

Proletarian Era

Volume 32 No. 1
August 15, 1998

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Rs. 2.00
Air surcharge : 5 P.

5th August 22nd Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

The Dictatorship of Capital To Be Done Away With by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — Nihar Mukherjee

On 5th August, 1998, tribal people, miners, employees, students, women and party comrades from distant parts of Singbhum district of Bihar, thronged the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatsila. They came to commemorate the 22nd memorial day of their most beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a foremost Marxist thinker of this era and the founder of our party, SUCI.

The programme began with our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee hoisting the Red Flag in the compound of the Centre, close to the towering bronze statue of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Floral tributes were

placed there by Comrade General Secretary and the representatives of the party and mass organizations of Singbhum district and of M.P. state and of the Study Centre. Then the Komsomol contingent of Singbhum district presented its guard-of-honour to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In the afternoon a portion of a tape recorded Hindi speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, dwelling upon the three principles of dialectics, was played before the entire assembly.

In the evening, the memorial meeting with Comrade Nihar Mukherjee as main speaker, began with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the General Assembly Hall and as the hall was packed comrades thronged the staircase and the floor below. Comrade Mukherjee outlined in brief the history of emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh from a fighter of the petty bourgeois revolutionary current of the Indian freedom movement to a great leader of the world communist movement. He also

touched upon certain fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the present national situation. He said that by analyzing the history of social development Marx showed that the slaves of ancient history were replaced again by the modern day wage-slaves, or proletarians. Slavery remains, although in a changed form. Man is not yet emancipated. Understanding its reasons requires understanding the inherent laws of social development. This is exactly what dialectical and historical materialism has done. In the light of this, Marx said that hitherto philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point however is to change it.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh firmly grasped this profound teaching, engaged himself in assimilating the science of Marxism-Leninism and undertook a ceaseless, uncompromising and all-embracing struggle which revolutionized his entire life. He had already left behind the ideology of petty bourgeois revolutionism and embraced Marxism-Leninism when he was imprisoned in 1942, by the then British rulers. During 1942-45, inside the jail, he devoted himself to profound study of Marxist classics and to ceaseless dialogue, discussions and polemics, examining each and every issue in the light of this noble philosophy, with a view to grasping it dialectically, critically and comprehensively. The germs of many important theoretical postulates, which he elaborated later on, were formed at this period. During this period, he again and again emphasized Lenin's teaching that in this epoch, even bourgeois national independence struggles would remain half-baked and truncated if they were led not by the working class but by the bourgeoisie. But the CPI, from its inception, did not develop as a genuine working class party. In 1945, coming out from jail, Comrade Ghosh therefore devoted all his energies to build up a genuine communist party in India and founded, in 1948, the SUCI — the greatest creation of his lifelong revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Mukherjee mentioned at this point that around a century before, Marx and Engels founded the Communist League, the first international association of working men. In 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto*, they first presented before the world the penetrating analysis of the law of capitalist economic and social development, the inevitable rise of the revolutionary proletariat

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee hoisting the red flag
at Ghatsila

Central Committee Condemns BJP-Shivsena over SriKrishna Commission Report

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, issued the following statement to the Press on 7.8.98 :

“Maharashtra Government's rejection of Justice SriKrishna Commission's Report is a brazen violation of all norms of parliamentary democracy and is a naked attempt to shield Shivsena-BJP and others who played a criminal role in engineering Bombay riots. This report has also exposed the complicity of Congress-led administration in that riot.

“This rejection of the report by the Maharashtra Government again proves how the ruling parties of India treat a judicial report whenever it does not suit their wishes.

We condemn this undemocratic decision of Maharashtra Government and demand :

1. Severe punishment to those who are involved in the riot as per the report of the Commission ;
2. Immediate resignation of the Government in Maharashtra led by the BJP-Shivsena held as main culprits in fomenting and fuelling Bombay riots.”

Raise Your Consciousness, Release Initiative And Improve Individual And Collective Style of Work

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which would bring the downfall of capitalism and establish socialism and consequently the classless communist society. Comrade Mukherjee said that the bourgeois world today boasts of the 'technological revolution' and claims that it has made the socialist revolution irrelevant. But, he pointed out, it was none other than Marx who showed that the bourgeoisie constantly revolutionizes the instruments of production for survival. But Marx also showed, a century and half ago, that under capitalism this increased productivity only leads to the periodic return of the commercial crises. In our times, Comrade Ghosh showed, these crises haunt capitalism no longer periodically but daily and hourly. Accumulation of capitalist profit on the one hand creates erosion in real wage of the workers, leading to recession in the market on the other. Capitalism cannot come out of this vicious circle and so, despite huge technological advancement, it keeps this capacity idle. Exposing this inherent contradiction, Marx said that capitalism thus digs its own grave.

There is only one scientific and historical course of ending the exploitative capitalist class-rule and paving the way for the final disappearance of classes, class struggles and all class distinctions. This was clearly and scientifically established by Marx and Engels. It is the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of the socialist society, based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a transitional phase towards the communist society. Lenin based himself on these teachings and led to success the first proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917. He further elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism.

