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'...What is the real necessity of today? Is maintaining oneself that real necessity? Is seeking out an employment to meet the needs of family that necessity? Or, is it the necessity to have a decorated home, or to win success in love and get married? Are all these the real necessity of the Marxists, the revolutionaries? To the revolutionaries necessity means the true necessity of humanity. It is the real necessity of society, meaning the real necessity of the progressive revolutionary class. Can anyone who wish to be free today from vulgar individualism, narrowness and self-centred interests, who wish to free himself from the grip of prejudices, passions and impulses of vulgar tendencies and selfish propensities, do so by struggling in isolation on individual capacity? Is he aware of what makes these impact on him? These are the impact of class thinking in a class divided society. These are impact of the prevailing social order. Since, therefore, the question of advancement of the entire society, development of its productive forces, liberation of science-art-literature-culture from the grip and tentacles of the capitalist exploitation is inalienably linked with the question of emancipating the working class — the class historically placed to free the entire society by waging struggle against all these — the question of emancipation of every individual is also historically linked up with the question of emancipation of the working class.'

— SHIBDAS GHOSH

[Some Aspects of United Front Politics and Party Organisation]

On Revolutionary Conduct, Discipline and Individual Initiative

... Let me now discuss another aspect. It is custom these days to make the point that 'the party's theory is all good, that is, our party's theoretical analysis is all so perfect.' We, too, enjoy listening to it, like listening to a lullaby. The party comrades are not the only ones saying so, people outside also have started saying it, even the so-called communist parties, too. Many

leaders of our opponent parties who never try to follow our party line closely, nor care to understand what our party stands for, lest, upon insistence, they had to sit in discussion with our comrades and lest, in that event their erudition and level of understanding, got exposed — they submit beforehand in order to avoid discussion out of fear, and say, 'your theory is perfect, your

analysis all sound.' Our comrades, too, go on, 'Our analysis is very perfect, our theory correct, very very correct.' I feel like saying, 'So, when the theory is sound, you can very well go into a sound sleep.' Because our theory of revolution is correct and our political analysis perfect, what else are there we can do but plunge into slumber? Revolution will of itself follow, it will happen automatically because the theory is correct. But no, it does not happen like that. For this, my purpose is to make clear here another important

On the occasion of 24th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on 5th August next we are giving here a translated version of his speech delivered at the Muslim Institute Hall, Calcutta on 15th Nov.'68 to observe 51st Anniversary of the Great November Revolution. Responsibility of any error or mistake in translation is ours.

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Individual initiative basis of collective initiative

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lesson which November Revolution teaches — that its lessons have to be grasped and put into practice in totality.

Think why so many people rally today to grasp the great ideals of revolution and listen to the human appeal and the human sense of values. It is to master the politics, the working class revolutionary politics to be more specific, to take this politics down to the working class and other toiling masses with the object of organizing them under the banner of the revolutionary organization

What use cultivating values and culture without this objective? What do they amount to in that case — culture, values, profound knowledge, high spirit, or scholarly pursuit? What use all this if they fail to help create in us an understanding of the proletarian culture, the base political line of the party, or the nature of contradiction and conflict between this line and other political lines in the present specific situation? What use they are if they do not help create the ability to conduct this struggle as much in victory as in failure, despair and adversities? To carry forward the party's political line, fighting against the counter forces, to be able to accomplish as much in victory as in sufferings when one defeat follows another — such is the object of acquiring culture, sense of values and philosophical understanding. Is not it so?

Importance of sense of discipline

To be able to accomplish this task we need acquire an additional quality, that is, the revolutionary conduct, the sense of revolutionary discipline. In the military, discipline is taken to mean — nothing like force. Men are forced to obey under pain of penalty. You are commanded to carry out and it is of little consequence whether you accept it or not. If you don't obey you lose the job and you don't get pay. Not just that alone. Once you get enrolled, you cannot desert. If you do, by force they will get you back, or will throw you into the prison. Thus, men are under compulsion to observe discipline in the military.

But the sense of discipline in the revolutionary party is not the military discipline. No question of that, in fact. This military type enforcement is not there in the revolutionary party, because here discipline is voluntary and self-imposed. The sense of necessity also derives from consciousness here; we observe discipline from recognition of its necessity. But could any one use it as a privilege, just because discipline is not a mechanical enforcement in the revolutionary party? Is it something of a privilege?

But, of late, the conduct of quite some comrades in the party is causing me concern; I am a bit disturbed. Because, I notice that some leading comrades — I would later come to the point of ordinary comrades — are not discharging their responsibilities; they while away time in chats and gossips. Not for once do they seem to concern themselves with a question like: 'What assignment do I have, or what specific assignment do I offer to take on myself?' On the other, they are all too enthusiastic to collect information on what is happening where throughout the world. In their head they carry concern for the revolution of the whole world, while it does not concern them

at all whether they discharge any specific responsibility in the party or not. They don't bother to ask themselves, 'What about my own individual initiative? What responsibility do I myself discharge? If I don't, then this conduct of mine may well infect others.' Should it be the state of affair, there won't be any question of specific assignments being carried out in the whole of the party. Everything will become a matter of mood and whims with the comrades. But no party body can function in this way. Of late I have noticed even responsible comrades conducting themselves in this manner. Even leading comrades do not care to practise discipline. But there is a code which should be basic to all our conduct and behaviour. If we don't observe it and lack in discipline in this regard what would be the worth of the struggle of all those people whom we have rallied? How will they develop their ability to bear with and stand up to any contingencies in the hours of difficulty or when a commotion will suddenly take over? Wherefrom will they get the training for it?

Question of attitude of revolutionaries when differences crop up

Reacting to anything that is not to one's liking, talking intolerantly whenever a difference crops up, making uncharitable remarks at the back when something contrary to one's wishes happens — all these are petty bourgeois fads that bespeak the negative traits of one's character. They come from society at large and we should not be afraid, finding them in us. We must, however, realize that these are our weaknesses, our shortcomings and negative traits. This makes it imperative that

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we overcome them. But wherefrom to learn to overcome them unless we learn discipline and our conduct develops to become worthy of revolutionary cadre? We ought to learn it in the overall interest of revolution.

