

Proletarian Era

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Fascism and moral ethical crisis in left, democratic movement

....we have to understand thoroughly what fascism is. Since 1949 we have been repeatedly pointing out an important aspect of our party's analysis on fascism. There are some people who regard the severe repressive nature of administration, any dictatorship as fascism. It should be remembered that dictatorship may be military dictatorship; it may be foisted through a coup as well. Besides, there is torture and repression in every anti-people administrative system, and the imperialists perpetrate torture and repression in the colonial countries. But fascism is more devastating than that. Mere repression cannot do so much harm to a country. But fascism is an all-out counter-revolutionary upsurge. On the one hand, it destroys the process of rational thinking in people, makes them self-centred, makes knowledge, learning and education technology-oriented, that is, it engenders a group of technocrats in the country who have completely abandoned all sorts of human values, who have no sense of responsibility towards people and society, to whom employment and wage slavery are simply everything, and who are ready to do anything and everything in exchange of money – and in this direction they channelize the cultivation of science and learning. On the other hand, fascism fosters all sorts of spiritualism, age-old superstitions, irrational mindset and blindness. Fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism, obscurantism and irrational bent of mind with the technological aspects of science. When this happens in a country the reasoning faculty itself dies out in the country. So, speaking about the state of leftist movement I sounded a note of caution that the leftists who close the door of polemical discussions and resort to the practice of using

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Union Budget 2014

Blue print of all-out corporatization

For quite some time before placing of the union budget, a section of the bourgeois economists, analysts and columnists customarily begin a warming up exercise as to how the budget should be, what are the key issues it should address, how would it help spurring economic growth, how growth and correction of micro-economic indicators would be balanced, how inflation could be contained without disturbing growth, how fiscal consolidation could be bettered and so forth. This year was no exception. The focus of this year's warming exercise had been on stressing the imperativeness of giving incentives and concessions to the investors (read industrial houses, corporate barons and MNCs) for improving investment climate, desist from being 'populist' and honour, what is called, market sentiment (read response of the speculative capital market).

The advice to the government was that some 'bold hard decisions' ought to be taken to bring the economy slipping down a chute back on the rails and abandon 'populist gestures'. These 'bold decisions' mean putting more burden on the strangled countrymen by withdrawing subsidies in fuel, fertilizer and food, raising prices of fuel including LPG and kerosene and so forth. On the other hand, 'populist gestures', according to these "prudent" advisers, mean giving some relief to the gasping people which ought to be avoided in the interest of economic recovery. As if economic revival is contingent upon squeezing the last drop of blood out of the half-dead

downtrodden and banishing the pro-people measures. This is how the subterfuge of 'economics' is used to hide death blows to people. So, an impression is created that this annual budget is a complicated economic exercise and common people have no access to it. Discussion on economics or commenting on budget is an exclusive preserve of a bunch of high-profile industrialists, corporate bigwigs, and some 'scholars' perching atop the towers of policy making bodies or those basking in the glory of self-attributed title of economists. None of the burning demands, wishes and aspirations of the people at large has propriety to feature in the budgetary discussions,

comments or evaluations. If one had an opportunity to go through the mainstream newspapers or tune to the electronic media in the post-budget period, one ought to have experienced corroboration of this fact.

But, we want to approach the budget from the common man's perspective. Our concern is the 90% of the populace, the poor have-nots, the working millions, the pauperized peasants, the struggling middle and lower middle class, the slum dwellers who are toiling day in and day out for merely eking out a living, who are pressed under the grinding wheel of a fierce capitalist oppression, who are victims of a large scale fiscal savagery and economic onslaught. Let us see how the budget has been and whether it has addressed the basic issues of food-shelter-cloth-employment of the people.

Preamble of the Finance Minister

The Finance Minister (FM) has, of course, started with some coaxing sentences like "those living below the poverty line are anxious to

free themselves from the curse of poverty", "the country is in no mood to suffer unemployment, inadequate basic amenities, lack of infrastructure and apathetic governance" and "it is the poor who suffer the most. We have to ensure that our anti-poverty programs are well targeted." These opening remarks obviously cater to the need of hiding the hideous underbelly of the budget. So, immediately thereafter, he raises a question whether he should be "victim of mere populism or wasteful expenditure". So, he carefully drifts away from 'populism' and straightaway goes for presenting a 'pro-business' budget. The FM has admitted that his government is pro-business and claimed that "there is no contradiction in being pro-business and being pro-poor. In fact, if you stop business activity, then you would not have enough resources to service the poor." The contention of the government is unless it goes in for greater privatization and opens up the economy to foreign investors in more sectors it will not be able to get

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Budget 2014**Budget did not address basic issues of food-shelter-clothing-employment***Contd. from page 1*

out of the economic gridlock. Such an utterance smacks of the most hated "trickledown theory" which stipulates that if the businessmen or capitalists prosper, some part of their wealth will filter down like dripping burnt oil of an oil lamp to the poor. In other words, the poor and oppressed will have to live on the crumbs and leavings of the rich. What an incredible prescription! If one carefully goes through the budget propositions of the BJP government, this prescription will be vividly manifest proving thereby that the budget is for the handful of rich and affluent, the propertied class, the capitalists and their privileged servitors. The toiling masses, the deprived and deceived are only on the receiving end.

Thrust areas in the budget

The FM has informed that the last two years have been of low GDP growth, an almost static industrial growth, a moderate increase in indirect taxes, a large subsidy burden and not so encouraging tax buoyancy (measured as the percentage increase in revenue for every percentage point increase in GDP). And as remedy, he has prescribed that the economy be corporatized with liberal entry of domestic and foreign capital in almost all the key areas, plethora of cuts in sales tax and customs duty to the manufacturers and "revival" of Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Privatization spree has been to so large an extent that the FM himself has stated that "India has emerged as the largest PPP (Private Public Partnership) market in the world." PPP, as is known to all, is a euphemism for back door privatization. What have been his main pronouncements? We enumerate them below:—

- i) FDI in Defence and Insurance raised to 49%
- ii) FDI is also permitted in construction business at relatively easy terms
- iii) Augmenting defence budget to as high as Rs 2,29,000 crores (\$ 38.24 billion)
- iv) Developing 'one hundred Smart Cities' as satellite towns of larger cities
- v) Disinvestment of PSUs and nationalized banks
- vi) Revival of the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and make them effective instruments of industrial

production, economic growth, export promotion

- vii) Constitution of an Expenditure Management Commission to institutionalize the recasting of expenditure priorities and overhauling the subsidy regime, including food and petroleum subsidies, and make it more targeted
- viii) Setting up of a National Adaptation Fund for climate changes and boosting innovative methods of water conservation, use of hybrid seeds, building check dams, ponds, water tanks so as to mitigate risk of farming in a bad monsoon
- ix) Creation of a Rs 500 crore Fund to mitigate hardship due to price volatility and uncertainties in the agriculture produces market
- x) Large scale slashing of excise and customs duty
- xi) Marginal increase in the slabs of income tax exemption for individuals

There is not a single word about containing sky rocketing of prices, tackling mounting unemployment problem through job creation, concrete steps for alleviation of rising poverty, reaching out minimal healthcare and education to common people. These are not budget issues of the BJP Finance Minister like his Congress predecessors. Let us now proceed to analyze the implications of the major budget pronouncements.

FDI in Defence

The government circle argues that unless the FDI norms are upwardly revised, large foreign suppliers of defence equipment would not be interested in putting up supply bases in India. They also contend that higher FDI limit would, besides wooing foreign vendors to offer their latest state-of-the-art technologies for manufacturing military hardware in the country, encourage domestic production of many of the defence items that India imports, helping the country save precious forex reserves and receive additional foreign money.

The Indian ruling class in its aggregate interest is now not averse to allow not only domestic but even foreign monopoly capital to enter the defence sector in a big way. Giant Indian monopoly houses like the Tatas, L&T, Mahindra & Mahindra, etc. are keen on foreign tie-ups in defence so that they

could increase their competitiveness and emerge as formidable sellers in the international arms market. Common feature of all capitalist-imperialist countries today has been militarization of economy. Stricken with acute insoluble market crisis, the ruling bourgeoisie is dovetailing the whole economy with military economy. To create an artificial stimulation of demand, the government itself is trying to turn up as the buyers. But, what would it order? So, it is ordering armaments with the money from the government budget funded by people's money. So, there is a thrust on producing military hardware, increasing military strength and sophistication of defence industries. This is militarization of economy. The fact is that India is a lucrative destination of the international arms manufacturers because it is tipped to become the world's third-largest defence spender after the US and China by next year, and equipment spending is reckoned to be \$80-100 billion in the next 5 years. Obviously, global arms manufacturing firms are showing keen interest in entering the Indian defence sector. A few months back, the US deputy defence secretary Ashton Carter also observed that if India increases FDI ceiling, it would commercially incentivize global firms more to invest. What is immensely scary is that once the war monger US imperialists and other imperialist superpowers make decisive inroad in the country's defence, it would pose serious threat to our security. Once the defence sector is opened to giant MNCs of US and other imperialist powers, all military secrets, array of arsenal and other sensitive informations would be at their disposal. Foreign-acquired domestic firms could be used for surveillance, infiltration and sabotage against the Indian government. In the process, the country's security would be at stake. Vendors of 'reforms' contend that FDI would bring in sophisticated technology. As if such sophisticated military hardware cannot be bought through normal channel. Secondly, how prudent is it to compromise the question of national security just for procuring state-of-the-art arms? Besides putting the country in grave security risk, increased FDI in defence would widen the scope for rampant corruption, bribery and kickbacks in arms deals, which, of late, have

menacingly increased with glaring involvement of top military officials, ministers and bureaucrats, supposed to be the defenders and governors of the country. Even whatever little employment avenue exists in government-run ordnance factories would be substantially reduced as production units with augmented foreign stake would be extremely capital-intensive and driven by sophisticated technology requiring very little manpower. Opening up the country's defence to US imperialists via FDI route is also connected with that political need of the ruling Indian monopolists. The ruling Indian monopolists in order to fulfil their aspiration to emerge as an Asian superpower, is desperate to develop closeness with US imperialists in particular, by either entering into economic accords and nuclear treaties or offering them surfeit of concessions and concurring, overtly or covertly, with many of their sinister moves and machinations. Luring giant US arms manufacturers to the Indian defence sector is a move in that direction as well.

FDI in insurance

Next is allowing 49% FDI in insurance. It is estimated that Insurance FDI will fetch over \$20 billion. Well known is the fact that since Indian insurers were vulnerable in the hands of private operators, facing harassment, hassles and even cheating, the Government of India formed LIC by nationalizing all private insurance companies in 1956. But, a reversal of policy was apparent when, under the garb of 'reforming and professionalizing insurance', the road was cleared for entry of not only new private insurance companies but of foreign capital as well in insurance. Following that, a number of private insurance companies, both in life and non-life segments started operations in India since 1999. The FM has said that insurance industry is starved of resources and so is opened the route of FDI. This is a blatant lie. Both LIC and GICI still command majority marketshare of insurance business and have sound financial position. Even if there was any need of additional capital infusion, how is it that the foreign private capital and not the government have to step in? The 'reforms' merchants further argue that FDI would bring in its wake better insurance

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Budget 2014

Privatization spree and opening up to FDIs — two thrust areas of budget

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products, lower premium, give higher return and provide prompt efficient service to the policy holders. But, based on what has been the experience with the foreign players who have entered the insurance sector during the last two decades, there is every reason to believe that once global companies increase their stake in LIC and GICI through FDI window, they would hike premium to make more profits, come up with complex products that the common man will not understand and thereby suffer loss. In the foreign countries, premiums charged under the voluntary Health Insurance scheme (VHIS) have, of late, risen sharply cutting deep into household health budgets. As regards improved service, it is learnt that the percentage of claims repudiated by the private sector at 8.9 per cent is much higher than the percentage for the public sector at 1 per cent. This obviously raises doubt on the reliability of private companies in the matter of settlement of claims. Next is return. The LIC and GICI, in order to ensure protection of invested premium money of the insurers, invest their corpus in, relatively speaking, less risky investments. But the private insurers opt for much risky investment in fluctuating and uncertain capital market to lure policy holders with promise of better returns on maturity exposing the latter to the risk of even losing invested money. Moreover, with outbreak of global economic crisis of capitalism, a number of insurance companies in the western world like AIG, the US behemoth, went bankrupt and had to be bailed out by the governments from public exchequer. The Indian rulers and their government are now bent upon doling out the same fate to the Indian insurers haranguing counterfeit logic of boosting FDI inflow to nourish ailing economy.

100 Smart Cities and FDI in construction business

The government, in order to boost realty business has decided to construct 100 smart cities for which there is an allocation of Rs 7,600 crores. It means Rs 80 crore has been allocated per city. Obviously these cities will suffer from resource crunch and scout for private investment which the government clearly intends. To facilitate easy flow of private capital to realty business, the

government has announced formation of Real Estate Investment and Infrastructure Investment Trusts (REITs) which will be "pass through vehicles". Routing capital through REITs will enable the investors to enjoy capital gains tax exemption and tax free dividend. Moreover, the government believes that the smart cities will be habitation for neo-middle class and so that there should not be any paucity of funds for creation of these cities, the government has also opened up FDI route even to construction. And to have easy flow of foreign capital, the budget has lowered the requirement of the built up area and capital conditions for FDI. Minimum built up area requirement is now slashed from 50,000 square metres to 20,000 square meters and capital conditions from \$ 10 million to \$5 million respectively. The whole objective is to encourage private capital including FDI to invest in realty business and avoid paying tax.

Disinvestment of PSUs and nationalized banks

The government finds one of the easy means to finance yawning budget deficit through sale of *family jewels* like the PSUs (Public Sector Units). These PSUs were once created out of public finance as labour-intensive industries in core sectors. Now the government, in the name of raising resources, is handing over those PSUs to private capital through disinvestment route. In this budget, the government estimates to raise around Rs 63,000 crores through sale of PSU shares and sale of government's stake in non-PSUs. The government also says that the nationalized banks as per Basel III norms would need recapitalization (infusion of capital afresh) to the tune of Rs 2.4 lakh crore by 2018. The budget provides Rs 11, 200 crores. The remaining requirement will be met by selling shares in the market. Once the private banks were nationalized stating that they would function better under the aegis of the government. Now, the same banks are de-nationalized on the plea of meeting fresh capitalization requirement. Why do the banks need that? Because, the quantum of non-performing assets or bad loans is climbing. The figure has already crossed Rs 2 lakh crores. Nationalized banks are reported to have written off over Rs 1 lakh crore of bad loans to

corporates. It means that big corporates and industrial houses are taking huge loan from the banks but not repaying them. Thus public money is embezzled. And to make up the loss, the government is selling the bank shares to private operators and eventually denationalizing them.

Revival of Special Economic Zones

The Finance Minister has talked of reviving the Special Economic Zones (SEZs). In fact, SEZs as exclusive enclaves of business where the investors get a slew of concessions, waivers, exemptions and facilities to conduct business are already in operation in the country. The FM has used the word 'revival' to denote that effective steps would be undertaken to revive the investors' interest to develop better infrastructure and effectively and efficiently use the available unutilized land and operationalize the SEZs as those effective instruments of industrial production, economic growth, export promotion and employment generation. In other words, the government is now going to give more emphasis on opening more SEZs and allure the capitalists, both domestic and foreign, to give thrust to realty, IT and a few other export-oriented businesses without incurring virtually any extra cost. The motive is further cleared when it is learnt that the Commerce Ministry is already insisting on having a unique labour law in the SEZs and exempt the SEZs and the units in these zones from the country's labour laws. Already, the prevailing practice is to go for contract labour at below average wage and stringent working conditions including lengthy hours and unhygienic ambience. Over and above, all rights of the workers will be curtailed. In other words, these SEZs will be centres for most diabolic exploitation of labour with the terms of engagement running afoul of all established norms of employment including applicability of trade union rules and thus preventing the workers from voicing protest by statute. Even the talk of employment generation is a hoax as most of the realtors want to set up IT and IT-enabled services in their SEZs. Even the multi-product SEZs would comprise capital-intensive industries like pharmaceuticals etc. where employment opportunity is

extremely limited, and that too for the skilled sophisticated hands only. Most of the IT firms are engaged in BPO (Business Process Outsourcing) business which is solely dependent on the orders from the rich imperialist countries. These large BPO clients like giant monopoly houses and MNCs outsource jobs to locations offering them cheapest labour and raw material at a particular point of time. If tomorrow any other country is found to be cheaper than India in handling this technology-driven operation, overnight the BPO jobs in their entirety will migrate out of India turning the currently sprawling hubs into deserts. Setting up SEZs is a heinous conspiracy on the part of crisis-ridden decaying capitalism to prolong its moribund class rule by fleecing and enslaving the workers. Under the slogan of so-called economic development, it is a planned move to promote realty and a few capital-intensive technology-driven sophisticated industries to enable monopolists and MNCs to mint super profit by squeezing the workers and rendering millions of poor peasants displaced from land to be doomed to a most uncertain future.

Constitution of Expenditure Management Commission

The very decision to set up an Expenditure Management Commission in the name of institutionalizing the recasting of expenditure priorities, is an extremely cunning move to operationalize subsidy cut and prune other welfare expenditures outside the budget and bypassing Parliament just on the lines of the much condemned Railway Tariff Authority vested with the power of revising the fares and surcharges of its own. We have seen that just on the eve of the Railway budget, the BJP government exorbitantly hiked passenger fares and freight charges through an administrative fiat because following the constitution of the Tariff Authority, it feels no obligation to make such proposals part of the railway budget or seek approval of Parliament. The proposed Expenditure Management Commission will also be used like that to slash food, fuel, fertilizer subsidies and such other expenditures branding them as unwieldy. Incidentally, an apologist of prevailing oppressive capitalist economy has quoted a Chinese

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Budget 2014**Opening up key sectors like Defence, Insurance, Construction to FDI is unquestionably inimical to people's interest***Contd. from page 3*

proverb which says: Give a man fish and you feed him for a day; teach him fishing and you feed him for a lifetime. He then comments that excessive subsidies and entitlement spending are the fish to eat while raising productive spending is like teaching a man to fish. He has rightly reflected the viewpoint of the government which is keen to slash subsidies while offering a bagful of concessions in the name of fiscal stimulation to the industrial houses and corporate sector.

National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme which was created earlier for ensuring 100 days wage employment to every rural household has been subject to widespread misuse and corruption. There is no move to plug the loopholes and see that at least that minimum of wages does flow to the rural poor. On the contrary, the government now says that wage employment provided under the scheme would be through works that are more productive, asset creating and substantially linked to agriculture and allied activities. In other words, wage will be linked to productivity which means there would be scope for further manipulation of the records of job giving, denial of due wage on the pretext of low productivity and so forth. And notwithstanding the fact that only a small part of the rural poor has so far been covered under the scheme, the allocation has been only marginally increased from Rs 33000 to 34 000 crores.

Agriculture and National Adaptation Fund

As regards agriculture, this budget like all other previous budgets is only interested in emphasizing how credit flow to the farmers is being facilitated. The FM has ended his responsibility by saying that "to make farming competitive and profitable, there is an urgent need to step up investment, both public and private, in agro-technology development and creation and modernization of existing agri-business infrastructure." He further added that "As a very large number of landless farmers are unable to provide land title as guarantee, institutional finance is denied to them and they become vulnerable to

money lenders' usurious lending. I propose to provide finance to 5 lakh joint farming groups of 'Bhoomi Heen Kisan' through NABARD". There is no concern for guaranteeing remunerative price to the peasants, no move to provide seed, fertilizer and other agricultural inputs at lower cost. Because of non-availability of all these coupled with the dominance of the middlemen, the peasants are becoming debt-strapped so much as to commit suicides in lakhs. Yet, the government is only concerned in credit flow to agriculture and how laws like APMC act could be amended to place the peasants at complete mercy of the private agencies in so far as procurement of produce is concerned. The FM has announced a Rs. 500 crore Price Stabilization Fund "to mitigate hardship faced by the peasants due to price volatility in the agriculture produce". But there is no directive as to how this fund would be used and by whom. Incidentally, though officially there is no announcement of immediate reduction in fertilizer subsidy, urea, the prime raw material for fertilizer is to cost more as fuel subsidy has been allowed to decline progressively. Another budget declaration is the formation of a National Adaptation Fund for climate changes. This fund of Rs 1000 crore is stated to be used for identifying innovative methods of water conservation, use of hybrid seeds, building check dams, ponds, water tanks and thereby mitigate the risk of farming in a bad monsoon. It is indeed ludicrous that when the Indian government is taking pride in iconoclastic advancement in sophisticated space technology and military hardware, there is talk of providing basic need of water conservation for irrigation. It shows that while boasting of technological advancement, the government has left the peasants at the mercy of nature for irrigation water. That is the reason that the economists-columnists of the establishment have made "monsoon prediction" a key determinant of economy. If monsoon is good, economy improves. If not, it slides down.

Income tax, corporate tax and duties

The FM boastfully announced marginal upward revision of income tax exemption limits for individual tax payers. There is no change in corporate tax rates. Whatever little relief is available to the tax payers is welcome. But not even 3% of

the total population are tax payers. So, the effect is negligible. The government admits that a large part of fiscal stress today is not so much due to high government expenditure as due to fall in tax revenue. Revenue foregone due to various tax concessions last year is reported to be as high as Rs 5.73 lakh crores. This is mostly due to the huge exemptions granted to the industrial houses as fiscal stimulation and enormous tax defaults by unscrupulous rich and corporates. It is understood that corporate bodies have paid tax effectively at 22.44 % as against 32.445 %. Some of the biggest companies have been pegging tax at rates even lower than the average. Companies with over Rs 500 crore PBT (Profit Before Tax) numbered 272 and they got an effective tax rate of 20.97% as against stipulated 33%. Moreover, tax demand of more than Rs. 4 lakh crore is under dispute and litigation. These are some of the reasons the government exchequer is starved of due revenue accretion.

On the other hand, the government has announced substantial cuts in excise and sales taxes claiming that prices of many items would thereby come down. This is another hoax. The duty reductions would help the manufacturers to lower cost of production but the benefits would never be passed on to the end-consumers. For example, basic customs duty on soap raw materials like fatty acid and crude palm stearin have been slashed from 7.5 % to zero, that on glycerin from 12.5 % to zero. But, would it bring down the prices of soaps? Experience says, no. On the other hand, no sooner did the budget indicate levying an additional duty of excise at 5 per cent on aerated waters containing added sugar, it is announced that price of Coca Cola like drinks will increase by around 10%. Indirect taxes in this budget are estimated to yield Rs. 7,525 crore. This entire burden will be borne by the end-consumers. That is the rule of capitalism.

Inflation and black money

When the common people are reeling under harrowing price rise and inflation spiral, the BJP government has as a part of the "hard decisions" already paved the way for further aggravation by announcing hefty increase in railway freight and persisting with regular increase in fuel price which have

cascading effect on general price line. We have already mentioned above the mockery of Price Stabilization Fund. The budget has not cared to address the price issue by at least fixing prices of essential commodities and ensuring availability of such items at fair price through rationing system. Because, giving even an iota of relief to the people is not on its agenda. Everyone knows that black marketing, hoarding, price manipulation and rampant speculation on foodgrains are causing prices to soar. The FM did not speak a single word about taking concrete and effective steps to contain hoarding or black marketing. Even there is no move to stop stock market speculation like forward trading, option trading, etc. on foodgrains. The only thing the government declared before the budget was that the responsibility of handling hoarding and blackmarketing lies with the state governments.

Next is about black money. Everyone knows that one of the main reasons of sky-rocketing inflation is circulation of huge black money. The BJP in its election manifesto stated that it "is committed to initiate the process of tracking down and bringing back black money stashed in foreign banks and offshore accounts" and promised to "minimize the scope of corruption to ensure minimization of the generation of black money." The FM in his budget speech commented that "We also must address fully the problem of black money which is curse of our economy". It sounds so mellifluous but is there any action plan to arrest generation of black money or unearth unaccounted money? The budget is mum on it. On the contrary, the government has reintroduced Kisan Vikas Patra (KVP) which is a very convenient means to perk unaccounted money and carry out illegal transactions. A few days before the budget, the BJP government made a great clamour about recovering Rs 10,000 crore odd black money lying in Swiss banks. Needless to say that the sum is just a drop in the ocean. If the Modi government is sincere about repatriating black money stashed in Swiss banks, his government could have promulgated an ordinance to confiscate black money held by Indian citizens in tax havens abroad and bring the money back into India's financial system. Such an ordinance would be in consonance

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Budget 2014**Budget will only aggravate misery and penury of people***Contd. from page 4*

with the Swiss Federal Act on the Restitution of Illicit Assets Act of 1 October 2010. It could ban Participatory Notes (PN) system as more often than not black money generated in the country is sent out by *hawala* operators and re-routed by PN targeting the Indian stock markets for their "pump and dump" moves. Another source of black money generation that needs to be plugged is the Indo-Mauritius Double Taxation Avoidance Treaty. But, the BJP government like its predecessor Congress government is not interested in either of these concrete measures. It only believes in lip service. In an earlier write-up we had shown that as high as Rs 72 lakh crore (\$1.4 trillion of black money), as per Swiss Bank authorities, are lying in the personal accounts maintained by Indian industrialists, politicians and bureaucrats. Calculation shows that if this huge amount of black money could be brought back to India the entire foreign debt of the country can be repaid in 24 hours. Even after clearing foreign debt, there will be a surplus 12 times larger than the foreign debt which, if invested, would earn an interest more than the annual budget of the central government. So even if all the taxes are abolished, then also the central government will be able to maintain the country very comfortably. With this amount a few tens of crore of poor people of the country can get Rs 1,00,000 each. It is widely felt that only small fractions of this money can help solve the problems of water treatment, sanitation, waste management, renewable energy, health, education, urban infrastructure and allied fields in the country,

can give effect to Universalization of Public Distribution System (PDS) and bring all Indians out of the hunger trap, can fund higher education, scientific and social research institutes and exclusive scientific projects, all taken together and all at one and the same time. But the BJP government subserving bourgeois class interest has no intention to either arrest generation or unearthing of black money which is a part and parcel of decadent moribund capitalist economy.

Education and healthcare

Absence of rudimentary healthcare is pushing thousands to death every year. Similarly, majority of the Indian people have no access to real education. This budget has completely ignored these two sectors. There is no mention of any governmental initiative towards proliferation of mass healthcare system. Setting up a few more AIIMS in different cities would not touch even the fringe of the problem. But the government is unfazed. Likewise, there is no word about bringing the vast masses under the purview of government initiative towards providing proper education. Education has been virtually left to the private operators to be run on pure commercial basis. The budget talks of establishing five more IITs and five IIMs (where course fees run into several lakhs) for which the sum earmarked is Rs 500 crore. But the cost of setting up IITs is estimated to be 1750 crores while that for IIMs nearly 1000 crores. Is it that the private operators would step in here also?

Budget figures

At the end, we have a look at

the budget figures. Total budget expenditure estimates thus stands at Rs. 17, 94,892 crore. To finance this expenditure, it is estimated that gross tax receipts will be Rs. 13, 64,524 crore, non-tax Revenues will be Rs.2, 12,505 crore and capital receipts other than borrowings will be Rs. 73,952 crore. Fiscal deficit will be 4.1% of GDP and Revenue deficit will be 2.9 per cent of GDP. How will the deficit be financed? The government would rely on non-tax receipts as the ability to push up tax revenue is limited. The government plans to go for market borrowing to the tune of Rs 5.3 lakh crores. Already, around Rs 44 of Rs 100 flowing into union government tax coffers goes towards paying interest on past debt. More borrowing will raise this debt servicing burden further. It is stated that the government would also get Reserve Bank of India to contribute a large surplus to the government. The government does not declare the quantum of additional currency note printing to bridge budgetary gap. But that route is also adopted though it pushes up inflation further.

A budget of the corporate houses

Thus there ought not to be any ambiguity about the very objective of this budget. While the toiling people grinded under the yoke of savage capitalist exploitation are desperately seeking some relief, the government instead of addressing the burning issues of life has upheld the interest of the exploiting capitalist class and its servitors. All fiscal measures, policy directives and presentation of the state of economy have been from the point of view of the

industrial houses and large corporates. It is true that so long as the capitalist economy persists, there can be no end to the suffering and impoverishment of the people. But if a government has rudiments of concern for granting some succour to the people, it can always do that even within the system. Some such steps like arresting soaring price line through appropriate administrative steps, sparing people from shouldering the burden of indirect taxation by suitable preventive measures, ensuring availability of the essential food and other items at affordable price from a pilferage-free strictly controlled Public Distribution System, providing the peasants with cheap fertilizer, seeds, power and irrigation facilities as well guaranteeing remunerative prices for the produce through proper marketing system, and setting up labour-intensive industries in the public sector. In fine, the government should play the determinant role in this regard. But, the whole thrust on the part of the government is on enlarging the role of private capital and penetration of private operators even in key government sectors. The objective is to free the government of all its responsibilities and thus, so to say, corporatize the country's economy on a larger scale. On the one hand the very capitalist system will create poor and on the other the caretakers of the system will take credit for throwing them some mere crumbs as if this is only what the toiling people deserve and must remain satisfied with. There is, therefore, nothing to expect from this budget except aggravation of the penury and misery of the people.

Movement against fee hike achieves significant victory in Sikkim

This year during the admission of 1st year BA/BSc, a six time hike of admission fees was announced in the government colleges of Sikkim. Immediately after the announcement, in the Tadong Government College, Gangtok, since 15 July, the students started a spontaneous movement against this exorbitant fee hike, in the form of dharna and demonstration in front of the college office. Police of the Sikkim Democratic Front-led state government unleashed a brutal lathicharge, teargas shelling and firing of rubber bullets on the students. The movement continued braving all the onslaughts and students of the neighbouring institutions and common people got

involved in the movement. Road blockade, strike etc. were spontaneously organised by people in support of this movement which continued through 16 to 18 July. Along with the demand of withdrawal of fee hike, the movement continued raising demand of removal and exemplary punishment of the SP and other police officers responsible for the brutal onslaught on students. Under the mounting pressure of movement on 22 July, the Sikkim Government announced that education in the government institutions of Sikkim, starting from school upto the college level would be totally tuition-fee free. AIDSO unequivocally greets this glorious victory of the valiant

struggle of the students as well as the people of Sikkim. The AIDSO feels, it will inspire the movement against fee hike and privatization of commercialization of education in other parts of the country too. Units of AIDSO have observed All India Protest Day on this issue on 18 July.

At the same time the AIDSO observes with deep concern that arrest of the students and common people involved in movement and attempts of state government to spread terror and confusion among the people are continuing in full swing and the second demand is still unfulfilled. Furthermore the fee hike was a part of the broader anti-people design of privatization and commercialization of education

promulgated by the Central government and pursued by different state governments. The AIDSO since long has been fighting against this menace across the length and breadth of the country. AIDSO has demanded immediate unconditional release of all the arrested in this movement in Sikkim. It has also urged upon the students and people of Sikkim to maintain their unity, solid as rock, and continue the movement until the guilty police officers are meted out exemplary punishment, and furthermore, the policy of privatization and commercialization of education is withdrawn and universal secular, scientific and democratic education is ensured for all students.

Other than revolution, Comrade Yakub Pailan did not have anything else to think of — Comrade Ranjit Dhar

[The Memorial Meeting of Comrade Yakub Pailan, deceased Central Committee Member of the Party, convened by the Central Committee of the Party and held on 7 July at Sarat Sadan, Howrah was presided over by Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Polit Bureau Member of the Party and was addressed by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Polit Bureau Member. Here we publish the speeches rendered by Comrade Ranjit Dhar and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty.]

You have already heard from Comrade Provash Ghosh and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty on the different qualities of character of Comrade Yakub Pailan and different sides of his life struggle. I do not have much more to add. Only one thing I should say. When Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded this Party, he did it with the intention that he would initiate a cult of building characters of newer mettle, of creating man worth the name based on newer values. It is necessary to learn about revolutionary politics, it's theory, the analysis of society and the history of its progress — everything meticulously, scientifically and historically. But only he can comprehend the correct historical and scientific path and can tread successfully that path, who has risen to the height of a great human being, who has attained higher values and revolutionary character. During his lifetime, the characters Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did rear people into, on the edifice of newer values and on the strength of new ideology, through his association, his company and his leadership, among those characters Comrade Yakub Pailan was surely one of them, without any shred of doubt.

Just think over it. When imbued with the ideology of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Pailan had stepped out for taking up revolutionary activities, he was just around 18-19 or 20. Never more than that. Hailing from a very poor family, he could not secure two square meals a day. He could not receive formal education due to extreme poverty. But neither poverty nor his deprivation could rob him of his sense of humanity. When he came in touch with this Party and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, I feel, Comrade Pailan already had the base of developing as a lofty character. And that was of this sort: Here was a youth from a very poor family, hardly educated rather not at all, yet having a deeply compassionate and profoundly loving mind for mankind, more so for the poor. Later those qualities flourished further, emboldened with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, were enriched with the knowledge he acquired in course of

struggle. Questions, that were natural for anybody, were :Where lay the source of woes of people? How and in what ways were the woes to be redressed? Comrade Pailan learned the scientific way to find out the answers from the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

In those days a massive movement of poor peasants known as the *te-bhaga* movement developed over a vast area of South 24 Parganas district. As the movement was on, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh used to hold series of meetings, take political classes in



Comrade Ranjit Dhar

even the remotest areas of the district. Later when I had the occasion of carrying out Party work in South 24 Parganas, I noted a remarkable thing; even an illiterate farmer could grasp the basics of Marxism and could also discuss that, may be in their own way. This realization they had acquired from the discourses of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The classes Comrade Ghosh had taken, the speeches he had delivered, the various discussions he had carried out during the period of the movement, created an ambience in this part of South 24 Parganas. Peasants were mobilized on the basis of class struggle, centring round this *te-bhaga* movement. There were extreme oppression from the Congress and the police; unnumbered cases had been lodged against each participant of the movement. Despite so many, baton charges by police, oppression of the jotedars and vicious attack from their private musclemen, the movement had gained strength and spread out. Comrade Yakub Pailan played a remarkable role in this movement— in organizing it, in building Party organization. Certainly Comrade Sachin Banerjee and Comrade Subodh Banerjee were in the leadership of these movements

in South 24 Parganas. Also Comrade Pritish Chanda and Comrade Tapas Dutta visited those places. All of them had held meetings and taken classes based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings. That is true. But it is also true that Comrade Pailan had organized these movements at the grass root level by staying on the soil. It was he who had lived with the peasants and built their organization. Even at that very tender age he had attained such organizational ability. That was never easy by any count.

Secondly I would say that Comrade Pailan, had realized the theoretical aspects of Marxism-Leninism with his life. Not in words only, rather wholeheartedly, from the very core of his heart, so much so that the lessons he had learnt came out in all manifestations in his character. The first general election of India was held in 1952. Our Party was born in 1948 only, just four years back. The Party then had nothing. People of the country knew neither its leaders nor even the name of the Party. In that election, undivided C P I, Forward Bloc, K M P or P S P, I don't recall exactly, five such parties formed an alliance as an alternative to the Congress. We were not included in that alliance. We were going to fight that election alone within four years of foundation of our Party. Comrade Subodh Banerjee had not yet become an MLA. The bigger parties forming alliance against the Congress were in the limelight, posed as the alternative before people. The Press also highlighted that. From such a position, in such a situation— you can well imagine— how difficult a task it was for a Party like ours to win the election single-handed and make Comrade Subodh Banerjee victorious. What mighty organizational ability it signified! It is true that organizational plans of Comrade Sachin Banerjee played the vital role. But it was Comrade Pailan, who kept up with the soil, developed organization and led from the front. What an impetus, what an immense strength the victory of Comrade Subodh Banerjee in the election of 1952 provided for the Party! Such was the kind of organizational ability demonstrated by Comrade Pailan. On the one hand, he organized the peasants and developed their movement; on the other hand, based on that movement, he built up such an organization that helped the Party

make Comrade Subodh Banerjee win in the 1952 election. This victory played an important role in familiarizing our Party to the masses. And there lay the organizational capability of Comrade Pailan. Yet, he was very simple, unassuming and ordinary-looking individual. No one could make out from the outside that he was a leader. When he met people, carried Party thoughts to them and even when he spoke in a meeting — he would not appear to be a leader. At that time, there was no strong organizational base, no proper transport facilities. Jotedars and police were mounting relentless attack. In such a condition, to make the movement victorious was no easy a task. But he accomplished this task successfully covering a vast area of the district.

While leading this movement, Comrade Pailan had to withstand many a blow, both physical and mental. The organizers who in course of conducting movement emerged as strong pillars of the Party, elevated themselves to the stature of mass leaders, whom the people trusted while participating in the movements, such leading organizers were murdered by the CPI (M). Comrade Pailan had virtually been stripped of his right and left hands. It is true that such murderous assaults also took place during the Congress regime. But certainly it was much more rampant during the CPI (M) regime. Comrade Pailan had to bear this pain, but never succumbed to it. He stood resolute and calm. It was because he had assimilated the essence of revolution on the basis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings in such a way that he could have shocks of his life, but never wavered on his path. His every single vein, every artery, his every single drop of blood had carried revolution, Party and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Apart from the Party and the revolution he had nothing else in his life. Such characters are very rare.

No doubt, Comrade Pailan's demise is a great loss for the Party organization. But if we want to understand him, his life, character and struggle, we should comprehend the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Ghosh would say that to a revolutionary, even grief has significance. Death of Comrade Pailan has caused deep sorrow in us. If we correctly understand the

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“At this hour of grief, we have to take a firm resolve that we shall fulfill the task bequeathed to us by the departed comrades and build up the Party” — Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

(Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech at the memorial meeting of Comrade Yakub Pailan on 7 July)

President, Comrade Provash Ghosh and other members of the Central Committee

Dear comrades,

All of you understand that it's a very painful occasion and to speak on such occasions one cannot but feel difficulty. Only a few days back, just after we had lost Comrade Yakub Pailan, we lost another comrade, Comrade Jalaluddin who also was one of them who had built up the Party in Kerala. Some other comrades have passed away very recently. Comrade Bimal Nandi, another leader of the Party in Assam passed away recently. So many other deaths of our comrades have occurred in Bengal. Death has occurred to Comrade Narayanswamy of Tamilnadu. Amongst the comrades we have lost recently was Comrade Yakub Pailan, a leading comrade who from an ordinary Party worker being literally illiterate acquired such qualities and knowledge that he was elected to the Central Committee of a revolutionary party like ours. His whole life was full of struggles, glorious struggles. In the district of South 24 Parganas of West Bengal, Comrade Pailan had developed many militant class struggles. So many struggles take place. Mass movements are also part of class struggle no doubt, but one of the concrete forms of class struggle is that of the poor peasants, agricultural labourers struggling against the zaminders, the land owners. These zaminders are not those old feudal lords but are those whom we call jotedars in Bengal. Comrade Pailan was not young, so his has not been a premature death. But still it is a very big loss, particularly when the situation is very dark not only in our country but throughout the whole world. Reactionary forces are sweeping. In the last election what has happened you know. At the centre, the BJP, a most reactionary force has been saddled in power whereas different parties like ADMK, TDP, TRS, BJD, TMC are in power in different states. These are all reactionary forces. So it's a reactionary sweep across the country. At that very time we are losing such revolutionaries. That is really painful and really a big loss for the progressive movement. It's not only a loss for our Party itself. Our Party's struggle is the struggle for progress. With the building up of our Party, true

revolutionary movement commenced in the country. The history of our Party is the history of the development of the revolutionary movement, that is, communist movement in our country. Before that, we all know, there was a party by the name of Communist Party of India (CPI). Undivided Communist Party was a very powerful party, not what you see today. Go through the pamphlet *Why SUCI*, wherein Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that the leaders of the undivided CPI fought sincerely, honestly, tried to build up a communist party. That time nobody



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

knew that the undivided CPI was not a communist party. It was presumed to be a communist party. At that time, people used to talk of only two parties, the Congress and the Communist. In the first Parliament, the main opposition party was the CPI. That very time Comrade Shibdas Ghosh started building up our Party. The Party was founded in 1948 through the First Party Convention. But the Party was very very small in relation to the whole country. In such a vast country like ours, what was our Party's strength; nothing. Those who believed in revolutionary line used to think that undivided CPI was the revolutionary party. To prove that SUCI is the revolutionary party, the real communist party on the soil was so difficult. To convince anyone about it was so difficult at that time. This is the thing comrades should understand. Seeing the strength of a party and being attracted by the progressive idea, one can easily join a party. But joining a party which has immediately no hope, apparently speaking, no hope, is difficult. Strength matters. That was the situation during the early days of Party foundation. But, SUCI(C) is the correct party, along the correct path that can bring about a new civilization. It is not just a political movement; it is a movement for building up a real civilization. Revolutionary movement, that is communist movement, is not just a

political movement, you know it. It is a struggle to build up a new civilization, a new concept of life. Understanding this very truth was very difficult at that time. And even if one understood, joining the party was not that easy. Because there was no immediate hope, since ours was a small force. It was at that very time that Comrade Pailan came forward and joined the party. He came from a poor family and was almost illiterate. Comrade Provash Ghosh has already placed before you his remarkable life struggle. What a depth of knowledge and revolutionary conviction was needed to join the Party. If you understand that, then you will understand the quality of this man. In 1949, Party had just been formed. Nobody knew SUCI. He not only joined, he joined wholeheartedly, fully, dedicated himself completely to the cause of revolution. He waged a two-pronged struggle— the struggle to learn Party ideology, Party philosophy and at the same time the struggle to learn how to build the organization. And he deftly combined both. People say that SUCI (C) is a party of Jaynagar. We know, that is not a fact. But anyway, it has been known as a Jaynagar party. Why? Because Jaynagar actually created a history. The Party was founded in Jaynagar. And then many historic struggles were conducted in and around Jaynagar under the leadership of the Party. We had to conduct struggle not only against the landed gentry, but even against other political parties who attacked us on behalf of the vested interest. The CPI(M) made attacks, armed attacks on us several times, when united front was there in power in the late 1960s. It attacked with hundreds of armed goondas, but the comrades and people who were organized by the Party repulsed the attacks. The CPI(M) goondas could not break the organization, the hired hooligans and musclemen of the jotedars could not break the organization. Such was the kind of organization Comrade Pailan and others had built up in South 24 Parganas district. The district gave us four MLAs. Even we got an MP in 1967. Many people do not know that. They think, we got an MP first time in 2009. How could we get so many MLAs and an MP? Because of the strength of the Party, of the organization. There were many other leaders. They also rose to a very high level through struggle. I have visited those areas. Comrade Amir Ali Haldar took me

to different places. When we were going, hundreds of people met him on the way to the meeting, greeting him, asking him questions, telling him of their problems. This was the mark of true mass leader. Such leaders were there in that district. You have heard of Comrades Renupada Halder, Rabin Mondal, Amir Ali Haldar and Nalini Pramanik. Comrade Pailan was leader of all of them, such was his revolutionary quality. The struggles conducted by Comrade Pailan and others made thousands of poor people allegiant to the party; they like the Party, admire the Party. So the main question you have to understand is, as Comrade Ghosh used to say, that Marxism-Leninism is such a philosophy which tells the truth, the truth of society, the truth of nature, the truth of thoughts. It's a comprehensive understanding of nature, society and thought. It understands the law that governs the material world. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh placed these truths before the illiterate people in the way they could understand. He conducted several schools of politics in the South 24 Parganas. Thousands attended those schools. And if you meet the comrades who attended those schools and are still alive, you will be astounded. Illiterate masses, they understand Marxism. If any educated comrade says something wrong before them, they would charge him. “No comrade, this is not correct. We have learned from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, this is not correct”. Comrade Pailan was leader of all of them. He also understood Marxism very deeply. After formation of the United Front government, I remember some reporters came to our Party office. They interviewed Comrade Pailan. They got astonished. They asked many difficult questions, but they received very simple answers. This is a very important thing when you learn from life, when you learn from your struggle the learning is very rich. When we conduct struggle, so many questions come to our mind. What we learn at that time, that is real learning. Comrade Pailan practised that. He learnt that way, in course of struggle. What we call class instinct, that developed in him. This is not unconscious but conscious grasp of things in their essence. If anything went wrong, he used to fight and get rid of that. This is no ordinary thing. So the struggle of life is very important, comrades.

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Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech

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Comrade Ghosh's thought is there before all of us, that is external contradiction what we call. That is common. But the development of the comrades depends on how they take those thoughts, how they understand, how they conduct struggle based on those thoughts. Internal contradiction is the basic cause of change—it's scientifically proved.

Today, the situation is very dark. Reactionary sweep has taken place in and across the country. The left forces have become insignificant. Reactionary forces are thumping around. But as Marxism showed, Comrade Ghosh repeatedly showed, there is nothing absolute. Where there is darkness there is light also. Where there is negative there is positive also, that is the dialectics, that is the reality. That is nature and society. People's life has become unbearable, suffocating. It is not only the economic crisis, political crisis, crisis in the private life of the people; more suffocating is the ethical cultural crisis. Situation has come to such a pass that even a soil like Bengal which was supposed to be the soil of revolution and revolutionary movement, is now abounding in worst types of crimes, crimes against women and men both. The language spoken, the character possessed by the political leaders throughout India is so degraded that one cannot even find it worth of discussion. Corruption has pervaded the whole society. Economic crisis is accentuating. Anna Hazare is not a big organizer, nor does he have any organization. He is an honest Gandhite leader. But when he gave call for movement against corruption, thousands of people spontaneously came out and rallied behind him. It showed that people wanted movement but had lost confidence in all the established parties including the so called leftists. In absence of proper leadership and organization, the Anna Hazare movement fizzled out. But it showed that there is light in the darkness; people want to fight. There is bright possibility. But they have no faith in the established parties, Jayalalithaa or Mamata, even the BJP. They have voted the BJP out of anti-Congress hatred.

People want real movement, real culture, correct idea, correct line. That is why, wherever we have our force, people feel attracted towards us. People love us, people respect us, people have confidence in us, people come to us. In that sense we can say such an excellent situation did never come before. It is painful that we are losing such comrades of height at this

juncture. That is the loss. But there are the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Ghosh died at a very young age. But, the thoughts he had provided us answer all the questions we are facing today. Comrade Pailan's greatness was that he understood Comrade Ghosh's teachings very deeply and conducted struggle based on that throughout his life till his death. That is the way comrades should imbibe Comrade Ghosh's thoughts. Total dedication, total involvement, such were Comrade Pailan's quality. We require hundreds and hundreds of Yakub Pailans who can go to the masses, who can in a very simple way explain deep philosophical things also to the poor people, illiterate people, not only theoretically but by his whole life—that inspires, that gives confidence. What he said, he practised in life. There was no gap between words and deeds. It was not that he told people to behave in one way but he himself behaved differently. Then only people believed in him, trusted him. That is the struggle Comrade Ghosh taught. So, long discussion is not required. Comrade Provash Ghosh has placed his life struggles, different aspects of his life struggle. Those will be published in our organs. Those, who could not follow Bengali will find the text of his speech in our organs. The homage of the Central Committee which was placed here, though brief, has covered the essential aspects of his struggle. So I will not tell anything more. Death of such a comrade is indeed painful. But, revolutionaries take pain impersonally. When you take pain impersonally, it inspires. When you get personally pained, it frustrates, it makes one morose, brings inaction, it makes man crippled helpless. But impersonal pain inspires to accomplish the task for which the departed comrades had dedicated their life. We felt immense pain at the death of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So deep was the pain that I cannot explain it to you. But such pain never frustrated. It is such a pain. I can tell probably from those days I have never been morose. Pain should be taken in an impersonal way. Comrades will die, may be in class struggle, may be in disease, may be in battles and revolution; but if we take the pain of their demise impersonally, our struggle will be for building up characters like them. That is the movement; that is how revolutionary movements raise revolutionary characters. That is the revolutionary standard.

Today, the Party which was founded in Jaynagar as a small revolutionary group led by a giant Marxist authority like Comrade

Shibdas Ghosh has now grown big. But this much growth is not sufficient. We have to build very strong movements, very powerful movements, add more strength to the Party. Situation demands that. The reactionary forces cannot stay back for long.

When Narendra Modi came to power there was a fear whether he will foment communalism aggressively, cunningly and subtly invoke a fanatic mind and setback grounds for fascism. But already the way he has started are inviting wrath and indignation. Criticism has started from all corners. Not only is he under fire for the steep hike in railway fare or the announcement of taking some hard decisions, even his style of functioning, handling of affairs is under question. His appointment of Supreme Court Judges is under severe criticism. Of the three names to be appointed as the judges, the first name was of Shri Gopal Subramaniam which he rejected. This has been criticized by the entire juridical community including former chief justices. This is virtually a slap on the chief of the government. Either he does not understand the methods or he has little care for the methods. Generally jurists do not criticize the government. But he has created that controversy also. So a fascist condition that he might try to invoke would not be so easy.

This is a very opportune moment for mobilizing all democratic minded people. Democratic minded people are also searching some force they can repose faith on. The so called

lefts like CPI (M), CPI are discredited. But this is a vast country. Already democratic minded people and personalities from Gujarat to Kerala, Madhya Pradesh to Assam, Odisha, whoever have come closer to our Party, are deeply moved. We are to organize these forces, win them over the way Comrade Yakub Pailan could win the masses. On the one hand, the democratic minded people, progressive thinking people are to be mobilized; at the same time vast masses of the people, exploited people, real suffering masses, have to be mobilized. In discharging these twin responsibilities, we must learn from the life and struggle of the departed comrades like Comrade Pailan. Then only the void created will be filled. Attracted towards the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, hundreds of men and women are coming to the Party. If we can build them up properly, make them good communists and good organizers, revolution will not be far away. I can tell you that from my own experience. The Party started with a few comrades and now it has reached such a stage. In course of this long journey, the Party has given birth to so many remarkable revolutionary characters like Comrade Pailan. At this hour of grief, we have to take a firm resolve that we shall fulfill the task bequeathed to us by the departed comrades and build up the Party. With this, I conclude. My respect and homage to Comrade Yakub Pailan.

Red salute to
the great leader of the proletariat
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

Comrade Ranjit Dhar's Speech

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Party, acquire revolutionary character through struggle, then and then only the real significance of this grief will dawn upon us and based on that we shall be able to build up ourselves in the desired manner, lift ourselves to the desired level. We will realize what this grief prompts us to do. According to me, the most important aspect that we should learn from Comrade Pailan's life, much more than his organizational capability, is his values, his revolutionary character, his revolutionary consciousness and his simple plain living. This revolutionary consciousness was manifest not just in his words, but in his character, behaviour and life struggle, in every aspect of his life. Revolution was his life, the Party was his life; and till his last breath, his life was thus identified with revolution and Party.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

said that there is not only darkness, there is light as well. There is movement of the people. There is fire, lying dormant within the people. This fire must be kindled. For that, what are needed are revolutionary characters. Those who will come to the leadership today, must know what heightened a character Comrade Yakub Pailan was. They must realize the worth of his character. Starting with deep compassion and sympathy for the exploited-oppressed people, he reached this height in revolutionary movement. If we can assimilate that feeling of compassion and sympathy, if we can correctly identify the genuine road to revolution, to emancipation, and can strive boldly to achieve that goal traversing along the correct road, only then we will be able to pay tribute to Comrade Pailan in the truest sense of the term.

Kernel of any noble ideology lies in its ethical and cultural standard

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physical force to increase their strength, get dividend for the time being because of their strength and numerical superiority; they do not allow anybody to express his opinion, do not pay heed to any reasoning, their cadres themselves lose all inclination for reasoning and destroy the reasoning faculty in others too. Do they know the deadly outcome of this? Though it may sound incredible but the reality is that those who are speaking against fascism, who are talking of communism, of leftism, of struggle and revolution and who are fighting against oppression — they themselves are found to be helping the growth of such an irrational mental make-up through their conduct and activities which, as a consequence, eventually will dig the grave of leftism and lead to the ascent of fascism. Because, when the reasoning faculty dies in the country, then that paves the way for infiltration of reactionary ideas in society. To make man fanatic with the poison of national chauvinism, on the one hand, and, on the other, to foster out-dated traditionalism while raising vague slogans of socialism, revolution and progress — if all these three can be combined, then the ground for ascent of fascism is ready in a country. It should be borne in mind that the ruling bourgeois class after having misled the intelligentsia succeeds in masterfully combining these three things then only, when the mindset for carrying on mutual discussions on the basis of reason and logic really ceases to exist in society. This provides the golden opportunity for fascism to rise. That is why, cautioning the leftist forces I said: the Congress and such other parties of the ruling class would surely do their best to foster such an irrational mindset in the country. That such a mindset develops — that is what they desire. But then why would the leftists act in a similar manner, just for the sake of their petty party interests? If they do so, it may yield some results for the time being, but that will surely turn out to be the road to their own burial in future. It is for this, therefore, that a struggle against irrational mindset is necessary, that an environment for cultivation of knowledge, science and history, of dialogue, discussion and polemics, of criticism of each other's views, is essential. Alone if such an environment prevails, will it become truly difficult for parties wedded to the exploiting class to make inroads amongst the masses....

It is true that the food crisis in

the country is intensifying, the price of essential commodities is increasing, industrialization is not taking place, unemployment is on the rise and there is shortage of electricity. All of us are getting extremely angry over all these problems. But what is of greater concern and more damaging than this is the severe crisis that has appeared in our social life as a result of the fast decline in ethics and morality and the accentuating irrational bent of mind. It should be borne in mind that however much might be the torment of want and oppression — a nation cannot be crushed by that. The British kept us subjugated for nearly two hundred years but they could not destroy the entire nation. The USA has turned Vietnam into a veritable desert by extensive and indiscriminate bombing, day after day, and forced the people there to live in underground shelters but could not crush the backbone of the whole nation. But are the rulers of our country creating economic misery only? The arguments with which they justify their unjust acts and ask the people to support them; the way the police openly tramples the laws every day, and the way the political leaders and administrators give indulgence to such conduct of the police; and what is more, if irrational mentality has reached such a level that even the youth of the country do not want to see reason, behave indecently in public and elderly people too remain silent on seeing it; moreover, if there is so much lack of tolerance for the opinion of others among the people of all strata of society — then what does all this prove? Does it prove that we are merely starving and suffering from want? Rather, does it not prove also that our moral backbone is getting shattered? Remember, *a nation can stand erect even if it goes hungry, can conduct struggle even without food, if it possesses higher human attributes. But if fascism takes root very few will remain in the country worthy to be called man. Because, fascism creates*

hindrance in the man-making process...

the kernel of any noble ideology lies in its ethical and cultural standard. If the ethical and cultural standard is not high, then the ideological content of a noble political ideology in reality turns out to be like a lifeless body. A body devoid of life, even if beautiful to look at, is useless, and if left to rot it becomes harmful for society, similarly if one speaks for a great ideology but does not reflect a high ethical and cultural standard then that too becomes degenerate and harmful for society. So, whether a party talks loftily of ideology is not the main issue at all. Whether its leaders, workers and supporters reflect higher ethical and cultural standard in their personal life, in day to day behaviour and political conduct — that is the real proof of whether their ideology is truly noble. So, had the CPI(M) been a real revolutionary party then with the spread of its influence this ought to have had a restraining effect on the falling standard and moral degradation within the society that started with the decadence of capitalism. But there was no such effect. Rather, just the opposite was seen to happen. Not only was there no such restraining effect, during the UF rule when the influence of the CPI(M) among the youth tremendously increased — at that very time what was witnessed was that the problem of mass copying began to engulf the student community for the first time. When the youth who were coming in the fold of their party raised slogans, they were found to be indulging in worst type of gesticulation. The ethical and cultural standard reflected by most of their workers through their behaviour towards whoever had tried to criticize them in any way, had been of a very low standard. They were in no mood to enter into any rational argument, in no mood to show regard to others as human beings. Whenever anyone had opposed them, they had either beaten him up or humiliated him in

various ways. Then what is the difference between the conduct of these so-called revolutionaries and that of the fascists, the blind fanatics who want to develop an irrational and blind mindset in the society? So, giving a warning I said that there could be no revolution simply by fomenting grievances of the masses. Revolution could be accomplished only by a people who, tempered by their involvement in political movement have been able, to an extent, to acquire a mindset and culture conducive to revolution. By inciting the masses anyhow revolution is not accomplished; rather, it prepares the groundwork for reaction in the name of revolution. This is just what happened again and again on Indian soil. Thus, the mentality of shunning reason and logic that is prevailing in society due to such dangerously wrong politics and activities of theirs has created the opportunity for Congressite reaction to make deep inroads...

if that party is non-revolutionary, if its path is wrong and if its theory of revolution is wrong, then all the martyrdom of the people, self-sacrifice of the rank-and-file goes in vain in this game of playing with revolution. As a result, the people become confused and taking advantage of it, reaction again gains in strength. Thus, if still today you extend support to such a party just because it is a big party; a pseudo-revolutionary, a non-revolutionary party which has been degenerating and become decadent as even a scrutiny of its history embracing all aspects — principles, ideology, culture, ethics, political analysis — would reveal, then that big party will definitely misdirect the movement and the ensuing disaster will be even worse. Whether a party is big or small is, no doubt, an important issue. But an even greater issue is whether its politics is correct or not, and whether it is a real revolutionary party. (*Fascism and Moral Ethical Crisis in Left, Democratic Movement — SW Vol. IV*)



Protest against Railway and Union Budgets by SUCI (C) at Chennai (left) on 16 July and Kolkata on 10 July

Student movements across the country

AIDSO staged movement against fee hike along with specific local demands, also in MS University of Baroda (Vadodara) in Gujarat, at Sakchi Jamshedpur in connection with Kolhan University of Jharkhand, at Bhubaneswar in Odisha and elsewhere. Partial victory was achieved in Odisha and Gujarat.

AIDSO Gujarat unit also staged demonstration and submitted memorandum in demand of re-introducing subject changing system for Arts students in M.S. University, Baroda in Gujarat. In Arts stream, many students comes from science or commerce school background. On the other hand in the university there are various subjects and departments in the Arts faculty. Students from

other streams taking admission in Arts, are often not quite adequately aware of these subjects of Arts. It was for that, the authority was giving a chance to First year students to change the subject after one month of the admission. But in 2011 the authority decided to withdraw that facility. AIDSO then conducted a movement and authority retraced its decision and continued giving option for subject changing to students. But this year again it is going to scrap subject changing procedure. Removal of subject changing is linked up with the introduction of Semester and Choice Based Credit System (CBCS). AIDSO thus protests again for withdrawal of subject changing system.

SUCI (C) and its mass organizations continue movement against atrocities on women

Notwithstanding all tall talks from men in power, rather defying those, people at different levels of ruling dispensation and social high-ups, not excluding heads of governments and so-called national or state leaders continue to make highly irresponsible to the extent of condemnable utterances and comments. These, in their turn, continue to add fuel of tacit indulgence and encouragement to the fire of unabated atrocious attacks on women of any and every age from tiny kids to old. Major political parties, national or state, right or so-called left, are deplorably responsible for this trend gaining strength, or at the most maintain meaningful silence. It is only SUCI (Communist) and its mass organizations that continue to strive hard to create a formidable people's opinion and based on that massive countrywide movement to create pressure upon the governments and stem the vicious tide.

In the recent time, rape of a five year old girl in a school at Bangalore and sexual assault of a

journalism student triggered a massive uproar among people and students in the city and the state of Karnataka. With gracious presence of the veteran freedom fighter H.S. Doreswamy, AIMSS, AIDYO and AIDSO jointly held a massive demonstration-cum-squatting of hundreds of students and womenfolk in the city on 17 July, 2014. They demanded of the government a speedy enquiry and severe punishment of those responsible for the crimes and their abatement. They held the governments responsible for rampant spread of vulgarity in media which in turn causes erosion of moral and ethical values helping in the vicious spread of crimes on women. Further, they pledged for future powerful movement on the issue. AIDSO also organized a protest demonstration at Cuttack, Odisha on these Bangalore rape issues on 23 July 2014. The AIMSS General Secretary issued a press statement on 21 July on the Bangalore incident of rape on girl child at school.

Please note change of address of our website :
Our website address is WWW.sucic.in

SUCI (C) condemns Israel's armed assault on Gaza, calls to stand by the fighting Palestine people and defeat the evil axis of Zionist Israel and US imperialists

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued this statement on 22-07-14:

We strongly condemn the latest barbaric air strike and ground assault of the Zionist Israel on the defenceless Palestinians in the Gaza strip, launched with all-out moral-material support and encouragement from the big imperialist powers particularly the US imperialists. This recent fresh offensive of the Zionist Israel has surpassed all its records of ruthless retribution. It marks itself as a mindless state-terrorism designed to terrorize an entire population of innocent civilians. It is an arrogant blitzkrieg, pronouncing "all-out war against Hamas and its kind" to be carried out till "all the goals of the operation are achieved". The brigandage emerges as a culmination of continuous attempts by Zionist Israeli regime to assassinate leaders and activists of the Hamas, ever since the latter came to power on people's mandate in Palestine. For long, the Zionist Israel defying world public opinion has been denying the Palestine people their justified claim on the land of Palestine including Gaza as well as for a sovereign independent Palestine country. Instead, it has been illegally occupying Palestine land and showing no inclination to settle the issue amicably through peace talks. Rather, the Israeli rulers are keeping the conflict alive and intermittently launching murderous attack on the Palestine people in brutal arrogance. The latest ceasefire proposal offered by the US-backed Egypt regime has been a clever ploy to bully Hamas and the patriotic Palestine people to bend before the aggressor Israeli regime and Hamas is justified in rejecting the same.

We also vehemently condemn the most preposterous stand of the BJP-led Indian Government that there is no question of India taking sides in this conflict as India's policy has been to have friendly relations with Israel. It is also equally despicable that the Indian foreign minister who has rejected adoption of a resolution in the House condemning the Israeli attack, has virtually criticized Hamas for not accepting the ceasefire brokered by Egypt while having not uttered a single word against the genocide engineered by the Israeli forces in Palestine.

We demand immediate stoppage of the Israeli hostility against the Palestine people and call for forging an unwavering solidarity with the fighting Palestinian people and stand by them with active support. It must be realized that the battle of the Gazan people is an inalienable and essential part of the world anti-imperialist movement. Defeat of the evil axis of the Zionist Israel and their mentor the US imperialists, is also necessary to add fillip to the mass struggles and revolutionary movement against capitalism-imperialism all over the world. Need of the hour is to develop a united and sustained militant movement in every nook and corner of the world with a view to creating as powerful pressure as possible, upon the ruthless Zionist Israel and the war-monger US imperialists to immediately stop the unjust aggression, withdraw its forces from Gaza and for that matter, every occupied regions and fulfill the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people.



Comrade Tarun Mandal, former MP, addressing the protest meeting at Zakaria Street, Kolkata on 16 July against inhuman assault of Israel on Gaza

Observe Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day on 5 August with due solemnity

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH

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