Comrade Ghosh also, in the background of organizing the proletarian revolutionary movement in India covering all aspects of life, and confronting diverse experiences in the national as also international plane, not only concretised Marxism-Leninism in India but also elaborated, developed and enriched its general understanding to a new height. Back in 1948, over the Tito incident, he drew attention to the lowering of the general level of ideological consciousness of the international communist movement. He pointed out that the communist movement draws strength not from blind obedience to leadership but from conscious realization of communist ideology and its conscious application in practice and that its essential prerequisite is the dialectical relationship between leaders and cadres. He also gave timely warning at the time of the 20th Congress of CPSU that it would open the floodgate of revisionism. His teaching has been proved correct that however much difficult it may be to accomplish revolution, protecting it and continuing its forward march is much more difficult without continuously raising the level of ideological standard of the communists. Lenin also said that conducting ideological struggle would remain the principal task during the entire period of the socialist revolution. So, when Mao Zedong, observing the revisionist degeneration of the USSR, initiated in China the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Ghosh hailed it as "magnificent".

Clearly, therefore, communism is not a mere economic or political doctrine. It is the most noble

and lofty ideology today which will uplift mankind both materially and spiritually. To hide it from the masses the bourgeoisie is therefore always out to malign it. So Comrade Ghosh said that it is especially the exploited, oppressed and downtrodden people who have the greatest need of learning the truth. Comrade Ghosh showed that the objective condition is fully ripe for the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India. But the subjective condition, i.e., the necessary political consciousness and organisation of the masses is not yet matured. The task today is to arouse them ideologically, politically and culturally. This can only be done on the basis of the correct revolutionary theory. This revolutionary theory does not mean the mere strategy of revolution. Comrade Ghosh showed that it means a complete epistemological category, covering all aspects of life including the latest achievements of science as well as the minutest details of personal conduct — which can guide us in every question. Comrade Mukherjee said that this complete epistemological category was created by none other than Comrade Ghosh himself in course of his relentless and lifelong struggle, in facing and overcoming the stubborn, varied and complex problems, both theoretical and practical, and in enriching himself bit by bit in this course, on his way to build the revolutionary party and through it the revolutionary movement in India. This is 'Shibdas Ghosh Thought'.

Comrade Mukherjee said that first of all it devolves on us to correctly grasp this thought ourselves. Only then can we carry it to the masses in such a way that they also grasp it and can clearly understand the true position and role of the different bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. The principal political party, serving the ruling capitalist class principally, is the main enemy of the people, against which we should try to unite all possible forces. Again, those compromising forces between labour and capital who disrupt, or weaken, or frustrate the scope of this united struggle are the main danger, and, without exposing and exhausting them ideologically, politically and organizationally, the main enemy cannot be fought effectively. Now, in a bourgeois parliamentary set-up like ours, the role of the main enemy of today may be taken up by another tomorrow, if it suits the ruling class. Replacing the Congress, the BJP has today assumed this role, although the Congress is also waiting for its opportunity. But the unprecedented political instability at present allowed neither the Congress nor the BJP to have an absolute majority. Just for power, therefore, the BJP has embraced all sorts of disparate forces, factions, groups and parties. These include also the AIADMK of Jayalalitha, whom the BJP itself dubbed 'the queen of corruption', the other day. This has at a stroke demolished the BJP's claim of 'value based politics'. Similarly, after publicly dropping its earlier agenda of Rammandir at Ayodhya, it is continuing with the same design through the VHP, the RSS and other members of the Sangh Parivar. It has already appointed its chosen men to write the Hinduised history of India. The RSS and VHP clamour for introduction in schools of 'Vedic mathematics' and 'Hindu sciences' is increasing. It is very clear that — not for Hinduism, but for the

Hindu votes — the BJP is willfully keeping alive the Hindu communal fire. It is purposefully dividing people, purposefully fomenting fanaticism. Similarly, the BJP, the VHP and the Sangh Parivar went all out to excite national jingoism over the nuclear blasts at Pokhran. One again remembers Comrade Ghosh's words, said Comrade Mukherjee, that fascism is a peculiar fusion between spiritualism, obscurantist ideas and the technological aspects of science. Fascists make use of the dual weapons of suppression as also deception. The BJP is treading this dangerous path. This is alarming.

But the BJP could come to its present position due to the Congress, overt and covert communalism and the CPI(M)'s and the CPI's brazen parliamentary opportunism. It is known that the Congress had been exploiting the minority vote bank for long. Afterwards, Mrs Gandhi publicly declared that she would henceforth practice 'majority' politics. It gave the BJP the first boost.

When Rajiv Gandhi had the Babri Masjid opened, despite desiring to play the Hindu card himself he gave the BJP the biggest opportunity. What happened later is well known. The Congress thus contributed positively to the communalization of Indian politics and the degeneration of secular values, whatever. It nurtured the conditions for the BJP's rise. And the pseudo-leftist CPI(M) and CPI, instead of exposing the Congress design, instead of unitedly building up a countrywide mass movement on democratic and secular values as deterrent to BJP's communalism, were busy soliciting support from 'secular' Congress for the UF government of Deve Gowda and Gujral. It is therefore plain that their anti-BJP slogans reflect not a principled stand against BJP's communalism but mere parliamentary rivalry against communal BJP. Their deed proves them to be the main danger before the united democratic movement of the people. It is instructive to recall Stalin's words that you cannot put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social-democratism.

Our task, Comrade Mukherjee said, will be to unite and organize the masses in countrywide democratic movement against the main enemy while at the same time expose and isolate the main danger, i.e. the pseudo-communist compromising forces between labour and capital and, in this way, educate the masses and advance the party founded by Comrade Ghosh. In this course, we will leave no stone unturned for building up united and broadbased left and democratic mass movements. We have repeatedly appealed in the past to all left and democratic parties for such united movement. We have very recently also appealed to all of them for a united movement against the menace of the arch-communal BJP. It is desirable and welcome that they come forward. But if they fail, we shall go ahead single handedly all the same. By developing the democratic movement of all sections of the masses we shall help develop the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. By developing revolutionary movement in our country, we shall be strengthening the international communist movement also.

True, revisionism has disorganized the world communist movement. Yet, a trend is visible all

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REMEMBERING ENGELS

"...While I was in Manchester, it was tangibly brought home to me that the economic facts, which have so far played no role or only a contemptible one in the writing of history, are, at least in the modern world, a decisive historical force; that they form the

basis of the origination of the present-day class antagonisms; that these class antagonisms, in the countries where they have become fully developed, thanks to the large-scale industry, hence especially in England, are in their turn the basis of the formation of political parties and of party struggles, and thus of all political history. Marx had not only arrived at the same view, but had already, in the *German-French Annals* (1844), generalized it to the effect that, speaking generally, it is not the state which conditions and regulates civil society, but civil society which conditions and regulates the state, and, consequently, that policy and its history are to be explained from the economic relations and their development, and not *vice versa*. When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844, our complete agreement in all theoretical fields became evident and our joint work dates from that time. When, in the spring of 1845, we met again in Brussels, Marx had already fully developed his materialist theory of history in its main features from the above-mentioned basis and we now applied ourselves to the detailed elaboration of the newly-won mode of outlook in the most varied directions.... This discovery... was, ... of immediate importance for the contemporary workers' movement. Communism... now no longer appeared as something accidental which could just as well not have occurred. These movements now presented themselves as a movement of the modern oppressed class, the proletariat, as the more or less developed forms of its historically necessary struggle against the ruling class, the bourgeoisie; as forms of the class struggle, but distinguished from all earlier class struggles by this one thing, that the present-day oppressed class, the proletariat, cannot achieve its emancipation without at the same time emancipating society as a whole from division into classes and, therefore, from class struggles. And communism now no longer meant the concoction, by means of the imagination, of an ideal society as perfect as possible, but insight into the nature, the conditions and the consequent general aims of the struggle waged by the proletariat....

...We live today under the domination of capitalist production, in which a large, ever-increasing class of the population can live only if it works for the owners of the means of production — the tools, machines, raw materials and means of subsistence — in return for wages.... Let us assume that the money price of these means of subsistence averages three marks a day. Our worker, therefore, receives a wage of three marks a day from the capitalist who employs him. For this, the capitalist makes him work, say, twelve hours a day, calculating roughly as follows:

Let us assume that our worker — has to make a part of a machine which he can complete in one day. The raw material — iron and brass in the necessary previously prepared form — costs

[On the occasion of death anniversary of Engels on 5th August we are giving below some of his invaluable teachings which were written about 150 years ago. Keeping in mind the changes that occurred since then we are to study them which expose the basic characteristics of capitalist exploitation. — Ed. P. Era]

twenty marks. The consumption of coal by the steam engine, and the wear and tear of this steam engine, of the lathe and other tools which our worker uses represent for one day, and reckoned by his share of their use, a value of one mark. The wage for one day, according to our assumption, is three marks. This makes twenty-four marks in all for our machine part. But the capitalist calculates that he will obtain, on an average, twenty-seven marks from his customers in return, or three marks more than his outlay.

Whence came the three marks pocketed by the capitalist? ... twenty-one marks were values already present before our machinist began work.... There remain six marks which have been added to the value of the raw material.... these six marks can only arise from the labour added to the raw material by our worker. His twelve hours' labour has thus created a new value of six marks. The value of his twelve hours' labour would, therefore, be equal to six marks.... For the worker, the value of the twelve hours' labour is three marks, for the capitalist it is six marks, of which he pays three to the worker as wages and pockets three for himself.... If, now, the worker creates a value of six marks in twelve hours, then in six hours he creates a value of three marks. He has, therefore, already repaid the capitalist the counter-value of the three marks contained in his wages when he has worked six hours for him. ... This *surplus labour* of the worker, over and above the time necessary to replace his wages, is the *source of surplus value*, of profit, of the steadily growing increase of capital.... the main point is that the capitalist, besides the labour he pays for, also extracts labour that he *does not pay for*, and this is no arbitrary assumption, for the day the capitalist extracts from the worker in the long run only as much labour as he paid him in wages, on that day he will shut down his workshop, since indeed his whole profit would come to nought.... the capitalist mode of production... not only continually produces anew for the capitalist his capital, but at the same time also continually produces anew the poverty of the workers; thereby it is provided for that there always exist anew, on the one hand, capitalists who are the owners of all means of subsistence, all raw materials and all instruments of labour, and, on the other hand, the great mass of the workers, who are compelled to sell their labour power to these capitalists for an amount of the means of subsistence which at best just suffices to keep them able-bodied and to bring up a new generation of able-bodied proletarians. But capital does not merely reproduce itself; it is continually increased and multiplied — and thereby its power over the propertyless class of workers....

...Hitherto (during pre-capitalist production — Ed. P. Era), the owner of the instruments of labour had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now

(under capitalist mode of production — Ed. P. Era) the owner of the instruments of labour always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer *his* product but exclusively the product of the *labour of others*. Thus, the products

now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by *the capitalists*. The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialized. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which pre-supposes the private production of individuals.... This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, *contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today*. The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all important fields of production and in all manufacturing countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residuum, *the more clearly was brought out the incompatibility of socialized production with capitalistic appropriation....*

...We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. ...

...But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle." ... Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, ... hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; ... The stagnation lasts... until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeple chase of industry, commercial credit and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began — in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. ... In these crises, the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion.... *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange.* ... On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the practical *recognition of their character as social productive forces.*

The rebellion of the productive forces,
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5th August 22nd Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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over the world of learning from the past, of overcoming the revisionist deviation and of reorganizing the communist movement on a truly revolutionary line. We do not yet know all of these parties and forces. But we are beginning to know them and they are also coming to know us and about the thoughts of Comrade Ghosh. Their opinions have been expressed in the numerous messages sent by these parties on the 50th anniversary of our party this year and you have seen them in the party organs. Comrade Ghosh is being gradually understood. He is being gradually and correctly recognized not only as the leader of the Indian proletariat but as a leader of the world communist movement. So comrades, raise your level of consciousness, increase your initiative, improve your individual and collective style of functioning, release a partywide struggle to shake off all weaknesses, shortcomings and limitations — and always be with the masses. It is the only way to raise the entire party to the level of discharging its historic role today. Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought is your invincible weapon. The future belongs to you.

Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !

The meeting ended with the *Internationale*.

5th August Observed in States

ORISSA

On 6th August Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day was observed most solemnly in the Bhanja Kala Mandap Hall at Bhubaneswar. More than two thousand people from all walks of life attended the meeting where Comrade Tapas Dutta, Secretary, Orissa State Committee and member, Central Committee of the party was present as the main speaker. The meeting started after garlanding the portrait of the great leader of the proletariat by the leaders of the party and different mass organisations and rendering the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Shambhunath Nayak, MLA, presided over the meeting.

In his long inspiring speech Comrade Tapas Dutta elaborately dealt on the immense contribution of Comrade Ghosh in the field of revolutionary politics and Marxism-Leninism as a whole. He highlighted the unique struggle of

Comrade Ghosh to build up a genuine communist party i.e. SUCI on Indian soil. Comrade Dutta showed, as a result of that life struggle of Comrade Ghosh, how SUCI has today spread in most of the states of India. He also narrated how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh thought is now gaining recognition among different genuine communist parties of the world.

The meeting ended with the *Internationale*.

HARYANA

Rohtak 5.8.98: To observe the 22nd death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, the party workers from all walks of life — peasants, agricultural workers, industrial workers, teachers, youth, students and women — all assembled on 5 August at Multan Sewa Samiti Bhawan at Rohtak. Many of them did not see Comrade Ghosh in his life time but they were attracted by his life struggle and revolutionary teachings which now imbue them to take active part in the class and mass struggles against all sorts of exploitation and oppression. Comrade Ghosh is a beacon light to illumine the path of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Comrade Satyawan, Secretary, Haryana State Organizing Committee of the SUCI presided over the memorial meeting. Comrade Ashutosh Banerji, member, Central Committee, SUCI was the main speaker.

Comrade Ashutosh Banerji dwelt on the revolutionary life struggle and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. And in the course of his speech he exposed fully the communal politics and recent budget policies of the BJP led Central government. He also severely condemned nuclear weaponisation i.e. the recent nuclear tests at Pokhran. He also dealt with the question of reservation of women in Parliament and Assemblies. He called upon the party workers and leaders to come forward to meet the challenge of the day and asked them to be disciplined in life in the struggle to achieve the emancipation of the working class. He stressed the need to remould their character on the basis of higher proletarian culture as has been shown by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh throughout his entire life.

Comrade Anoop Singh, member, State Organizing Committee and Comrade Satyawan also spoke. Comrade Satyawan expressed the firm

will of the party to develop the mass and class struggles in the state against HVP-BJP Government and asked the party workers to be equal to the task, by learning and relearning the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and thereby developing their communist character.

KERALA

On 5th August a memorial meeting was organised under the auspices of the Kerala State Committee of our party in Nairasinha Puram Auditorium, Alleppey. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee of the party, was the main speaker. Comrade C.K. Lukose, Secretary, Kerala State Committee, presided.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta in his speech explained how in course of the arduous struggle to build up our party Comrade Shibdas Ghosh not only concretised Marxism-Leninism in Indian soil but also elaborated and enriched it and brought its understanding to a new height. And in this tortuous struggle, covering all aspects of life he emerged as a great leader and teacher of the proletariat of not only our country but of the whole world, a fact now being recognized by the communists of many a country.

Explaining the present political situation in the country, Comrade Dasgupta showed how the penetrating analyses Comrade Ghosh did years back are being proved to the hilt by different socio-political developments today.

Comrade Dasgupta thoroughly exposed the hollowness of BJP-Sangh Parivar claim about 'Hindutva' being not a religion but a 'way of life'. It is a teaching of Marxism, which Comrade Ghosh time and again reminded us, that in a capitalist society like ours the country or the nation, is not a homogeneous one. It is divided into classes existing in antagonistic contradiction with each other. And this contradiction between labour and capital is the principal contradiction of our society. Naturally there cannot be any common 'national interest' to both the ruling capitalist class and the exploited and oppressed toiling people. Under the slogan of national pride and also by whipping up national jingoism centring round nuclear explosion BJP is playing the capitalist class trick on the people.

Comrade Dasgupta condemned the opportunistic and social democratic politics of CPI(M) and CPI, which along with the out and out anti-people politics of Congress, helped the emergence of BJP to its present position. Having become the ruling party at the Centre, the main political representative of the crisis ridden and corrupt Indian capitalist class, BJP is out to lead the country towards fascism. It is the task of all progressive and democratic forces to defeat these fascist designs. But that cannot be accomplished by forming opportunistic alliances even with the Congress as suggested by CPI(M), but only by unleashing mighty united democratic mass movement throughout the country.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta concluded his speech giving a fervent call to the party workers and supporters to conduct a two fold struggle to change themselves as well as to organize people's movement on the edifice of higher proletarian culture.

TAMIL NADU

The Tamilnadu State Organizing Committee

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A section of the gathering at Allepy, Kerala on 5th August

5th August Observed in States

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held a meeting on the morning of August 9, 1998 at the MRS Kalyana Mandapam in Olteri, Chennai, to observe the 22nd memorial day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder of the SUCI, the only genuine communist party in the country.

Comrade S. Narayanasamy, member Tamilnadu State Organizing Committee, SUCI, presided over the meeting and translated the speech of Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee, SUCI, who was the main speaker, into Tamil.

Comrade Dasgupta inspired the audience by giving examples from Comrade Ghosh's life, describing various aspects of his life struggle, of how even at a tender age he had willingly and happily left home and parents to participate in the struggle to free the Indian people from the yoke of British imperialism.

When Comrade Ghosh concluded that the CPI had failed to develop into a genuine communist party, he took upon himself the task to do so.

He described his personal experience of Comrade Ghosh's long and arduous struggle to build up the SUCI as the genuine Communist Party in India. Comrade Ghosh had painstakingly nurtured the ideological centralism in the party by paying personal attention to the ideological development of not only the educated and literate cadres but also to those workers and poor peasants, those who had not the benefit of even being able to write their own names.

He had constantly stressed the need for dialectical relationship between communist parties and within a party, for criticism and self-criticism to be the living essence of any communist party. He had modestly but openly pointed out to the international communist movement, then under the very able leadership of the great communist leader Comrade Stalin, the trend of mechanical thinking and work that was growing in the international communist movement and warned about the dangers that would beset the communist movement if these were allowed to continue unchecked. He had also shown how modern revisionism had to be uncompromisingly fought out if revolution today was to be successful.

Under his guidance, teaching and leadership the SUCI had always been able to analyze national and international events and give the correct approach to every problem. He had also stressed that being a good communist today meant conducting uncompromising struggle in one's personal life, not to be held back in one's revolutionary tasks and responsibilities by the demands of near and dear ones, and the need to fight private property mental complex.

Comrade Dasgupta showed that the ruling class, submerged into crisis after crisis, was resorting to more and more fascistic measures and policies and that its latest servitor, the BJP, was taking all steps to divide the people on every issue possible — on religion, caste, region. This had always been the ploy of exploiters, to divide the exploited masses.

Most dangerous of all, it was mounting attacks on education, and on the rational, logical and ethical aspects of science. While, on the one hand, propagating traditional and obscurantist ideas, on the other, it was utilizing the technological aspects of science and promoting a consumerist culture for a concerted attack on all values. Comrade

Dasgupta warned that these would result in people being dehumanized so that they would not protest against anything.

Comrade Dasgupta showed how all parties, including the left parties, were frantically outbidding each other to serve the ruling capitalist class and had least concern for the welfare of the masses.

He said that history had bestowed the task of conducting the anti-capitalist, socialist revolution in India on the SUCI, and that the cadres had to steel themselves for the tortuous path of revolution ahead, not fall victim to complacency but double and redouble their efforts taking lessons, inspiration and courage from the life of the great Marxist thinker, philosopher and guide of the proletariat of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

WEST BENGAL

Under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the party 22nd death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was solemnly observed at Subodh Mallick Square in Calcutta. Comrade Yakub Pailan, member, West Bengal State Secretariat, presided over the meeting while Comrade Provash Ghosh, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee and Central Committee member was the main speaker.

The entire ground was packed with thousands of people though it was filled with mud and pools of water. The meeting started with the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and Komsomol presented guard of honour to the departed leader.

Comrade Provash Ghosh in his long speech stressed the necessity of remembering the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in order to advance the revolutionary struggle in the complex situation obtaining today in the country. He mentioned the deep crisis covering all spheres of life. Price rise, lock-outs, lay-offs, curtailment of education, unemployment, attack on moral ethical and cultural life of the people etc. — to all these questions we have to remember the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Comrade Provash Ghosh stressed the necessity of correct leadership and appealed to the people not to be apolitical by seeing only the rotten politics of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties which are serving the interest of the bourgeoisie. People must have to support the revolutionary politics which is noble and can show the path of emancipation. The soul of this revolutionary politics, as pointed out by

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, lies in the higher cultural standard. Revolutionary politics builds up character. The CPI(M) is boasting of 22 years' rule in West Bengal, but what we see today? There is no difference between Calcutta and Mumbai or Delhi. The strength of the CPI(M) is increasing not by building character but by destroying it. The CPI(M) is trying to destroy the revolutionary movement from within. Our party is trying to build up movements, and that is why the CPI(M) is trying to annihilate us in West Bengal with the support of administration and police.

Comrade Provash Ghosh said that when the prices of all essential commodities were soaring the central BJP led government as well as the CPI(M) led Left Front government were accusing the weather, and failing to discharge the minimum responsibility. They talked about paucity of fund, but military budget had been soaring and ministers were reported to be amassing cores of rupees.

Comrade Ghosh stressed that the root cause of all the problems was capitalism, and the parties like the BJP, the Congress and also the CPI(M) were all trying to protect this system. There was no fundamental difference between these parties in respect of their economic policies. But the BJP had appeared with an added danger of communalism. In fine he appealed to the people to build up movement under the leadership of the SUCI, the real revolutionary party reared by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

KARNATAKA

The Karnataka State Committee of SUCI, organised the 22nd Memorial Meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, on 5th August, 1998 in Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Hundreds of people from different walks of life, including students, youth and women participated in the programme which was presided over by Karnataka State Secretary of SUCI, Comrade K. Radhakrishna.

The main speaker of the meeting was Comrade Krishna Chakrabarty, member, Central Committee, SUCI. He dealt in detail with various important aspects of philosophy, history and contemporary Indian politics. In the background of spreading of BJP's ideology of Hindutva, he said that Marxism had shown that an idea, that is progressive when it emerges, at another stage would exhaust its role and become a stumbling block towards social progress. Similarly the ideas of Hindutva

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A section of the gathering at Bangalore, Karnataka on 5th August

REMEMBERING ENGELS

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...forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, ... tends to bring about that form of the socialization of great masses of means of production which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies....At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust", a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand....

...In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite — into monopoly ; ...But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces.... The workers remain wage-workers — proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. ... If the crises demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts and state property show how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by the salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. ... The solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonizing of the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialized character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. ...

...On the one hand, a certain petty-bourgeois socialism finds representation in the Social-Democratic Party itself. ... This is done in the following way: while the fundamental views of modern socialism and the demand for the transformation of all the means of production into social property are recognized as justified, the realization of this is declared possible only in the distant future, or future which for all practical purposes is quite out of sight. Thus, for the present one has to have recourse to mere social patchwork, and sympathy can be shown, according to circumstances, even with the most reactionary efforts for so-called "uplifting of the labouring class." ... After all, the ultimate basis on which class differences were defended was always: there must be a class which need not plague itself with the production of its daily subsistence, in order that it may have time to look after the intellectual work of society. This talk, which upto now had its great historical justification, has been cut off at the root once and for all by the industrial revolution of the last hundred years. The existence of a ruling class is

becoming daily more and more a hindrance to the development of industrial productive power, and equally so to that of science, art and especially of forms of cultural intercourse. ...

...It is the essence of bourgeois socialism to want to maintain the basis of all the evils of present-day society and at the same time to want to abolish the evils themselves. As already pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*, the bourgeois Socialists are desirous of "redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society," they want "*a bourgeoisie without a proletariat*." ... Whoever declares that the capitalist mode of production, the "iron laws" of present-day bourgeois society, are inviolable, and yet at the same time would like to abolish their unpleasant but necessary consequences, has no other recourse but to deliver moral sermons to the capitalists, moral sermons whose emotional effects immediately evaporate under the influence of "private interest and, if necessary, of competition."

"...As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist it is folly to hope for an isolated settlement of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the lot of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself....

...One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for "unity". Those who have this word most often on their lips are those who sow the most dissension,...

...These unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot ... — or else they are people who unconsciously ... or consciously want to adulterate the movement. ...Naturally every party leadership wants to see successes, and this is quite a good thing. But there are circumstances in which one must have the courage to sacrifice *momentary* success for more important things. ... Take the International, for instance. After the Commune it had a colossal success. ... We knew very well that the bubble *must* burst. All the riff-raff attached themselves to it. The sectarians within it began to flourish and misused the International in the hope that the meanest and most stupid actions would be permitted them. We did not allow that. Knowing well that the bubble must burst some time our concern was not to delay the catastrophe but to take care that the International emerged from it pure and unadulterated. The bubble burst at the Hague. ... And if we had come out in a conciliatory way at the Hague, if we had hushed up the breaking out of the split — what would have been the result? ... the bubble would not have burst but, pierced by pin-pricks, would have slowly collapsed, and the next Congress, which would have been bound to bring the crisis anyhow, would have turned into the lowest kind of personal row, because *principles* would already have been sacrificed at the Hague. Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces — gone to pieces through "unity"! Instead of this we

have now got rid of the rotten elements with honour to ourselves...

...Moreover, old man Hegel already said : A party proves itself the victorious party by the fact that it *splits* and can stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance ; ...

...The highest form of the state, the democratic republic, which under our modern conditions of society is more and more becoming an inevitable necessity, and is the form of state in which alone the last decisive struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be fought out — the democratic republic officially knows nothing any more of property distinctions. In it wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely. ... The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for with body and soul. The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is required, and it is just this work that we are now pursuing. ... In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat. ...

... In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry in the last twenty-five years, and of the accompanying improved and extended party organization of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February Revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme (*The Communist Manifesto* — Ed. P. Era) has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune *viz.*, that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes" (Quoted from Marx's *The Civil War In France* — Ed. P. Era). ... From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognize that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. ... Of late, the social-democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words : Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. ... But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions

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REMEMBERING ENGELS

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that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon — authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough? ... As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist. ...

...On the one hand are immeasurable riches and a superfluity of products which the purchasers cannot cope with; on the other hand, the great mass of society proletarianized, turned into wage-workers, and precisely for that reason made incapable of appropriating for themselves this superfluity of products. The division of society into a small, excessively rich class and a large, propertyless class of wage-workers results in a society suffocating from its own superfluity, while the great majority of its members is scarcely, or even not at all, protected from extreme want. This state of affairs becomes daily more absurd and — more unnecessary. It *must* be abolished, it *can* be abolished. A new social order is possible in which the present class differences will have disappeared and in which — perhaps after a short transitional period involving some privation, but at any rate of great value morally — through the planned utilization and extension of the already existing enormous productive forces of all members of society, and with uniform obligation to work, the means for existence, for enjoying life, for the development and employment of all bodily and mental faculties will be available in an equal measure and in ever-increasing fullness. ...

...According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure: political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic,

philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas, also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents ... the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary.

...Hanging together with this is the fatuous notion of the ideologists that because we deny an independent historical development to the various ideological spheres which play a part in history we also deny them any *effect upon history*. The basis of this is the common undialectical conception of cause and effect as rigidly opposite poles, the total disregarding of interaction. These gentlemen often almost deliberately forget that once a historic element has been brought into the world by other, ultimately economic causes, it reacts, can react on its environment and even on the causes that have given rise to it. ... Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. It is not that the economic condition is the *cause* and alone *active*, while everything else only is a passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which *ultimately* always asserts itself. ... So it is not, as people try here and there conveniently to imagine, that the economic condition produces an automatic effect.

... The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. ... You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is, the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society. ... From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolized, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes. You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than *the middle-class owner of property*. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible. ... In bourgeois society capital is independent, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality. And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at. ... Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation. It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work

will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us. According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire any thing, do not work. ... The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property — historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production — this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property. ...

... The great basic thought that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made *things*, but as complex of *processes*, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away, in which, in spite of all seeming accidentality and of all temporary retrogression, a progressive development asserts itself in the end — this great fundamental thought ... is now scarcely ever contradicted. ...

...The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES,
UNITE !

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Hiroshima Day Observed on 6th August



All India Anti-Imperialist Forum organises demonstration before the US Consulate in Calcutta

BHUBANESWAR

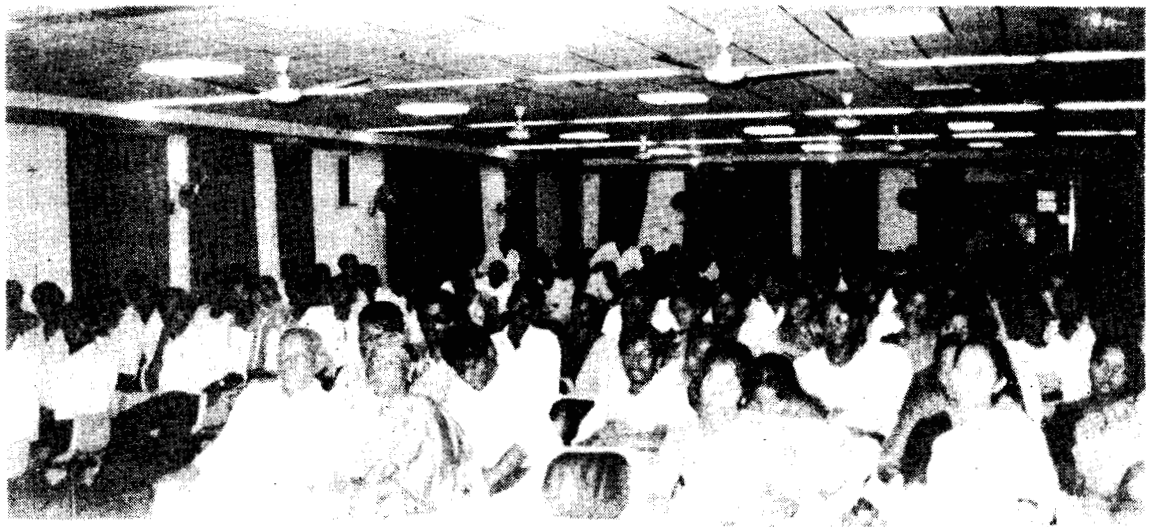
A mammoth rally of intellectuals, youths, students, ladies and working people of the state started from Bhubaneswar Railway Station and reached PMG Square to protest against the nuclear tests and arms race generated by the Indian and Pakistani governments. The demonstrators shouted slogans against the war hysteria created by the capitalist-imperialist forces and demanded a halt to this mad arms race. They also demanded the basic facilities of civilised life.

Dr. Ramesh Ch. Nayak presided over the meeting held at PMG Square. A memorandum addressed to the President of India was placed by Comrade Laxmindhar Mohanty. Comrade Narendra Mohanty, member, Anti-Imperialist Forum, Orissa addressed the meeting.

Finally ten feet high big symbolic bomb was set on fire.

VIJAYAWADA

On 6th August a state level convention and rally were conducted at Vijayawada jointly by SUCI, MCPI, CPI(ML)-Janashakti, CPI(ML)-New Democracy, CPI(ML)-Liberation, CPI(M) and Marxist-Leninist Committee. More than a thousand delegates attended this convention held at the auditorium of Rotary Club. Comrade Ramesh Patnaik state secretariat member of SUCI was in the presidium that conducted the convention on behalf of the seven parties. State



A section of the gathering in the Convention against nuclear arms race in Chennai, which was addressed by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, Vice-President, All India Anti-Imperialist Forum

leaders of the parties addressed the delegates. A resolution was passed unanimously at the end condemning the nuclear tests conducted by the Indian government at Pokhran on 11th and 13th of May and demanding the nuclear states of the world for total disarmament of nuclear weapons.

Comrade K. Sridhar, secretary, AP State Organising Committee, SUCI, addressed the convention

After the convention a procession went from Alankar Centre to Lenin Centre via main thoroughfares and an effigy of "communalism and imperialism" was burnt. Police arrested some of the activists while burning the effigy.

5th August in States

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propagated by BJP, having been exhausted long back, have today become out and out reactionary and are obstructing the very advancement of society. Further he said that the BJP is creating false national pride over Pokhran issue and is instigating anti-Muslim and anti-China sentiments. Finally, recalling the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, he said that Comrade Ghosh had enriched the understanding of different aspects of philosophy, history, politics and several contemporary problems faced by the people of our country. Finally he enjoined that only by building up democratic mass movements against the burning problems of people's life, under the leadership of our party, can ultimately lead to the emancipation of toiling millions of our society.

BIHAR

On the occasion of the 22nd Death Anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, great leader of the proletariat, a memorial meeting was held at 'Panchayat Bhawan', Patna. The Bihar State Committee of our party organised the meeting which was presided over by Comrade Shiv Shankar, member of the Bihar State Secretariat and was addressed by Comrade Amritheshwar Chakraborty, Secretary, Bihar State Committee. Comrades Hem Chakraborty and Arun Kr. Singh, all senior leaders of the State Committee also spoke.



All India Anti-Imperialist Forum demonstrates in Chennai before the US Consulate on Hiroshima Day.

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