It may happen on occasions that comrades in a party body differ while taking a decision on an issue. Any one among them may be wrong, for which the difference. In such cases, everyone should be guided by the attitude that whosoever is wrong — may be, one is himself correct but the body decision has not been to his liking — even so, every comrade should willingly accept and go by the decision. While deciding attitude to an issue, we should of course take into account questions like the nature of the particular issue, whether it is of major or minor character, whether it involves a basic theoretical question or is simply a problem requiring an immediate decision. In all such cases the approach of everyone should be that discipline ought to take precedence over difference — which would be like an example to emulate in the party. One's conduct should be such as will make clear to others that while individually he fought for what he thought to be correct but after the decision he happily submitted to it. Should someone want to sympathise with him because his view had not been accepted by the body, the comrade would catch the sympathiser on the point if he thought that the comrade fought so long only to project his personal

view. He actually fought in the interest of the party according to his understanding of the issue. In any case, the decision taken was a party body decision which every comrade shared. How come here any question of sympathy? Is this offer of sympathy something of a conduct which is to be encouraged? Such should be the attitude and conduct of the comrade in question. If this is not how he is going to react, or if he lacks in this discipline and fails in self-restraint, what would other comrades learn from it? If the other comrades find that a leading comrade who professes big ideas but in practice conducts himself in a contrary way, his difference to others and venting grievance wherever, what would be its effect on them? There are so many comrades in the party putting up with so much hardship and such great suffering. The party is comparatively bigger today, thousands of new comrades are joining, and they come from families with all so different conditions. Some are better placed in a way, some have pecuniary conditions a little sound, may be some are in better jobs, while a few others may have been able to build the organization in their locality into a position which affords them meet their primary needs somewhat better. Then there are others, the majority of comrades, whose pecuniary condition is pathetic. They hail from peasant and worker families, or from the lower-middle class. What to say, hardly these families can make two ends meet together; back home these comrades hardly have provisions for meals everyday. Even so they are working for the party and some are engaged in building the organization in such areas where may be because of their shortcomings or because of the prevailing conditions they have not been able to yet organize

matters into a position where they could be somewhat better off. The party has within it comrades from all so different conditions, and in the future too, the situation will be the same. As the party will grow, there will be more such comrades by the day, hailing from all so different conditions. What should be the approach here? The attitude should be that those who are not better placed shall bear an attitude of indifference to be better conditions in which some other comrades are placed. On the other, those who are better placed should inculcate the mind to share the hardship of other comrades as need be and ready to at once give up everything when the need calls for. This is no easy task. Even if the mind tends otherwise, they have the power to overcome it. And they do it not as something to show, because there is no hankering in them for better living, they have no attraction to it. They do not work for the sake of securing better living condition for themselves. This being their attitude they can really accept from the heart those as comrades who do the party work in the midst of so much of distress and suffering. These comrades who endure all sufferings to carry out the party work, if they will not be steadfast in resolve, then because of the negative traits and weaknesses even good comrades may at times submit to frustration. So, if a leading comrade constantly grumbles about his personal defficulties and goes on harping on them, wherefrom others who work in empty stomach would draw strength and inspiration?

In fact, what does the party work amount to?

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Grasping theory instills discipline and inspires to take on responsibilities

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Making some speeches only? And mixing with some people? Do these works make a good worker, or a revolutionary cadre? A quality essential to a revolutionary worker is that he has a clear grasp of the party's political line, and voluntarily and happily he submits to the party discipline. He is conscious of how to conduct himself in tune with the party discipline. He knows how to exercise self-control and he acts in discipline.

It is a fact that with the party growing in strength, we are increasingly facing a serious difficulty. Because, it is increasingly becoming difficult for the leadership to pay individual attention to each comrade. Indeed, we realize that it is becoming a difficult task. When the party was small it was possible to give attention to each and every comrade. But with the party growing bigger, those comrades who incidentally move about close to the leadership receive more attention than others who do not happen to be so close constantly. Again, with the party's field of activity expanding, it is no longer as much possible to give individual attention to those who more often happen to come in close contact with the leadership as was possible previously. It makes all the more imperative that the whole environment within the party be so developed and the method and style of work of every leader, organiser and ordinary worker be so improved that the conduct of one serves as a lesson to others, that the sense of discipline of one rouses a sense of concern in others.

It sometimes happens that in the midst of serious discussions comrades engage in chats and light exchanges in a way bordering on frivolity. Revolutionaries may exchange in lighter veins. But when they do it, does it mean they might as well get frivolous with it? Frivolity stems from a different mentality, one that cuts loose the very foundation upon which discipline stands.

It also happens that when the leaders in a meeting make a point of criticism or a specific pointer to a lapse one comrade casts a glance to another and smiles in a meaningful way. He means to convey, they had had enough of talks and criticisms. They mean, all this criticism amounts to nothing much and the leaders are in the habit of making criticisms. Yes, some such comrades are there. Whatever little of such conduct has caught my attention makes me realize that such being the nature of things meeting my eyes its dimensions must be much larger in reality.

Then there are some others with an air of being too intelligent who perhaps think that if only they did it at the back, that is, casting a glance, or if they wore a grave look when there is a criticism, all others would believe that these comrades had taken the point quite seriously. Remember, the leadership understands what is what, they are not so weak as not to understand all this.

Individual initiative is the basis of collective initiative

I take up these points of criticisms because the position the party has reached today marks a point

of transition. We have reached a point from where the party can take big strides forward. Ours is to take the plunge now. We have lots of workers, but many of them lack the individual initiative. They lack in enough confidence. When revolutionaries discuss among themselves that should provide mutual encouragement and prompt them to plunge into activity and take on more responsibility.

There is another type of discussion in which some comrades engage more with the object of defending why a particular assignment cannot be done, adducing reasons for it — the details and factors supposed to obstruct. This type of discussion spoils the initiatives of the comrades and undermines their potentialities. It wrecks the manifold possibility in them to develop as party comrades.

Should that be really the object of discussion and mutual intercourse among ourselves? It should instead help us overcome the weakness so that we could take on the responsibility with courage which earlier we thought we were unable to carry out.

Even when we may be in leisurely talks we should have a purpose in it, that is to encourage each other, remove our fears, make up for lack of enterprise and help create the initiative. Short of this collective initiative remains an empty phrase.

