

The Indian Revolution Will Succeed Only When The Revolutionary Proletariat Makes Marxism Its Own

May Day, the International Working Men's Day, has been celebrated throughout the country. On this day the working class has expressed its determination to continue its struggle for better living conditions and democratic rights.

May 5 is the birth day of Karl Marx, the founder of Marxism and the greatest genius the man-kind has produced. His death centenary fell on March 14 of this year. It has been observed all over the world including our country.

We communist revolutionaries attach more significance to these days than others. For us, they carry revolutionary significance inspiring us to work more for the revolution of our country. We dedicate ourselves to make the revolution a success. For others it is more or less a ritual, which they celebrate usually.

I

That the working class is under the grip of economism is indisputable. This does not mean that it is free from any politics. Various sections have their politics of caste, religion, liberal reform, the class collaboration etc. Its political as well as economic interests are opposed to such politics. But there are some political parties and forces who, in their bid to draw the working class to their fold, have organised their own trade unions and developed a trade union bureaucracy, which is opposed to trade union democracy and which is acting against the interests of the working class. Though the working class has been nursing illusions about this leadership all these years, it is gradually shedding them away. It is in search of a new leadership which genuinely defends its interests, political as well as economic.

Thus, the economism prevailing among the working class is opposed to revolutionary politics but not the type of politics mentioned above, i.e., liberal, reformist etc. It means that the working class

should abandon economism and adopt revolutionary politics, which is possible only when there is a revolutionary party of the working class, i.e., a party of communist revolutionaries. The CPI and CPI(M), though claiming to be parties of working class, have abandoned Marxism-Leninism long ago, embraced revisionism, and have been adopting class-collaborationist politics all these years. The path pursued by communist revolutionaries is a revolutionary path which guarantees the success of the people's democratic revolution in our country.

II

The death centenary of Karl Marx has been observed on March 14, 1983 all over the world including our country. The CPI journals were lavish enough in producing articles which are devoid of revolutionary content. CPI (M) has its own share in this. They write all and sundry but not about Indian revolution which is the crux of the problem so far as the proletariat and the people of our country are concerned.

Interestingly enough, the Parliament was "good" enough to pay tributes to Karl Marx on March 14. The leaders of the ruling party as well as of opposition spoke highly of Marx. During the last one hundred years after his death, it has become so popular among the working men and the people of the world that they are finding their future in revolutionary Marxism and nothing else. It indicates that Marxism is the theory and practice of the exploited and the oppressed who are struggling to build a new socialist society. In such a situation, leaders of various parties, including those of CPI and CPI (M) have joined the chorus.

The present-day parliament, in accordance with the Constitution, continues to adopt and uphold repressive laws to suppress revolutionary Marxism to the extent it is practised by the parties groups and the people. The government is enforcing these laws with all the ruthlessness at its command. As such the Parliament which praised Marx and Marxism in words, suppresses it in practice.

The present regime is allowing the circulation of works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in our country. This freedom, if any, is limited to only reading but not for practising, especially its revolutionary content. The CPI and CPI (M) are being allowed to come into power at State level because they have renounced revolutionary path which is the revolutionary content of Marxism when applied to specific

conditions prevailing in our country.

III

Ironically enough, it was a *swamiji*, who never claimed to be a Marxist -- nor he can be one -- who spoke a few useful words while addressing a gathering on the occasion. Swami Ranganadhananda is reported to have said the following: "*Marxism must be applied in Indian way as was done by Lenin in Russia.....Marxism can liberate India too provided it was approached in Indian perspective*" (*Indian Express* March 16, 1983). He is reported to have spoken about "*Indian methodology*". Though we do not make it a point of discussion at present, at the same time, we can say that there is no such common methodology for India as a whole. If we take his words as such, what he said is correct. Russians could make their revolution a success because they made Marxism their own. The same is the case with Chinese. This means Indian revolution will succeed only when the proletariat and the people of our country make Marxism our own. It is obvious that Indian revolution could not succeed because we could not make it our own, inspite of the emergence of Communist Party more than half a century ago. In this connection, we should keep in mind what Lenin has said about the need for "*an Independent elaboration of Marx's theory*" about 84 years ago. It is obvious that we also need such an elaboration.

Almost all the religions preach equality, brotherhood etc. But none of them could achieve them. It is because they have been adopting themselves to the slave, feudal and capitalist societies in the respective countries. Ours is one among them. But the socialist societies could establish equality etc., as and when they emerged though they never professed and encouraged any religion. On the contrary they opposed them while accepting the right of the people to have the faith in religion and practise it.

In view of this, religious personalities who have no vested interests began to accept socialist society as the solution to the crisis in which the mankind is embroiled, inspite of their adherence to their respective religions. More often we hear them saying that they have no quarrel with Marxism except that it denies the existence of God. Late Archbishop of Canterbury can be cited as an example.

IV

How to make Marxism our own is a problem which eluded the Marxists of our country for a long time. The experience of more than half a century shows that mere reading of the Marxist-Leninist classics leads us nowhere. Instead we have to study the experiences of our own class struggles and draw lessons for our revolution, keeping in view Marx's teachings. We communist revolutionaries did the same in a modest way and worked out a revolutionary mass line. As we implement it people are making Marxism as their own. All this presupposes an uncompromising struggle on our part against alien ideologies.

Some of those who claim a hereditary right in Marxism say that to fight US imperialism is a best tribute for Marx in the present year when people are all observing his death centenary. That US imperialism is a super power which should be fought to the finish is indisputable. But what about Russia? Is it not a super power which is dominating our country? Is it not a super power which has been occupying Afghanistan for the last three years and more, and helped Vietnam in occupying Kampuchea? Russia has no right to indulge in aggressions simply because it claims to be a follower of Marxism. Therefore, the genuine followers should fight Russian social imperialism with equal vigour. Its predatory role has already extended to our country.

Fighting this or that super power is one thing and fighting for the success of revolution in our country is another thing. The revisionists are advancing the slogan of fighting US imperialism in order to rally behind ruling classes as represented by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Russia, another super power.

So far as revisionists and neo-revisionists are concerned, they have no programme of fight on struggle against US imperialism except verbal opposition. By tying themselves to the ruling classes, they can not be otherwise. Their support to Russia is unqualified. As such their attitude towards US depends on the relations between the two super powers.

It is true that the success of Indian revolution is possible only when the two super powers are driven out of Indian soil. Therefore to treat one super power as a friend and ally of our people leads the revolution nowhere.

V

CPI (M) claims that it is following an independent line suited to Indian conditions. Of late the CPI has also advanced this slogan. The parliamentary path that they are pursuing is not new. Social Democracy in Europe has been practising that for about seven or eight decades. It is opposed to revolutionary path.

The independent line which they are following is a line independent of Marxism-Leninism. Neither Marxism-Leninism has advocated such a path nor the objective conditions in our country permit it. It is a path which serves the interests of the ruling classes.

The Indian Marxist line is a line which serves the immediate and long term interests of the revolution. While the Communist revolutionaries have such a line the others donot have it. They are not only implementing this but also carrying on struggle against anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist lines. May Day together with the birthday of Marx (May 5) will always inspire the working class, the oppressed people and the Communist revolutionaries to dedicate themselves to the cause of revolution of our country.

Let us have our interpretation and application of Marxism, suited to the conditions in our country, while at the same time serving the interests of our revolution.

This is the best way to pay our tributes to Karl Marx on his birthday, and to the workers of Chicago (US) who laid down their lives for the sake of emancipation of the working class and other oppressed peoples. (7-5-1983)

CPI(M) Doesnot Cease to be Revisionist Simply Because It Could Establish Relations with CPC

Of late contacts were developing between CPC (Comunist Party of China) and CPI (M) , culminating in establishing relations between the two. Various interpretations are given to this event. Some are speculating that it may help in normalising the relations between our country and China, on the governments' level. The question is also being discussed in the context of relations between two communist parties belonging to two different countries, more so CPC and others.

I

To understand the event, we have to explain the origin and development of international communist movement headed by Third Communist International (Comintern), and the developments which took place after its dissolution. We can not go into the details because of the limitations of this article. Suffice it to say that the relations between the Comintern and affiliates were not the same althrough.

It is a fact that formation of Comintern was a historical necessity and world communist movement has advanced considerably under its leadership. Communist parties have been formed in a capitalist as well as colonial and semi-colonial countries with revolutionary programmes. Proletarian revolutionary movements advanced under the leadership of the concerned parties. They had the advantage of guidance of such great leaders as Lenin and Stalin.

So far as India and China are concerned, guidance from Comintern was always available. CPC had utilised it in a different way than the CPI of Comintern period. The CPC headed by Mao relied on its own experience, corrected the mistakes committed by the leadership of the Comintern, and advanced the revolution. This was how it exercised its independence during that period. Different is the case with the leadership of CPI. It has never grasped its own programme nor implemented it. It did not rely on its