can it win people's

liberation? Can it win them emancipation? It cannot.' What then could be 'expected of a progressive government' that may happen to form in a bourgeois parliamentary system?

People will always expect that the government they have voted to power will bring them some relief, will try to solve the burning problems of their life. The government, in its turn, must also try to give people the maximum relief it can, from within the constraints and limitations under which it would have to act.

But, here again, the revolutionary party must keep it in mind that even the ruling capitalists, a bourgeois government may give effect to relief measures and may even amend their own laws for that purpose. But they do so to the extent that such reforms do not come in conflict with, do not harm their own class interests and the running of their state and social system. On the other hand, the revolutionaries take it into their head and also make people conscious of the fact that it becomes 'a self-deception and deceiving others to hold' that people's well-being may be achieved, their burning problems of life may be solved through adopting reform measures keeping the capitalist social system and the state structure in tact.

This is succinctly expressed in the budget speech Comrade Subodh Banerjee, the then Labour Minister of the United Front of 1967 and Member of the Polit Bureau of our party, SUCI, made on the floor of West Bengal Assembly in 1967. The speech was prepared under the direct guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, in which Comrade Banerjee said: "Capitalist social system is based on capitalist exploitation. So long this exploitation is in existence, there will be no emancipation of the toiling people, no fundamental problem of their life will get resolved and the door of unhindered social progress will also not be opened.... Change of government by itself does not necessarily mean fundamental change of the socio-political economic system in the country. ... This United Front government of ours has not been constituted through revolution. This government is operating within the capitalist system. .... So the crux of the matter is that the United Front government is working under two

limitations—basic limitation of the capitalist society and Constitutional limitation. Because of these two limitations, we can not bring about any radical change in the people's life. .... If such be the situation, then what can this United Front government do? We are of the opinion that some reforms can be undertaken even when operating within the limitations of the capitalist society as well as those delineated by the Constitution. These reforms will give some relief to our countrymen and help development and spread of legitimate democratic movement in the country".

So, while giving relief to people the pro-people government must be aware that struggles to secure relief in the interest of the people do not create 'illusion about the capitalist system and its parliament', or an illusion in people that simply by electing their own government within the framework of the parliamentary democracy of this capitalist system they can dream for their basic problems to be solved. People must be made conscious that howsoever honestly and sincerely may their own government try, there will be no solution to their basic problems in this exploitative system. At the same time, such movements for relief measures should not turn out to be the breeding ground of politics of earning some economic benefits and 'petty personal gains', that is the politics of economism, that social democratic forces always practice to allure people and thus secure their position of parliamentary power. On the contrary, Comrade Ghosh pointed out, a pro-people government in power must strive incessantly and unwaveringly through sustained ideological campaign associated with its attempt to give birth to democratic movement, one after another, to enhance people's revolutionary political consciousness. It will have to make clear that such a government is, by no means, an all-powerful, but is only a caretaker government working in and under a capitalist system. It is, thus, tied up by limitations. This is the way, the working style, which will help people see themselves and learn from their direct experience that howsoever honestly and sincerely may their own government try, there will be no solution to their basic problems in this exploitative system. These movements can then

dispel any and every confusion and illusion about the capitalist system and its parliamentary democracy. By that, they will also equip people with the political consciousness that will help them identify any conspiracy of the 'capitalists and the reactionaries' to topple people's government, will rally people 'to get equipped for long-drawn battles', and 'to inspire them to take resolve: we will fight and resist the impending attacks', if any. This approach, then in the long run will make people conscious about how to attain solution to their basic problems, thereby paving 'the way of anti-capitalist socialist revolution'.

Thus, the fact remaining that even an honest, pro-people government cannot bring solution to the basic problems of people's life and so, must incessantly strive for stepping up democratic movements of people against the class exploitation and the class rule perpetrating and protecting it, it made Comrade Ghosh to say that a government which at least does not act as an agent, as lackeys of the capitalist class, 'the first and the foremost duty of such a government should be to protect democratic movements of the people'. (*Labour Policy of UF Government*) For a government, actually a caretaker of an exploitative state system, there always remain possibilities to be proactive to suppress these democratic movements of people on the pretext that fighting people are infringing upon the owners' right, say, to retrench workers, to increase price for greater profit and the like or on the pretext of protecting law and order. Such possibilities often turn out to be a reality, particularly when social democratic, pseudo-Marxist forces form a government with pro-people slogans, but actually to serve the interest of the ruling capitalists. Comrade Ghosh categorically emphasized that under no pretext can a progressive government act in that way. In his unique, elaborate analysis he showed that in a capitalist state 'the function of the law and order machinery is precisely to protect the right of the individual to appropriate the wealth generated by the social labour power, the right to property, or the right to individual ownership'. He elaborated that 'every student of law and jurisprudence knows that whatever is legal may not always be just,

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## Pro-people government needs encourage people's movement

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rational and humane' and 'illegality in the eye of the prevailing law does not automatically render a thing unjust, irrational and inhuman'. Thus, in a capitalist society those who cry "hoarse to uphold law and order, it is their predecessors who raised their voice against feudalism at that time, saying: tear into shreds whatever is not rational, even if those might not be in conformity with the law. Why did they say so? Because, the feudal sense of values, ethics and social justice were against the interest of the society, and in that sense they were against the interest of social progress." In the same way, the task of a progressive government in a capitalist system "becomes one to firmly extend support to all legitimate democratic mass movements.. even if they go against the prevailing laws. Whether a movement.. is legitimate, rational and humane has to be judged on the sole yardstick of whether it is conducive to the interest of the majority of the people and complementary to the cause of social progress." And a progressive government led by the leftists must, under no pretext whatsoever, not even in the name of maintaining law and order, should try or even allow to curb or crush these legitimate

democratic movements. It will have to stand resolute against any interference of the state structure and its organs, such as the police, into people's legitimate democratic movements. It should also be aware of the fact that even the judiciary, which is really nothing else than a permanent organ of the existing state system, may in the ultimate analysis stand for and work for the ruling class in their days of crisis. In such moves, the judiciary may even interfere into people's legitimate democratic demands on the plea of illegality or transgression upon the owners' sacrosanct right to property and so on. It should be borne in mind that in case of such eventualities, the reactionaries may also dare to interfere into the government's pro-people pro-movement attitude, dare to topple the government on this or that count. It will then be the duty and privilege of the government to rely upon the conscious and organized opinion and strength of people to step up the democratic movements further against the reaction and thwart their move. As mentioned earlier, that way, people, in their turn, will also learn from their experience to identify the real character of the exploitative state system and its organs that may stand against their legitimate

demands. It would only add to the desired resolve of people to be prepared further for their revolutionary battle towards smashing this anti-people, exploitative state system.

Under the circumstances when a progressive United Front government with a genuine revolutionary party as its constituent and working in a capitalist system, stands firm to encourage people's legitimate movements, the ruling capitalists and the vested interests often dish out an argument that militant democratic movement of people makes the investors wary and compels them to withdraw their capital. So, a genuinely responsible government cannot indulge in such a move: such is the argument the capitalists-imperialists would like people to gulp. In face of such attacks from the reactionaries, there always remain chances for the government to fall prey to a deviation, that particularly the social democrats, subservient to the capitalists, often subscribe to. In their bid to serve the capitalist from their seat of governmental power, these social democrats argue that the government must ensure an ambience in which the capitalists of the land as well as the multinationals of the foreign imperialist powers find confidence and prospect for investing their capital. Both the reaction and their subservient social democrats simply conceal the fact that such flight of capital is not triggered by any democratic movement, militant or not. In fact, in their bid to thwart the growth of revolutionary consciousness among people, the bourgeoisie themselves give encouragement to the process of collective bargaining between the workers and the owners in workers' movement. Thus only those who wish to put brakes to the growth and development of democratic movement, harp on this slogan that peoples' movement cause flight of capital. Plainly and squarely, it must be understood that the capitalists-imperialists invest only where there is the market for them to fetch their maximum profit. They do not hesitate to give concessions to the workers, the people at large so long as the prospect for earning maximum profit fitting to their expectation is there. Only when the capitalists face recession and squeeze of market, that they run for cover, flee the scene shifting the