Without individual initiative as the basis, collective initiative is tantamount to mechanical exercise, a lifeless one. Whatever the level of consciousness a comrade has attained, that he has

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become a revolutionary signifies he has now the courage to act on his environment. He has achieved the realization that as a conscious being he must take to the struggle to transform the social environment and give it a new order. He cannot avoid this task on any pretext, he cannot desert it. He must take upon himself the task to transform the existing order. Because, individual initiative is the basis on which collective initiative rests. And this should be the approach of every revolutionary worker.

To say one is conscious is to imply one is consciously volunteering to transform one's self and the social order. Without this conscious volunteering one cannot make a claim to consciousness. He may claim to be educated and an intellectual, going by the literal sense, but that does not make one truly conscious. A man who is conscious cannot be without initiative. He does not engage in unpurposeful discussions, he takes on specific responsibility which he tries to discharge with all devotion. He is not one offering excuses or making pleas. He may suffer defeats in his struggle, he may as well fail in his attempts. But he can proudly place before the world the whole account of his failure. Because, he did not evade his task, he did not play tricks. He did not engage in unpurposeful discussions. He did not set himself to finding out difficulties and citing them as the reason for his failings. He tried, he fought,

he took initiative, after all which he failed. Such should be the makeup and attitude of the revolutionaries. Taking our own example, indeed through failure we made our start one day. You, too, will meet with failure, one after another. Who knows how many failures await us. But we are confident, in the end, victory shall be ours. There is no room to doubt it. Because, our politics is correct, we are trading the correct line. If from each failure, we can draw the correct lesson, our victory is inevitable. This way revolution triumph in every country — failure followed failure, again failure, ultimately came victory. There is a well known teaching of Mao Zedong on this. He said: It can never be that in history failure of the revolutionary struggle will repeat itself in cycles. It cannot be allowed so. Failure must be turned into a triumph.

Alone through correct political struggles revolutionary character can grow

There are some people who believe that our theory of revolution is correct, but there is perhaps a different method to rear up the revolutionary cadres. I had the occasion to meet a few leftist groups whom I found nursing ideas of sorts. The argument sounds to me quite queer, I am trying to follow it. But these people fail to realise the thing. In their consideration, if we strictly go by the Leninist code of conduct, we will have the ability to correctly grasp politics and our political analysis, too, will be correct then, every step of ours will be in the right direction. They do not understand that though this code of conduct is basic to building the revolutionary character and it is true that revolution will not

materialise unless the revolutionary character and the revolutionary vanguard are created but, above that, there is one more important factor. How can the revolutionary character grow or the revolutionary cadre reared up? Do you think you can achieve it simply by wishing it, or contemplating it, or through an act of incantation? No, there has to be a conscious effort towards it. Comrades should realise what it actually means. Are they aware in how many contradictory ways they behave? And that they behave in so many contradictory ways even as they may be talking on the revolutionary code of conduct! And you do not know of your contradictions even, or that you are fostering contradictory bents in yourselves! You will not know this unless you elevate your knowledge and theoretical understanding in the correct process of struggle. And having as object the correct application in life of these qualities of the revolutionary character, it can be acquired and developed only through political struggles conducted assiduously on the correct base political line. Otherwise, ours will be no better than a lip service to the qualities of the revolutionary character — while in practice we will altogether fail to develop them, our observance of the revolutionary code of conduct lapsing into code-mongering.

It is not unnatural that a revolutionary party

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will face so many problems. There are the problems of the cadres, there are also the problems concerning the rearing up of cadres.

Many issues are involved and these all need to be discussed in their details. But I can hardly enter into all these today, time being the bar. At the least I must, however, emphasise that while we are armed with the correct revolutionary theory there are yet some serious drawbacks which I must take cognizance of.

First, it is true, many comrades have qualities but they are not applying them for the party work. Because, they do not care to know what specific responsibilities they are capable of carrying out adequately. Or, may be, they do not come forward to take on these responsibilities. Quite often it is found like that in the party. However, if we take the initiative and make sincere efforts then the mistakes we are committing, or the unjust conduct we indulge in, can be rectified in time. I must say, there is no reason to believe at the same time that all comrades are apt to commit mistakes or be victim of unjust conduct. When one finds that he has no basic difference over the basic theoretical or ideological questions, he should begin party work in one form or another. Begin it in your own initiative. Do your task on your own. The central question is whether every comrade is discharging his or her responsibilities. I find many comrades not taking on their own specific individual responsibility, but they are taxing their brain with the entire party's responsibility. Well, if you are apt to think that way, you had better take position in the leadership. But then who will do the work of these comrades at their position now? Shall we from the leadership go there? If your answer is that you do not fit into your present position and so we from the leadership should go to your position and you to ours — that makes some sense, I should say. Otherwise, what sense it makes in not taking on specific responsibility on your own?

In our party each and every comrade can plea before the party his point of view. But then the comrade must be discharging his responsibility in the first place. With him the priority shall be doing his own specific assignment. Consider, a comrade is nicely carrying out his assignment and then placing before the party some views of his own which he developed from his experience. Say, he is all the while giving his own views on the general political line and principle of the party. There is nothing wrong in a case like this. But I find many comrades constantly occupying themselves only with which step of the party he thought was correct and which step he thought was incorrect. They do not bother whether or not they have their own party assignment. That should not be the approach. The approach of each comrade should be that he or she has a party responsibility and area of party work, however little or limited that be. He gives proof of his worth by discharging that responsibility in his own area of activity. He proves he is not just drifting around and it is not his practice to engage only in mere talks with party comrades or friend

circles wherever he goes. I should of course add that a purpose of the party may also be served through these discussions if the comrade tries to associate these people with the party. It serves as carrying out a party assignment — the comrade is trying to recruit workers through his activity. But is it what he is doing in reality? Strictly no, he is not working towards that end. He is just indulging in unpurposeful talks and is busy all day with that. What is the result? The result is that many eligible comrades who can provide leadership at some level are wasting their qualities thus.

'I am in no mood, so can't do my work now' — this attitude is contrary to revolutionary discipline.

Second, there are many responsible comrades who are doing good work. When they do their work they do it nicely. But then it depends upon their mood whether they will set about a work or not. And holding responsible positions though, they express their mood wherever — that they are in no mood for work. Ordinary comrades come to see and hear it. But the moody comrades never care to think what impact their conduct creates on the ordinary comrades when they, being in responsible positions, express their mood and manifest this behaviour. Seldom they ponder how deep a shock this sort of behaviour deals to the ordinary comrades, who still carry in their character lots of fads from this society, or to the people in general and the movement! These moody comrades often do more harm by their careless words and behaviour than the service they give

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to the party with their good work. No doubt they do it unknowingly. Actually, it is not with an intention to harm the party that they conduct like that. They too themselves have joined the party under inspiration of revolutionary ideal and are responding to the appeal for a noble mission. But hardly a restraint or self-control works on them. They have a kind of suffering, but if they are incapable of enduring it, what lesson do the ordinary comrades get from them? The revolutionaries learn to endure and put up with sufferings. It is a lesson for them. A revolutionary should not be one to expect that you will have no trouble to suffer. To think one will accomplish revolution provided a trouble-free situation could be maintained till the end, otherwise one cannot take to the revolutionary struggle — such an attitude never helps revolution to materialise; nor it helps one to develop into a revolutionary. On the contrary, one should be prepared to face any type of contingencies. It may take time to be so prepared, but comrades must make efforts towards it. Efforts must not be such which will mean efforts in words but the opposite in practice. The first step of this effort shall be to break with the past conduct, at least giving up the habit of expressing the mood wherever. It is to be ensured that at least this has been achieved. May be, accordingly afterwards the mood gets vented when

the comrade could not vent out his mood. But even when he must express, he should do it before the leadership, not anywhere and everywhere. Because, when one holds a responsible position in the party at whatever level, ordinary comrades look upon him as a leading comrade. His conduct and behaviour is bound to leave some impact on them. If he is conscious of his weaknesses and shortcomings then to expose and eradicate these he brings up the problem for discussion — but not with those comrades who may unwittingly cause harm with their sympathy let alone rendering real help. The problem should be resolved through discussion with the leadership at the appropriate level.

There is another category with two different types of comrades in it. If these comrades are given an assignment and asked to do it, one group will do what has been asked. The other group will sometimes do it, sometimes sit tight over it complaining that they are in no mood to work. These comrades should realise that they may have been given assignments not to their likings. But if for that we behave in whatever way it pleases us it will not help us develop even into the rank of ordinary disciplined political workers, let alone develop into revolutionary cadres.

True love broadens, ennobles and teaches to fight with courage

It should be understood that grasping theory does not mean that one has learnt some big ideas. Grasping has no value when it fails to instill discipline and inspire to take on responsibilities.

True grasping entails acquiring disciplined conduct. If one does not develop the correct conduct, if he instead conducts himself in contrary ways while he thinks he has learnt great ideas — could that be true? It means, one's understanding is confused. He thinks his understanding is correct but in reality it is all wrong and he has not learnt anything. To the extent one's understanding develops correctly he becomes self-restrained and disciplined, his conduct reflecting it, and to that extent his conduct will be correct and sense of proportions developed. The more the understanding develops the more developed will be this sense, will be one's self-restraint with greater control over self, the more and more power to bear acquired. Such is the process of learning and its fruit.

Thirdly, going out on a fund collection drive, some comrades don't feel like carrying on further after only a little effort. This conduct may adversely affect the enthusiasm of those others around who carry on the drive from morning till night, refusing to clinch even when they get overexhausted. What happens if the leadership does not keep a constant vigil on them and guidance is not given to them, in fact, if they don't have the primary base of the revolutionary character? Just after a few days they are seen doing the collection work for a while and then gossiping for much longer.

... It is alright that the youngmen and women love to engage in mutual exchange. But why should they evade and ignore their work for that? Yet we

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NUCLEAR POWER PLANT IN WEST BENGAL**Capitalism mortgages future of the people and the planet**

The Government at the Centre plans to install a nuclear power station in West Bengal at a cost of Rs 12000 crore, despite severe economic crisis that has led to cancellation of many development projects — a plan that has been warmly welcomed by the Left Front Government in West Bengal. Thus, the screening for site selection in the Sunderbans area has started in full earnest.

But why spend such a huge sum on a nuclear power station, what is the need for it? In justification it is claimed that nuclear power is cheap, safe and — in contrast to thermal (coal) power — pollution free : it is necessary to meet the energy demands if the country wants to progress and bring electricity to every home in towns and villages alike — hence the production of nuclear power is in the people's interest.

As demands for electricity or energy in modern industrialized world are continuously on the rise, yet fossil fuels like coal and oil used to generate such energy are non-renewable, scientists apprehend that these could become exhausted. Besides, the burning of fossil fuels, especially coal, are creating serious environmental problems, like build up of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere (giving rise to global warming, etc.), acid rains and particulate pollution from fly ash, in particular. It was thought, in the fifties and sixties, that nuclear power production could provide the answer.

In our country, is it because of these serious problems that the Centre plans to set up another nuclear power station? Some proponents of nuclear power tell that good quality coal will not last for more than 50 years and hence we have to depend on nuclear power. But the well established fact is that the coal available in our country, if used at the present rate, will still last at least 350 years, while it is rather uranium, the ordinary nuclear power fuel, that will get soon depleted, in about 40 years. So scarcity of coal definitely cannot be the reason for the Centre's decision. Or, is it concern for pollution that has prompted this decision? But then, today when technology is available to minimize thermal pollution to a great extent, why is it not being used, on the plea of cost? If cost is a problem then why go in for nuclear power, which is far costlier? Alone by eliminating corruption and wastage at all levels, including Mafia operations, the financing of thermal pollution management could be solved. Moreover can these issues which have such far-reaching effects on the well being of mankind and future generations be judged from the standpoint of cost and investment only? Today apart from hydel power, there exist safe, cheap, renewable and non-pollutant alternatives like wind, tidal and geo-thermal power, which hold promise for the future, even though they are not used on a large scale, and, and there is, above all, the tremendous promise of solar power, though not yet commercially viable. Serious research on these alternative sources of energy is urgently needed. But on these aspects does the government spend even a small fraction of what it spends on nuclear research and plans to spend on nuclear weaponization? The latter alone is estimated by experts to cost at least a staggering Rs 50000 crore over the next 10 years. Yet in our country where there is such an abundance of wind, tidal and solar power, their development can provide

cheap, abundant, renewable, clean and safe power so that industries, and every village and every home can be supplied with it. Meanwhile what is needed, until that is achieved, is a judicious management of existing power. This is the present necessity: in this way alone can the above-mentioned problems be solved, and the interest of the people and the country served.

In this situation what is the need to go in for more nuclear power production and set up a plant in West Bengal? This question is all the more relevant as nuclear power is not cheap, as so often claimed. The capital investment required for a nuclear plant is approximately 2.5 to 3 times that of a thermal plant of the same capacity. Moreover, apart from operational costs, including costly equipment, maintenance, repair, etc., the life span of a nuclear reactor is between 25 to 35 years, after which it has to be decommissioned. But it has been found that the cost of dismantling a radioactive reactor safely is simply prohibitive, almost double the huge installation cost. But since nuclear power production, often linked with military purpose, is shrouded in complete secrecy, figures are not readily available. Various technical studies on nuclear power in the 40s and 50s in the USA pointed out that nuclear power would have to be subsidized by military plutonium production to make it economically viable. Similarly, as long back as 1953, a report by four industry groups in the West — including Bechtel, Monsanto, Dow Chemical and Pacific Gas and Electric — concluded: no reactor could be constructed in the very near future which would be economic on the basis of power generation alone. Hence, the question of costs, which have been sharply rising — apart from nuclear hazards and pressure of people's resistance — has led many a country to cut down on nuclear power and revert back to thermal power. Thus, between 1972 and 1984 alone 87 orders, in the West, for nuclear reactors have been withdrawn. Now, the situation is such that the corporate sector in America, which produced reactors, is left with huge quantities of unsold material, but no buyer. Hence their efforts to sell them to third world countries, if need be even at throwaway prices, or by bribing governments, as happened, for example, in the Philippines under Marcos.

So, clearly, the argument that nuclear power is cheap has no ground to stand on. Still, the Government of India under the BJP rule plans to set up a nuclear power plant in West Bengal — that is to say, in eastern India, where most of the

coal is found, and even though West Bengal is said to export 1000 MW of power to other states. This investment on nuclear power is planned despite severe resource crunch due to which many developmental projects have been cancelled and 10 more PSUs are being disinvested. It is not difficult to understand that the money for the installation of another nuclear plant at such a huge cost is most likely to come from the World Bank and will be extracted with usurious interest from the people. So do the people need such a nuclear power plant?

The Government appointed authorities in charge of nuclear power production and other nuclear power proponents assure that nuclear power is not only clean but completely safe. But the fact is that nuclear power production throws up the problem of unavoidable dangerous wastes — the problem of what to do with these, how to dispose of these. It creates environmental hazards even in the course of normal production, and even ruling out accidents, which are dangerous and disastrous for man, and which cannot be conjured out of the way by bland assurances or by lies. It is well known that uranium is used as a 'fuel' in nuclear reactors, but instead of burning it, energy is produced through fission, that is, splitting uranium. In this process large amount of plutonium is created which is used to make nuclear weapons. Nuclear power, which is, so to say, a by-product of weapon grade material production was first developed to make the atom bomb during the Second World War. Plutonium is extremely poisonous—a most deadly radioactive substance that not only kills, but even in the minutest amount causes cancer and genetic or reproductive damage. It remains active for thousands and thousands of years. Yet today the staggering amount of plutonium waste that has accumulated throughout the world is estimated to be at least 1 lakh tons. How to dispose of this colossal dangerous waste is a problem scientists have not been able to solve till today. They have toyed with the idea of sending it to the moon or some other planet, to bury it in specially constructed and sealed underground tanks or below the seabed, but have not been able to solve the question of how to prevent corrosion. Recently, the West Bengal Power Minister, Mrinal Bandhyapadhyay, while defending the setting up of a nuclear plant in West Bengal, said that nuclear wastes are being sealed in tankers and dumped into the sea in our country, so why raise this question of hazardous wastes for West Bengal? Nobody knows what will happen when these corrode in the course of time, and he seems least concerned.

But though the question of disposal of solid wastes is often raised, nobody talks about liquid wastes, that is the coolant water which is circulated to control the heat of reactors. Any leak in the pipes of water circulating through the reactor will cause devastating radioactive contamination. More importantly, every reactor recycles and discharges huge amounts of water

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Nuclear Power Production not in people's interest but with ulterior design

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into streams or lakes or the sea. In addition to the small amount of radioactive gas released into the air by the reactor, the cooling water picks up a small amount of radioactivity in the steam condenser, and this water is released into the environment. It is claimed that this radioactivity is too small to be harmful, but there is strictly no "safe limit" of radioactivity. Even this low level pollution accumulating in the environment creates health hazards, causing genetic damage or mutations in human beings lasting for many generations. Thus, in villages surrounding the Rajasthan Nuclear Power Plant, for example, many incidents of women giving birth to deformed babies have been documented and photographed. Besides, to cool the hot, radioactive fuel wastes before reprocessing or disposal-containing a whole range of radioactive elements, apart from plutonium-these are stored by nuclear plants underwater in specially designed storage pools. Then what happens if some of this water eventually gets back into the environment?

There is no way these disastrous and dangerous effects, even ruling out any accidents, can be eliminated. That is why strong protests of the people against it in many countries, especially in Europe and America, have been organized and built up to such an extent that governments are forced to cut down on nuclear power and move towards its complete abandonment. Even a country like France, said to get most of its energy (approx. 70 %) from nuclear power, and always held up as an example of how cheap and safe nuclear power is, is reducing nuclear power. Germany has recently announced that 19 nuclear plants will be de-commissioned as part of its policy to completely phase out nuclear power. Practically everywhere, including the USA, old nuclear power plants are being dismantled but no new ones commissioned. In America, for example, where precautions and safety measures are much more rigorously implemented, investigations have revealed that since the second world war 5 lakh employees working in 14 nuclear weapons industries have become afflicted with cancer (*New York Times*, 20.1.2000).

But in our country they say, 'we give guarantee that there will be no pollution from nuclear power plants'. When it can be seen that even in western countries, with far more stringent anti-pollution laws -- not just on paper -- there is dangerous nuclear pollution even without accidents, even in the normal course of production, what kind of guarantee will be given in our country they know best. It is not difficult to see the ludicrous and deceptive nature of such assurances.

It is also said that with the help of modern technology nuclear power is completely safe, it is fail-proof. But nuclear power cannot be made fail-proof. And nuclear accidents cannot be compared to any other accident, their immeasurably destructive nature have no parallel. Even with modern technology and strict safety standards, countless accidents happen all over the world, not all of them minor, but because of the

veil of secrecy shrouding these, not much is known. In America, it was once revealed in a study by some organization that alone in 1986 there had been 2810 incidents/accidents in commercial nuclear power plants, not to speak of the serious Three Mile Island accident in 79. Chernobyl was considered completely safe. Everybody knows what a terrible disaster happened. Thousands died or were afflicted with cancer in Ukraine and other parts of the then Soviet Russia. As the radioactive cloud drifted far and wide, many other countries including Lapland and Italy were affected: everywhere food crops and milk had to be destroyed, cancer attacks increased. In our country it is not because of safety standards, but due to sheer chance that there have been no serious accidents so far. Dr. Gopalakrishnan, the former chairman of the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board in a Safety Issues Document in 1995 (a classified document which has never been released) had listed no less than 134 items relating to accidents, weaknesses in the safety systems, equipment failures etc. After the recent accident at Tokaimura nuclear plant, Japan, that shocked the world, Dr. Gopalakrishnan expressed his apprehension about the state of affairs in our country, and in an interview with *Outlook* (8.11.99) said: "The threat of a serious accident at nuclear plants is real." He reportedly cautioned: "The emergency cooling systems of reactors in atomic power plants of Chennai and Rajasthan are inadequate. Besides, the two reactors at Tarapur must be closed immediately." According to *Outlook*, among others, there have not only been several instances of heavy water leaks in Chennai (Madras) power plant station (MAPS), but various safety issues in MAPS 1 and 2 puts this Tamil Nadu station in a risk category unacceptable anywhere else in the world. A major fire in Narora Unit 1 (NAPS) in 1993, which could have led to a reactor meltdown, was due to a problem realized in 1989 on which no action had been taken till then. The two reactors of Tarapur Power Plant Station (TAPS) share the same emergency core cooling system in violation of all safety standards, and the use of nitrogen (to make containment unreactable, i.e. inert) has been discontinued. Therefore, if the coolant does not perform its function, an explosion is quite likely to occur, leading to reactor meltdown. But the present chairman and managing director of the Nuclear Power Corporation, Y.S.R. Prasad, when contacted by *Outlook* defended its suspension, arguing that the use of nitrogen is obsolete in the West, but omitting to mention that this type of reactor has long been dismantled in the USA. Because of technical problems TAPS has been de-rated from 210 MW to 160 Mw. According to Prasad: de-rating is good because it puts safety above everything. I can assure you", he stressed: "our plants are fail-proof"(ibid.).

So, over and above the disastrous effects of normal nuclear power production, are lurking the dangers of serious accidents, endangering not only present but future generations. What answer will our rulers, or will we give to posterity for allowing this? And what for this terrible risk?

For, the record of nuclear power production in our country is dismal, to say the least. Under the Government of India the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was created that enjoys enormous power as well as the right to withhold information since the time of Nehru. Such is the secrecy into which it is shrouded that it is not even accountable to Parliament. But from the little that has come in the press it seems that the existing nuclear power stations, (with 10 installed reactors, and 6 reportedly under construction and 6 awaiting sanction) as far as energy production is concerned, are far from successful. Of the projected nuclear power production which was planned in 1985 to increase from 1,360 MW in a 15-year plan to 10,000MW in the year 2000 only 1,840 MW were actually produced in 1999, despite surely staggering costs, which are kept secret.

From all this it is clear that nuclear power production has not been taken up with a view to people's interest, but with an ulterior design of the ruling capitalist class. This class design or class policy has been implemented by succeeding governments at the Centre, starting from the time of Nehru. He was the initiator. He talked of only peaceful development of atomic power, but its true nature was revealed with the explosion at Pokhran I which was termed a peaceful one. But in fact, right from the inception of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1948 the weapons programme was initiated along with the power programme. Thus even before the first commercial power station went into operation at Tarapur in 1969, research reactors for the production of plutonium and reprocessing plant had been commissioned. After the recent Pokhran II explosion in May 1998, the Indian Government under the BJP has openly declared itself as a nuclear weapons state, followed by its ill-founded plans for building up a minimum nuclear deterrence. Hence, it is not difficult to understand that the proposed nuclear power plant in West Bengal is but meant to give a further fillip to the nuclear weaponization programme, to serve the class aspiration of the ruling class to become not just a regional power, but a global player, in reckless disregard of the sinister consequences for people, and for peace in this subcontinent. That the BJP with its utterly reactionary and fascist character, is following in the footsteps of Congress in this respect and is upholding the interest of the military, industrial and bureaucratic complex, is not surprising. As to the CPI (M)-led Left Front government, which has warmly welcomed or rather solicited the building of a nuclear power station in West Bengal: this is not the first time it has done so. But its earlier requests for such a power station were refused by earlier Congress governments at the Centre on the ground that West Bengal is a border state. Then why is the Centre suddenly willing or wanting to build one in this state? The fact is that under the CPI (M) rule for so many years, the once powerful left and democratic movements in this state have been killed and all attempts to build up such movements by our party meet with severe repressive onslaught of the state machinery, the

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Midnapur Bandh Against Politics of Murder

Greatly aggrieved at the prolonged reign of murder and terror in Midnapur by the contending ruling parties of the State and the Centre openly backed by the police and administration, people of the district overwhelmingly responded to the call of the bandh by the SUCI on 24th July. On that day life in Midnapur district, throughout the length and breadth of it, came to a total halt, despite violent police atrocities. People protested against police and the administration which not only did not provide security to the people of Keshpur, Pingla, Garbeta, etc. by curbing murders and terrorism but instead aided the criminals. Comrade Provas Ghosh, Secretary of the State Committee congratulated the people and issued the following statement :

"The people have actively participated in today's 12 hour bandh in Midnapur. It is a spontaneous and massive popular support for the bandh notwithstanding the police administration has let slip repression on a wide scale both on people and the SUCI workers. The police rounded up the District Secretary Comrade Soumen Bose and 13 other comrades, raiding suddenly the Kshudiram Bhawan beside Mecheda Rly. Station. The police resorted to brutal lathicharge on

peaceful demonstrators on NH6 at Deulia Kolaghat and injured 28 persons. The police also resorted to widespread lathicharge and random firing in front of the Statue of Vidyasagar on NH41, near Mecheda Station and as a result 33 persons were injured. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Tapan Sikdar, Union Minister and the President of the State BJP unit, wanted to go to Digha during the road blockade, but the activists protested this attempt to thwart the bandh. The minister despite initial reservation admitted his mistake later and went away. But immediately afterwards, he instigated the police and sent them to Mecheda Station. After this the police indiscriminately took recourse to lathicharge and firing .

"While congratulating the people we place the following demands :

1. Stop terrorism in Sabang, Pingla, Keshpur, Garbeta and punish all miscreants, irrespective of political affiliation.
2. Exemplary punishment should be meted out to the police officers who helped in these murderous activities.
3. Adequate compensation to the kins of the dead and the injured."

Nuclear Power Plant in West Bengal

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CPI (M) cadres and anti-socials. For this reason the CPI (M) has gained credibility in the eyes of the ruling class. Thus West Bengal is now considered secure despite remaining a border state. That the Left Front welcomes the indefensible also goes to show that it is part and parcel of this rotten capitalist set up, standing four square in its defense. Its opposition to the BJP is but one of parliamentary politics. It is revealing while BJP is drawing the country ever closer into the orbit of hated US imperialism and acting in collusion with the imperialist camp in so many fields, on this question of installation of nuclear power plant the CPI (M) is talking in the same voice as BJP.

Clearly, the question is not merely of a power station in West Bengal alone: whatever state, whatever place is chosen, the outcome, the disastrous effect, will be the same, and it must be stopped. So the people, with whom should rest the final choice of an issue which affects not only the present but future generations, are left with no option but to organize concerted protests and an effective resistance movement.

Bank Employees' Unity Forum formed in West Bengal

On July 22, 2000 at the Anglo-Gujarati Hall in Calcutta was opening session and the following day the delegate session at Oswal Bhawan formed the Bank Employees Unity Forum in West Bengal. More than 300 employees' representatives were present. A three-member Presidium composed of Comrades Arup Saha, Ratan Karmakar and Kamal Sengupta conducted the open session. Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, a distinguished personality in the country's trade union movement and President of the UTUC-LS was present as the inaugurator of the convention. Besides, Comrades M. C. Tyagi and Bijay Pal Singh, the President and the Secretary of the Forum of UP and Comrade Rajinder Singh, Secretary of that state body along with Purna Behara, a leading organiser in Orissa were present. Other than the delegates many leading organisers enthusiastic about the cause were also present.

Comrade Amar Roy, a veteran leader, gave a brief introductory speech.

Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, in his long analytical speech, inter alia, pinpointed certain important aspects and events that contributed directly to the gravity of the problem now staring at the face of the bank employees repeating the experiences in other countries. He specially showed that the genesis of the crisis lay in the deepest recession in world capitalist market. And since the 80s the imperialists' blueprint globalization-liberalization-privatization was being put to practice as a desperate means to have a brief respite for world capital order. India followed suit, demanded by monopoly finance capital of the country and pressurised by global finance capital. The new economic policy of the

Narasimha Rao Government of 1991 signalled the adoption of the globalization policy and the readiness to conform to the rules and prescription of the imperialist outposts - the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The departed respected president of the UTUC-LS, Comrade Prithvi Chandra not only raised serious opposition to this dangerous turn but alerted the working people against the disastrous consequences that were bound to follow. The Narasimham Committee and subsequently the Verma Committee only worked out concrete devices to put in effect restructuring and retrenchment which are integral parts of globalization policy.

The UTUC-LS alone stubbornly opposed these gross anti-employees acts and demanded recovery of NPA, mostly due to non-payment of advances to monopoly controlled corporate houses. He struck a warning at the same time that as the economy was in deep recession, the banks started going to secondary security market, mutual funds, venture and risk capital for speculative investment. The sickness is becoming in-built. This was witnessed in the south-east Asian countries and Japan where the depositors' money coming from ordinary people was squandered over speculative ventures. The common people who are the depositors were thrown to uncertainty as to refund of their deposit money, despite IMF's rescue packages. Similar danger looms large in our country.

Comrade Banerji urged those present to appreciate the courageous initiative of the organisers of the Bank Employees' Unity Forum and the warm reception they are getting everywhere. He urged them not only to

concentrate on their immediate problems like job security and service conditions, which are no doubt very important but also to remould their characters with higher ethical and moral values to acquire the moral strength to carry through the task ahead.

Comrade M.C. Tyagi, a veteran leader of UP and of the Punjab National Bank in particular spoke at length to expose the treachery and fraud of the 7th bipartite settlement. He related his encouraging experience while touring the northern states along with Comrade Bijay Pal Singh and Rajinder Singh and expressed the hope that in the next month or shortly both Delhi and Haryana States may hold similar convention to declare state units of the Forum. So a momentum is gathering and various forces and elements are expressing their desire to join with the Forum.

Also, Comrades Aurobindo Ghosh, Purna Behara and organisers from different banks spoke.

The delegate session at Oswal Bhawan was conducted by a Presidium composed of Comrades Amar Roy, Ratan Karmakar and Arup Saha.

The main resolution was moved by Comrade Jagannath Raymandal. The constitution, programme of action, resolution on honorary members and the composition of the first state body were adopted accepting many amendments through lively discussion.

A 38 member-state committee with Comrade Amar Roy as President and Jagannath Raymandal as General Secretary was formed. The convention for the formation of the only struggling union has created a stir among the bank employees who have been earnestly seeking an alternative, being utterly betrayed by the pro-management leadership of the existing nine unions. A call to enroll names in the new union was given.

Admission crisis in West Bengal AIDSO Unleashes Movement

Against abolition of higher secondary courses at one stroke from the colleges in the state by the 'Left Front' government, the West Bengal State Committee of AIDSO has launched vigorous movement and is achieving victories too. Since this academic year the government, without making alternative and proper arrangement for admitting the Madhyamick passed students in Higher Secondary schools and without creating necessary infrastructure for H.S. curriculum in those schools, the government has ordered stoppage of admission of eligible students in the colleges and has created a total disarray and doldrum in the educational field of the state and thrown the Madhyamick passed students into a state of disastrous uncertainty. Students all over the state are bursting out of indignation and burning copies of government circulars here and there. Taking advantage of this crisis, school and college authorities are charging donations and exorbitantly high fees from the students. In such a situation while AIDSO is organising movements the SFI hoodlums backed by the police are attacking AIDSO students everywhere but the movement is advancing by great strides.

On 14th July the students organised a road blockade at the College Street - M G Road crossing for hours in protest against the above decision. On July 18, when the students organised protest before the Assembly House police brutally lathicharged them and 18 students were injured. Among them conditions of 6 was so serious that police itself admitted them in hospital. In North 24 Dinajpur district AIDSO's prolonged and undaunted movement compelled several school authorities to withdraw donation and high admission fee. The D. I. of Schools was kept gheraoed by students for long six hours and when the students marched before the office of the District Magistrate police attacked them, beat them mercilessly injuring and arresting scores of students. In protest, students' strike was observed throughout the district on 15th July. In Darjeeling district also DSO built up similar movement and the D. I. had to issue circular prohibiting extorting donations. On the demand of reintroduction of H.S. course, particularly for the interest of Hindi and Urdu speaking students, successful student strike was observed on 19th July in the schools of Hindi and Urdu speaking students and the government has succumbed to the pressure of the movement. H.S. course reopened in all colleges of the district except one college. In other districts also AIDSO built up similar movement.

On the above demands and against police atrocities on the students All Bengal Student Strike was observed on 24th July with massive and spontaneous students' support. On that day SFI goons launched organised attacks on DSO organisers in colleges of Calcutta and districts.

From the Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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find, contact occurs between two at everyone else's back. No body comes to know it, but somehow an appointment gets fixed between the two. If there is a party work at the appointed hour, timely indisposition comes handy. Why this? Because, one needed to meet the other just at that time. Well, should you need to meet together, why should you need to get 'indisposed' for that? You tell straight that you need to meet and want to go to a park. They say, they feel indisposed. This degrades one's character, one cannot develop into what he could have become. Not that all his character gets lost for the recourse to secretiveness but certainly he cannot develop into what he could; much damage is done. No, this cannot be allowed. No body here obstructs you to love each other. Take it straight and bold as befits a man. Thereby you become more responsible, more developed and happier. What happens really if you fail to take this approach? No one will have a good view of your conduct. Even your comrades, your comrades-in-arms who are ready to lay their lives for you, will not look to you with respect.

Do you think it a healthy relation which makes you forget your tasks and responsibilities, and teaches you to offer false excuses and behave irresponsibly? Or is it not an unhealthy relationship? Is it really a relationship of human's? It is no better than an animal relation! A human relationship ought to elevate. If it be true love, it ought to broaden men and women, ennoble them and free them from pretensions. It endows them with courage and character and teaches to be straight forward in conduct.

Ability to provide leadership and accept challenge is needed

Coming back to the point it is a problem indeed to recruit comrades and rear them up properly. The leaders should give attention to it. The ordinary cadres, too, ought to make it a point that they cannot indulge in indiscipline. An organisation without discipline, even when its ranks swell to a million is no better than a chaotic motley crowd, it renders no service to the country. It can never accomplish revolution.

So, even if you may rally a million people but remain stuck to such conduct, revolution cannot be accomplished by you. I can vouch for it. I am sure, revolutionary party can accomplish the task with far less a number, if the party is well

They did not spare teachers, even Principal of Jogamaya Devi College, Calcutta. They also brutally attacked Comrade Subrata Gouri, Calcutta District Secretary of AIDSO.

A state level education convention will be held in Calcutta on September 1 and 2 and an 'Action Committee against Fee-hike' will be formed for building up greater movement.

organised, every comrade acts with discipline, each is prompted by his own initiative, each acts with a conduct befitting a revolutionary and has revolutionary zeal and capable of leading the masses. They are ready to take risk when needed and don't lose their bearing under any circumstance. They have prepared themselves politically, theoretically, mentally, physically to face the challenging tasks under all circumstances. If every party worker be so prepared then a party of hundred thousand can usher in revolution in India. Direct your thoughts to this goal.

You realise, I am criticising my own party; here my target is not any other party. I have told you about my concern and what I feel you should do about it. Every comrade should respond to this. If they don't it is going to be a pandemonium, it will not accomplish revolution. Succumbing to inertia you cannot accomplish the revolutionary task. Every man participating in revolution has to act in discipline.

All this may sound to some an unnecessary digression in a discussion on the teachings of November Revolution. But to us in the present situation this is the concrete lesson of November Revolution. Because, the revolutionaries who were the product of November Revolution were no weaklings, nor sham characters. Those who accomplished November Revolution were prepared to face any situation. They did not place their love or the relationship between man and woman above the party and the revolution. We also do not give it in our speeches and discussions, but we give it in work and conduct. We conduct ourselves that way. For this, we cannot act with responsibility and our individual initiative gets lost.

So, my appeal to you is to train-cadres, in particular we need discipline so urgently. We have carved out a definite position for ourselves in the Indian politics today, even though we are yet a small party. But the tasks which today assumes utmost urgency in my consideration is discipline, method and style of work and training cadres. With all our sound analysis and correct political line but lacking in this regard we will not be able to make further advance. That is, we will not be able to advance with the pace we need at present with all so many people compared to the pace with which we have advanced this far today starting with only handful a number. Whereas, in the present concrete condition we can advance at a fast pace. The pseudo-progressives are disintegrating and the reactionary force has not till succeeded to achieve complete sway. To the revolutionaries it is now the golden opportunity to take by strides ahead. But to do it we need the correct theory and political line, and along with we need discipline, revolutionary working style, individual initiative of the workers, revolutionary character and indomitable spirit for work. With all this, I conclude my speech here.

Observe 5th August
COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH MEMORIAL DAY
IN THE MOST BEFITTING MANNER

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE