

Comrade Provash Ghosh on 73rd Party Foundation Day

Present Situation And Tasks of The Revolutionaries

(On the occasion of observance of 73rd Party Foundation Day on 24 April 2020, Comrade Provash Ghosh, our beloved General Secretary, delivered a speech at Shibpur Party Centre, West Bengal, in front of the Party comrades present there. Due to corona lockdown, no mass meeting could be organized in any state this time. Before publication, Comrade Provash Ghosh has edited and improved the speech.)

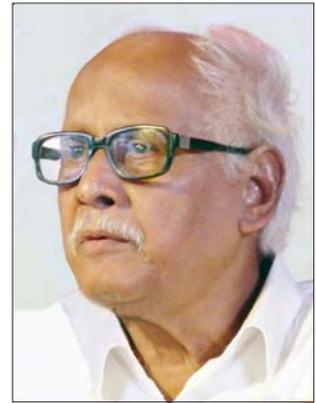
Comrades,

24 April is the Foundation Day of our beloved Party, SUCI(Communist). This Day is associated with profound emotion of all the leaders-workers-supporters-sympathisers of our Party as well as the class-conscious people of India. Every year we organize central gatherings in various states. In these mass gatherings, we recollect the valuable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of our Party and our leader, teacher and guide and basing on his teachings, we discuss the prevailing socio-economic-political situation with a view to determine our responsibilities and duties. But, this year, the situation is unprecedentedly abnormal. In such a difficult situation, the comrades of Shibpur Party Centre have requested me to say something on the occasion. But the task is indeed very tough. Right now, the whole

world including India is in a precarious condition. The way global people have been gripped by such a serious crisis is indeed very painful to all of us. The air is rent with the wails of lakhs of bereaved families. By the time I would end my discourse, the number of corona victims and deaths would increase by several thousands. In such a circumstance, with a very heavy mind and by, so to say, fighting with my own self, I am delivering this speech.

What would be the final death toll and how many days would roll by before the attack of this deadly virus would come to an end, is totally uncertain. May be more lakhs would lose their life. But the question arising in my mind is; were spread of the infection among so vast a section of the people and the related fatalities inevitable? I believe definitely it was not. It is true that this virus has attacked the

humanity suddenly and no preventive and curative medicine has been discovered so far. But within few days of corona having struck its initial blows, it was found out what are the symptoms of the viral disease, how does it get transmitted so fast among people, which precautions are needed to contain the spread, what can prevent the mass transmission and so forth. Those who are familiar with the media coverages know that this viral disease first surfaced in the Wuhan province of China in end of November or early December last year. You know that though China still moves with a label of communism, the fact is that capitalism was established there long back by way of dismantling socialism through counter-revolution. Now as a powerful imperialist country, it, with the aim of increasing its dominance as well as sphere of influence throughout



Comrade Provash Ghosh,
General Secretary, SUCI(Communist)

the world, is now engaged in a vicious trade war with US imperialism. The CPI (M), CPI in our country, however, still consider China as a socialist country. Because, China, like them, is wearing a cloak of communism. I have seen in the newspaper that when corona was first detected in China, Dr Li Wenliang, an
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No independence and neutrality : SUCI(C)

Comrade Provash Ghosh General Secretary of SUCI(Communist) issued the following statement on 31May, 2020 :

Whatever relics of independence and neutrality of the judicial institutions are there in India after continuous attack since Congress rule is now being nakedly destroyed under the present governance of BJP in its drive to consolidate the fascistic rule further. This has posed a grave danger to all democratic rights and movements of the people.

It is evidently clear that appointments, transfers, composition and breaking up of benches in judicial courts are being manipulated by the power behind the screen. Frequently judgments are made to satisfy the ruling party and class. Some loyal persons are promoted, even given lucrative appointments after retirement and the few brave honest persons are denied due promotion, harassed and unduly transferred. These have become almost the order of the day. Thus judiciary has been reduced to a mere subservient to the ruling class and party in our country like all other bourgeois countries in the world.

It is to be noted that in all capitalist countries today there is only semblance of parliamentary democracy, which in reality is only the rule of fascist autocracy under the garb of 'parliamentary democracy'.

SUCI(C) on current spurt of protest in USA

Comrade Provash Ghosh General Secretary of SUCI(Communist) issued the following statement today the 1st June, 2020 :

"We express our solidarity with the struggling people of USA who are in the midst of historic movement against anti-people policies of the U S imperialist rulers.

This is an outburst like a volcanic eruption of the accumulated grievances of the people not only against racial oppressions but also against all anti people policies and acts of the U.S. imperialist rulers including widespread unemployment, retrenchment, starvation and criminal negligence to tackle Covid-19 resulting deaths of lacs of people.

It is noteworthy all sections of the oppressed toiling people irrespective of colour and religion are united in this struggle.

It reminds about the earlier heroic 'occupy wall street' movement which shook the foundation of U S imperialism.

This struggle inspires all exploited people of the world to fight against imperialist- capitalist exploitation.

It teaches that real power lies not in the armory of the imperialist capitalist rulers, but in courageous undaunted struggling masses.

We hope U. S. fighting people will achieve victory."

Both Chinese and US rulers responsible for such widespread transmission

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ophthalmologist, was first to warn the Chinese authorities of the possible outbreak of the disease on larger scale. But the Chinese government instead of investigating the matter with due seriousness summoned Dr Li and accused him of spreading rumours. Li was made to sign an affidavit acknowledging his crime of misleading the authorities and had to promise that he would not engage himself in any such activities in the future. The news of his sounding alarm was also suppressed. Later, while treating a corona patient, Li himself contracted the infection and succumbed to that. Why did the authorities of imperialist China seek to hush up the news? Because they thought if the news came out, they would be inconvenienced and their commercial interest would be hampered. Because, Wuhan is a big industrial as well as commercial hub of China. It has business link with almost all imperialist-capitalist countries. The labour is very cheap here. So, many giant multi-nationals (MNCs) including US MNCs have established their industries in Wuhan. But when this disease began spreading fast in that city, it could no more be kept under the wraps. India also has trade relation with the city. But China had to admit the spread of the disease on 20 January. By that time, several thousands of people were afflicted by this deadly disease in Wuhan. Several hundred deaths were also reported. But what the Chinese did was immediate imposition of lockdown in Wuhan so that the city remained cut off from the rest of the country and the transmission of the disease in other parts of the country could be contained. Despite such a shutdown, China did not suspend its business transactions with other countries. Wuhan continued to have global link through both air and water transport even knowing that this could trigger global spread of the disease. Yet, they took such a decision simply to avert commercial loss. This was a highly condemnable act, a serious crime. Had they not done so; the disease perhaps would not have transmitted throughout the world in such a magnitude.

The first reported instance of a Covid-19 case in the US was confirmed on 21 January 2020. As early as on 29 January, President Trump was alerted by the US officials about the imminent danger

and urged for immediate serious action to fight the virus and not to "leave Americans defenceless." But Trump took no cognizance of this warning. Already the disease started spreading in US. But even on 6th March, he advised the people to remain calm and commented that one day, the disease would disappear like a miracle. Thereafter, when the intensity of the infection assumed severe proportion, he had no other way but switch tone on 16th March and admit that every American would have to be prepared for the hard days that lay ahead. But by that time, there was nothing much to be done. Lakhs of Americans had already fallen victim to the disease indeed like a 'miracle'. In terms of the number of infected and casualties, US is number one in the world. Was this too also inevitable? Why did the US President dilly-dally in taking action in time? Why did he not suspend commercial dealings with China? Similarly, why did he refrain from closing down industries and other establishments in his own country? He did not take all these preventive measures in due time in the class interest of the profit-mongering imperialists-capitalists. In the same manner, the disease engulfed entire Europe with the imperialist countries like Italy, Spain, Britain and France being the most affected. In all these countries, the respective imperialist rulers had virtually followed the footsteps of the US President and consigned thousands of their own countrymen to death. Now, in the face of severe criticism in his own country, Trump is trying to save face by pointing fingers at China. Because, he would face election in a few months. Like the Chinese authorities, the US rulers are no less guilty of entailing such a disaster. The Indian government was fully aware of the havoc wreaked by the disease in US, China, Europe, Iran and other countries. Yet, it too had not taken required precautionary measures in time to prevent blow-out of the disease.

First corona victim was traced in India on 30 January 2020 in Kerala. As on 6 March, 31 corona cases were reported. On 11 March, World Health Organization (WHO) declared corona as pandemic. But the Union Health Minister stated that there was nothing to panic about and the government was alert

of the situation. In the preceding month, the Indian government was busy giving a royal reception to the US President. Thereafter, the entire Central Ministry and the ruling BJP leaders were busy toppling the Congress Government in Madhya Pradesh through horse-trading. They purchased 22 Congress MLAs with huge money and got them defected to the BJP. Where was the time for them to think about the threat posed by corona pandemic? Moreover, in commercial interest, the Indian government continued to maintain link with the external world including China through both aerial and water routes till 25th March. As a consequence to that, people infected with the virus from abroad entered the country as potential carriers. Even being aware of that, the parliament session was continued up to 23 March. On 24 March, the conspiracy of installing a BJP government in Madhya Pradesh became successful. After this successful game, the same evening, the Prime Minister performed his responsibility by declaring the lockdown with just 4 hours' notice as if that would only curb the disease. There was no preparation whatsoever. Those who came from abroad were not tested for Covid-19 infection. No arrangement was made either to test the people at large during the lockdown even at the infected zones. The kit necessary for Covid-19 testing was unavailable. There was no proper initiative to augment the number of beds and hospitals for Covid-19 treatment. Ventilators were in short supply. So were the Personal Protective Equipment's (PPEs) for doctors, nurses and the healthcare assistants. On the other hand, crores of workers became jobless due to lockdown. The poor lost their means of livelihood. The migrant labourers lost both their jobs and shelters. There was no arrangement for their food or lodging. The Prime Minister, his cabinet colleagues and the chief ministers of various states began shedding crocodile tears in media glare as if they had given up eating and sleeping out of their concern for the distressed people. A competition ensued as to who was a better saviour of the suffering countrymen obviously with an eye on the ensuing elections. The Prime Minister announced a few peculiar measures like clapping and beating dishes of bell metal at the doors or

from the rooftops or balconies, switching off electric lights at homes and instead lighting candles or oil-lamps, torches or mobile flashlights to keep Covid-19 at bay. A strange measure unheard of in history! The whole objective had been to stimulate religious sentiment and create blind allegiance to his party and government. Besides this, the ruling party leaders are also continuously spewing anti-Muslim venom even in these hard times. The Tablighi Jamaat congregation in Delhi just on the eve of the lockdown gave them a handle in exacerbating anti-Muslim hatred. This programme was organized by a few Islamic bigots with due permission of the government. Even delegates from abroad with official visa joined the meet. The government did not give any order to stop the programme. It is true that some of the participants tested Covid-19 positive later. But the question is, did they organize the meet with an object to spread the disease? They organized the programme to propagate religious blindness. During the same time, with the same objective, a large religious function was organized in Tirupati temple with government approval. If someone is to be held responsible for the consequent spurt in corona infection, it is the government who gave permission for such religious functions. But a malicious campaign has been unleashed throughout the country holding the Muslims responsible for the spread of the disease. On the one hand, the ruling dispensation is undertaking such a vicious campaign to facilitate introduction of highly pernicious NRC-NPR while on the other hand, the Prime Minister and the RSS chief are pretending piety by saying that the onus of spreading corona should not be on any religious community. Such kind of hypocrisy is also going on. Everyone knows who were the masked musclemen guilty of bringing down attacks on the JNU and Jamia Millia students in Delhi. But the government has not yet been able to trace any of them. The Delhi police are under the central government. They know who are the godfathers of the culprits. So how could they dare to haul up the offenders? It is also as clear as daylight today who were behind orchestration of the recent riot in the Jaffrabad area of Delhi to 'teach a proper lesson' to the

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BJP government did not take preventive measures in time

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anti-NRC anti-CAA agitators of Shaheen Bagh. But when the countrymen are perplexed and frightened because of corona attack, the anti-NRC demonstrators are being sent behind bars on evidently false charge of engineering riot. In doing such things, the Indian government is hyper-active. In this hour of grave crisis, people ought to understand the real character and object of the central and state governments, the ruling parties as well as their mentor and patron capitalist class.

So, as could be seen, the infection had originated and been transmitted from China. Had China suspended physical connection with the rest of the world at the initial stage like the way it delinked Wuhan from the rest of their country, had the other imperialist-capitalist countries also got alerted and cut physical contact with China, they all would have no doubt incurred loss in their profit from international trade but that could have prevented such wide transmission of the disease and loss of nearly few lakh precious lives. Then who is responsible for such a catastrophe? Who is responsible for such a disaster causing so many deaths? It is the helmsmen of the imperialist-capitalist countries including India. Because, in capitalist system, there is no value of human life. The only usefulness of the human beings to the capitalist class is their labour-power, as feedstuff of their exploitative machine. Once great Stalin had said that workers are nothing but human raw material to the bourgeoisie. Coal is necessary to run factories. But in the process, coal is burnt into ashes. Just like that, capitalism exploits human labour power, sucks out even the last drop of blood of the workers and ruins their lives. Based on this ruthless exploitation, the capitalist machine operates. So, ruling capitalism has least concern as to who lives or who dies. What matters to them is maximization of profit.

This Covid-19 pandemic has once again proved how cruel, ruthless and inhuman capitalism is. At the same time, we find that the scientists and environmentalists have been sounding repeated warning about rise in global warming and sea level, melting of icebergs in the Antarctica and other polar regions, destruction of the Himalayan glaciers and consequent drying up of the sources of the rivers. As a

result, ecological balance is disturbed and air pollution is increasing. This portends a grave danger to mankind. The environment activists have been stressing time and again on controlling greenhouse gas emission and curtail burning of fossil fuel. But who pays heed to all these warnings? The imperialist-capitalists are not ready to control air pollution lest their profit from industries including war industries should come down. They do not care if human civilization is threatened. But their profit interest should remain unscathed. This is what imperialism-capitalism is. This very anti-people anti-civilization character of imperialism-capitalism has once more been nakedly manifested during the ongoing corona crisis.

Covid-19 has unfolded another aspect. That is how healthcare of common people is criminally neglected in the imperialist-capitalist countries. It is observed that each country is terribly short of necessary number of hospitals, adequate number of hospital beds, doctors, nurses, test kits, ventilators, PPEs and all such essentials to provide proper medical assistance to the corona patients. Had there been enough number of equipped hospitals and health professionals, so many deaths would not have occurred. Even doctors and nurses are also dying of corona. What is the reason behind such precariousness of health delivery system? Because, drastic cut in health budget is a common feature in all imperialist-capitalist countries. All imperialist-capitalist countries give priority to military expenditure. In the last year, US, China and India ranked first, second and third respectively in terms of allocation towards military budget in the world. All imperialist-capitalist countries are heftily increasing military budget, spending huge amount on arms manufacturing, curtailing allotment towards fundamental scientific research and thereby impeding newer discoveries in the realm of fundamental science. Even these countries are hindering cultivation and development of medical science. Had not such been the state of affairs, perhaps curative medicine of corona could have been found out with due expediency. Such basic areas are grossly neglected.

I would like to remind one thing which many people might not even

be knowing today. Just after First World War, the representative of Soviet Union had, under the guidance of Great Lenin, given a proposal of total disarmament to the League of Nations. It meant that all countries should stop all kinds of defence productions. The Soviet representative suggested that let there be an end to war and the money hitherto spent on military be used for public welfare. But, not a single imperialist-capitalist country agreed to this proposal. There is a mention of this in Rabindranath Tagore's "Letters from Russia". Rabindranath was effusive in praise of Soviet socialism. That epoch-making Soviet socialism has been dismantled by counter-revolution.

Soviet socialism completely eradicated unemployment, provided job to all. Education was free up to the highest level. Socialist Soviet Union introduced free universal healthcare. Soviet Union had the highest number of hospitals and hospital beds in the world. There was one doctor per 250 citizens, one nurse per 100 citizens. Just think what was the outlook towards securing public health in socialism. Any diseased person could get proper medical care in any of the hospitals free of cost in Soviet Union. That country used to spend heavily on cultivation of science and healthcare. Had Soviet Union and the world Socialist system been in existence, the world situation would have been different. As I have said earlier, capitalism-imperialism is guilty of criminally neglecting healthcare. That is why, lakhs of people are dying of Covid-19. Hospital beds are disproportionately short to the number of corona patients. So, those suffering from cancer, cardiac problem, pneumonia and nephrological disorder requiring dialysis are not getting treatment. Hence, many such patients are also dying.

Alongside, one more thing has happened. All industries have been closed because of the lockdown. Hundreds of million workers in the world including our country have lost jobs. Besides, a huge number of poor who had somehow been managing to eke out a bare living are also without any income. Thousands of such have-nots are dying. Announcement of many relief schemes of the central and state governments is glittering in the newspaper pages. But the hunger-struck people are not aware who are the beneficiaries of these

schemes. If there was record, it would have been evident that more number of people are dying of starvation than corona. According to Oxfam report, already 7,000 people die in India per day because of starvation. In the last year, India ranked 102 out of 117 countries in Global Hunger Index. The Indian rulers might feel proud of this finding. 1% of rich own 73% of the country's wealth. When the Indian people are gripped by corona crisis, it came to be known that Mukesh Ambani has become the richest person in Asia. On the one side, the top industrialists are making fortunes while, on the other side, wails of millions of poor, oppressed and hungry are renting the air.

What a plight the migrant labourers are faced with! There are crores of migrant labourers in our country. The very term 'migrant labourer' is a 'gift' of inhuman capitalism. The abjectly poor have no means of earning at their native places. For the sake of mere subsistence, lakhs of them are moving from this to that city, from this to that province. Some are even migrating overseas leaving their families, their near and dear ones behind for long. Wherever they find some scope for earning, they rush there. They all work as casual labourers on contract basis without any fixed wage, fixed working hours and security of job. They even do not have shelter. They all languish in an uncertain life, dependent wholly on the whims of the owners or labour contractors. This new breed of workers is an endowment of moribund capitalism. No government had thought before lockdown what would happen to these hapless millions. If the governments, both at Centre and in the states, had least of concern for these downtrodden populace, they would have either arranged for securing them with food, money and shelter or made smooth and safe passage back to their native places much earlier. We have seen how the people displaced from their home and hearth because of Syrian war, imperialist aggression in Libya or Israeli attack on Palestine were desperately trying to ferry through the Mediterranean Sea to seek refuge in Europe as migrants. Faced with the worst type of persecution and even genocide engineered by the Myanmar government, army and their cohorts, the Rohingyas have been fleeing to other countries just to hold onto their

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Corona pandemic has glaringly exposed ruthless inhuman face of capitalism

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life. In the lockdown, the migrant workers are also making similar desperate attempt to reach their respective home states covering several hundred miles on foot without food, water and money in the scorching summer sun. Many are moving through dense forest lands risking life. In course of that, a good number of them are dying midway out of hunger and fatigue. It came to light that a little girl died while trying to pass through a forest because she was fearing she would be detained and tortured by the police if she took the main road. The migrant labourers who are held back in their respective places of work have been forced to flock inside in most unhygienic relief centres which remind one of Hitler's concentration camps. There is no question of maintaining any social distancing in these centres. Neither the central government nor the state governments are discharging their due responsibilities in taking care of these distressed Indian citizens. This is the ugly face of capitalism today.

With a call to accomplish proletarian revolution to overthrow this cruel reactionary capitalism-imperialism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had founded, reared and steered the SUCI(Communist) on the Indian soil as worthy continuer of Marx- Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong. So, we have to realize what does Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought enjoin us to do at this hour of unprecedented crisis.

You know that already recession had set in in global capitalist economy. The ruling quarters have found a euphemism for recession-slowness of economy. It was revealed last year that as many as 6.8 lakh industries, big and small, have closed down in our country and 10 crores of people have lost their jobs. These are all official data. Same is the condition in other countries. Already the jobless starving people of US, Europe and even in our country are demanding withdrawal of lockdown. The capitalist owners are also pressing for lifting lockdown. While the capitalists are seeking end of lockdown in the interest of profit, the poor are asking so because of their inability to bear with sustaining hunger anymore. When the Covid-19 would cease to exist, we would see a new world. A great depression engulfed the imperialist-capitalist world in 1930. A far more dangerous depression is in the offing.

The global scenario that would unfold in post-corona period would be of closure of many more industries, more mass retrenchment of workers, crores of starvation deaths and processions of hunger. This is one aspect. The other aspect is the change in the balance of power in the world. So long, US was the chieftain of the imperialist world. Japan was next to it. But already China has replaced Japan as the second imperialist power. Now a fierce trade war is going on between US and China as to who would grab how much of global market for plunder, who would dominate in the global politics. Already two world wars have taken place centring on the contradiction within the imperialist forces. Now a trade war is going on. Even if there is no involvement of arms in this war, it is engendering closure of one after another industry and death of a multitudes of jobless hunger-stricken workers. It is akin to the proverbial saying of 'killing not by hand but by denying access to food'. In the post-corona period, China would emerge as more powerful. Already China had been acquiring many industries in Europe through FDI route. It is also increasing its ownership stake in many Indian companies through the share market route. Thus, China is gradually increasing its dominance in the arena of global capitalist economy. The Indian government, of late, has framed a law to ensure that China was not in a position to buy out any industry or increase its share-holding in any Indian company. Under threat of a possible Chinese domination, many European countries have also taken similar decision. But China is slowly firming up its grip. Manufacturing industries in China have not been affected by corona. Lockdown is continuing in other countries but it has been withdrawn in China. So, China is slowly grabbing global market of manufactured goods. That corruption has deeply entrenched in imperialist China not sparing even the arena of international business is evident from the fact that the Chinese kit supplied for corona testing has been found to be not useful. Europe has refused to accept such kits. Even India had to reject Chinese kits. But all these apart, it might soon be found that China is raising its head as number one imperialist power—an eventuality the US imperialism would obviously try to resist tooth and nail. So there would be keen tussle between these

two imperialist powers. Who knows whether this tussle would remain confined to fierce trade war only or the vista would be extended? Trump is preaching for fast withdrawal of lockdown to prevent US industries from lagging behind China. Otherwise, he apprehends, China would get an upper hand. This is his concern. This concern is in the class interest of the ruling US bourgeoisie and has no connection with people's interest whatsoever. At the same time, you would notice that all countries are affected by corona. But the contradiction and conflict among the imperialist-powers are so intense centring on commercial interest and profit motive that they are not standing unitedly against this deadly disease, not making any unified move to integrate their respective advancements in the fields of medical science and genetics, not helping each other. Even in the sphere of extending medical assistance to the suffering millions, they all are calculating who would outsmart whom, when and in what way, to bag maximum profit.

As a result of this, there is no unity within the European Union in the fight against corona. Italy, Spain and France who are worst affected want a united fight and constituting a common corona fund. But Germany and Netherlands, who are less affected, are not agreeing to this proposal. It has come in the media even today that they are unable to arrive at a consensus. Like this, the clash of capitalist interests is going on. With the change of power equation, this clash and conflict would intensify further. The capitalist economy would stumble more and more. On the other hand, attack on the working class would rise. Many democratic and trade union rights which the working class could earn through hard struggle in the aftermath of the Second World War, have already been snatched away by the ruling bourgeoisie in US, Europe and even in our country. Whatever little is left would also be taken away. The industries would be run with few workers at paltry wage. Automation and digitalization would be rampant. In other words, labour-intensive industries would be completely replaced by capital-intensive industries to serve the profit-maximization motive of the capitalists. There would be no upper limit of working hours. Nor would there be any fixed wage. The capitalists would have unbridled right to closure and retrenchment.

Another question is also surfacing. That is, how to sustain capitalist economy in this crisis. Many writings are appearing on crisis-ridden capitalism today. The economists wedded to the task of saving capitalism are suggesting various quack remedies. One group is advocating Keynesian prescription. It is pertinent to recall that during the great depression of 1930s, the purchasing power of the people in the capitalist-imperialist countries touched the floor. So, the market was squeezed. In absence of market, many industries had closed down throwing millions out of job. The only exception was socialist Soviet Union. At that time, John Maynard Keynes, a bourgeois economist, suggested to anyhow increase the purchasing power of the people by printing of fresh currency notes. Such artificial increase of buying power has a different problem. So, printing of notes is decided based on the extent inflation would be pushed up. If production is, say, 100 units and commensurate currency in circulation is Rs 100, then price per unit is Re 1. But if production is 100 units, and value of printed currency is Rs 1000, it would lead to devaluation of money and the price per unit of production would shoot up to Rs 10. Keynes also suggested that if there was no work, let some useless unproductive work be created. If necessary, workers should be paid for digging holes. And then again, those holes should be filled by other workers against payment. Another section is advocating in favour of profit sharing meaning that the state should levy a part of the profit reaped by the capitalist owners and pay to the workers. Many such suggestions are pouring in to save capitalism. Would any of these suggestions be able to stave off the crisis capitalism is sunk in today? Surely not. No one can save capitalism from its inevitable doom. This crisis is endemic of the capitalist system itself.

Long back, great Marx had shown that the capitalists make profit by depriving the workers of their legitimate dues. Earlier, Adam Smith and Ricardo had shown in classical economics that labour is the creator of wealth or value. But they said this much and no further. While examining this concept of theirs, Marx had questioned why then those who are giving labour are

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Misery and penury of oppressed millions in India multiplying

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not the owners of all the produced wealth?

He showed that the capital which the capitalists own and invest is also created by the workers. Accumulated money is wealth. Capital is a form of wealth. Hence, capital is also created by labour power or the workers. He proved mathematically that profit accrues by usurping the value of surplus or unpaid labour. As a result, the worker is deprived of his dues. But these very workers are the buyers of commodities in the capitalist market. Price of a commodity is determined by loading the profit component by the capitalists. And this profit is earned by appropriating the value of unpaid labour. So, wage paid to the worker is always less compared to the price of the commodity in the market. Hence, buying power of the worker is always on the ebb leading to stockpiling of goods and consequent market crisis. Marx had said 175 years back that the capitalists pay the worker only that much of wage which would suffice for subsistence of his and his family. From that evolved the concept of 'need-based wage' during earlier days of capitalism. This concept is also not valid today. Because, during that time, the capitalists needed workers to run production. So, they wanted the workers to have progenies who could run the capitalist production system in the days to come. So wage was decided based on that 'need' calculation. Now innumerable workers are unemployed. So, there is nothing called 'need-based wage' today. Later, based on Marxian science, Great Lenin had shown that capitalism had entered the stage of imperialism, its highest stage of development, and given birth to finance capital. So this is an era of imperialism, era of decadent moribund crisis-ridden capitalism. After attaining the stage of imperialism, ruling monopolists of the imperialist countries who find their respective domestic markets progressively shrunk, seek to maximize profit by export of capital to underdeveloped countries for exploiting their cheap labour and raw material as well as for grabbing their markets. For that, they are opting for the routes of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Imperialists resort to war for redivision of markets to plunder. He formulated that imperialism generates war. Great Stalin had explained that after

the Second World War, the monopolists have been vying with each other for maximum profit. Maximization of profit is contingent upon maximization of exploitation. Stalin had further shown that relative stability of capitalist economy was no more in existence. He said as consumer market is shrinking, market of military industry is created to serve capitalist interest. The capitalist-imperialist states place order for arms and then buy those arms from public exchequer. And to sustain the arms market, the capitalists-imperialists need to keep the atmosphere persistently surcharged with war tension and engineer periodic wars, either localized wars or large-scale wars. Thus, idle capital not finding scope for productive investment is invested in the surging arms industry. This is called militarization of economy. Elaborating further, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that not only has capitalism lost its relative stability of market, it is now immersed in a daily, hourly crisis. It is facing one crisis in the morning and then another in the afternoon. In its bid to somehow stave off one crisis, it is plunging into a bigger crisis. Comrade Ghosh had also shown that all imperialist-capitalist countries, whether developed or under-developed, have been resorting to militarization of economy. India is no exception. Every day, we are witnessing how Indian capitalist economy is grappling with one after another crisis. Share market is in turmoil. Market crisis of world imperialism-capitalism is rising gallopingly. The multinationals (MNCs) and transnationals (TNCs) are placing their interest of profit maximization above the interest of national economy. So, they are outsourcing production and support services to other countries to take advantage of cheap labour and raw material. By pegging the production cost at the lowest by such method, they reap maximum profit by selling the products in their respective domestic markets as well as in other markets at price determined by them. Thus, they are shifting both capital and industries of their own countries to overseas destinations. Indian monopolists are also heavily investing abroad, buying companies and mines in foreign lands. Their national interest is limited only to the extent the national state could be used for serving their interest of reckless loot and plunder. So, a

contradiction is ensuing between the aggregate interest of capitalism and individual interest of the monopoly houses and MNCs. The US President is finding that unemployment is soaring in his own country because of spurt in outsourcing. So, he, in the aggregate interest of US capitalists, is pressurizing the MNCs and TNCs to stop outsourcing and invest capital in their own country. He is even warning that if the MNCs and TNCs do not listen to him, he would withdraw all facilities the US state is providing to them. He is doing so in the interest of saving US capitalist economy. Because, he is haunted by the fear of resurgence of another 'Occupy Wall Street' like movement any moment. So explosive is the situation there. That is why, despite himself being a staunch protagonist of globalization, the US President, in the face of accentuating crisis of US economy, is now opposing globalization. So, he has raised the slogan, "American interest first".

In this backdrop, a depression much more severe than that of the 1930's is in the offing. World Food Director of UNO has already sounded alarm about an imminent 'hunger pandemic'. According to his estimate, already around 100 crores of global population go hungry every day. This number is slated to go up much more. Processions after processions of millions of hungry and unemployed people would swarm the streets round the globe including India. Tragedy is that there is no powerful communist party in the world to develop movement against capitalist onslaught and intrigue. Our Party also lacks the necessary strength to spearhead such a movement alone in India. Such is the reality we are faced with. Before corona pandemic, our Party workers were engaged in developing a powerful anti-NRC movement in various states. Only our Party with all its might was trying to build up the movement in an organized manner. This movement was picking up momentum rapidly. Though the minority community was in the forefront of this movement since NRC was a question of life and death to them, there was passive support of the majority community as well behind the movement. Just at this juncture, the Covid-19 had struck.

After outbreak of corona, we informed all our Party workers to insulate themselves from the attack

of the disease by strictly following the medical rules and advices. In normal times, our comrades were busy in organizational activities throughout the day. So they did not give the needed importance on studies as part of ideological struggle. I am, though, of the opinion that whatever might be the pressure of organizational activities, theoretical study ought to be viewed with due importance and made part of daily work. This is the teaching of Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Corona lockdown has brought an opportunity for the comrades to devote much time to study. They have been advised to intensify cult of knowledge. Comrades are also doing that. The comrades have been told one more thing. Normally those who stay together at Party centres and offices remain busy outside in Party activities. But now they all are staying indoors. So, during this period, there is immense scope for improving collective life and mutual understanding through constant common association and constant common discussion. Comrades must fully utilize this opportunity. One more instruction has gone to the comrades. They have been asked to raise demand and exert pressure to ensure that whatever reliefs have been announced in the media by the central and state governments do reach the actual needy. And the comrades have also been advised to collect relief material, whatever possible, from common people and distribute the same to the most affected destitute in their locality, strictly abiding by lockdown protocols. Our comrades are very sensitive and tender. They are restless at the growing misery of the people. All of them want to take more and more initiative to ameliorate the misery of the poor masses to whatever extent possible. They are still in that job. Apart from that, they have also succeeded in wresting some valid demands of the stranded migrant labourers by creating pressure on the various state governments.

The task and responsibility the future is going to adjure us must be shouldered in right earnest based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We have to discharge the needed role not only at national level but also at international level. We need to seriously ponder over this aspect and prepare ourselves accordingly. First of all, wherever

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Economic depression and contradiction among imperialist powers would multiply manifold in post-Covid world

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lockdown would be withdrawn or relaxed, our comrades would engage themselves more and more in possible relief work maintaining medical security. It appears lockdown would be withdrawn or slackened in some areas. Comrades ought to remember that it is impossible to know who is carrying corona infection and who is not. So they would have to carry out relief activities taking all necessary precautions. And when lockdown would be totally withdrawn, we shall engage all our might to collect and distribute relief. This activity has to be undertaken in the name of the Party as well as the class and mass organizations and mass forums. Already we have been able to establish contact with many eminent persons and intellectuals through various forums. We can also request them to be involved in relief work. If necessary, we shall take initiative to form public committees for this. If we find that activists of any other party are showing interest in this work, we will also involve them. Besides the Party members at all levels, the members of our mass and class organizations, Party supporters and sympathizers, relatives and friends of our comrades, some of the erstwhile Party workers who are not that active today as well as the willing common people—all are to be approached for taking part in the relief work. We shall use the services of all our contacts and connections, both in the country and abroad, for collection and distribution of relief. This relief work should get topmost priority. Where we can give relief under our banner, we shall do that. If that is not possible anywhere, we shall do without our banner and if feasible, through public committees. I know that our comrades are very tender and kind-hearted. So they would come forward of their own. Alongside, we shall have to conduct movement on a sustained basis to force the governments to give maximum relief. All these apart, our Party and its class and mass organizations as well as the forums created at our initiative should be ready to develop mass movements on the various pressing demands of the people. The hunger-stricken myriads, unemployed youth and retrenched workers, crisis-ridden poor and middle peasants as well as agricultural workers, migrant

labourers, small business operators—all would spontaneously burst forth in protest agitations everywhere. There will be spontaneous igniting of fire of movements. Our task will be to take leading role in organizing and consolidating these surging agitations in a disciplined manner along the right track by forming public committees. Wherever such possibility would be visible, the comrades should immediately jump to give organized shape to such protests. There is no need to wait for green signal from the higher leadership. If activists of other parties express desire to participate in such movements, we shall welcome them. If any other party builds up a legitimate movement anywhere, we shall join that even if we are not formally approached. This is an emergency period. We want movement. Whoever wants to come within the fold of the movements and up to whatever extent they like to stay involved; we shall combine all. But the initiative should be ours. We need to realize that. All our mass and class fronts—the students, youths, workers, peasants, women—should remain prepared to develop mass movements based on various burning issues and thwart the attack on the people under pressure of movement.

I would like to say one more thing. Whatever truncated democratic practices are now being allowed by the ruling bourgeoisie and their trusted political managers, would soon be abolished. Not a trace of those would be visible. Fascist onslaughts would descend upon people more nakedly and fiercely. The bourgeois governments would crush democratic movements more ruthlessly. We must be ready for that. More draconian acts might be brought. Ultra-nationalism, religious fundamentalism, racialism, ethnic conflicts would be incited more in the world by the imperialist-capitalist rulers. In our country, parochialism, chauvinism, religious hatred and fanaticism, casteist feuds, tribal-non-tribal conflicts and all such contradictions would be fomented on a greater scale by the quarters allegiant to the ruling bourgeoisie. Because, haunted by the fear of anti-capitalist proletarian revolution, ruling capitalism would leave no stone unturned to disrupt unity of the oppressed toiling

masses. So we must keep ourselves prepared to fight such divisive policies and measures.

Apart from all such issues, the comrades have requested me to dwell on some other important aspects in this informal discourse. There is a specific reason why the Party is giving so much importance on ideological struggle. First of all, we all have come from a bourgeois society. Our outlook, our method of analysis, our mental world, our wants, likes and dislikes, joy and sorrow, love, affection, emotion, anger, grievance, sentiment,—all had been based on the impact of the polluted bourgeois society and hangover of feudal thoughts since our childhood. This impact is still therein us, with variance in degree, as forces of habit. Forces of habit are very powerful forces. Often it is found that we understand something based on intelligence but do not get strength for acting accordingly from within. Because, the forces of habit developed over the years are so deep-rooted as to impede what our intellectual faculty desires. So, an intense contradiction ensues between mind and logic. A conflict arises between the mind patterned in a particular way from the childhood and the mind emotionally responding to logic. That is why, many say with pain that they understand what needs to be done but fail to do it. So, one laments I am defeated by my own self. So, the struggle to become a communist is very difficult. It is much more arduous today. The nature of struggle needed to be conducted during the time of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong and the struggle one has to unleash today are not similar. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh could grasp this truth. You will find in each of his speeches how much importance he assigned to the question of acquiring higher ethics-culture-morality and character. Neither Marx-Engels nor Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong required to give that much emphasis on this question. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that once religion played a progressive role in giving shape to the moral-ethical base of mankind. But that role of religion had long become obsolete in feudalism. A little vestige of that was in existence during the beginning phase of capitalism. On the other hand, during the rising period of capitalism, the demand of individual ownership

was progressive in the fight against outmoded feudal absolute ownership. Based on that, the concepts of individual interest, individual freedom and individualism were all progressive in the then context. All these concepts arose in the interest of establishing bourgeois ownership right. Man is not created by god; evolution of man has been in course of a material process. There is no god or any super-natural entity. Nothing can be passed as injunction of god. The monarchy and feudal lords cannot be accepted as representative of god. Not the king, but the subjects would decide the system of governance. The government elected by the subjects would rule. This government would also be changed by election. Not the holy scripture but what is ordained by rationality is to be recognized as truth. These were the thoughts of bourgeois humanism during the days of its advent. At the time of rising capitalism, individual ownership had a positive social content. For the sake of boosting production in society, it was necessary to upgrade the cottage industries to big industries. So, at that time, individual ownership was progressive. The slogan in those days was that individual interest ought to be subordinate to social interest. But in course of history, once capitalism turned reactionary, individualism which originated based on individual ownership also became a reactionary thought. Serving individual interest became the whole and sole thing in bourgeois society, individual profit motive of the owner became the sole motive at the cost of social interest, human beings as the product of reactionary capitalist society started becoming out-and-out self-centric, got estranged from social obligation. The very objective of capitalism today is to earn maximum profit at any cost, nothing else. Likewise, the principal object of life has become to serve individual interest only. There is no social obligation. Even obligation to the family is almost on the verge of being abolished. If there is no social obligation, there would be no values or finer sensibility. Because any value system develops based on social obligation. Since capitalism today is alienated from social obligation, humanist values, as product of spiritual superstructure of rising period of capitalism has also

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Marx's prognosis of capitalism and subsequent elaborations by Marxist thinkers totally vindicated

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disappeared from society. Refusal to take responsibility of old parents, let alone brothers and sisters, marital discords, mutual suspicion, family feuds and wrangling, aimless desperateness among the youths, severe cultural degradation, sex-perversion—these are all indicators of absence of values in the society.

When Lenin accomplished revolution, there was prevalence of feudalism in Russia. Religious values did not get fully exhausted. Bourgeois humanist values had relative progressive role—because, capitalism was just developing there. During Chinese Revolution, capitalism was almost at the stage of small industries. Influence of religious values was also there and bourgeois humanist values had a progressive role. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh took upon himself the historic task of building up the revolutionary party of the proletariat in India when capitalism became reactionary; when religious values were exhausted, and humanist values were almost exhausted. Like in other developed capitalist countries, a vacuum was prevailing in the realm of values. On the other hand, higher proletarian values and morality were yet to create an impact on the society. This, he showed, is the root of ethical, moral and cultural crisis the Indian society is gripped with. And we all are product of such a degraded bourgeois society. All of us who are coming into the fold of the Party must take due cognizance of this fact. That is why, in almost all his speeches, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had given so much importance to the question of ethics and morality. As we have stated above, in the concrete situations of Russia and China, the necessity of acquiring proletarian values and culture did not arise that much for accomplishing revolution. Just as freedom movement of our country, bourgeois humanist values and sense of individualism to a great extent worked in favour of revolution in both the countries. But in the post-revolution period of growth and stability of socialism, that very individualism gained strength subtly in the form of socialist individualism. The

leadership of both Russia and China could not detect it in time and hence could not release necessary ideological-cultural struggle against this harmful phenomenon of socialist individualism. They could not realize

the imperativeness of freeing the individual from individualism and launch the struggle for merging individual interest with social interest. This very phenomenon of socialist individualism later worked as one of the powerful force in favour of counter-revolution.

All these we have come to know from the brilliant analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In the Soviet and Chinese revolutions, what was preached as communist morality—was that the interest of revolution was primary as communist morality it was preached that interest of revolution was primary while individual interest was secondary. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had showed that the essence of proletarian morality was not only in freeing oneself from private property but from private property mental complex by conducting relentless struggle for identification with proletarian revolution, class and party—there must not be any question of individual interest. The individual was to be freed from individualism. He emphasized that the essence, the living soul of Marxism is ingrained in its higher ethical-moral-cultural standard. He further said that had he not found that higher ethical-cultural tone in Marxism, he would not have embraced Marxism. It is to be borne in mind that it is a very hard struggle to acquire communist values and morality. If any person is guided by any kind of values, whether religious or bourgeois humanist, then it is relatively easy for him or her to be freed from those set of values by discussion and arguments and acquire proletarian values. But if someone is devoid of any values and does not even recognize the necessity of values in guiding life, acquiring proletarian values is extremely difficult. That is why, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had repeatedly advised us first to acquire and exhaust the humanist values particularly the values reflected in the uncompromising trend of our renaissance movement as well as freedom movement and then move a step higher through the process of conducting class struggle to acquire proletarian culture. So, it is clear that one has to conduct an arduous struggle, a struggle which is relentless, to acquire proletarian culture. He further showed that the higher standard attained once, might fall under impact of hostile environment if there is a slackening in continuing the struggle. That is a

struggle within me. One might have emotionally and to some extent rationally embraced Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. But class enemy is ingrained in our blood, in our bones and marrows as forces of habit. Also, the powerful class enemy is attacking from outside. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that it is in such an environment that our outlook, mentality, culture and habits have developed since our childhood.

So, the question is, are the outlook and judgement in my mind, my wants, my behaviour—are these conducive to the interest of proletarian revolution and in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought? What is the class character of my particular joy or sorrow or my love or affection or my anger or emotional sentiment? Each of these mental faculties or behavioural expressions has a class character. How would I understand this class character? Wherefrom shall we get the required outlook to examine that? To get an answer, we have to study and restudy Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's works. Not only studying, we must assimilate his teachings. To know and to realize are two different things. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught us that anyone knowing English could finish reading the entire Marxist classics within a few months and keep that in memory. He could thus become a pedant. Why did the leaders of the Second International degenerate? Lenin himself was the student of leaders like Plekhanov and Kautsky. Did Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev or Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping join CPSU or CPC as enemy agents? Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said, no. The fact is that they could not apply Marxism in their lives. Comrade Ghosh cited the example of M N Roy in this regard. Many people today do not know much about M N Roy. He once was a well-known intellectual of India. He was attracted towards Marxism. Lenin had entrusted him with the responsibility of building up a communist party in India. But M N Roy later became a downright anti-Marxist. Comrade Ghosh showed that M N Roy had gone through many books including Marxist literature but could not understand the essence of dialectical materialism, could not dialectically coordinate his knowledge. So, he failed to determine if his thoughts, habits or conduct were in keeping

with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and conducive to revolution. Hence, he could not identify himself with revolution and proletarian class. This was where he failed. That was the reason Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that unless one acquires higher character, one cannot grasp the kernel of revolutionary thought. In order to acquire higher revolutionary character, one has to free oneself from the attack of individualism disguised in various forms. We must be aware that individualism in diverse forms is attacking us, bourgeois thoughts and culture are also attacking us; we must understand where lie the differences between two class thinking and culture to detect how those bourgeois attacks coming in my mind, how bourgeois culture, bourgeois self-interest are influencing me, and accordingly we are to conduct struggle to combat those, defeat them and free ourselves. Unless we can free ourselves in this way, all those valuable teachings will remain as merely empty words, no life will be there, no living teachings will be there. I will not be able to acquire higher character, as a result, I will fail to help others also in acquiring higher culture. Life generates life, only living character inspires others to struggle to acquire higher character. That is why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us neither merely reading ideological books nor only practical work exclusively will help. When by dialectically coordinating the lessons what we learn from both and thereby we acquire higher culture, only then we will have the capability to judge theories. For that he emphasized so much on higher culture. This comrades must understand.

One objective of study is to know what is capitalism, what is imperialism, what is socialism, how to accomplish proletarian revolution, how to develop revolutionary organization, what are the problems of the workers and peasants, how the bourgeoisie is attacking and so forth. The other objective is to acquire the dialectical method of analysis which presupposes one process of thinking. Why it is imperative to know Marxism to understand truth, what is the difference between Marxism and idealism, what are specific features and propositions of idealism in our country notwithstanding the fact that

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Cultivation of theoretical knowledge and engagement in possible relief work during lockdown are the tasks of Party workers

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all shades of idealism fundamentally belong to the same category, how does Marxism combat and disprove such idealist thoughts, why all such things are essential in search for truth—answers to all these questions can be obtained from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Because, as worthy student and continuer of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong, he further developed and enriched the understanding of dialectical materialism. Unless we all are in a position to acquire one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking cannot develop. For example, in Medical science, there is a particular process of thinking. They conduct research or identify a disease based on that process. At the same time, while treating a particular disease, a particular and concretized application of the general principles of medical science is necessary. This is the contradiction between general and particular. Same is with agricultural science. Philosophy too is a general process of thinking. But it too has particularization. So, application of Marxism in one country cannot be a carbon copy of such application in another country. Because concrete situations of two countries differ. So, Marxism has to be concretized in accordance with the concrete situation. This creative application is not possible without proper understanding of Marxism and higher culture. Moreover, when by applying one process of thinking we arrive at uniformity of thinking and oneness in approach, can it be termed as regimentation of thought? By applying scientific method when scientists draw conclusion regarding the character of any natural phenomenon, any material particle, i.e., atom, electron, proton, positron, etc. or by applying medical science doctors conclude regarding the nature of any disease, can it be called regimentation of thought? Definitely not. Similarly Marxism is a science, and conclusion from its correct application cannot be called as regimentation.

Another point is that everything is in a process of change. Whether we like it or not, the objective world, the nature, the society—all are undergoing change. Every particular change is governed by a particular law. This is independent of our will. Moreover, unity and struggle between two opposite forces are

ceaselessly operative in any entity or phenomenon—starting from a small electron to a big planet, from social life to an individual life. This contradiction gives rise to motion. Marxism has unveiled this truth based on science. So, how the law of unity and struggle between opposites is operating in a particular social field, to determine between the two which is progressive and which one is reactionary, whether a change is in the quantitative phase or has become a qualitative one, how is one change negating another change—these have all been generalized in the three principles of dialectical materialism i.e. (i) unity and struggle between two opposite forces, (ii) quantitative change to qualitative change and vice versa and (iii) negation of the negation. Comrades must understand these three principles properly. Also to be understood is at a given period which contradiction is antagonistic and which one is non-antagonistic, what are the external contradictions, what are the internal contradictions, nature of contradiction between these two, which factor is dominant at a particular point of time, which one is the principal contradiction at a given time, what is the principal aspect of contradiction—these are all questions of philosophy. I am not entering into detailed discussion on that. Only I want to say that in order to understand Marxism, we must realize how these general principles are working in every phenomenon concretely and particularly. Remember, no ideology, no philosophy has come of its own or according to the desire of a particular individual. Each and every ideology or philosophical thought arose at a particular stage of history, at a particular material condition to meet a particular objective necessity. Every social thinking or philosophy has found concrete expression in the thought of an individual following the process of personification of social thinking. Marxism has also emerged in the same way to meet a particular historical necessity. In the material condition, on the one hand, when the contradiction between capital and labour had appeared and, on the other hand, spectacular wide development of modern science,—in this material condition Marx had enunciated the philosophy of dialectical materialism based on science to enunciate the path of

emancipation of the working class and onward march of human civilization. So, only Marxism is a comprehensive scientific philosophy. It has evolved by way of dialectically coordinating, correlating and generalizing the particular laws governing particular domains as discovered by the respective branches of science like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Economics etc.—the laws which operate particularly in the process of change of each particular domain. With newer discoveries of science, in the light of new experiences of class struggle and social development Marxism also develops and gets enriched. So, when I examine any question, any phenomenon, any problem—whether of nature or social or political— or when I evaluate a comrade, I am to apply these principles. These principles also lie not in abstract but in concrete form. So, we need to grasp this philosophical methodology of analysis of Marxism. Generally, some of us we read books or speak on these. But when the question of application comes, we do not or cannot apply these principles in judging a particular problem. As a result, finding out correct analysis depends upon only on a few leaders. Most of the comrades at different level are not able to play an active role in this regard. How have I placed so many analyses of the present situation—what are the happenings and what are the likely happenings?

I have done so by following a process of thinking as per my understanding of Marxism-Leninism- Shibdas Ghosh Thought. If many other comrades are also involved in this process as a result of which contradiction of different opinions would take place to arrive at the truth, the collective thinking and collective knowledge of the Party would be further developed. Otherwise, desired dialectical relationship would not develop in the Party. Moreover, how would you know whether my analysis is right or wrong? As a result of this, blindness, mechanical relationship would grow in the Party, whether we want it or not. One is methodology of analysis or one process of thinking and the other one is analysing a particular question to arrive at a particular decision. This is how one process of thinking is

applied to arrive at uniformity of thinking. For example, all comrades have a uniform opinion about capitalism, about small capital, about imperialism, regarding Rabindranath or Gandhiji, cause of collapse of Soviet socialism etc. That is uniformity of thinking. The unity of action based on this uniformity of thinking is called oneness in approach. In other words, it denotes that there is a unity in our approach. So, the very object of study is to muster this ability. Only in that case, the dialectical relationship within the Party will be living and, in that event, the workers would be equipped to guard the Party if any leader degenerates. Why did this not happen in both Russian and Chinese parties? Although they conducted historic struggles and made revolution successful, and many things we are to learn from them with due respect, and we are to learn from their success and failure. But they could not feel the danger of counter-revolution as it grew in a camouflaged way. They became complacent, they could not study new problems which appeared in the post socialist construction period, they did not struggle to uplift their ideological-cultural standard and even failed to pay heed to the appeal given in the later period by Great Stalin and Mao-Zedong. So, their level of consciousness and cultural standard remained low. They blindly rallied behind the revisionist leaders who were at the helm of affairs after the demise of Stalin and Mao Zedong. Due to blindness, lower ideological and cultural standard, the common party leaders, workers and masses could not understand how the revisionist leaderships and counter-revolutionaries, under the garb of Marxism-Leninism, were conspiring to endanger socialism. So, if the ideological-cultural standard does not heighten continuously, then there would be either blind allegiance or blind opposition. Both are harmful. And in either case, revisionism can raise its ugly head within the party. The party may degenerate, its working class character may be lost. That is why comrades are asked to engage themselves so seriously in study. If there is degeneration of leadership they can detect it, resist it and save the party. Moreover that would help them to examine, to understand whether their own

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Relentless self-scrutiny in regard to acquiring proletarian culture, character and values is must

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judgements and thinking process are correct or not. They would be able to detect how the bourgeois thoughts are trying to penetrate in them. At the same time, they would be able to verify correctness or incorrectness of their thinking by way of discussing with other comrades by pursuing the principle of common constant discussion with the help of the leadership. This is also necessary not only for correct grasping of truth but also for firm conviction. This conviction cannot come without knowledge. So, it is imperative to acquire knowledge. Next point is, such knowledge would also empower us to fight and defeat the wrong notions, misconceptions and deceptions propagated by the opposition forces, by highlighting the truth. Also, it would help us in freeing the masses from various confusions and rally them in support of revolution. That is why intense study and cultivation of revolutionary ideology are so important.

One more thing the comrades who are living in Party centres need to understand. Staying together in Party centres is not just for having food and shelter under one roof. These centres give immense scope, if availed of in right earnest, for constant common association and constant common discussion and thereby exchanging mutual opinions and experiences. There, at one place we stay, take food, we sleep. It also gives opportunity to observe each other closely, learn from others' qualities and experiences. At the same time, if shortcomings or defects are found in others, there is scope to rectify them with care and emotion. Some might reflect individualistic tendencies. Some might knowingly or unknowingly subtly reflect weakness about their spouses and children. Some might happily discharge centre duties whereas some might tactfully avoid that on the pretext of ill-health or outside work. Some comrades might come forward on their own to shoulder responsibilities whereas someone might wait till he or she is told to do so. Some might lack the ability to accept criticism or might be reluctant to self-criticism. It might also happen that someone cannot take criticism happily or when criticized by others, develops hostility or dislikes towards the critics. Centre life provides opportunity to have such meticulous observations and thereby facilitate the process of rectification and self-

-development. This is how revolutionary character develops through process of helping each other. So as various Party bodies are important, centre life too is also important from another perspective. It facilitates development of collective life and character if the leadership guides correctly.

A question has been raised about democratic centralism. I am not going to discuss this at length today. A communist party is known to be monolithic in character. In a human body, the brain governs functioning of all other organs. On the other hand, the brain itself cannot function without the various organs. In a communist party also, the central leadership is the brain. But it is not exactly similar to a human body since comrades are not like organs, they have brains and hence respond or react consciously. Without centralism, nothing can work. Even an atom has centralism, a living cell has centralism. Centralism governs orderly functioning. A revolutionary party follows centralism deriving necessary lessons from this scientific knowledge. But this centralism is based on proletarian democracy. Proletarian democracy cannot be operative unless the comrades acquire developed revolutionary knowledge and proletarian culture. While dealing with the question of party formation, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that those who would take first initiative to found a communist party must, at the outset, conduct an arduous struggle to acquire correct understanding of Marxism, to know to concretize Marxism in a concrete situation, to apply Marxism covering all aspects of life. It is in course of this relentless all-embracing struggle, both theoretical and practical, in an integrated mutually conducive manner, that they would come to know, how to develop revolutionary theory, how to acquire proletarian culture, how to build up party organization and such other essential questions. When by conducting such struggle in a dialectical process, they would succeed in developing collective knowledge and that collective knowledge would be expressed in the best way through a leader meaning personification of collective knowledge would be concretely manifested, only then it is to be understood that proletarian democracy, proletarian culture and collective leadership have been developed by abolishing

individualism. This is called ideological centralism. And then organizational centralism is to be established based on this ideological centralism. This is how democratic centralism develops through fusion of proletarian democracy and centralism following Marxist methodology. The Party Constitution is the reflection of this.

Comrades ought to understand that individualism hinders development or operation of proletarian democracy. I am not saying that overnight we can be free from individualism, howsoever pious be our wish. But we need to be conscious, alert and ceaselessly conduct struggle based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Because, if individualism is not fought out, two distinct tendencies would come to the fore. One is blind allegiance. And the other is blind opposition which gives birth to ultra-democracy. Again, individualism generates authoritarianism or bureaucratism in leadership. 'I am leader, so I understand everything correctly. I am senior. I have joined the Party before you. So, who are you to understand like me!'—such thoughts germinate, may not be that crudely but do grow, nevertheless. Collective knowledge needs to be centralized based on proletarian democracy. In a forum, in a cell, in a local committee, in a district or state committee or even in the central committee or party congress, decision ought to be arrived at based on debates and discussions following arguments dialectically by applying dialectical materialistic process of thinking. It is not that any contradiction or debate is dialectical in nature. In course of application of dialectical methodology, certain formulations have been arrived at to be designated as verified truth. Some premises have already been accepted. We need not discuss those afresh. We need to conduct the debates based on those premises. What is the point of discussing anew that there is imperative need of a revolutionary working-class party or collective leadership and so forth? Do we need to discuss everyday what are the features of imperialism, capitalism, ultra-leftism or what are the concepts of authority and discipline in a revolutionary party? Because, being conversant with these basic formulations, we join the Party. Suppose we need to take a decision about a particular issue, on

a movement, on a problem or evaluation of a comrade in a Party body. All the members in that body would place their views as per their respective levels of understanding. Everyone should be given sufficient time for that. All will listen to the other, only to examine, not to counter. After such deliberations and exchange of opinions, the truth arrived at would have to be accepted by all happily. Objective of all members of the body would be to grasp the evolved truth. No one should come with a mind to anyhow get his or her opinion accepted. It should not be that I become happy if my view is endorsed by all. Even if my opinion is accepted what is there to be happy in this? Does it indicate my personal victory? Is it my personal credit? By applying party process of analysis, I have been able to find out truth. Where lies my personal credit? And if my view is discarded, does it denote my discredit? This bent of mind reflects individualistic tendency. In a medical board, the doctors discuss various symptoms and other findings to decide whether the case in hand is of TB or Typhoid or something else. Everyone agrees to what the medical experiment finally concludes. Do they fight with each other to get their respective opinions accepted? Quest should be for truth and not anything else. It is immaterial whether the views of a junior comrade or senior comrade is found to be correct on the anvil of Party teachings. House will accept that as truth. Views of the comrade who pointed out the truth instantaneously become my views as well. Leadership would implement that. The only thing is that in so far as application of the decision based on the revealed truth is concerned, as I, being ahead of others in understanding and implementation of the decision, am the leader. I would remain leader so long as I reflect that standard.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught us that it was not our job to find out other comrades' faults. I had seen that if anyone had gone to him to report the faults of a comrade, he asked him to state first what were the qualities of the concerned comrade. I also try to follow this. Because one thing we have got from the bourgeois society—the tendency to project the self and show how much others are inferior. As the businessmen compete with each other over sale

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Creative application of Marxism not possible without acquiring higher proletarian culture

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of goods in the market, we also suffer from that kind of bourgeois competitive mentality. So, whether I am more influential or, he is more influential, whether he enjoys a better reputation than me, who is getting more importance—these all are typical manifestations of that bourgeois competitive bent of mind. We have inherited these vices from the bourgeois society. So, none of us is individually responsible for this. That is the reason Comrade Shibdas Ghosh advised not to engage ourselves to find fault with anybody. Instead, he used to tell us to find and appreciate the qualities of others and learn from the leaders, the workers and even the common public. Our approach should be to identify others' qualities because we want to acquire those. Qualities are livingly manifest in living human beings. In another context, he said that suppose you have been trying to identify the qualities in some comrade, but you locate some defects in him. Then, those defects should generate pain in you provided your reading is correct. So first examine whether your reading is objective and truthful. He also taught us not to form any impression about any comrade based on our individual reading only. This practice itself is wrong. The reading should be taken either by a forum or a Party body or a leader who represents collective body. We should never regard any individual impression as truth without verifying with the collective. You will find Comrade Shibdas Ghosh referring twice in the pamphlet titled "On Communist Code of conduct" that before criticizing anyone, he himself first verified with that comrade whether he was making any mistake or not. Such a great person followed this ethics while reading others. But we frequently tend to form individualistic impression about others. Please bear in mind that there is no laboratory for examining a human being. There is a laboratory for discovering a disease. There is also device for studying elementary particles. But there is no device or machine which can give us reading about a human being. Even, psychiatrists also fail at times. Psychology is no doubt a science but it is not always full-proof in its diagnosis. Because the individualistic reading of the psychiatrist might come into play. So to have a correct reading about a human being, what are needed are

profound understanding of dialectical materialism, immense experience, a very high standard of morality and impersonal attitude and habit to submit happily to collective decision. Have I attained that standard? Even then, I have to verify my reading with others. I had seen Comrade Shibdas Ghosh seeking our opinion if something had occurred to him about any particular comrade when even we were juniors. It means he checked his impression with us. He discussed with us about the questions that could be disclosed to or placed before us. Our impulsive tendency to take individualistic reading is a bourgeois approach. Suppose I am angry with someone because he or she has misbehaved with me. It could really be a misbehaviour. Still, Comrade Ghosh taught us not to take reading about that comrade at that particular point of time. He said that I should first be free from anger and aggrieved mind. Then I should proceed to judge that comrade calmly. To react or retaliate against any misdemeanour is a bourgeois mentality. If any comrade misbehaves with me, then I should feel pain because I know that by dint of this misconduct, the concerned comrade has caused harm to his development. That in turn would harm the Party. So, the concerned comrade should be affectionately helped to overcome his or her deficiency. Comrade Ghosh even said that before passing a judgmental opinion about conduct of any comrade, I should first place myself in his or her position and then ask myself how would have I behaved in such a context. If I would have been in the position of father, or mother, or spouse or son or daughter, as the case might have been with that comrade, what would have I done. Otherwise, judgment would not be impersonal. I have to place myself first in his or her position to understand the problem. Comrade Ghosh taught us to always remain alert about our own faults, own limitations. Never should we ourselves pass judgmental opinion about our own qualities. Never should we be carried away if someone praises us. If I have any quality, that will exist anyway irrespective of anyone's recognition. I should only be concerned about my defects, my limitations and the qualities I do not have. Because, all of us want to grow as revolutionaries. Unless we are free from defects and overcome our limitations, how shall we develop

ourselves? So, if there is any truth in the criticism of ours by anyone, even out of animosity, we must accept that. Then only we can develop further by being freed from defects. Thus, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh even taught us to accept critics as teachers.

He also taught not to indulge in pinpricking others defect. Again, he had advised individual comrades to be extremely alert even about his or her minor faults and shortcomings. We have seen how ethical he was. You have read his speech at the memorial meeting of Comrade Subodh Banerjee. There he said that he used to severely criticize the leaders of Comrade Subodh Banerjee's standard even for slightest of faults. Because they were the pillars of the Party. Even a small mistake on their part might immensely harm the Party. And moreover, they all had known him intimately, understood his concern. They knew that he used to rebuke them for their betterment and in the interest of the Party. I know myself that once he rightly scolded one junior comrade. But the moment he found the concerned comrade had become red-faced, immediately he brought that comrade to sit by his side and said that it was not right on his part to speak so rudely to him. This was the kind of very high ethical standard he reflected in every sphere of his conduct.

He also showed that love and weakness are not one and the same. He warned that in some case love elevates human being to a great height but in another case, it also degrade one. If love is devoid of ethics and morality and is premised on conventional approach, it is reduced to weakness and causes degradation. But love based on ideology and on ethical-moral edifice provides firmness to character, helps one to advance further which, in turn, inspires others to develop. Such cautions he had sounded about all relations—parental, marital, familial, brotherhood, sisterhood everything. He also said as there is no finality in excellence, similarly there is no guarantee that a high standard once attained would be maintained all along. Whatever height you reach, it does not *ipso facto* guarantee that you would not fall from that. He even said that there was no guarantee to his own standard. "Till my last breadth, I have to prove that I am a communist"—such were his words. That means even if one attains a higher standard, bourgeois

culture might eat away even the very vitals of one's character like termites unless one remains alert, detects, resists, fights out and defeats it to insulate oneself from all such attacks of bourgeois virus through relentless struggle.

A sense of complacency is now working among some comrades. The CPI (M), CPI, Naxalites like once enjoyed confidence of people are now all discredited because of their activities. On the other hand, our support and acceptance among people is growing fast. Even people praise our comrades and Party. Earlier, our leaders had starved for days. But now, with least of efforts, we are getting response from people and receiving contributions from them to our Party funds. So a complacent mind is ensuing. Once we had tried to ideologically convince anyone we met even during a bus or train journey and bring him or her to the Party fold. Everyone at that time arduously endeavoured to recruit their brothers, sisters, other relatives and friends to the Party. Now that practice has stopped to a great extent. Because, as it is, inflow is rising. Comrade Sankar Saha is present here. He would tell you how the then leaders were after him for recruitment. Comrade Saumen Basu and to some extent Comrade Ashok Samanta also had that experience. Even Comrades like Rupam Chowdhury present here would bear testimony to that. Comrade Ismitara Khatun who is sitting at that corner was recruited from a village. Comrade Bulbul Aich sitting by her side knows how she was saved. At that time, not only me, even my seniors also brought new blood to the Party with utmost and persistent efforts. Our only concern was growth of the Party. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had walked miles after miles without food just to get a new worker. Today, if all of us shake off complacency and work like that, how many times the strength of the Party can grow. Just ponder over this question.

Today we receive admiration from the people for our decent cultured conduct. People effusively praise our Party. But have you ever asked the person who is praising you how could you attain that level of character which he or she finds worth appreciating? You could have degenerated in this polluted social environment. But have you informed the person that whatever decency

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Comprehension and proper application of Marxist philosophy can only thwart degeneration and mechanical thinking

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and praiseworthy traits he or she finds in you have been the endowment of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism- Shibdas Ghosh Thought? Unless we explain in this manner, how would people come to know that Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought is a noble ideology which alone can produce ideal character today?

Secondly, another attack is coming from the influence of consumerism. Consumerist mind is gripping the society fast. So, to some extent, a section of comrades are also influenced by consumerism and becoming victims of comfort. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh disliked this very much. I myself stay in this Shibpur Centre. But I would admit that I also occasionally commit mistake like forgetting to switch off lights when not in the room. If the light is on, it causes wastage of public money. In the memorial meeting of Comrade Ranjit Dhar, I had said how he was rebuked by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh for overusing of bathing soap. We have no moral right to waste public money. In regard to food, soap, toothbrush, clothing, we shall have to be satisfied with the minimum that is possible for us to arrange from public donation. This is one thing. Another tendency is to get more and to have latest modern. Unless we get the valuable modern items, we are not at ease with ourselves. This is how consumerist trend permeates us from outside and generates problems. Supporters, admirers, friends or relatives sometimes make a present of some such items or gadgets as gifts considering that they are in distress. The comrades also accept those gifts thinking what is the harm in it? Do we inform the party about those gifts, whether those are essential for me or should be given to other needy comrades? Some comrades do that, but some fail. Those who accept for themselves they justify; I am not shying away from shouldering the Party responsibilities anyway. But I fail to notice how I am slowly falling victim to bourgeois consumerism. Some harm takes place in so subtle a manner as to elude outward noticing. And we rationalize by thinking that such is not causing any damage to me. But when that damage comes to light, it becomes extremely difficult to rectify. As we

shall not wear torn clothes to prove to the people how much is our sacrifice, we shall also not give indulgence to leading a luxurious or consumerist life even if there is scope for that. We must understand the difference between these two tendencies. As revolutionaries, we might have to be in jail for a long period, might have to go underground or dwell in dense forests or hilly terrains. For many days we might also go without food or shelter. So, we must keep ourselves ready to meet any eventuality. One comrade might be having a good number of shirts or sarees but does not think of the other comrade who does not have those clothing. Even if any comrade parts with his or her possessions, it is normally based on personal likes or dislikes. Such likes or dislikes arise out of individualistic approach.

We must also be aware of another attack on the juniors. Earlier, in regard to love relationship between a boy and a girl they had been some decency, some ethical-moral binding. But now those bindings are torn, sex has become open in a vulgarized form. There is no reason to believe that there is no impact of such indecency on some of our juniors. Hence, we cannot neglect this aspect. In youth, sex impulse, naturally appears as a powerful force. In absence of proper guidance, it might cause much harm to the promising young comrades. As a Marxist thinker, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has provided valuable guidance in this regard. Since demand of sex is very powerful, one might commit a mistake, a serious mistake can be committed in this sphere of life. Even in erstwhile societies where a sense of value had worked as a restraint against immoral act, at that time also controlling sex was very difficult. And now there is complete absence of any value. It has now become a kind of intoxication devoid of any decency, ethics and morality. So the higher leadership must help the junior comrades in this regard basing on guidance provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. If any comrade commits a mistake in this respect, do not treat him or her harshly. Do not criticize so angrily that the defaulting comrade is hurt. Calmly, affectionately and caringly that comrade concerned should be concretely guided in accordance

with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The leadership should be very alert in such cases so as to save the juniors. If any adverse impact of vulgar sexuality on any comrade is noticed, the leading comrades inform the higher leadership seeking concrete help and guidance.

I want to touch upon another point. Many workers' and poor peasants, poor women, democratically conscious educationists-intellectuals-scientists-jurists- artistes and above all, energetic students and youths are getting connected with our Party, and with class and mass fronts as well as with various forums. So many connections we are getting in various states. The Party is growing fast. But commensurate with this organizational expansion, there is absence of able leaders. Those who are now in leadership at various levels must acquire the necessary standard in respect of character, ideological understanding and organizing ability based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought to guide the newcomers. It is a good sign that overcoming the lure of career and attachment to family life, many meritorious students are joining the Party. Leaders should take good care of them and nurture their qualities. Allow them to take initiative to undertake work as per their own planning. Even if they commit some mistakes, do not restrain them. Do not injure any junior comrade with harsh criticism. Rectify them affectionately. Please keep in mind that they are the future of the Party.

It is imperative that mass life becomes our mode of life. We should not just go only to the masses on the occasion of a programme, to sell Party organs or collect donations. We have left our families out of our love for the oppressed people. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that nobler feeling of heart had inspired us to join revolutionary politics. We want revolution because we have tremendous emotional feeling for the toiling millions. And for revolution, we need a revolutionary party; we need the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Unless I am emotionally connected with the joy and sorrow of the oppressed millions, am pained at their woes and wails, where will that nobler feeling of heart come

from? If there is no emotional bonding of hearts, if sensitivity towards the perils of the suffering multitudes is not ever-living, nobler feelings can never germinate or remain alive. Our job is to mix with people of the locality we stay in and try to change them by our character, culture and ideas. We will have to learn from masses also. These are our tasks.

Once again, I say, no one should suffer from a seniority-complex. The juniors who are giving proof of their ability and getting developed in the process, must be given due respect. They must be carefully reared to blossom further. In proper time they are to be promoted to higher responsibility. Do not think as one is junior to me, he will always remain inferior in qualities. According to operation of natural law, seniors are becoming old and disabled, so, junior comrades are to be developed very speedily. We are to follow the code of conduct prescribed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh while criticizing others. Since I am senior and a leader, I am not licensed to behave in any manner. We must conduct ourselves in a way expected of us as seniors and must reflect a higher culture and ethics. The juniors should not feel hesitant in pointing out to me any shortcoming, any failings they might have noticed in me. That door should always be kept open. If a junior hesitates to be frank with a senior, then the failing is more on the part of the concerned senior than the junior. Someone pampers me, obeys me, tries to please me, is afraid of me and hence he or she is close to me— what standard do these reflect? I rebuke, show my dominance, forbid any criticism of me, do not allow anyone to differ with me—creating such an environment must be stopped. Do not forget if a comrade is afraid of criticizing before me, it is an expression of disrespect to me. Moreover, who cannot speak before me, he will speak behind my back. Is it healthy for the party? A leader should win the comrades not by virtue of post, but by his leading qualities, by his character, culture, mode of life, by his abilities. On the other hand, if any leader creates such an environment, why any comrade should feel shy to openly express his or her dissent? Is it that

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Strengthen the Party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, a giant Marxist leader and thinker

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I am working in an office and hence suffer from the fear of losing that job if I displease the higher authorities? Have I left my family and career for that? Am I a coward? On the other hand, if there is no discussion, how would the right or wrong be determined? And if the scope of such open and frank discussion is not available, mind will be disturbed. In that event, other works assigned to me might also suffer, my development also will be hampered. It can happen with a leader that the comrade he had recruited in the Party, reared and steered for some time has so advanced in struggle that he or she has surpassed the concerned leader. This should be viewed as a success of that leader just like how a father feels pride in the success of his children. Does not a father feel happy when his son goes ahead of him in any profession? Who has said that my recruits should always lag behind me? At the same time, the juniors should always pay due respect to the seniors. This respect should be maintained even while expressing difference of opinion, if any, or voicing any criticism. It might so happen that the comrade who brought me to the Party is not active today; the Party or higher leadership has inducted me in a leading body under which my earlier leader is working. I will remain grateful and respectful to him or her. This should be the reflection of our higher culture.

We are engaged in manifold activities—developing the struggles of the workers, peasants, students, youths and women and we are involved in social and cultural activities as well. Yet, many of our comrades are not that equipped how to carry the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought in each of these fields of our activity. They must learn that and the leaders must educate them. If we only develop struggles based on economic demands, then it would be sheer economism. Lenin had severely condemned this. Other forces also raise quite a number of valid economic demands. But if we fail to imbue the workers-peasants-students-youths-women and other sections of toiling masses with the kernel of revolutionary politics and provide them class outlook while developing their struggles on any demand including economic demands, then where lies the difference from others? We must

carry revolutionary politics to the people in such a way with reason and emotion, so that they realize. We should not put it bluntly. It should not be preaching sermons like “you need to cultivate revolutionary politics” and “you are to accomplish anti-capitalist revolution”. We must develop the ability to talk revolutionary politics with people by linking with the concrete problems of their life. This is an art. This cannot be taught in a class. This can be acquired only by prolonged practice based on due grasp of ideology. This ability continuously is to be sharpened. In this respect, we are still weak. That is why, so many people who are coming in contact with us are not turning into partisans.

I shall say one more thing. Both supporters and sympathizers of the Party are also to be regarded as our assets. Their opinions, advice and suggestions are also to be obtained. There are many comrades who once had played very effective role in Party work. But now due to either falling health or failure in conducting proper struggle to overcome family problems or wrong tackling by the leadership, they have become inactive. We should be respectful of the service they had once rendered and be in touch with them. It is also necessary that we keep contact with the families of the comrades who became martyrs or are in jail or died because of age. The Party must express gratitude to them. Not as a show-off or to please them. It is because we respectfully recall the contribution of such comrades in the growth and development of the Party. Fight the views of the opposition forces based on logic and reason. Even if they indulge in malicious propaganda or use abusive language against us, do not react in an unethical manner. We must maintain our ethical-moral standard.

At the end, I like to focus on another issue. The way things are turning out and the crisis of capitalism is intensifying, questions are being raised as to what is the remedial course? Now the time is ripe to prove that the remedy lies in avid pursuit of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. We must logically point this out to all. First, we have to draw attention to the supremacy of socialism, particularly Soviet socialism which was heartily praised by the leading lights of the then world. They all congratulated the socialist system. During observance of the centenary of

November Revolution, we had brought out some documents in this regard. We must pick up necessary facts from those documents and then show how socialism was superior on every count. We should collect more information. We need to point out that capitalism because of its inherent law of operation would go on creating acute insoluble crisis. Only socialism can save mankind from such all-out crisis. Soviet socialism under the leadership of first Lenin and then Stalin proved that in history. Alongside, we must highlight the reasons behind collapse of socialism and show that such a possibility was not unknown to the Marxist authorities. Starting from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong to most importantly Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, everyone had warned that unless necessary caution was exercised and preventive measures undertaken, attack of overthrown capitalist class would endanger socialism and even possibility of capitalist counter-revolution would remain very much alive. We must reach out to the people with the invaluable analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in this regard. Also, we should be acquainted with the various analyses the Party provided later based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Besides, we must make people aware of our evaluation of great Stalin. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had warned that denigrating Stalin is tantamount to uncrowning Lenin. And uncrowning Lenin means attacking Marxism, indulging in revisionism, and paving the way for counter-revolution. Exactly that has happened. Renegade Khrushchev and the imperialist-capitalist world had sought to malign Stalin in every possible way. There is no relent to that even today. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of his brilliant analysis in the pamphlet “On the Steps taken by the CPSU against Stalin”, had shown what a giant Marxist authority Stalin was. Later, based on his analysis, we have also elaborately dealt with the greatness of Stalin. Comrades need to know all these thoroughly and then place before the people. At the present time we observe that lest people, in view of the horrific crisis of capitalism, should again get attracted towards Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the frightened bourgeois economists are putting forth many weird theories and prescribing a slew of bizarre

solutions to rescue the tumbling capitalism. A section of the intellectuals and media have renewed their slanderous propaganda against Marxism, socialism and particularly against Stalin. We have to fight all these. This is an urgent task of ours. For this, comrades must study meticulously, assimilate the essence of the analyses, and launch intense ideological struggle based on that. We must bring to the fore the achievements of socialism. Still, the question would be asked as to why did then socialism get dismantled? We are to show that collapse of socialism does not prove incorrectness of Marxism or failure of the socialist system. The factors behind the collapse must be highlighted. It might be said by someone that Stalin was an autocrat. We are to patiently rebut that with evidences, logic as well as unmasking the intentional distortion of facts by the quarters of vested interest. Thereby, we must show how great a leader Stalin was. So comrades must deeply study the life, glorious role and teachings of Stalin. When, amidst the ongoing escalating crisis, many intellectuals would seek the remedy, we must come forward and provide them the answer. So, we need to emphasize on intensifying ideological struggle.

I have taken a lot of time. At the outset, I thought I would not be able to speak much. But once having entered into the discussion, I could not keep a control of time. Yet, I repeat, I am severely disturbed and pained at the unfolding global as well as domestic situations.

We, the revolutionaries, are unable to do much in this compelling circumstance. But we must struggle hard and raise our standard so that the strength of the Party is augmented and we can intensify the anti-capitalist struggle in our country based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought and help world proletarian revolution. Comrades present here as well as those in various parts of the country must renew their pledge. That is where lies the significance of observing 24 April.

Long live 24 April!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought!

Long Live SUCI (Communist)!

**Red Salute to
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the
great leader of the proletariat!**

West Bengal State Committee demanded devastation caused by Amphan cyclone as National disaster

Pointing out the unprecedented scale of damage caused by the Amphan cyclone to West Bengal amid corona pandemic, prolonged lockdown and immense plight of the migrant workers, Comrade Chandidas Bhattacharjee, West Bengal State Secretary, SUCI(C), in a statement issued on 21 May 2020, demanded to declare devastation caused by Amphan in the state as 'National Disaster' as well as restoration of destroyed embankments, adequate relief and medical treatment on war footing.

He also demanded of the state government too we demand to immediately take up relief work on all fronts on war footing. Right now what is palpably seen is that every single mud house in the devastated areas of South 24 Parganas, North 24 Parganas and East Midnapore districts has been razed into rubbles, embankments wrecked households as also paddy fields and other cornfields, roads and village paths completely submerged under water entailing incalculable loss of crops and property as well as disruption in power and phone connectivity. He pointed out that although long eleven years have passed, the scars of 'Aila (hurricane)' have not been completely wiped away due to government negligence. So both

central and state governments must take up the work of appropriate tall concrete reinforcements of fractured river embankments to be able to combat any calamity in future. All fallen trees are to be removed from the roads to keep communications to the shelter camps unobstructed where adequate amount of food and drinking water is to be kept in supply. The state government should take advance and quick measures for battling diseases like dengue, cholera, etc. At the same time social distancing and mass testing are to be ensured at shelter camps to combat the spread of Coronavirus that may occur from people staying together. Comrade Bhattacharjee also appealed to the state government to quickly call an all-party meeting to deliberate how to get complete cooperation at this time of danger of all people in crisis irrespective of party and creed, religion, caste and community.

Finally, he unequivocally asserted that it would be considered a crime on the part of the central government if it neglected to provide adequate help to the people of West Bengal in their grave crisis and while shrewdly trying to derive electoral benefits riding on the misery of the people.

SUCI (C), UP, opposed implementation of Essential Services Maintenance Act to exacerbate oppression under the guise of combating corona is highly undemocratic and inhuman

Criticizing the decision of the BJP-led Uttar Pradesh government to invoke Essential Services Maintenance Act (ESMA) in the state, ban strike for 6 months and forbid the peaceful demonstrations, Comrade Pushpendra, UP State Secretary, SUCI(C), in a statement said that Uttar Pradesh State Government Employees like the Doctors, Nurses, Medical staff, Asha Anganwadi and Safai employees, Teachers, etc. are in the forefront in the fight against Covid 19 epidemic and are working day and night putting their lives at risk. Instead of rewarding these employees, the state government has withheld their dearness allowance for 18 months and 8 allowances are permanently discontinued. There is a deep anger among the State Govt Employees against this action of the government. In order to ensure that the state employees could not raise their voice against these anti-employee policies of the government, the government has invoked the essential service maintenance act (ESMA) with immediate effect and has banned strike for the next 6 months in all departments. Not only this. The state government has also banned peaceful token demonstrations by the state government employees. These unjustified restrictions are all aimed at the utter failure of the government to combat COVID-19 and bring the migrant workers back to their homes, as well as to suppress the voice of protest against it. While strongly condemning these steps, he demanded of the government to immediately revoke imposition of ESMA and consider acceding to the legitimate demands of the employees.

West Bengal State SUCI(C) by the side of Amphan-devastated people



At the call of the South 24 Parganas district committee of SUCI(C), West Bengal, deputations were given at all the four subdivisions of the district on 27 May demanding adequate compensation to the Amphan-affected people, reaching out relief to the distress with due expediency, stopping nepotism in relief distribution, government grant for repairing the demolished houses, arranging restoration of power and supply of drinking water and repairing the embankments etc. Among those who led the deputation were Comrades Chandidas Bhattacharyya, West Bengal State Secretary, SUCI(C), Tarun Mandal, former MP, Tarun Kani Naskar and JoyKrishna Halder, former MLAs.



Comrade Nanda Patra, member, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI(C) and joint convener, Bhumi Uchhed Pratirodh Committee, which gave leadership to the historic Nandigram movement, visited the Amphan-ravaged areas of Nandigram on 23 May



A deputation under the leadership of Comrade Anurupa Das, Purba Medinipur District Secretary and member, West Bengal State Secretariat, SUCI(C), was given to the District Magistrate of Purba Medinipur district, West Bengal, in Tamluk, on 26 May seeking immediate arrangement for food, drinking water, shelter and power for the Amphan-affected people.

SUCI(C) Observed Save Migrant Workers Day



Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, displaying demand banner on 19 May—All India Save Migrant Workers' day, in Shibpur Party Centre, WB.

Comrade Rengaswamy, Tamil Nadu State Secretary

Comrade C H Murahari, Telengana State Secretary

Comrade Chandidas Bhattacharyya, West Bengal State Secretary

SUCI(C) protests decision of BJP-led Central Government of wholesale privatization of the public enterprises

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (Communist), issued the following statement on 19 May 2020:

The most hurried move on the part of the BJP-led central government towards wholesale privatization of the public enterprises in all sectors of the economy smacks of a premeditated plan kept under carpet in expectation for an opportune time to announce. Now when the whole country and the people at large are in disarray due to the strike of Corona pandemic and utter failure of the government administration to give relief, the central government has thought it to be the proper time to make their economic scheme public. The BJP had been backed by the ruling bourgeoisie to be saddled to power as it promised to serve both domestic and foreign corporate capital. Because of this commitment, the BJP received money and media backing which paved their way to power. Now in a hurry to show their unflinching loyalty to the monopoly capital, the BJP government is unmasking itself before the people.

Under the garb of creating *Atmanirbhar Bharat* (self-reliant India), key sectors like power, coal, mining, transport, fuel, agriculture, infrastructure, financial service and even defence have been fully opened up to the private houses for unbridled loot and plunder.

The BJP government which had foregone revenue of as high as Rs1.46 lakh crores in last financial year for drastically slashing corporate tax rate and mopped up as high as Rs 2 lakh crores by imposing additional excise duty on fuel in last two months did not care to declare any cash funding to the needy downtrodden.

It is high time that the suffering countrymen close their ranks and take up cudgels against such cruel deception and deprivation and foil the sinister bourgeois conspiracy to reach out bucketful of benefits to the profit-monger monopoly houses and super-rich taking advantage of an unprecedented pandemic and consequent misery and haplessness of the common people.

Who's government it is, asks SUCI (Communist)

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (Communist) issued the following statement on 17 May 2020:

When the whole country is mourning the pathetic death of helpless migrant workers either in road accident or being run over by goods trains or on the streets out of hunger and exhaustion, the BJP-led Central Government has preferred this time to open up the defence, power and coal sectors to the private operators in order to give them more scope to mint fabulous profit.

Similarly it has also allowed the corporates and big business houses to dominate the agricultural market to ruthlessly exploit both the farmers and the consumers.

This was time for the Government to jump to defend the common people from hunger and joblessness. But it has, instead, jumped for augmenting defence and weapons production. A country means it's people. If people die of hunger and exhaustion, whom would the weapons defend? So far, through various steps, the Government has opened up many public sectors to private corporates and brought foreign investments worth crores of rupees through the FDI route. But how many jobs could such large scale privatization or huge inflow of foreign investment create in the economy? Is it not that if such moves were not taken, joblessness would not have reached such a peak? What is going on in the name of governance is nothing but exacerbation of unbridled exploitation by domestic and foreign capital while pushing the millions of people to death.

Corona and Amphan relief work by SUCI(C) and its mass and class fronts



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