blame squarely on the workers who may be struggling against the rampant lay-off, retrenchment, unemployment and such other maladies, cropping up with the crisis of market in capitalism. It should be added, that this is generally the case, so far as the matter remains within the sphere of economics. But there may be political motivations in some such cases of flight of capital. In that case, it will have to be confronted and handled politically.

The most crucial issue in running the government of progressive left and democratic forces in a capitalist system is then its attitude towards people's movement. Unlike any other anti-people bourgeois government, it must encourage in all its steps the legitimate democratic mass movements, raising them to the class and mass struggles key to the growth of revolutionary struggle, without ever thinking of suppressing them on any pretext or without ever thinking of being overthrown by the ruling reactionary class or classes. Only this way, can the government create the condition which will foster the anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle to end with all exploitation of man by man. In their turn, people must realize that presence of a pro-people leftist government in power gives them an ideal situation for building up revolutionary political consciousness and revolutionary organization for their final battle for emancipation. Such a government, so long as it is genuinely pro-people will not send police to curb or crush people's legitimate democratic movements 'free from adventurism' or excesses; it will not misuse its power and thus will not give any 'advantage to the capitalist owners to avail of an opportunity to confuse the people and undermine the government's progressive policy'. Under such circumstances, toiling people face the task of fast strengthening their revolutionary leadership and developing their revolutionary consciousness on the correct base political line and their revolutionary organizations spread throughout the country to ultimately smash the exploitative capitalist state. They must also learn the lessons from history, that any failure to fulfil this task on their part, will stand the risk of their government turning into an appendage of the

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### Remarkable Victory of Talcher Super Thermal Workers' Union, Orissa

2600 contract labourers of Talcher Super Thermal Power Project, the biggest power project of the country, had been in struggle led by their Union, Talcher Super Thermal Workers' Union affiliated to the All India UTUC on the demands of pay and allowances and all legitimate social security benefits. On these issues, the workers called indefinite strike from April 16; after 3 days' continuous strike, the authority had to commit that it would meet the demands of contract labourers. But shamelessly it violated its own commitment. The workers had no other alternative, but to go on strike again on and from May 14. Workers-employers of other adjacent companies as also peasants came in support of the just struggle. At last, after 9 days of continuous strike, the management had to bow down to concede most of the demands including (1) enhancement of daily wage by

Rs.10, (2) agreement for restructuring of new wage scale from January 2009, (3) withdrawal of retrenchment notice on 39 contract labourers and (4) withdrawal of false police cases against 13 contract labourers.

This victory of the sustained and protracted movement in face of threat, intimidation and various sorts of combined attacks from management-police-antisocials has greatly enthused the exploited workers of other companies and factories in Orissa.

After the victory a massive meeting of the workers was held. It was addressed by Comrades Dhurjati Das, President of the union and Secretary, Orissa State Organizing Committee of the SUCI, J oysen Meher, Secretary of the union, Bimal Jana, member, All India Working Committee of All India UTUC and other leaders.

## Comrade Manik Mukherjee attends Cuban Solidarity Conference in Colombo

Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Central Staff and Deputy, International Affairs, represented our party, the SUCI, at the 4th Asian-Pacific Conference for solidarity with Cuba held in Colombo, Sri Lanka on 14-15 June, 2008. Representatives from Cuba, India, New Zealand, Malaysia, Australia, Philippines, North and South Korea, Japan, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, etc. participated. Addressing the conference on the second day, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, *inter alia*, said: The manner in which the Cuban people led by Fidel Castro held aloft the banner of triumphant socialism overcoming all-pervading worst economic assaults by US-led world imperialism is a source of great inspiration to the freedom loving oppressed people seeking emancipation from exploitative capitalist social order across the globe. From the very day of victorious revolution in Cuba, the US-imperialists have been hatching conspiracies, one after another, to topple the socialist government of Cuba, even to assassinate Comrade Castro. Following dismantling of the Soviet Union and then the socialist camp because of revisionist

conspiracy and imperialist machination, Cuba has been severely constrained in carrying out its spectacular progress in consolidating socialist economy that has enabled the great people of Cuba make significant all-out progress. Yet with grit and determination, But Comrade Castro and the Cuban people under the leadership of Communist Party of Cuba foiled all the US conspiracies and safeguarded their freedom and socialist order. At the same time, Comrade Castro with his tireless efforts, is trying to build a united Latin America with all the progressive forces up in arms against the overlordism of the US-imperialists and the ruthless exploitation by the US-dominated MNCs. Peace-loving democratic minded people round the globe including India who are making serious efforts to develop genuine anti-imperialist movement find in Cuba a natural ally.

Comrade Manik Mukherjee expressed firm belief that Cuban people would also extend their hands of cooperation and solidarity to the genuine anti-imperialist struggles of Indian people.



Comrade Manik Mukherjee addressing at Colombo

## Hail heroic struggle of Nepalese people

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of remaining anyhow in the ruling class. In this regard, we must provide them with a glaring instance from the province of West Bengal of India. Without paying any heed to the unique analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to help and guide the revolutionaries that may happen to be components and constituents of any progressive left and democratic government within the framework of a capitalist system, the CPI(M), the major constituent of the then United Front claiming themselves as Marxist-Leninist worked to the contrary. For the sake

of remaining anyhow in the governmental power, it shunned the path of encouraging democratic movements and instead preferred to play subservient to the interest of the ruling capitalist class, dishing out a string of sham arguments, the pet one being "since we are in power, there is no need for any movement". On the other hand, it is people's duty to keep them in power by any and every means, because their being in power will automatically and eventually usher in socialism. So there should not be any activity, for instance any

movement that may endanger their position in power, inviting wrath of the ruling class to topple the government. Such are their arguments through which they are catering the totally discredited ideas of the different social democratic forces of the Second Communist International that socialism can be brought through reforms of the existing state machinery, the ideas which were completely and convincingly refuted by Lenin. The inevitable result of chanting these arguments and of following the naked capitulationist policies arising from them, can be found from the utterly degraded and degenerated position of CPI(M), a downright social democratic party, which has now become a rotten appendage of the ruling class who openly advocates for capitalism and ruthlessly crushes any democratic movement of people from their seat of governmental power.

In our conclusion, we must acknowledge the stand of the CPN(Maoist) leadership in their rightly placing emphasis on organizing and continuing people's movements. We will expect that all these movements will develop with definite class content and class orientation, more particularly basing

these movements upon Marxist-Leninist understanding of the theory of class struggle and its development. It is only such movements that will make them class conscious and thus convinced of the necessity of anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle, the only road to do away with the basic and burning problems of their life. We earnestly believe, this will make the leadership of that party, its cadres as well as the masses of toiling people, still more equal to their tasks. We will eagerly look ahead to see that the day-to-day movements of people of Nepal will be continuously carried on, helping people to come out of the illusion of the parliamentary politics further and firmly. We will sincerely hope that the CPN(Maoist) leadership will give serious thought to the relevant teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to judge their own situations and will determine their future course accordingly to lead people of Nepal for this struggle of theirs to end with all sorts of exploitation of man by man.

**Red Salute to the Heroic Struggle  
of People of Nepal !**

**Long Live Revolution !**

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism !**



All India MSS protesting against introduction of sex education at school level at Bhubaneswar on 30 June.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE