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Red Salute Comrade Mao Zedong !

“...it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggles and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of long legal struggle of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers ... insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie become really helpless, ... and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat.”

(*Problems of War and Strategy*, SW. Vol. II, p. 219)

Organized revolutionary movement based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the only way to emancipation

Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Memorial Meeting on 5 August

[This is the English translation of the speech delivered in Bengali by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C), at Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Meeting on 5 August last in Kolkata. The responsibility of translation error as well as inadequate representation, if any, solely lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era.]

With due reverence and solemnity, we have been remembering today in various states Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, the guide to Indian struggle for emancipation and worthy continuator of great Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong. While conveying our heart-felt respect to his great revolutionary life, we, on this day, call to mind some of his invaluable teachings enshrined in the vast treasurehouse of his revolutionary knowledge and based on that try to analyze the present socio-political situation with a view to illumining the path of democratic

movement as well as revolutionary struggle in the days to come and ensuring that we play due role in discharge of our revolutionary obligation. Requests have come to me for covering certain topics in today's speech. Many have wanted to know our views on present state of world economy, country's economy and present political situation, crisis of culture, steep rise in corruption in the country, the reason for CPI (M)'s debacle in the elections and so forth. CPI (M) has also unleashed a campaign against us round the country that despite being a leftist party, why did we allow Trinamool Congress (TMC)

Crisis of world capitalist economy will intensify

The economic crisis prevailing in our country is inseparably linked with the world economic crisis particularly the crisis US and the entire Europe are mired in. Bourgeois economists and politicians are whirling round and round to find a way out of the crisis.

But to us who are students of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, the cause of this crisis is crystal clear. Great Marx, way back in the mid-nineteenth century when capitalism was in growth phase and fostering industrialization, had, in course of enunciation of the law of social transformation in the light of dialectical materialistic approach based on science as the tool for ferreting out the truth, shown that the very aim of production in capitalism is to maximize profit by denying the workers the due wage for their labour. This inevitably would lead to progressive shrinkage of the market and thus impede industrial progress and growth in production. So the crisis is endemic of the very capitalist system itself.

After Marx's death, great Lenin

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World capitalist economy is mired in an hourly crisis

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had shown that following its inexorable course, capitalism on attaining the stage of monopoly has given birth to finance capital by merging industrial capital with banking capital and acquired imperialist character. Faced with market crisis in their own countries, the imperialist powers are seizing the underdeveloped countries and turning them into their colonies for exploiting cheap labour and raw material of the latter. And centring round this plunder of raw material and cheap labour of other countries, severe antagonism is developing among the imperialist powers as a sequel to which large scale wars are breaking out. He showed that imperialism generates war. Later, great Stalin, worthy compatriot of Lenin, had further showed that capitalism has been so crisis-ridden after Second World War in view of ever-squeezing consumer goods market, is compelled to prop up another industry i.e. military industry. This is militarization of economy — said Comrade Stalin. For that, it is necessary for the imperialists-capitalists to constantly engineer local or larger wars, create a war-psychosis. Another development pointed out by Stalin was that after Second World War, the relative stability of world capitalist economy used to have earlier ceased to be in vogue.

After death of Stalin, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that not only the big imperialist powers, even the relatively less developed capitalist countries including India are also increasingly resorting to militarization of economy. He also said that not only capitalism has lost its relative stability but is now plunged in hourly crises. Whatever measures it is taking to stave off a crisis is landing it into a yet bigger crisis. Now you turn to world capitalist-imperialist economy. It is tottering. About a couple of years back, a severe recession which started in US engulfed the entire capitalist-imperialist world. Lenin had shown that finance capital is not only being invested in the colonies but is also conducting usury business there. This particular characteristic of finance capital assumed bigger dimension later. Widespread speculation in the stock market ensued. After all these, there was much hue and cry over Information Technology boom as if

it were another industrial revolution. But it did not take much time for the high-tech dotcom bubble to burst. Thereafter where did capital of US and other capitalist countries which could not be invested in industrial sector, make inroad into? The capitalists picked up Housing and Realty as two new fields for deploying capital what we have been seeing in our country also. To give a boost to this real estate sector, they decided to offer house building loans on a large scale. However, the prime loans for housing or in other words, disbursement of loans after complying with due formalities including assessment of credit-worthiness of the loan taker did not suffice. So, the banks and financial institutions opened floodgate of housing loans without bothering for necessary regulatory compliances. Even loans were given to the persons who did not have the capacity to pay interest, let alone repayment of the principal. Thus rules and norms were merrily relaxed or even overridden for stimulating Housing business. This was sub-prime loan. Even there was rampant speculation with the sub-prime loan instruments. All banks, insurance companies and financial institutions joined this newly-fangled speculation. But soon those who had themselves of sub-prime loans became defaulters as a result of which value of the sub-prime loans came down crashing, speculation incurred huge loss and the banks and financial institutions became bankrupt. This shook world capitalist economy which was manifest in the outbreak of latest huge recession. Shutters were downed at lakhs of factories. Millions were retrenched. The wave of recession touched our country as well. See the latest state of US and European economies. All these states are having huge budgetary deficits. These deficits are being financed by borrowings from the market. The entire country is, so to say, debt-financed. Turn to US. Its total national debt is over US\$ 14.5 trillion. This debt has been raised by obtaining direct loans or through sale of bonds. But it is unable to meet its interest obligations, pay the salary of the employees or run the social security schemes unless it takes further loan. So, the US government wanted to raise the limit of borrowing. Finally, after lot

of wrangling between the Democratic and Republican parties, the limit has been raised by US\$ 2.1 trillion. But this too would prove inadequate. So there would be necessity for increasing the limit further. Look at Europe. Greece has already been declared bankrupt. Portugal, Ireland, Spain, Italy and even UK are all crumbling. Sovereign Debt means the state itself is running on loans, is neck-deep in debt. Earlier, market stimulation through generation of a credit-driven demand and huge loss in speculation led to the downfall of the financial institutions. And now raising loan to run the state has reached such an extent that the country itself is getting broke. Why the debt burden is mounting so high? First reason is excessive tilt towards militarization of economy which only increases expenditure but gives no return. Secondly, the big corporates and multinationals had already lowered their tax liability through the respective bourgeois governments. And the third reason is that during latest mega-recession, these corporates and MNCs were sanctioned huge grants from the public exchequer and large scale tax waivers which were christened as 'economic stimuli'. The very capitalists-imperialists who created the crisis by rampant plundering of the market were given cash benefits by the states and the governments from public money. This, as we had said earlier, is akin to keep a dying patient alive through artificial ventilation system. This is the crisis of today and it would assume greater proportions with every passing day. No one can save capitalism from this escalating crisis.

Indian scenario

In this situation, the ministers and bourgeois statesmen of our country are claiming that they would insulate the country's economy from this crisis. As if they are all angels having magic wands in their hands and hence authorized to say so. They could have well said that this is the country of Shankaracharyya. So what are viewed as problems or crises here are all maya (myths). What is the reality of our country? In 2004, the number of closed industries was over 4 lakhs. In 2011, the number could well be envisaged to have

crossed 1 million. Millions and millions of workers have been retrenched. Our country teems with crores of unemployed and under-employed. There is no sign of abating of spiralling priceline and inflation. Everyday, there is massive exodus of landless and jobless rural poor to the cities. They are all migrant labour unaware of where to go, where to get a job. It came in the newspaper a few days back that both father and mother have gone away in search of work and there is no one to look after the children who are thus turned into orphans. This is the spectacle of rural India. Unable to repay agricultural loan, several lakhs of peasants have already committed suicide. Lakhs of people are dying of starvation and due to lack of minimal healthcare. Now there is the roaring trade with female body. Woman trafficking has become a big business. Kolkata is a key hub of all such putrid commerce. Is it for all these that people of this land had fought for independence and hundreds of martyrs had sacrificed their lives?

Whose development is taking place? It is the monopolists and corporate sectors which are flourishing. Every moment, they are building empire of wealth by sucking out blood of the poor. Five monopoly houses of this country are now among the ten richest in the world. Surely the footpath dwellers can take pride in it! 63 families of our country have wealth over 5,000 million rupees and this number is increasing. On the other side, 850 million people do not have capacity to spend more than twenty rupees a day. This is our country today. And this yawning gap between the few rich and myriads of poor would widen in the future no matter whether Congress, BJP, TMC, CPI (M) or any other party is in governmental power. It is outright falsehood, utter deception to say that crisis can be mitigated and people's development can be achieved keeping capitalism intact. We do not practice such deceptive politics. It is for this reason that the question of overthrow of capitalism by revolution assumes supreme importance. That is why, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had given the call for accomplishing anti-capitalist revolution.

Look at the country's political scenario. When the British

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Comrade Khalequzzaman on Bangladesh

BASAD pledges to dare the bourgeois challenge

[Requested by our party SUCI(Communist) during his visit to India, Comrade Khalequzzaman, General Secretary of Socialist Party of Bangladesh (also referred as BASAD : Bangladesher Samajtantrik Dal) spoke at length on the political situation of Bangladesh, present as well as past, at the University Institute Hall in Kolkata on December 13, 2010. We published four instalments of the English rendering of the speech in the last four issues of Proletarian Era. This is the fifth and concluding instalment. Responsibility for inadequacy in rendering, rests with the Editorial Board of P Era.]

Then again there are six fundamental rights : food, clothing, education, health, shelter and job. Even these rights have not been included in the chapter on fundamental rights; they have been dumped in the preamble. What use do they envisage, keeping them in the preamble? Had these been included in the chapter on fundamental rights, these would have come as mandatory for the state. Then in case I do not get food, I can sue the state. If I do not find opportunity to get education, then also I can move the court. But if these are not included in the chapter on fundamental rights, it rests on the sweet will of the government, and does not become mandatory for them to ensure these rights for people. It is an open fact that the rulers, in countries one after another, go back upon so many constitutional pledges and commitments without deterrence, openly or under cover. The rulers of our country do it in bare openness. The Constitution provides for a single system of education, but there are three systems running at present in the country, namely, the General, the English medium and the Madrasa system. The Constitution prohibits use of unearned money, but every year in Budget provides measures to convert black money into its white counterpart. Such instances galore. We have always highlighted these. Here again, our distinction is coming out to people in some form or other.

Reiterating the history of this bourgeois rule of forty years we are posing the question: how long would continue this devastating rule of capitalism, resting heavily upon imperialism? Is there anything the bourgeoisie have left undone? You find only the poverty, the economic plight before you. They have degraded the entire nation. Have they spared your children? Do they have any future before them? These precious boys

of the country are becoming divorced from life to turn into drug-addicts; they are molesting women and are themselves falling prey to degraded culture. Pornography is so rampantly being spread out as to making it hard to save humanity. No family could afford to live in peace; each and every household is torn with unrest, uncertainty. We repeatedly bring this out to people. Our party holds it firm that struggle must generate within families. We can not resolve your economic crisis. But members of the family imbued with this ideology of ours would come across a different scenario of a higher kind of life shining with compassion, fraternity and love. They would live at least with this assurance that they would be able to protect their children. There is no alternative path to tread. People complain that we are pleading for our leaders and activists to get free from personal property, an impractical proposition. What we really mean is that those who will lead the Party, will guide it, in other words those who would constitute the policy making body or the central leadership, at least they must bear within themselves and reflect the image of the society we envisage for tomorrow. It would be like the dazzling rays of sun finding their reflection on the tiny morning dew drops. It is because who would hold testimony to what we envisage for future. Will it remain in words only? This is one side of the truth. Equally true it is that bringing everybody beyond the present leadership to the ideological-cultural standard of the latter all at one stroke is impracticable, unreal. However, the more the struggle will advance, the more will the brilliance and conviction of the struggling vanguard percolate from the top to the lower and lower levels. People at large, at that time, would see for themselves the concrete expression of what emancipation of man is going to take shape to, would know



Comrade Khalequzzaman delivering his address in Kolkata

what socialism is. Now, as to our party, when others are lamenting that their parties have turned into the chat-rooms for elderly people, when they are increasingly losing links with the youth and teenagers, the latter are joining our party in thousands. Right from children of 8 to 10 years of age, up to the septuagenarian-octogenarians; the whole spectrum is represented without gap, without infirmity. You will find here a flow of life, an awakening. Toiling people including tea plantation workers, bidi workers, garment workers, transport workers and others are also thronging around our party in quest of dignity and liberation. Have we been able to make a considerably large section of the work force of our country totaling more than six crores join our party? No. It is still a fraction, but certainly that is gaining in strength. And that is why, attack of the rulers is coming down more and more heavily on us with each passing day. Media black-out has already been there. Now they are after us from different sides, from within and outside. But we have warned, if we are not perished due to our internal weaknesses, mistakes and deviations, those days are gone to destroy us from outside.

Now a few words about peasants movements. Our party first detected that there was rampant corruption in government fund allotment and distribution in projects like Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), Vulnerable Group Development(VGD), test relief, food for work, old age pension, widow and poor allowance etc. This has also been broadcasted by BBC. The exposure created commotion in some places. The peasantry, too, did start noticing that this is a party which does not share the booties with the chairmen, on the reverse, it

takes stand against corruption. We have exposed how syndicates are looting money. The plunder which 10 to 12 big importer-corporates and 10 to 12 monopoly business houses are carrying on, is simply limitless. For instance, say 7 crore kg of rice is sold daily in the market in the country. If price is enhanced by 10 taka per kg, they would earn 70 crore taka extra daily which will amount to 25 thousand crores of taka per year. Out of it the retailers and small middlemen would fetch 5 to 6 thousand crores of taka. Similarly creating artificial scarcity in the market of essential commodities including pulses, edible oils, onion and garlic, these businessmen usurp 4 to 4.5 lakh crores of taka per year. And the bourgeois parties like Awami League and BNP live upon the support of these people. The yearly state budget is figured at 1.5 lakh crores of taka and the syndicate usurps Rs.4 to 5 lakh crores of taka. The whole amount accumulates as the black money of the black economy.

It is a fact that the society can not be transformed excluding the women community constituting 50% of the population of the country. On the other hand, the way violent oppression and atrocities on women are on the increase, it will not be possible to thwart the forces of oppression, without mounting resistance against it. We are preparing for it. (A conference of our women organization, Socialist Women's Forum, will be held on coming 13 January. We expect 5 to 6 thousands women to take part in it.) From your position here, you will not be able to realize how difficult it is to bring Muslim women out of their houses. They are so conservative that it is not possible to enter a house and talk to an unknown woman. But still this time there were 100 women in the Long March. Ten to fifteen of them had gunny-bag fastened on their back; they were sure of what kind of welcome they would receive back home. Still they did not care and joined the march. Many of them were really beaten up on return. But their firm conviction and the influence of the Party, are bringing a change in the attitude of many families. The Party has been able to

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Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day observed throughout the country

On the occasion of the 35th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our Party, SUCI (Communist) and an eminent Marxist philosopher of these days, the Memorial Day was observed in different corners of the country. We published some reports of the observances in our last issue. Here we include the speech delivered by Comrade Provash Ghosh, the General secretary of the Party, SUCI(C) at the mammoth gathering in Kolkata, which was, as usual, completely ignored and suppressed by all kinds of media. We are also including a few more reports so far received.

Uttar Pradesh and Bihar

As a part of the observance of 35th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, meetings were held by the Uttar Pradesh (UP) State Committee at Badlapur at Shantinat Bahadur College Hall on 7 August and by the Bihar State Committee at Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Patna, on 10 August last. At Badlapur the meeting was presided over by Comrade V. N. Singh, UP State Secretary of the Party and at Patna Comrade Shivshankar, Bihar State Secretary of the Party was the

President. On both the occasions Comrade Satyawan, Member Central Committee, SUCI(C) and Haryana State Secretary spoke as the main speaker.

In his addresses, Comrade Satyawan recalled that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh while realizing and practicing Marxism- Leninism as the guiding philosophy covering all aspects of life also elaborated and enriched it. There was no problem in the post-Lenin days in international as well as national fields, which Comrade Ghosh's Thoughts did not throw light upon. He pointed out that the world capitalist-imperialist system is ridden with unassailable crisis which it can not avert by any means. Imperialist aggression on this or that country is on the rise; side by side also on the rise is people's resentment and resistance. In the national arena, the vast majority of population is subjected to extreme plight from the dreadful price-rise; youth are gasping under acute unemployment, workers and employees are being subject to retrenchment and closure; education medical facilities, transport, housing everything is going out of reach of common poorer people. Fast degeneration of cultural-moral-

ethical values is creating a menacing problem. Rampant corruption and fraud prevail dangerously in every sphere of life. All these problems have their roots in the exploitative capitalist system of the country which runs only with the motive of earning maximum profit. Even minimum respite from these can be had only through fighting against capitalism. After the collapse of the Socialist camp, it was claimed that Marxism-Leninism had become obsolete, capitalism would reign supreme. But their claim has burst out; the tremendous recession and crisis of that system attest to the fact that it has become totally moribund. Toiling people must build up their own political power through mass movements conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution with a view to overthrowing this exploitative system.

Comrade Shivshankar, in his presidential address pointed out that the Singur- Nandigram movement of West Bengal has torn open the real face of so-called Marxist parties, CPI (M), CPI. He also said that defeat of these forces in West Bengal does not mark the defeat of leftism, as some people suggest; in fact, it marks the defeat of

social democratic forces, the pseudo-lefts.

The meeting started with the rendition of the song on the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and ended with the Internationale.

Andaman-Nicobar Islands

On 5 August, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day was observed at Ramkrishnapur (16Km) in Little Andaman, 150 km south of Port Blair, the capital of Andaman-Nicobar Islands. There was another memorial meeting held at Rabindranagar (28Km) in Little Island on 7 August. In the meetings floral tributes to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Proletarian leader were paid by Comrades Bablu Mitra, Bijan Mandal, Khokan Mandal on behalf of the Little Andman Preparatory Committee, as also by eminent citizens like Sankar Bairagi, Thakur Pal, Pratul Bal, Anjan Biswas, Madhu Sena. Selected portions from the booklet "The Great Proletarian Leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh" were read out to the audience. On both the occasions Comrade Bablu Mitra spoke elaborately on the arduous life struggle Comrade Ghosh had carried out to found the revolutionary party of India, SUCI(C). Along with it he drew attention to abject poverty, criminal negligence of the government and administration towards the tribals of the islands, absence of any security for the thousands of unorganized workers, setting up of industries without caring about the environment hazards, privatization of education and health and rampant spread of degenerated culture in the name of tourism. He called for developing movements with the invaluable thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as the weapon and guideline.

Alipore Central Jail, Kolkata

Memorial Meeting was held with due solemnity on 5 August inside the Alipur Central Jail in Kolkata by the leaders and comrades of our Party SUCI (Communist), confined there under false fabricated charges by the CPI (M) while in governmental power in the state of West Bengal. They included Comrade Proboodh Purkait, member WB State Committee and the main speaker of the meeting; Comrades Rajaram Roy Mandal and Prafulla Mandal, both members of

Comrade Khalequzzaman on Bangladesh

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make this inroad.

Now we would hold peasants' rally, as well as a big workers' rally. We are also contemplating a week-long cultural conference. These all will not be for the sake of holding some rally only. If we are able to pull together all our strength and advance towards resistance on its basis, the country will be able to overcome the want and despair that there is no hope and future before it and its people. Among the traditional leftists, the Communist Party is surviving somehow. And we are advancing with a different image. As a result, the two trends now stand face to face : on one hand there is the social democratic trend and on the other the proletarian revolutionary trend. In the coming days the fate of Bangladesh will be decided upon which of these two makes strides to come forward in front of the other, under whose leadership people are going to be organized and the exploited masses are building up their struggle .

Today the bourgeoisie has

thrown the challenge that they would bring silence of grave in Bangladesh by 2021. There will be no force for developing movement, there will be no force to protest, men will be carried away under degeneration. In reply we have pledged that in 2021 either their seat of power will tumble down like a house of cards or all the bourgeois forces will stand in a file to face a force which will be the Socialist Party of Bangladesh (BASAD). And in that regard , we look ahead for your cooperation and as a fraternal party guided by the proletarian internationalist consciousness and responsibility, expect a greater and deeper solidarity with you. Revolution in a country provides inspiration to the revolutionary movement of the entire world. Revolutionary movement of Bangladesh, a neighbour of yours, will definitely add to inspiration in the revolutionary movement of India. Likewise, without advancement of revolutionary movement in India, it will also be difficult to protect our

revolution in Bangladesh. From this standpoint, we the people of Bangladesh feel that we are no longer alone. The way India is emerging as an expansionist force, the people of that country, thousands and lakhs of SUCI(C) cadres and leaders will surely stand by the side of the revolution of people of Bangladesh : this is what we will always look ahead for. Comrade Provash Ghosh must have realized how his solidarity speech made in Bangladesh, inspired people of that country.

Comrades, with these submissions, I conclude here; I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak and for patiently listening to my long speech .

Long live SUCI(Communist)-
BASAD solidarity!

Long live Proletarian
Internationalism!

Red Salute to

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

Long Live Socialism!

Long Live the Proletariat!

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Gandhiji renounced class struggle and believed in harmonious co-operation of labour and capital

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imperialist rulers wanted our countrymen to remain uneducated and languish in servitude, it was Rammohan and Vidyasagar who lit the torch of the Renaissance. Following the trail came Bankimchandra, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul. We got venerated leaders like Deshbandhu Chittarajan Das, Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Pal, and Netaji Subhas in our freedom struggle. So many revolutionaries like Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Preetilata glorified the struggle for independence. Much to the dislike and chagrin of the British imperialist rulers, in radiant ardour emanated human essence, erudition and talent from the people of the land. The country's youth glorified the pulpit of the gallows with the song of life. Those days, the political workers and leaders were highly respected by the people. The very term 'swadeshi' used to elicit respect. But today from whatever little news is published in the media, people find that most of the leaders of the ruling parties are thieves. They all are misappropriating public money using their seats of power. Though Congress is leading all others in this regard, other parties like BJP or CPI(M) are not clean either. If the fingers are pointed at them, pat comes the reply: Others are also embezzling public fund. As if, 'stealing' is their birthright. Let alone self-reproof, there is not even an iota of shame. Even the people have accepted that the ministers and their hang-ons will swindle public money. Only difference is that while some may steal on a larger scale, some others may pilfer a little less. Why it is happening? Here also the root lies in capitalism.

Root cause of cultural degradation, greed and corruption

Let me remind you of a basic teaching of Marxism. According to Marxism, in any society, the production system is the base while human thoughts, ideas, politics, political organizations, law, rules and regulations, sphere of culture all develop as superstructure of the given base. So long as the production relation is conducive to growth and development of

productive forces of the society, the realm of thought and idea based on the obtaining base remains progressive. But when a production relation impedes development of the productive forces, it loses its progressive character. Productive forces constitute both the labour and instruments of production. Production relation is the relation among human beings centring on production. Slave-slave master, feudal lord-serfs, labour-capital—these are the production relations. In the reactionary stage of capitalism today, capitalist relation of production is hindering development of productive forces. So in the realm of thought, in the fields of culture and politics, bourgeois humanism and bourgeois nationalism which once were progressive have become reactionary today. At a particular stage of history, some religions had fought against the slave society. During that time, religion had in general brought concept of morality in society, made people aware of right and wrong, conscious of their social responsibilities and obligations. In those periods, religion had produced some of the greatest human characters. Following inexorable course of social transformation, religion, at the stage of decadence of feudal production relation, lost its progressive role and became privilege in the hands of reactionary feudal lords and monarchy, defended feudal oppression and could no more elevate a human being but facilitated his degradation. At this phase of progressive development of capitalist production, secular humanism and nationalism free from religious tutelage appeared in the society by fighting against religious ideas. Upto a period, humanism played a progressive role in taking society forward. But now when capitalism has turned reactionary, bourgeois humanism and nationalism can no more play that role. Nationalism today means joining all kinds of shady businesses and trades, earning money at any cost, stooping to servility and embracing a life of clamorous amusement and rowdy revelry unmindful of what is happening around, who is in distress and misery or who is dying because of penury. Today's nationalism does

not spur one to sacrifice life or face torture for a greater cause. It only prompts one to self-aggrandizement. In this phase, capitalism is utterly corrupt. So those who would serve the interest of capitalism, compromise with capitalism or be obedient to its diktats are bound to be degenerated. That is why, while during the days of our freedom struggle when one had to go to jail for chanting 'Bande Mataram' or wearing 'khadi, the 'nationalist spirit', which then had produced great characters, ingrained human essence in life, is unable to do so now. Rather, nationalism has now been destroying character, robbing one of human essence. So, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, while pointing out the reason for moral and cultural degeneration in the society, had, long back, said that religious values have been exhausted, bourgeois humanist values are almost exhausted but higher proletarian values have not reached out to most of the toiling people. This vacuum in the realm of values is causing moral and cultural degradation. Only advancement of anti-capitalist revolutionary movement based on higher proletarian ethics and culture can resist this slide.

As a Marxist thinker, he showed that no doubt if production relation in a given production system which forms the base of the society becomes reactionary, the superstructure centered on it i.e. the realm of spiritual production, ideas and thoughts, politics and culture everything becomes reactionary. But, when human labour power, an important part of the productive forces, raises its head for changing the obsolete production system, under influence of that, progressive thoughts and culture arise in the superstructure as anti-thesis to reaction. It is following this law-governed course that in feudalism itself, progressive thoughts of renaissance, bourgeois democratic values, and humanism arose against obscurantist backward religious thoughts and ideas. Exactly the same way, in capitalist system, the thoughts and ideas of proletarian revolutionary culture originate in the superstructure as anti-thesis to fight rotten bourgeois culture and foster new human consciousness. However, till the worn-out capitalist production system is not changed by

social revolution, the class thoughts and ideas of the owners of the means of production will be dominant in society.

There is a prevailing notion that had the human beings remained honest, such corruption would not have happened. Since there is no honest person in the country, the society is teeming in aberrations and degeneration. As if one can, if one so desires, remain honest. But the fact is that even to remain honest, one needs a set of values, a social movement. True that the kind of honesty and human essence one had seen during the days of freedom movement is no more in vogue. Why is it so? The answer is that the cause of this is also social. So long a particular set of values and ethics have relevance and a progressive role in a society, pursuit of that provides some honesty and morality. A contradiction between instinct and conscience develops and in general, conscience controls instinct. Again mere honesty would not suffice. Here again I want to remind one of the important teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Even if one is individually honest, one needs to have correct outlook. Otherwise, one would do no good to society but rather cause harm. Gandhiji is an example of that. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that Gandhiji was very honest and a great personality. At the same time, he had categorically shown that keeping Gandhiji in front, the Indian national bourgeoisie had accomplished its evil objective. Many people show swelling exuberance over Gandhism. But how many of them are really aware of Gandhism? Let me place before you some of the observations of Gandhiji for consideration. Gandhiji said: "Socialism is a beautiful word and, so far as I am aware, in Socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of the society. This is Socialism. In it, the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level." That means

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Indian capitalism is buttressing vile class interest keeping Gandhiji in front

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according to him, in spite of the society being class divided, all are equal. But what in reality is the connotation of "equality"? Connotation is that "all are equal in the eyes of law" as is written in the bourgeois law book of our country. But in reality, is it that the capitalist owner and the worker rank *pari passu*? This is Gandhiji's 'novel' conception of socialism. This 'socialism' of Gandhiji, every discerning person knows, is prevailing in all capitalist-imperialist countries. Because, as per declaration, "everyone is equal in the eyes of law" there.

Gandhiji further said that 'God is the creator of both capitalist owners and the workers. While capitalist has the power of intellect, worker has the power of labour of the limbs'. Like other idealist bourgeois philosophers, Gandhiji also used to think that in society, there would always be a section who because of their higher intellect would remain as owners while the other section possessing capacity to undertake physical labour would remain as workers. This is permanent, perennial. In his language, "We invite the capitalist to regard himself as trustee for those on whom he depends for the making, the retention and increase of his capital.... Earn your crores by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours; it belongs to the people. Take whatever you need for your legitimate needs and use the remainder for society." Is there any owner who would say that the wealth he is amassing from industrial and agricultural production is not 'legitimate' and 'legal'? Rather, he would contend that profit he is earning by exploiting the workers is totally justified and reasonable. Gandhiji believed that, "the relation between mill-agents and mill-hand sought to be one of father and children... Connection is of mutual love and regard as between father and son." This very imaginary relationship that has abode in Gandhiji's goodwill only has in reality assumed the form of ruthless oppression and exploitation of the workers, of brutal crushing of the any protest movement of the working class. Gandhiji had told the capitalist owners that the property

and wealth they possessed were gifted by God. He also believed that "A person cannot amass individual wealth without private ownership. Only he has to ensure that this wealth is not misused, but used for justice and in right manner." In order to argue strongly in favour of inevitability of individual or capitalist ownership, he categorically stated: "I must warn you that I do not bear any ill to the capitalists; I can think of doing them no harm...But I want, by means of suffering, to awaken them to their sense of duty; I want to melt their hearts and get them to render justice to their less fortunate brethren." He further added: "I expect to convert the zamindars and other capitalists by the non-violent method, and therefore, there is for me nothing like an inevitability of class conflict." He also said: "Our socialism or Communism should, therefore, be based on non-violence and on harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant." Now see how this 'socialism and egalitarianism' sans class struggle envisaged by Gandhiji has materialized in India. His imaginary trusteeship has assumed the character of corporate capital, monopoly capital and finance capital. Gandhiji is no more. So he could not witness the kind of trusteeship being practised by his disciples now. Had he seen that, he, the kind of honest person he was, would have writhed in pain. On the other hand, he said: "Even if I was assured that we could have independence by means of violence, I should refuse to have it. It won't be real independence." Whatever I have discussed here are all Gandhiji's own words. (Vide *Socialism of My Conception* by M. K. Gandhi, Bharatiya Vidyabhawan, Mumbai) Because of such disposition, Gandhiji did not try to save Bhagat Singh's life, did not want to retain Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as Congress President and ultimately paved the way for his expulsion from Congress. Because armed revolution was a nightmare to Gandhiji. He could not afford to allow that. Gandhiji thought that "Having made a ceaseless effort to attain self-purification," he had "developed some little capacity to hear correctly and clearly the 'still small Voice

within,'" which to him meant "Voice of God". Just think of it! In twentieth century, he wrote that "My claim to hear the Voice of God is no new claim....I was not dreaming at the time I heard the Voice. The hearing of the Voice was preceded by a terrific struggle within me. Suddenly the Voice came upon me. I listened, made certain that it was the Voice, and the struggle ceased. I was calm....this was between 11 and 12 midnight. I felt refreshed and began to write the note about it which the readers must have seen. ... I have no further evidence to convince the sceptic. ...But I can say this that not the unanimous verdict of the whole world against me could shake me from the belief that what I heard was the true Voice of God." (*My religion*, Mahajiban Publishing House, Gujarat, p. 45-46) Clearly Gandhiji believed that "thinking is the contemplation of god". So all his views and preachings are divine sermons and hence represent infallible truth. In this connection, a scientifically proven theory of philosophy needs to be referred to. What is the origin of thought? What is prior — idea or material world? Is thought a divine endowment? In the given objective condition of the dim past, the religious preachers used to think that ideas and thoughts are bequeathed by god. So whatever they preached were nothing but oracles. Later, in the days of advent of capitalism, renaissance and democratic revolution the bourgeoisie disavowed the concept of god, discarded existence of any non-materialist world and brought secular humanist outlook and values as against religious thoughts and values. But the exponents of secular humanism and renaissance could not provide correct scientific explanation about origin of thought. It was great Marx who provided that. Indicating his difference with idealist Hegel, he said: "...idea is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought." (Marx, *Capital* Vol. I) He also said: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." (Marx, *SW*, Vol. I)

In later period, based on the latest discoveries of science,

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh further enriched and developed this concept. He showed that, "...whether idea came first or matter, that is which of the two was prior. But the point of this 'priority' has been resolved by science, and once for all. That matter is prior to idea and it exists independently of consciousness is now established beyond doubt. We also know now that, through the sense organs, the external world or the objective reality comes into interaction with the human brain with its distinctive power of translation and it is through this process that thoughts and ideas arise." He further showed that "...the material condition of human thoughts and ideals appears first and then, on this base, develops the world of ideas. Herein lies the limit of the relative independence of the power of thinking of man.".... "Anybody who refuses to accept it will have to answer this: Was it because Buddha was inferior in genius to Einstein that he failed to propound the Theory of Relativity, or the different theories pertaining to electro-magnetic fields? Again, was it because of their superior genius and wisdom compared to Buddha, Sankaracharya and Socrates that the European humanists could give birth to the democratic concepts and ideals, or was it because Karl Marx was a greater genius that he was able to propound the theory of scientific socialism — a still higher concept? I am totally opposed to such views. I consider that the great thinkers of different ages, despite being the greatest thinkers of their time, could not overcome the historic limitations of the age, the limits of time, space and social environment." Elaborating further the understanding of material condition, he said that "The limits are from two sides. One is the concrete surroundings. The other is the process of thinking, that is, the process through which his mode of thinking has developed within him, in a manner known or unknown to him, the process that limits the freedom of his mind or thinking." He also showed that "individual thinking is personification of social thinking". During the days of freedom movement, many used to

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Bourgeois humanism and nationalism which once were progressive have become reactionary today

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follow Gandhiji blindly presuming him to be 'descendent of god'. On the other hand, some of the pseudo-Marxists called him 'hypocrite'. Differing with both these appraisals, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh held that Gandhiji "was an honest man and a very powerful personality." But then what caused such confusion in Gandhiji? Explaining the reason, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that "...denying the law of development and progress of society, the appeal of the bourgeois moral values developed in him (Gandhiji) a great compassion for the common people on the one hand, while on the other the fear complex of the bourgeoisie about revolution unconsciously worked in him at the same time. As a result, even though he thought of the welfare of the common men with sincerity and honesty, the ideology he gave birth to, Gandhism, in reality served the capitalist class interest and is still doing so." In fact, the bourgeois class had also consciously used Gandhiji and Gandhism for buttressing its own class interest. But Gandhiji could not understand that. It is just a like a doctor who is very honest, sincere, has genuine feeling for the patients but has no knowledge of medical science. Will he be able to cure the patients with his honesty or aggravate their disease? This is what happened with Gandhiji. In his last days, he was profusely grieved at the partition of the country. But he could not make out the very reason behind that. He failed to understand that influence of Hindu religion-oriented nationalism kept the Muslim population away from the national liberation movement and taking advantage of that, the British imperialists and fundamentalists hatched the conspiracy of partition of the country which Nehru and Patel, considered to be his right hand, accepted it ignoring his opinion to satisfy their quest for power at the earliest. Extremely pained, Gandhiji wrote in the last phase of his life: "My struggle has failed. Hindus and Muslims are engaged in fratricidal bloodbath. No one understood me. Only one person could, but he too is not near. He is Subhas." "Today, I am alone. Even Sardar Ballavbhai Patel and

Jawaharlal also think that my analysis of the situation is incorrect and acceptance of partition of the country will bring back peace. ...They think that with age, I have degenerated. ... I clearly see that dark future awaits independence earned at this cost. I pray let not God keep me alive to see this." (*Collected Works of Gandhiji, Volume VI*) What a tragic end of such a great character because of absence of scientific outlook, and ignorance of laws of history and refusal to acknowledge class struggle. All bourgeois parties cry aloud of Gandhism because that gives them a big advantage. They want to use the blind emotion prevailing among a vast section of the masses for Gandhiji and thereby protect capitalism. To them, Gandhism is nothing but a privilege. None of them care to maintain any scruple. But in order to deceive people, they often wear simple dress, torn shoes and pretend to lead a simple life.

The honesty that prevailed centring on Gandhism in the days of freedom movement is no more there, cannot it be either. First of all, in those days, there were some remnants of religious values and moreover bourgeois nationalism was relatively progressive. So, national freedom movement provided moral strength. It is no more such today. For example, in the dim past, religious values had tremendous appeal, wielded immense power in developing morality among the masses. But following inexorable course of history, the said influence was on a steady dwindle and ultimately was very feeble during the days of freedom struggle. But today even that influence does not exist. Without going into a detailed discussion on religion and its philosophy, one can well understand that very fact, if one takes cognizance of reality. Nowhere in the world today, are religion or preachers of religion found to rise in protest against any social injustice or oppression. Rather, the clergy has become the owners of enormous wealth because of patronage by the exploitative rulers. But during the days of advent of religion, most of the religious preachers discharged a role just to the contrary. Capitalism

in its rising period sought to free people from the tentacles of divine thoughts and to foster in them a scientific outlook, rational bent of mind and democratic thought process. But after having turned into reaction, the same capitalism is using religion as opium to arrest people in backward revivalist thoughts, fomenting fatalistic notions like "Everything is pre-ordained by God", "today's suffering is due to sin committed in previous birth" and to foster fascist culture by making 'fusion between spiritualism and technical aspects of science.' Moreover, religion is now a prop in the hands of the communal-fundamentalist forces to precipitate divides among people based on caste and religion as also to subject the womenfolk to medieval oppression and injustice. So religion cannot provide the ethical-moral base today.

At present, if one wants to remain honest and preserve his conscience, he has to relentlessly fight against injustice. Otherwise, he has to compromise. Because the entire system is corrupt. Its politics, economics, ethics, and morality—everything has become rotten. More this society survives, more annihilated will be human values and essence. If we look at the families, we find children refusing to take responsibility of their old parents, relation between husband and wife is breaking down affection, care, empathy, tender feelings and all such essential human qualities are disappearing. Since the profit of individual owner is considered supreme, self-centredness, in accordance with that, is rampant in society. There is no concern for ethics, morality or scruple. Abominable cultural degradation like alcohol drinking, drug-addiction and lurid discussions about female body is swamping the youth life. All these are stemming from decadent moribund capitalism which had and has still been using Gandhism as its prop. So we differ with those who think that all-pervading corruption can be wiped out by merely bringing legislation. It is only conscious democratic movement conducive to anti-capitalist revolution which can resist institutional corruption. Even for ensuring effective implementation of any legislation,

democratic people's movement is imperative. Finally, overthrow of capitalism can only rid society of the vice of corruption.

CPI (M)'s grotesque 'Marxism'

See for yourself what CPI (M) which claims to reflect Marxist outlook in regard to the question of corruption has written in the editorial of People's Democracy, its central organ, of 1 June 2011: "The CPI (M) had always maintained that if corruption at high places needs to be addressed in right earnest, then all corporate funding of political parties should be banned. This is an important root cause for political corruption when such funding is seen more as an investment by the corporates. The corporates must surely contribute towards strengthening and consolidating the democratic system in our country. Towards this end, their contributions and funding may go into a corpus maintained by the Election Commission, or, any other institution that the government may so decide, to finance State funding of elections." It is well-known that the corporate sector provides election fund to the ruling parties and it ought to be stopped. But is it only responsible for all-pervading corruption or the root lies in the worn-out capitalist system? Next point is, can corporate funding of political parties be stopped unless the political parties themselves refrain from it? In what way would the political parties and leaders cease to be corrupt if corporate finance is routed through Election Commission or government? It shows that CPI(M) has no objection to receive corporate funds if it is made available through such conduit. Of course it has already been receiving such funds in any case. But irrespective of whether the corporates undertake such funding directly or through intermediation of government, what is their object? Will not they be guided by their class interest? The very fact that the CPI(M) is urging the corporate houses to strengthen 'the democratic system in our country' shows what immense confidence it reposes on them. In other words, according to CPI(M), the corporate sector or monopoly capital is the

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Overthrow of capitalism can only rid society of the vice of corruption

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force to strengthen and consolidate the 'democratic system'. Of course, in one sense, the point is correct. The administrative fascism which is operating in the name of democracy is in the interest of the monopoly capital. So the monopoly houses will surely try to strengthen and consolidate this 'democracy'. About a century back, Lenin had said that instead of freedom and democracy, capitalism in the monopoly phase is more dependent on military and bureaucracy. Stalin showed that capitalism has completely thrown away the flag of democracy. And Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that in the name of democracy fascism has been clamped on all the capitalist countries under different garbs. It is for you to understand what kind of working class party CPI (M) is! How grotesque is its 'Marxism'! What has been written in the subsequent lines of the aforesaid editorial is astonishing as well. "...the humongous amounts looted through the various scams in the recent past were instead used for providing food security, health and education for all, then India would be qualitatively different with its people enjoying a better quality of life." It is one thing to say that there could be some relief to the distressed people. But to claim that there could be a qualitative change in people's condition connotes a completely different thing. No genuine Marxist party can say like this.

I shall refer to some other examples of CPI (M)'s brand of 'Marxism' from its own writings. Analyzing the election debacle of

the party, one of the theoreticians of CPI (M) has written in *Ganashakti*, CPI (M)'s Bengali daily on 6 July 2011 that "we," means CPI (M), "have made people anti class struggle by turning them away from the field of struggle". In other words, CPI (M) leaders confess that they, during their 34 year of rule in the state, have made people averse to class struggle. Then he writes: "On the other hand, because of being in power for 34 long years, a section, in the globalization phase, had been guided by the mentality of self-aggrandizement. For that, this section had engaged themselves in a host of unethical activities like promoting, contractor business and nepotism." Note what he writes next: "Not only has our contact with the poor been weakened, closeness with the newly emerged rich has increased." If there is anyone of CPI (M) in this meeting, I shall request him or her to carefully listen to all these. Afterwards, in the editorial column of *Ganashakti* of 19 July last, it is written that "Among the weaknesses had been the absence of class outlook in running the administration, panchayets and municipalities." Thus they themselves admit that during the last 34 years, the administration, panchayets and municipalities under their control were not run with working class outlook. What conclusion do all these lead to? Although I know that they have not been writing all such things being aware of the significance nor have they been going through any soul-searching. The party is in shambles after the poll reverse. Earlier, they were puffed with governmental

power. Now, on being dethroned, they are shriveled. So in order to boost the cadres, it has become necessary for them to bring back in speeches and writings words like 'class struggle', 'revolution', etc., which they conveniently forgot during the last 34 years. So, these kinds of writings are being published. But what class character of theirs is manifest in such writings and observations of their own? During 34 years of running the government, panchayets and municipalities, CPI (M) had not reflected working class outlook. In a class divided society, one has to reflect either bourgeois class outlook or working class outlook. This is ABC of Marxism. Then what is corroborated by own admission of theirs? If they had not reflected working class outlook, then which class outlook did they reflect in running government, administration, panchayets or municipalities? Undoubtedly that was bourgeois class outlook. Both West Bengal and Kerala had CPI (M)-led governments. Were we wrong in saying that CPI (M) was subserving class interest of the domestic and foreign monopoly capital? Did we indulge in malicious propaganda? We only had alleged that CPI (M)-led governments like the ones run by Congress, BJP or any other bourgeois party had been working in the interest of the domestic and foreign monopolists. CPI (M) was crushing class struggle, the legitimate struggles of the workers and peasants and turning people away from the field of class struggle. Being isolated from the

poor, CPI (M) had been closing ties with the rich. Today, the CPI (M) leaders themselves are saying the same thing. Let me ask the CPI (M) leaders whether the erstwhile undivided CPI or later their party had ever functioned in accordance with working class outlook? Would they be able to cite a single instance from history? Stalin himself had said during India's freedom movement that the Indian national bourgeoisie is divided into two segments— compromising and uncompromising. On one side, there was rightist leadership compromising with imperialism and suffering from the fear-complex of anti-capitalist revolution while on the other, there was uncompromising revolutionary leadership. He exhorted the Indian communists to unite with the uncompromising section and isolate the compromising section. Great Mao Zedong did the same thing in China. In our country, that was the correct working class approach in the obtaining situation. What did the undivided CPI do then? It supported compromising Gandhi leadership against the uncompromising leadership of Netaji Subhas. It rallied behind compromising Gandhi leadership in Tripuri congress. After being expelled from Congress, Netaji Subhas called a separate conference in Ramgarh to build up a left consolidation. He even went to the extent of saying that this left consolidation would strengthen communist movement in India. But undivided CPI did not stand by him and thus not only lost a golden opportunity but virtually

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CPI, CPI (M) never practised Marxism-Leninism

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helped the compromising bourgeois leadership to tighten its grip. This was the theory of class struggle of the then undivided CPI!

In 1939, undivided CPI supported the demand of Pakistan putting forth the argument that Hindus and Muslims by their respective religions constituted two different nations. Late B.T. Ranadive, then ideologue of undivided CPI and later Polit bureau leader of CPI (M), in a writing of his served a unique 'Marxist' analysis that "bound together by common culture, history and tradition, Muslims do form a distinct nationality." Did it reflect the outlook of class struggle? When the country was in flames during the 'August Kranti' movement in 1942, the undivided CPI leaders which comprised the top CPI (M) leaders decided to join hands with the British imperialists. The reason cited was incredible! Since Britain has entered into a pact with Soviet Union against Fascist Germany, so they have to work together with the British imperialists. Thus guided by blindness, the undivided CPI leaders cooperated with the British imperialist rulers. Comrade Stalin never advised them to do so and rebuked the CPI leaders when he heard about that. During Second World War, Netaji Subhas sought the help of Japan as a tactical move. Whether it was a right move or wrong is a separate issue. But the undivided CPI leaders called Netaji a quisling and agent of Japan. Then during the whole period of freedom movement, what working class approach or what outlook of class struggle was reflected by them on every question?

On the other hand, after transference of power in 1947, they for some days were utterly confused as to whether India has attained freedom or not. The CPI (M) later gave a fascinating definition of Indian state by calling it a "bourgeois-landlord state headed by the big bourgeoisie." Who is this big bourgeoisie? Either it should be the monopolists or non-monopolists. What is meant by big or monopoly capitalists? Does it not, as per Lenin's enunciation, denote higher stage of national bourgeoisie? Who, by the by, are landlords today? Are they zamindars (feudal lords) or jotedars (rural kulaks)? You yourselves admit that there is full-fledged penetration of capitalism in Indian agriculture. But you are characterizing Indian revolution as anti-imperialist anti-feudal people's democratic revolution. In that event, one has to conclude that it was wrong on the part of Lenin to give call for anti-capitalist socialist revolution in Russia in November 1917. Because Lenin himself held that capitalism in Russia was then extremely underdeveloped and foreign capital as well as feudalism had a significant presence. But, since the Russian bourgeoisie captured state power in February 1917 "to that extent, bourgeois democratic revolution is completed in Russia", explained Lenin. That is why, Russia was in the stage of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. According to the "Marxist analysis" of CPI (M), it was necessary to organize People's Democratic Revolution" in Russia in November, 1917 because capitalism there was in a very backward stage compared to India and influence of foreign finance capital and feudalism was

quite considerable. Then who is Marxist, CPI (M) leadership or Lenin? In his celebrated work "Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism" published in 1916, Lenin had also shown that in the era of imperialism, foreign capital dominates even in a fully politically independent bourgeois state. In the conference of the Third International in 1920 also, he mentioned that remnants of feudalism prevailed in agriculture of highly developed capitalist countries like America, Germany and France. In view of this Leninist teaching, does the theory of CPI (M) have any validity whatsoever? It will not be wrong to say that CPI (M) is practically opposing Leninist theory.

With such an erroneous theoretical stand, the CPI (M) has been conducting its activities for years. An application of this theory presupposes amity and friendship with the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants. So its theory militates against the objective reality of India where the principal contradiction is between labour and capital. Hence, this theory is not of class struggle in real sense of the term. That is why, CPI (M), CPI have turned out to be reformists-revisionists who once called Nehru progressive and Sardar Patel reactionary. Later they characterized Indira Gandhi as progressive and Morarji Desai as reactionary. Since their theory called for unity with the national bourgeoisie, they held that Nehru and Indira were representing the aspiration of the national bourgeoisie. In keeping with this

theoretical stand, the CPI (M) entered into a tacit understanding with Indira Congress and did not join the JP (Jayprakash Narayan) movement on the plea of Jan Sangh being in it. Taking full advantage of that, BJP increased its strength. Again in 1977, CPI (M) formed electoral alliance with newly formed Janata party which had Jan Sangh as one of the constituents. Thus CPI (M) sometimes united with Congress raising the bogey of containing communalism and then had a somersault to align with BJP on the pretext of fighting authoritarianism of Congress. It backed V P Singh government by siding with BJP and subsequently joined hands with Congress to prop up governments headed by Deve Gowda and I K Gujral. Of late, they backed Congress-led UPA- I government. And all these supporting acts have been carried out based on the aforesaid characterization of Indian state and the theoretical proposition contained in the statement "however, objective of our revolution remains anti-imperialist anti-feudal." *Ganashakti* has written that 'parliamentarian tendencies have increased in CPI (M)'. The very parliamentarianism has been the inevitable outcome of the political thesis of CPI (M). The undeniable fact is that in course of its development, Indian national capital has not only reached the stage of monopoly but has attained imperialist character, though relatively weak, by giving birth to finance capital and inching towards

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Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) addresses the mammoth gathering in Kolkata on 5 August.



Unity with TMC was to protect mass movement from CPI (M)'s fascistic onslaught

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emerging as one of the big powers in the world. In such a country, if someone does not pinpoint ruling capitalism as main enemy and instead mutters the theory of anti-imperialist anti-feudal people's democratic revolution, what else other than increasing tilt towards brazen parliamentarism would grow in him? Abiding by the rotten theory of renegade revisionist Khrushchev, CPI (M) has already stated that 'they would bring about revolution by gaining majority in Parliament and then peacefully transforming Parliament into an instrument of people's will'. It is only CPI (M) who can advance such a queer theory that in a politically independent sovereign bourgeois state like India, people's democratic revolution can be accomplished by gaining majority in the existing bourgeois parliament. Though earlier they adopted such a political line out of confusion, now they are finding it handy in hobnobbing with the national bourgeois leaders. So the question is when a party never reflected a working class outlook, can it be taken to be a working class party? CPI (M) workers may please ponder over this.

Ganashakti of 19 July also observed that there has been 'deficiency in preserving communist ethics and morality in CPI (M)'. Let me ask, did undivided CPI or later CPI (M) ever bother about communist ethics? Did they ever rack their brains on this? Let alone communist ethics and morality which are much higher concepts, did they ever cultivate humanist ethics and values? Otherwise despite so much increase in the strength of undivided CPI in 1950s and '60s, considerable increase of CPI (M)'s strength particularly after its huge growth since 1977, why the social milieu of West Bengal degenerated so much? If the influence of a genuine revolutionary is widely spread, there ought to be a restraining effect on the falling standard and cultural degradation within the society and elevate the moral standard of students and youths. But alongside increase in the strength of CPI (M) during the last 34 years and with 'Inquilab-Zindabad' (Long live Revolution) slogan shouting, there has been spurt in drinking habit,

drug addiction, gambling dens, rape, women trafficking, obscene dancing and such other unethical immoral activities. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had criticized them long back for drumming up such a vile culture. Congress and BJP have been projecting filmstars and cricketers or such others as heroes to derive political mileage. Same thing has been practised by CPI (M) in this state. Now TMC is following suit. Did such things happen during the days of freedom struggle? Were not there any glamour stars, big players and playwrights at that time? Can characters of height be built in the country by pitchforking them as heroes? More such political leaders are becoming ideologically bankrupt, more are they resorting to such kinds of light show gimmickry. Communist ethics and morality are much higher. A high standard of humanist values was observed during the days of freedom struggle. Individual interest was considered subordinate to the interest of the country. "Country is my mother", "we all are for all of us, each for the other"—such were the value concepts that stirred people in those days. Since both Russia and China were backward countries, the bourgeois moral values worked to initiate people to revolutionary movement even there. The moral base prevailing there entailed that the interest of proletarian revolution was prime, and individual's interest secondary. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that this moral standard will not suffice for accomplishing revolution in developed capitalist countries as well as in relatively less developed country like India. It will also be inadequate a standard after establishment of socialism in Russia and China. In order to attain the standard of a good communist in these countries, merely considering individual's interest as secondary to social interest would not be enough. Individual should not only be free from private property but also from private property mental complex. In every walk of life, in the sphere of love, affection, empathy, compassion, tenderness, in every kind of social relationship, whether it is between husband and wife or parents and children, one has to be completely free from individualism. The struggle for attaining higher

communist character would be to achieve the standard of happily and unconditionally giving up private property, individual interest, individual urges and aspirations in the interest of working class, revolution and revolutionary party and thereby completely merging self-interest with the interest of the society through unflagging dedication and constant vigil. This elevated standard of a good communist as per the need of the time was enunciated by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. CPI (M) and others are nowhere near all such concepts. Never have they undertaken any cult of such ethics and morality. Though in earlier days and before being saddled in power, there was honesty and dedication in some of their leaders and cadres, that too was virtually wiped out afterwards. The entire party was running on money and muscle power. The same very muscle power is now switching allegiance because there is a change of government. To CPI (M), communist ethics means blind obedience to the party: no argument, no question, no airing of differing opinion. The party has to be followed blindly. Their growth is not based on cult of Marxist ideology or ethics-morality but on money power, muscle power, police power, overlordism and slander against the opposition. Let alone communist values, the impact of bourgeois humanism on society that was there earlier because of profound influence of Renaissance stalwarts like Vidyasagar, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Netaji Subhas, Nazrul and the revolutionaries of freedom movement upon which Congress first started to attack and whatever little of that still remained, was totally wiped out during the CPI (M) regime. In this respect, there has been no difference between CPI (M) and other bourgeois parties. Now the CPI (M) leaders are stated to be introspecting particularly in regard to their mistakes. Lenin said that communists do not just openly admit their mistakes. Alongside open admission, they try to locate the precise reasons for the mistake, bring those to the fore, learn from that and then release the struggle for overcoming those reasons. This is one of the tests to know if a party is really a revolutionary one or not,

added Lenin. Have the CPI (M) leaders ever followed this method?

Had they examined this way, it would have been clear to them that both undivided CPI and CPI (M) are out and out petty bourgeois parties. Never had they been Marxist parties nor had they ever practised Marxism. The way the revisionist parties of the Second International, Khrushchev, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping had destroyed Marxist movement by wearing cloak of Marxism, CPI (M) too is doing the same thing in this country. And, according to Lenin, petty bourgeois politics is an inseparable part of bourgeois politics. The undivided CPI had and CPI (M) has been practising that politics only. These have been the reasons for which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had to build up SUCI(C) as a genuine communist party on Leninist model.

Unity with TMC was in the interest of mass movement

Now I want to reflect on the allegations levelled by CPI (M) against us. In this state as well as in other states, the CPI (M) leaders are propagating to their rank and file, supporters and the left circle that despite being leftist, we have helped TMC during the Singur-Nandigram movements and also in the Parliament and Assembly polls. Otherwise, TMC could not have come to the forefront like this. However, they do not take our name directly in writing lest that should give us publicity. During media briefing they say that one 'ultra-left party' and the 'Maoists' have helped TMC in creating 'disorder' at Singur-Nandigram and hatching conspiracy against 'Left Front'. Everyone knows that the Maoists had no existence in Singur-Nandigram movements. It is also clear that by 'ultra-left', they meant our Party. In their eyes, we are 'ultra-left'! They are telling one more thing to our workers: 'You have been dealt with the right blow. By aligning with TMC, you have lost one of the two Assembly seats you held earlier. Had you united with us, you could win more seats.' Whether we would have gained or lost seats if we had gone with them is a separate issue. Fact is that we have not gone with them. Because,

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Historic Singur-Nandigram struggles ushered in a new chapter in history of mass movement

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ours has never been a politics of vote, of calculating whom should we unite with only to increase seats. Whenever we have united with any other party or parties, it has been solely in the interest of the working class struggle and democratic mass movement. In 2001, CPI (M) leaders invited us at their state headquarters and gave offer of an electoral alliance. Had we accepted that, we could have increased our tally of seats and would have got some ministerial portfolios as well. But rejecting their proposal, we had categorically told them: 'By shunning leftism, you are also like Congress and BJP crushing democratic movements and class struggle in the interest of domestic and foreign capital.' Just a year back, on the dais of the memorial meeting of Jyoti Basu, former CPI (M) chief minister of the state, we were requested to secretly talk with them. We did not respond. From 1977, we have on our singular strength developed democratic movement one after another against the anti-people policies of the CPI (M) government. Right at this venue at Rani Rashmoni Road, there is a martyr's column dedicated to Comrade Madhai Haldar, a teen-aged worker of our Party who succumbed to police firing on anti-price rise anti-transport fare rise movement in 1990. We have launched many such other movements. At that time, CPI (M) government of the state had an understanding with the Congress-led central government. For 19 long years, we have fought alone to bring back English at the primary level. The media do not wish to give any news of ours. You will see that there will hardly be any coverage of this mammoth gathering in the media. Because, our Party poses a great threat to the ruling bourgeoisie. The media do not want to give vent to the truth that it is our Party who had conducted the movement for reintroduction of English. But this fact is known to everybody in the state. As per media, that movement was conducted by the intellectuals. Yes, it is true that the eminent intellectuals were at the forefront. But who had rallied the intellectuals, organized them and initiated them into the movement? Is it unknown to the media? Media

knew it but would not say that. We have built up movements on various burning problems of the workers – peasants and students, on the demand for lowering transport and power tariffs, against atrocities on women and many such. We could even realize many of the demands. TMC was not born then. After TMC came into being also, we had no unity with them. There is a vote-based Gandhite party whereas ours is a revolutionary party developing mass movements with a clear revolutionary objective. This difference has always been there. But the unity developed at the grassroots level first at Singur and then at Nandigram. Everyone knows that at both Singur and Nandigram, it was our Party which initiated the movements. But at the same time, I must admit that we alone could not have made both the movements successful. We lacked organizational strength necessary for that. So when TMC desired to join these movements, we agreed because they had strength as well as media backing. We united with TMC in the interest of democratic movements as per Lenin's teachings. At the outset, we did not forge unity at party level. We always build up movement by developing people's committees. People will organize movements through these committees and by setting up volunteer corps. People themselves will decide the means and course of the movement. Party will only place its views and guide them. In this country, this was a new approach in building mass movement which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh introduced. Right from the days of freedom movement, the practice was that party would decide and the public would abide by that decision. The leader would plan and people at large would follow. But, this makes people passive and suffer from political blindness. Our Party wants that people at large acquire due political consciousness, undertake a cult of politics and take decisions based on appropriate planning. Such is not the politics of either CPI (M) or TMC. But at our insistence, TMC had to accept this at Singur-Nandigram. As a result of that, Singur Krishijami Raksha Committee (Singur Committee for protection of agricultural land) and Nandigram Bhumi Uchhed

Pratirodh Committee (Nandigram Committee for resisting eviction from land) grew under the joint leadership of our Party and TMC. You all know what had been the nature of movements by TMC so far. Apart from processions, stay-in demonstrations, meetings or hunger strikes, have they resorted to any other means? Have they built up any long-drawn movement anywhere? Could they realize any demand by the kind of movement they had undertaken? But, we could wrest quite a few demands. How could Singur-Nandigram struggles sustain so long had not people's committees and volunteer corps been formed as per our suggestion and initiative? Even we have openly said that Tata could not have grabbed land at Singur because we had organized people to take to the field and build up resistance. In fact, both men and women came out in the open to protect land, fought and faced police onslaught for three days. TMC did not want this programme. Rather they were opposed to it. Then TMC chief sat in hunger strike in Kolkata. It is true that she risked her health. But because of her hunger strike in Kolkata, the resistance movement at Singur became enfeebled and ultimately subsided. The government took the advantage and grabbed the land. Otherwise, it could have never been possible for the government to snatch land. What we could successfully do at Nandigram could not be done at Singur. Here also the difference in the outlook of the two parties is vivid.

However, the wider influence of TMC and the media backing received because of TMC's involvement worked in favour of the movements. Had we alone built up the movement, there would have been a complete blackout in the media. Because, TMC like Congress, BJP, CPI (M) is a party acceptable to the media. But we are 'untouchable'. Because, we develop movements, 'disrupt peace' of the bourgeoisie and create 'lots of trouble' for the rulers. Here lies their problem. We, too, have no difficulty in understanding that. So far we have advanced without any media publicity. We shall continue to grow without media backing in the days to come as well. No one can stop our progress.

So, it is clear that at Singur and Nandigram, our planning and policy of developing sustained organized movement together with TMC's manpower and media power had been contributory. Neither they could do anything without us nor could we have realized the demands without them. But, while their aim was to use the people's wrath reflected in the agitations and movements for reaping electoral benefits, our objective had been to wrest demands by building up sustained organized democratic movement conducive to the revolutionary perspective. We had openly said this earlier also. It is also known that historic peasants' struggles of Singur-Nandigram ushered in a new chapter in the history of mass movement in India inspiring peasants and agricultural workers to resist forcible land acquisition in every state. Here, the historic role played by our Party is to be noted.

It was only after CPI (M)'s savage attack on Singur and Nandigram movements that we thought of developing a party to party alliance with TMC at the state level. Earlier we faced police brutality and murderous assault by CPI (M) criminals on numerous occasions. Many of our leaders and cadres were murdered by them. But at Nandigram, CPI (M) unleashed fascistic attacks twice with the help of police, opened firing and organized mass rape. Particularly second time, not only police but criminals collected from various parts of the state clad in police uniform encircled the entire area, cut off link with the world around and carried out a dastardly carnage operation and merciless gang-rape of numberless women. Neither Congress nor BJP had done such things in India. Congress, BJP let loose police to kill by firing. Mass rapes often occurred during communal riots as was witnessed during Gujarat pogrom. But what severe crime it was, to orchestrate gang rape by criminals to suppress a democratic movement. CPI (M) also built up a criminal brigade. Wherever movements were surging forth, this criminal brigade was accompanying police to crush the same. Tapasi Malik, a teen aged girl was taking part in the meetings and

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Mingling truth with falsehood, one cannot tread path of truth

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processions in support of Singur movement. She was abducted from the field, raped and then burnt alive. This is the kind of party CPI (M) is. And yet they talk of ethics and morality! Thus, we found that we alone would not be able to protect movements developing at many places from this fascistic onslaught. We approached RSP, Forward Bloc and various Naxalite groups and parties. The leaders of RSP and Forward Bloc leaders said: 'Your logic is correct. But we shall not be able to side with you because we are glue-stuck to ministry.' The Naxalites also did not agree. After that, we had a meeting with TMC. We gave them three conditions for entering into an alliance. TMC at that time was neither with Congress nor BJP. They accepted our conditions. Because they knew that our Party carries a weight in the state. People of West Bengal repose tremendous trust and confidence in us and that they could use for deriving electoral mileage. Our meeting with TMC was arranged at the residence of one of the leading advocates of Calcutta High Court. He was repeatedly insisting us on having an electoral pact with TMC. I asked him how we could become a factor in vote as we get around 3000 to 5000 votes on average per constituency. He said: "Provashda, if you contest alone, you would get that much vote only. For example, I want you to win. But I too do not cast my vote in your favour, though I give donation to your Party. Because, you shall not be able to defeat the party we want to be ousted. You will not spend money, not unleash slanderous propaganda, not receive media publicity, then how can you win in election today? But if any other party gets you with them, their vote will go up by 15,000 to 20,000 merely because of your association. Because you do not know how much trust and confidence people have on you.'

SUCI(C) cannot be purchased by lure of MLA, MP or ministership

So TMC at that time accepted everything we said. Equidistance from both Congress and TMC, joint movement against the anti-people policies of both central and state governments, no attack on Marxism-Leftism—they agreed to all. But we knew very well that this commitment would not last for long.

Yet we tried to arrest them within this commitment for as many days as possible. Thereafter, Parliament elections were announced. The industrial houses exerted pressure on TMC for aligning with Congress. The media also took such propaganda to the peak. But we opposed. Then a settlement was arrived at. We said we would field candidates against Congress. TMC agreed and left the Joynagar seat to us. Let me inform you that we had asked for two to three seats in the Parliament election. TMC chief herself had told me that she would leave to us more seats in the Assembly elections and not for Parliament. Yes, they had helped us in Joynagar election. At that time, their understanding with Congress was not that close. Earlier, Congress used to call TMC as the B-team of BJP while TMC called Congress as the B-team of CPI (M). Everyone is aware of all these. TMC did work sincerely at Joynagar constituency. People have also witnessed how much our workers have toiled in various Assembly and Parliament elections to ensure victory of TMC candidates. TMC leaders are also fully aware of that. But after declaration of the results of Parliament election, it was found that CPI (M)'s tally has come down drastically. Congress was not in a position to form ministry without TMC. So TMC became extremely important to Congress. Understanding between the industrial houses and TMC also firmed up. For long, the industrial houses had desired that TMC severed its tie with SUCI(C). Because, they could purchase all parties including CPI (M) but not SUCI(C). It was because of SUCI(C)'s presence, the Singur-Nandigram movements assumed such a magnitude, achieved victory and the impact of that spread throughout the country. So Congress, industrial houses, media, BJP, CPI (M) everyone wanted TMC-SUCI(C) unity to break. Because, ours is a revolutionary party and hence we pose serious threat to all of them. We rouse workers and peasants to come into the vortex of movement; we cannot be purchased by dangling carrot of increased number of MLAs, MPs or berths in the cabinet.

After Parliament election, TMC was avoiding us to a great extent. At the same time, due to exigency of

ensuing Assembly polls, it did not want to completely sever the tie with us. This was the position then. But we had come to a decision. CPI (M) during the 34 years of its rule had created a suffocating situation and was fascistically crushing mass movement. So it was a demand of mass movement to defeat them in the election and oust them from power. Besides common masses, there had been many left-minded people who desired that. Giving due respect to this demand of mass movement, we wanted to ensure electoral defeat of CPI (M) so that people of West Bengal could at least get some relief from the strangulating situation and get some scope for democratic dissent. We knew that the extent to which CPI (M) as a bureaucratically centralized party was controlling everything including police-administration would not be possible for TMC even if it so desires after being in the government. It is for this reason that we wanted a change of government. We supported TMC only to ensure electoral defeat of CPI (M) knowing full well that on being saddled in power, TMC too would, like Congress or CPI (M), work in the class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie. You must also know that before Assembly election, TMC leaders had three sittings with us on seat adjustment. But they never indicated that other than Joynagar and Kultali, they would not leave any seat to us. Even during Parliament election, they had assured us of more seats in the Assembly poll. But while the talks were on, we alongwith the people of the state suddenly came to know from media report that we would not be given any seat other than those two. How could this happen? Why could they not maintain the minimum courtesy of informing us? The leaders and workers as also people at large know very well how our leaders and workers have behaved with them. We never went back upon our words, never indulged in any trickery or gave any bluff. This is not the culture of our Party. Then what prompted TMC leadership to act in this manner? There is only one explanation to that. At the penultimate hour, there was tremendous pressure on TMC from industrial houses, big business and media for not giving us more than two seats. Even there was conspiracy to ensure that we do not

win from both the seats. The conspiracy worked at Kultali because our workers were not alert. But at Joynagar, comrades were vigilant and so the scheme fell through. By now it has become clear to both the people at large as well as the TMC rank and file how we have been defeated in the Kultali seat which we had won all along by contesting alone against Congress, CPI (M) and later TMC.

But even if we had lost both the Assembly seats and the Joynagar parliament seat, was it that we would have ceased to exist? A huge number of the toiling people have gathered here today. Many more could not turn out because of Ramzan festival and crop cultivation in the field. Have they been supporting the Party because they are allured by ministership, number of MLAs, MPs or control of panchayets? Attraction for this Party is of totally different nature. It is Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought and higher proletarian culture which strike the binding chord with the Party. Lenin-Stalin in Russia, Mao Zedong in China and Ho Chi Min in Vietnam did not successfully accomplish their revolution on the strength of the number of their members in their respective Parliament. They accomplished revolution on the strength of revolutionary ideology, revolutionary character and organized people's power based on revolutionary ideology. So no one has ability to wipe us out.

Change of government is not change of system

In the mass meeting on 24 April last year, we categorically indicated to TMC that when it would be in the government, we would continue to organize extra-parliamentary struggles and democratic movements being in opposition. We also made it clear that a change of government does not mean change of the exploitative state and system. So there would be no relent to oppression-repression and hence people's movements are bound to continuously surge forth. We had said this to the TMC leaders at that very point of time when there was still a frail unity with them. Some people who adored us asked why we talked so straight forward. According to them, perhaps it would have been better if we had not opposed Congress so vehemently

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TMC government is pursuing many anti-people policies of the erstwhile CPI (M) government

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and declared the decision of not joining the government and seating in the opposition after the poll was over. In that event, they felt, there would not have been such unpleasant developments centring on seat allocation and we could have got more seats. But with due humbleness we told them that as revolutionaries, we do not play any trick or indulge in any camouflage. Our principles and ideology are transparent. Falsehood has no place in pursuit of truth. By mingling truth with falsehood, one cannot tread path of truth either. We always place our views openly to the people. This is the teaching of Marxism. We do not work stratagem in the name of tactics. History would prove if we are correct or incorrect. Our great teacher had taught us to develop movements based on revolutionary line, even participate in the elections with the object of revolutionary purposiveness. If by that, we secure votes and win seats, well and good. If we do not, then also we cannot give up revolutionary line. This is a revolutionary party, Party of the poor and have-nots, of the deprived and the distressed. Those who are clever might think that they have gained and we have been deceived. Let history be the judge of that. With a heavy heart, the toiling people of West Bengal are questioning why was SUCI(C) not given more seats, why was it made to lose in Kultali? To us, this passionate feeling is of immense value. This fondness and affection is the outcome of the prolonged struggle based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought and martyrdom of many revolutionary activists. Thus, it is clear that while CPI (M) and its government had unleashed ruthless onslaught on the people to serve the class interest of domestic and foreign capitals, we united with TMC in the interest of democratic movement and class struggle. Our primary concern was never to anyhow get more number of seats nor were we fearful of being defeated in some seats due to pulling of strings from behind by the vested interests. That we shall not join the government but sit in opposition was declared openly much ahead of the poll.

Today, TMC is in power. We are in the opposition. We have already stated that change of government does not mean change of state of system. There will be owners and workers as usual, exploitation and plunder will keep on. In the exploitative capitalist system, government is nothing but political manager of the ruling capitalists. As industrialists appoint managers in their companies to run the business, similarly the government functions as the political manager of the rulers. Even if we alone got a chance to form the government, what would have we done? Lenin had said that by participating in the elections, the communists should always try to categorically show its futility to the people, make it clear to them that bourgeois parliament or vote-politics cannot beget the desired emancipation and thus free them from parliamentary illusion. Of course, he said so assuming that the communists would remain a minority in parliament. But he did not foresee a situation in which the communists either singly or in combination with others could get a chance to form a government. Hence, he had not provided any guideline in this regard. In course of developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had provided the answer. He said that if the communists get such an opportunity, they must run the government in such a way that it becomes an instrument of development of class and mass struggles. This is what was said and practised by our Party during first United Front government in 1967 under the guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We would have encouraged the struggles of workers-peasants and other sections of the toiling people and stopped police from interfering and crushing those legitimate movements. We would have curtailed the power of police-administration which is nothing but coercive machinery to mount attack on people. Instead, we would have strived for increasing the strength of mass movement, of people's fighting ability and of the cemented unity of workers and peasants. And in that event, a clash with the central government was inevitable. The Centre might have pulled down the government. And we could then tell people how a

government which was working in the interest of people, democracy and democratic movement was not allowed to run by the bourgeois state and at the same time could also develop powerful movement against this autocratic move of the central government. Neither CPI nor CPI(M) had followed this outlook provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Because, they sensed danger in it — danger of not being able to enjoy governmental power for long.

Now TMC is in the government. What have they been doing? Take the question of recovering the farmland at Singur. What was necessary was to organize the peasants and the poor of entire Hoogly district and regain the grabbed land by breaking the wall erected by the Tatas. Erstwhile CPI (M) government had grabbed that fertile agricultural land on the basis of a medieval colonial law of the British imperialists. Under pressure of peasants' movement, Parliament is now debating if that law should be amended or annulled. Why did TMC not go for recovering the land by developing movement? Police-administration is now under their control and this movement would have been legitimate by every count. Is it a crime to recapture the land which the government forcibly snatched from the peasants in the interest of a monopolist group like the Tatas? However, in the eyes of bourgeois 'law and order', this is an offence. That is why TMC government cannot afford to do that. At Lalgarh, Congress and CPI (M) combined to deploy joint paramilitary forces in the name of combating "Maoist" terror and severely tortured poor utterly deprived tribal populace. Repeatedly there has been demand from the people for withdrawal of the joint forces. But TMC-CPI(M)-Congress went into a huddle at Lalgarh police station and decided to retain the joint forces. We were not called in that meeting because they knew we would oppose the proposal. The Officer-in-charge of Lalgarh Police Station contended that SUCI(C) had no presence in the area. But the fact is that there are cases against 21 of our workers for participating in the Lalgarh movement. Some are in the jail as well. The entire Lalgarh movement

has been against the atrocities of the CPI (M) and their government. But, on the question of retaining the joint forces, TMC arrived at unanimity with the same very CPI (M) to take the decision. In 1999, CPI (M) had put forth a proposal to change the name of West Bengal. Now, TMC has become hyperactive for effecting that change. Is it so utmost a necessity now? Such a change, if effected, would entail a substantial administrative expense. We had fought against the decision of the CPI (M) government to introduce private-public partnership (PPP), a euphemism for privatization, in government hospitals. TMC is now extending that PPP model further by handing over ownership of some of the departments of the hospitals to private companies because Congress-led central government wants so. Thus, arrangements are being made to gradually handover the government hospitals to the business houses. CPI (M) had abolished examination upto class IV. We had protested. But CPI (M) did not heed to our protest. Till today, we have been organizing primary end scholarship examination under the aegis of a public body. Lakhs of students are appearing in that examination. Now, the central government has decided to abolish pass-fail system upto class VIII. The education minister of the TMC government is also talking of the same. In the face of surging protest, he retracted and said that was his personal opinion. But the matter is not so simple. Today or tomorrow, they would again revive the initiative to implement the proposal. We are observing that even on this issue, TMC is falling in line with CPI (M).

New Darjeeling accord only doused the fire temporarily

The accord on Gorkhaland issue is nothing but dousing the fire. CPI(M) also did the same thing. The Gorkha population is alleging that businessmen belonging to Bengali and Marwari communities have controlled Darjeeling for long; they did not treat the Gorkhas with dignity. Now a section of the Gorkhas has become educated and raised slogan against 'Bengali domination'. They are demanding a separate state and stirring up

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the source of our strength

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common Nepalis by saying that this would bring prosperity to them and solve their problems. On the other hand, the Bengalis have been fearing that the Gorkhas are migrating in good number from Nepal, buying properties here and growing in number. If the demand for separate 'Gorkhaland' is acceded to, a vast area of North Bengal would become part of that. The tribal populace living there apprehends that Nepalis would dominate over them. Among the Bengalis also, there are divides. Some are claiming to be Kamtapuris while another group is asking for a 'Greater Coochbehar' state. Who is precipitating all such divisive-separatist mentalities? It is Indian capitalism who is engendering all such fissiparous tendencies. Suffering from the fear complex of anti-capitalist revolution, the compromising bourgeois leadership of our freedom movement could not allow the various nationalities speaking different languages, and different communities professing different religions to be completely merged into a unified nation. Even caste-based stratification was also allowed to exist. So, though we have become politically independent nation, we are still divided as Bengali-Bihari, Hindu-Muslim, Upper caste-Lower caste, Tribal-Non-tribal, Bengali-Nepali etc., and the agents of capitalism are merrily fomenting these divisive mentalities and warped mindsets to pit one section of the toiling masses against another so that they cannot fight oppressive capitalist rule united. The vote-bank politics is also in operation here. Every party is trying to appease this or that community or ethnic group to derive electoral benefits. This is also seriously hampering desired unity of democratic movement. Had creation of a separate state been answer to all problems, then people of Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, Mizoram or Nagaland would have had no problem. But the reality is that people in these states are equally oppressed and distressed like residents of other states. If the basic problem is to be resolved, then people have to rise above all divisive-separatist mentalities and join united anti-

capitalist movement. So what is needed is democratic movement based on democratic values against capitalism. Without traversing that path, the way TMC government like erstwhile CPI (M) government signed the tripartite agreement facilitating formation of Gorkhaland Territorial Administration will again ignite the fire in that part of the country. Earlier Subhas Ghising too had created lot of trouble, engineered violent clashes and riots centring on demand for Gorkhaland. But afterwards, he entered into an understanding with CPI (M), gained power, received huge amount of money and folded up his agitation. After Ghising, it is now the turn of Bimal Gurung. Either he has to again rake up the violence in demand for Gorkhaland or someone else will take his place. And this will go on. Will it mitigate the problem?

Come to the question of formation of Bidhan Parishad (Upper House of State Assembly). This was done away with more than half-a-century ago based on consensus of all concerned. In most of the states, it does not exist anymore. But TMC is going to reintroduce this. Other than accommodating some persons in privileged positions, what other purpose would it serve? But to maintain this additional tier, there will be huge drainage of public money. TMC leadership is talking of converting Kolkata into London, North Bengal into Switzerland. Hearing that, CPI (M) state secretary has said that there is no need to make Kolkata another London. Instead, let them ensure proper supply of water to the villages. Now the CPI (M) leaders have started thinking a lot about the rural people. People have seen how much water they supplied to the villages during last 34 years of their rule! But they have no other go but to demand water, tap and such other things to stay afloat. We say, let Kolkata be Kolkata and London be London. Let them arrange adequate Arsenic-free drinking water for the city, repair broken roads, ensure proper sewerage system and stop water logging. Let them control the vehicular traffic properly, dismantle the liquor shops and gambling dens, stop eve teasing, ensure proper

safety of the womenfolk and stop extortion. When Kolkata had no multi-storied apartment, no flyover, did not flicker in dazzling neon sign, it carried in its heart Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Netaji Subhas, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Saratchandra, Nazrul and such other luminaries. This had been the tradition of Kolkata. Will they be able to bring back that tradition? Let me remind you that during the freedom movement, there was picketing in front of liquor shops and call for boycotting alcoholic drinks and other intoxicating consumables. Many volunteers faced police onslaught for that. But CPI(M) during its rule had increased the number of liquor shops manifold on the plea that such a step would augment revenue collection. Citing the same plea, TMC is also opening more liquor shops and liquor factories.

So it can be seen that on many questions, CPI (M) and TMC have been sharing similar opinion like the way Congress and BJP are having at the Centre. TMC is now in power. So, CPI (M) is stated to be discharging the role of a responsible opposition. This very expression 'responsible opposition' has of late gained currency. Responsible opposition means the party or parties have responsibility as against 'irresponsible opposition' like us who 'create trouble', organize protest demonstrations, rallies, meetings, road blockades and strikes. TMC has started voicing opposition against strikes and blockades. Congress and BJP are also having strong objection to all these. Before being in the government, CPI (M) also used to take part in strikes and blockades. After assuming governmental power, occasionally it used to call 'bandhs' as government holidays to keep its all-India image. But when we had given bandh calls against its anti-people policies, the CPI (M) had opposed the same and attacked us with police and party storm troopers. TMC too resorted to strikes and blockades before ascending to power. Now, it is opposing the same. Because, the domestic and foreign capitalists are against bandhs and blockades. And now the bourgeois media has coined a new term, "destroyer of work" for

bandh to confuse people. Even a section to intellectuals are falling victims to this confusion. During freedom movement, there used to be so many bandhs and blockades. In the period of 1950s and '60s there were so many general strikes and road blockades. If you turn to the West, you would find a stream of bandhs and blockades rocking Italy, France, Greece, Germany, UK and other countries. Unfortunately, there is no journalist or intellectual so erudite in those countries to christen such bandhs as "destroyers of work"! Yes bandhs and blockades create lot of inconvenience to the capitalist rulers and to the affluent who cannot move without car and often dine in 5-star hotels. Ruthless capitalist oppression is wreaking havoc in the lives of myriads of people, dooming them to death. But these handfuls of rich and privileged are not bothered by that. They only voice objection when the exploited people register protest through movements, blockades and bandhs.

I want to add one more thing. Like Congress, CPI (M) or BJP, TMC is also running the government depending on the police-bureaucracy. The police officers and bureaucrats who during CPI (M) regime used to take bribe, torture people and have been responsible for unleashing barbaric attack on Singur-Nandigram people are now leading a cozy life by switching allegiance to TMC. There is no abatement to corruption, smuggling, women trafficking or extortion. But the TMC government like CPI (M) is only concentrating on the salary earning urban middle class and not on the poor and rural have-nots. So we have our criticisms and opposition on these questions. I shall draw your attention to another issue. One after another instances of large scale corruption of the central government have been unfolding. The central government is also raising the prices of petrol-diesel, kerosene and cooking gas by leaps and bounds. But TMC is observing the code of conspicuous silence. Why? Is it because it is a partner of the central government and needs central help to run the state government? Is it then to be understood that because of such

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Let us be determined to accomplish whatever is necessary for revolution

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compulsions, TMC leadership is loath to protest against injustice? For obvious reasons, such questions are stirring people's mind.

Dislodged from power after 34 long years, the CPI (M) leaders are in an extremely dejected mood. Let me tell them that they have done so many good things in the interest of the domestic and foreign capitals. Your chief minister had warned the struggling peasants of Singur that he would not allow anyone to touch even a strand of the hair of the Tatas. So much of assurance you had given to the monopolists. When the people of Nandigram rose in protest against a sinister capitalist-imperialist design, you had retaliated with mass killing and mass rape. CPI (M) chief minister then said that "Nandigram people have been paid back in their own coin." And now you are telling your workers that they have forgotten class struggle. Whom did the CPI (M) leaders fight for? The second attack on Nandigram in November, 2007 was in the darkness of night. Mother was raped in front of daughter, mother-in-law in front of daughter-in-law. What a beastly savagery had raved wild! At that time, the CPI (M) leaders at their state headquarters at Alimuddin Street in Kolkata and at Writers' Buildings, the state secretariat were rejoicing by claiming that the 'operation' was successful and there was 'new sunshine' in Nandigram. Please note that the CPI (M) leaders are writing so many things about "class struggle", "interest of the poor" now. But they have not tendered any apology, not even expressed any regret for the bestiality at Singur-Nandigram. The capitalists were happy at the role of the CPI (M) but at the same realized that it had become totally unpopular. So if CPI (M) continued to stay in power, there would be spurt in movements, more and more people would come forward to join movements. In order to stem the surge of movement, it was imperative to replace CPI (M) now in the government. Later, they would again bring back CPI (M) at an opportune moment just the way incumbency of central government alternates between Congress and BJP. So, CPI (M) leaders have nothing to worry about !

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh built SUCI (C) through exemplary arduous struggle

Friends, in the current phase of acute crisis, economics, politics, society, culture, individual life, family life everything in the country is in the grip of calamity. Every other party irrespective of hue is serving capitalist class interest. Congress is the chieftain of all. For long years, Congress has run governments both at Centre and in the states. You have been experiencing what kind of attacks it is bringing on the people while running the central government at present. It is only our Party which based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, is struggling alone to uphold people's demands braving all odds. There shall be no relenting to this struggle of ours, come what may. We have already given call for developing intense mass movement throughout the country against the anti-people policies of the central government. Thousands will march to Delhi in February next to highlight the just demands of the people. Ours is a revolutionary Party. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder of the Party, had left home at a tender age of 13 spurred on by the ideals of Vidyasagar-Vivekananda-Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Nazrul-Netaji Subhas-Kshudiram-Bhagat Singh. In course of his quest for truth, he came in contact with Marxism-Leninism at his last teen. While cultivating Marxism-Leninism, it dawned upon him that there was no real communist party in the country and that is why, such a glorious freedom movement resplendent with the bravery, courage and sacrifices of so many martyrs had a tragic end. He then took a historic decision of building up a genuine communist party since he understood the necessity of the same. He hardly had more than three or four compatriots. No one else was by his side. So many days he had spent on the footpath, railway station and parks of Kolkata. Months after months, let alone shelter, even one meal a day eluded him. A section of the people used to ridicule him. The CPI activists used to deride him by saying that if a bat was to be granted status of a bird, SUCI (C) could be called a party. Similar punning on him was from

RSP and Forward Bloc leaders as well. But he did not care for all such remarks and comments. Those among the common people who used to value truthful logic told him that though his arguments and rationale were correct, he would not be able to realize his dream because he was unknown to all, had no resources or manpower in this vast country which teemed with so many big parties and prominent leaders. They feared that in doing so, he would spoil his own future. But Comrade Ghosh replied firmly: 'What I have realized as truth, as true course for emancipation of the people of the country, must be pursued by me. I shall fight till death, shall die fighting. I cannot sell my conscience, cannot vend my human essence. I might die under a true. No one might even know of my death. But if there is truth in my struggle, history one day will acknowledge that.' All great men of history had initiated their struggle in this way. Just think of that period. Undivided CPI then was a big party enjoying recognition by great Stalin and Mao Zedong. The leaders and cadres of undivided CPI were then honest. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was saying that both Stalin and Mao were his teachers but CPI was not a Marxist party. How difficult it was to make people understand that. Forward Bloc founded by Netaji Subhas, RSP originating from Anushilan Samity then wielded much strength. There were also some other big left parties. In such a milieu, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh set out to build this Party along with a handful of his revolutionary comrades-in-arm. Thus he toiled hard to recruit workers for the Party in batches of one or two. No newspaper, no radio gave him any publicity. But the power of truth is invincible. Today, our Party organization has expanded throughout the country. Thousands of workers, peasants, youths, students and women have joined the revolutionary Party, founded, reared and steered by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This has not happened because of any media publicity. This has been possible owing to the nobility and truth of revolutionary ideal. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought has reached Nepal and Bangladesh. Just a few days back,

Communist Party of Pakistan has requested us to permit them for translating the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in Urdu. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's works have gone to West Asian countries, to USA, Latin America and the European countries like Russia, UK, Italy, France and Germany. Some of these works have also been translated in the respective languages there. How could Comrade Shibdas Ghosh build up this Party? It is because his profound love and affection for the oppressed people and correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

Source of our strength lies in life and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

He used to say that you must consider yourself to be responsible for the wail and woe of the orphan children and street beggars, the starvation deaths of the impoverished. You could have saved them because you know that this is inevitable fallout of capitalist exploitation. You can arrest erosion of values and tender feelings, stop warmth of relationship from waning by the power of revolutionary ideology, by accelerating the process of social change. He exhorted to keep conscience ever living and conduct struggle based on the noble feelings of heart. He taught us that nobler still is the feeling that spurs on to revolutionary politics. He taught us that imperialist-capitalists have an array of lethal weapons, weapons of mass destruction like atom bomb and hydrogen bomb, but our source of strength is Marxism-Leninism, higher knowledge, elevated consciousness, invincibility of truth. Armed with that, we shall overpower all canons, guns and bombs. Repeatedly he called upon us to know, cultivate and comprehend Marxism. Workers-Peasants and people from all sections of toiling masses must understand Marxism in true light. He always stressed upon unleashing a cult of the great characters. Repeatedly he asked to learn from Vidyasagar-Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Nazrul-Netaji Subhas-Kshudiram-Bhagat Singh and such other stalwarts. Particularly he emphasized on drawing lessons from the life of the representatives

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Red Salute Comrade Hem Chakraborty

Comrade Hem Chakraborty, Jharkhand State Secretary, Staff member and a veteran leader of the Party passed away on 27 August last morning following a cerebral attack. He was 94. His was a life of exemplary revolutionary courage, audacity, commitment and culture. Through his life struggle, beloved *Hem-da* has proved that for revolutionary there is no retirement; only death can put a stop. The life struggle Comrade Hem Chakraborty has bequeathed for us will act as a source of inspiration for us. Party's homage to the departed leader and a brief sketch of his revolutionary life will be published in the next issue of *Proletarian Era*.



Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Memorial Meeting on 5 August

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of uncompromising trend of our freedom struggle, assimilate the essence of their qualities. It is only after assimilation and exhaustion of their qualities, we can acquire yet higher proletarian values and culture. Because, the great men and revolutionaries in those days fought against feudalism and imperialism and at that time, nationalism was a higher ideology. But today our fight is against capitalism. So we need Marxism and proletarian culture. Within our Party, cultivation of the lives of the luminaries of yester years is viewed as a living struggle. By this, we try to learn from them and elevate ourselves. Those who see us from the outside praise us for our struggle, courteous modest behaviour, disciplined conduct. But what illumines the path for our work in this all-pervading darkness? It is Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, his revolutionary teachings. We never spread canard against any leader or worker of any other party. We try to fight with our ideology and logical approach. We always try to learn from others as well. These are all teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He said that when he started, he had the teaching of Vidyasagar before him—'You can very well do what others can.' Then he said, 'My

thinking was that what others think they cannot do, I shall do that for revolution'. He taught us: 'Do not say I am incapable to do so. Be determined to accomplish whatever is necessary for revolution'. More were the hurdles, more unflinching he became in his resolve. He wanted us to win over people by emotion, logic and human qualities. He always warned that in the long revolutionary life, there will be repeated failures and defeats. But that ought not to make us frustrated. If we move forward by drawing appropriate lessons from our failures, victory will definitely be achieved. He advised the boys and girls coming to the Party from middle-class families to get rid of middle-class vanity and mentality and go to the poor peasants, slum dwellers and workers with revolutionary politics.

These are some of the glimpses of his teachings. Our task is to go to the masses, be with them and organize all sections of toiling masses against injustice, bring them in the vortex of protest movements, imbue them with revolutionary ideology and release in them a cultivation of higher culture. Besides making them conscious about the demands of the movements, they must be taught revolutionary politics and make them understand clearly that capitalism is their main enemy, the imperativeness of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. And we must take to the people at large the cultivation of great characters and

SUCI(C) hails acceptance of almost all demands of Anna Hazare by government as victory of democratic movement

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 28 August, 2011:-

Centring round the indefinite hunger strike undertaken by the veteran Gandhite social activist Shri Anna Hazare, the country has witnessed tremendous outburst of people's wrath and anger against corruption which turned into a countrywide powerful democratic movement that ultimately forced the unwilling and anti-people Congress government at the Centre to concede to almost all the demands raised by Shri Hazare in connection with introduction of proposed Lokpal Bill in Parliament. This, no doubt, marks a significant victory for the democratic movement and also shows its immense potentiality in wresting demands. But it is to be emphatically understood that whatever legislation is passed, its due implementation can be ensured only if there is a constant pressure of organized, vigilant and sustained democratic movement without which this Act would also suffer the fate of many well-worded and right-intentioned previous enactments. In this connection, we once again draw attention of all the well-meaning people of this country to the vital truth that corruption cannot be fully eradicated without overthrowing this exploitative capitalist system, which is its breeding ground.

5th August in States

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the 24 Parganas District Secretariat and the latter acting as the President of the meeting, Comrade Pranab Chatterjee, member Burdwan District Committee and others. They paid floral tributes to the great departed leader. Comrade

Mohar Rout of Purulia district, an inmate suffering from cancer and debarred from joining the meeting on medical ground expressed his desire to wear GS badge on the day; other comrades responded accordingly. The meeting was also attended by other prisoners.

lofty human qualities. We must fight self-centredness, selfishness, greed, meanness, cowardice and all such vile mentalities. Our country needs today boys and girls like Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Preetilata, Surya Sen, Chandrasekhar Azad and Asfaqulla inspired by and instilled with the teachings of Shibdas Ghosh Thought. We need this as a movement. I call upon all our workers and supporters-sympathizers, wherever they may be, to take upon themselves the responsibility of saving the present days' children. They are being spoiled, made victim of rotten degenerated culture, sex-permissiveness by the media, TV and mobile telephony. Whole Europe and America are in the grip of this social menace. The situation has come to such a pass in USA that teenage boys and girls are being supplied contraceptives. Abortion clinics have been opened in the schools. Contagion is spreading in our country also. What will be the

fate of the family life, social life of these children? Our necessity is to reach out to this generation the life and struggle of the great renaissance personalities and freedom fighters of this country. That to some extent will help preserving some human essence and traits of morality in them.

To recollect the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, on his Memorial Day is not a ritual to us. By this, we try to awaken our conscience. We ask our conscience how far we have been able to fulfil the pledge we took on this day last year. Please bear in mind that this society is crumbling, civilization is facing ruination. So there is a cry for emancipation. Who can bring about the desired emancipation? It is only organized revolutionary movement based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought which can open the door of emancipation. It is incumbent on us to develop that movement. With these words, I conclude today.

Corrigendum

In *P.Era* dated 15.08.2011, please read lines 28-30 of 3rd column on p.15 as "if one does not become like Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one will come very near him". Error regretted.

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