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Comrade Provash Ghosh at the 38th memorial meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh BJP-RSS want to destroy the glorious tradition of Indian renaissance and freedom movement

(This is the speech delivered in Bengali by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), at the 38th Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial meeting in Kolkata on 5th August, 2014. Responsibility of translation error or inadequate expression, if any, lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era)

On 5th of August, we reminisce the unique revolutionary life struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of our Party, the SUCI(C), our leader and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era. We also recall his invaluable teachings, appraise and analyze the obtaining political situation by applying the methodology he has handed down to us in the process of enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism and elevating its understanding to a new height while concretizing it on this soil. Based on that analysis, we decide our course of action. This is how we transform our profound grief into revolutionary strength and carry out our future activities. Various comrades and sympathizers have submitted to me a good number of questions for being discussed in this meeting. Touching upon all the questions may not be possible. Yet, I shall try to cover as many as of them possible and concentrate on the important ones. Topics I shall mainly try to focus on are, what is our approach towards election, what is the outcome of the election results, the BJP's coming back to power, danger of fascism, defeat of the CPI (M) in the state, problems of left movement and how can we develop class and mass struggles in the days to come. There is a possibility of rain. The subject matter of discussion is so vast that it would take some time. And I would like to read out to you some relevant portions from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and others.

Our approach towards election

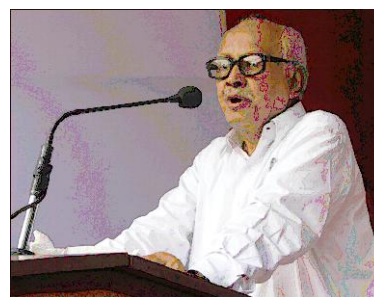
At the outset, I would like to say that as a Party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, our approach towards election is completely different from those of the other parties. Great Lenin had said long back that bourgeois

parliamentary election is held to decide which party, on behalf of the bourgeoisie, will rule and oppress the people at definite intervals of time. In spite of that, Comrade Lenin said that so long as people have illusion about parliament, so long as they do not understand the futility of parliament and are not imbued with revolutionary consciousness, the revolutionaries have to participate in the elections with a view to exposing the class character of the bourgeoisie in parliament. Lenin himself had to take part in the elections in the pre-revolution phase. Our great Leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that we the revolutionaries sometimes participate in the elections having no other alternative. Please note that he had said that we take part in the elections having no other alternative meaning under compulsion. The main task of the revolutionary party is to develop the working class struggles, organize mass movements, inspire, educate and organize the masses based on revolutionary consciousness. Despite that, when the election is held, being compelled we participate in it. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that when we participate in the election, our main objective is to instill revolutionary consciousness among the masses, expose the other bourgeois parties and organize the masses. If we can win seats based on that, well and good. Even if we do not win seats, still we fight in the election with the aforesaid objective. Like other bourgeois or social democratic parties, our aim is not to win seats by any means. This was what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said. He also drew our attention towards another aspect which is very pertinent in today's context to understand the nature of elections in our country. I would like to read it out before you. In 1969 he said: "Election is a bourgeois politics. If the

masses do not have revolutionary consciousness, if the working class has no class organization and is not in class struggle, if there is no mass movement and the people are not united based on political consciousness, the industrialists, the big business and the reactionaries create a wave by spending huge money and using the media, in which people are just carried away like straw."² These words are immensely important not only for our country but for all the capitalist countries in the world.

Unorganized masses get carried away by bourgeois propaganda as helpless lot

From 1952 onwards, in all the elections that have taken place in India, the bourgeois class has selected parties of its choice and then put some of them in power



Comrade Provash Ghosh

while keeping others in opposition. For that, the bourgeoisie spends enormous sum and through media—when Comrade Shibdas Ghosh made the observation quoted above, there was only print media but now TV has appeared as a powerful media—brings the party of its choice to the forefront. There is no cult of revolutionary politics among the masses, among the vast sections of the working class, poor peasants

Contd. on page 2

SUCI(C) strongly condemns Mohan Bhagawat's observation about Hindu nation and Hindutva and calls upon people to isolate these fascist forces

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) issued the following statement on 20 August, 2014 :

We strongly condemn the most atrocious statement by Mohan Bhagwat, the RSS chief, that "Hindustan is a Hindu nation and Hindutva is the identity of our nation." This is a motivated observation to subvert truth and fan communal divide in the country. Neither any renaissance stalwart nor any of the leaders of our freedom movement ever spoke of Hindu nationalism. What they all fought for and advocated was Indian nationalism of all Indians irrespective of religion, caste, creed, or ethnicity. Constitution declares India to be a secular democratic state and hence claiming India to be of a particular religious community is akin to branding India as a theocratic state and hence a naked violation of the Constitution. Hindu nationalism what the RSS has been propagating all through is to fuel Hindu national jingoism which is absolutely contradictory to genuine patriotism. The remarks of Mohan Bhagwat smack of the Nazi philosophy which boasted of Aryan blood of the Germans and spewed hatred against other ethnic groups like the Jews. So, what Bhagwat has been espousing is nothing but fascist ideology.

We call upon all right-thinking people to reject such pernicious reactionary views of the vested interest, firmly uphold secular democratic principles as the basis of unity of the toiling Indians and isolate the arch communal elements propagating flawed theories to buttress their ulterior agenda.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Even if CPI (M) had won the elections, leftism would not have been strengthened

Contd. from page 1

and other sections of the toiling people. So they do not understand which party represents which class interest. In absence of proper political understanding, the people at large are not organized based on revolutionary consciousness; they remain disunited. In such circumstances, they are swayed by the bourgeois propaganda as helpless lot. This has been the common feature of all the elections held so far. Same has happened in the last election as well. The Congress was in power during the last ten years with the blessings of the bourgeois class. But this time the bourgeoisie, the monopolists and the corporate sector understood that the Congress in course of serving them had become so unpopular that it had lost all its credibility before the masses. Secondly, the Congress was running a coalition government. Though the Congress worked in the interest of the bourgeois class, it could not implement the various schemes of so called reforms, liberalization and globalization ruthlessly, as desired by the corporates, because of the obstruction by the coalition partner regional parties. In this backdrop, the bourgeois class brought the BJP and Narendra Modi to the fore as the 'saviour' of the country and build up publicity in a glamorous way during the election. And you all know what has been the result of the election. Before the election, the BJP said that it would bring 'happy days'. What kind of happy days it has begotten is being witnessed by you. The BJP said on the eve of the election that it would usher in '*achhe din*'. Now, after being saddled in power, the BJP is saying that it would make people swallow 'bitter pills' for some time for improving their health. One after another 'bitter pill' is being administered making people's life bitterer. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie, the domestic and foreign capitalists are exultant that they would be able to recover with interest even to the last farthing the billions of rupees they have spent to bring the BJP to power. Besides this, I shall say later about the grave danger posed by the RSS-BJP.

Source of strength of CPI (M) was governmental power, not leftism

I want to discuss another point which is agitating the mind of the people particularly the left-minded

people. There is a concern in their mind on this question. There is an apprehension about the future of left movement mainly centring on the electoral defeat of the CPI (M). At first, I would like to say that leftism and Marxism are not one and the same. Those who are real Marxists build up a genuine proletarian revolutionary party based on correct realization of Marxism and following correct Marxist methodology. Thus, a revolutionary party is formed by deducing the correct base political line of proletarian revolution and adopting true revolutionary culture. Our Party, the SUCI(C), has been formed in the like manner. We are leftists. But all leftists are not Marxists. During the days of freedom movement, leftism was equated with revolutionism. At that time, there was of course no genuine revolutionary Marxist party in this country. The Gandhites, the compromisers who were opposed to revolution were known as the rightists. On the other hand, those who were in favour of armed revolution – the line represented by Subhaschandra Bose—were called leftists. Today, those who are not genuine Marxists but claim to be Marxists, those who have no realization of Marxism, are not aware of the correct path of revolution but express urge for revolution, the parties who claim to be fighting for the working class—all are partners of leftist movements. Those who build up their parties accordingly are also leftists. From this perspective, we had viewed undivided CPI and later the CPI (M) as leftists.

I want to emphasize on one point here. Many people think, even express that leftism has been weakened following successive poll debacles of the CPI (M). I say, assume that the CPI (M) is still in power in West Bengal. Assume that it has won the elections this time also by huge margin. Had leftism been strengthened in that event also? The CPI (M) had been in power for 34 long years. Then, we are to conclude the leftism was immensely powerful during these 34 years. Then why did the party virtually collapse after being ousted from the government? What was then the source of its strength? Was its strength based on a leftist ideology, leftist struggle, leftist principles and leftist culture? Or source of its strength was governmental power, backing of the police-administration, backing of the criminal brigade because of being in

the government and the blessings of the promoters-contractors-businessmen-capitalists? Is it true leftism? So, its brand of leftism was dependent on governmental power. Its leftism is powerful when it is in the government. Once removed from the government, its leftism is dispossessed of all the strength. It can never be the true leftism. This is what I want to say at the outset. Once leftism did exist in West Bengal. During the freedom movement, leftism existed centring on the leadership of Subhaschandra Bose. I want to remind you that in undivided India, undivided Bengal was the nerve centre of renaissance. On the one hand, a cultural milieu was created centring on Vidyasagar, Saratchandra, Rabindranath, Nazrul. On the other hand, in the political field, revolutionism developed centring on Subhaschandra, Kshudiram, Bagha Jatin, Pritilata and such others. To the leftist mentality so born was added the fervour of Soviet revolution, Chinese revolution and the current of communism which was created following defeat of fascistic military power at the hands of great Stalin leadership in the second world war. All these worked behind the strength that the undivided CPI mustered in those days. Those who are young do not know that the CPI (M) was then within the undivided CPI. It never dreamt that it would be able to form government someday. In the first general election in 1952, it was undivided CPI and not the Congress which bagged most of the parliament and assembly seats in Kolkata city. Kolkata used to be called the red city. The educated people of West Bengal, the teachers-doctors-lawyers-students-youths used to vote for the leftists. The Congress used to get votes in the rural belts. There was tremendous emotion for leftism among the educated section. Thereafter, there was movement against one paisa increase in the tram fare in 1953, teachers' movement in 1954, movement against proposed merger of Bengal and Bihar in 1956, the food movements of 1959 and 1966—the entire period constituted the glorious period of leftist movement. Our Party was much smaller then compared to what it is today. We were also in these movements with our revolutionary line. Undivided CPI was there with its reformist line. It was the period of militant left movement. As people used to bow their head in respect for the freedom fighters, though not exactly so, yet

people also had profound respect for the leftists, had faith in them, considered them as honest, believed that they were not averse to face police atrocities, receive bullets on their chest and go to jail. Red flag is the flag of the poor. Such was the mindset of the people.

In 1964, the CPI (M) was formed by a split in the undivided CPI. In the assembly elections of 1967, the CPI (M) and CPI constituted two separate fronts. Our party, CPI (M) and others were in one front while the CPI, Bangla Congress and a few other parties were in another front. In spite of division of votes, the two fronts combined defeated the Congress. The first United Front government was formed. Another United Front government was formed in 1969. Despite the first United Front being dislodged by the central government, the second United Front government was constituted based on the strength of massive movement. We were in both these governments. Though the CPI (M) was not like what it is today, yet, I want to remind you, we had then basic ideological difference and difference of outlook with the CPI (M) on the questions of basic politics and political conduct. If there is any friend belonging to the CPI (M) here in this meeting, please examine this point. We then said that we would form the government alright but what should we do being in the government? Should we run the government just like any other bourgeois party? Should we work in the class interest of the capitalists, suppress the working class movement, allow police to indulge in baton charge and firing in the name of maintaining law and order? Lenin did not face such situation. So he did not provide any guideline as to how the communists and leftists would run a government in a bourgeois system. That guideline was provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So, under his guidance, we had said that the United Front government would spend whatever little resources it had for the benefit of the poor people, provide corruption-free governance, not allow any kind of malpractices in the police-administration and firmly deal with any corrupt act on the part of anyone. On the other hand, it would encourage the movements of the workers and peasants; not allow the police to suppress those movements by force. So, there should be no interference of police in legitimate

Contd. on page 3

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Trinamool Congress is doing exactly what CPI (M) had done

Contd. from page 2

democratic movement. This would be the correct leftist outlook. CPI(M), CPI, RSP, Forward Bloc and Bangla Congress were not ready to accept that. We said that in that event, we would not be in the government. Then, they were forced to accept. Because, the CPI (M) was then not like what it is today. It had many honest leaders and cadres. Had it been exposed in the press that the party was not agreeing to our proposal, their leaders would have been in trouble. Though they agreed to abide by our proposal in writing, they never put it in practice. As the labour ministry was given to us during the first United Front government, there was a spurt in the workers' and peasants' movements. So, under the pressure of the Tatas and Birlas, the labour department was taken away from us in the second United Front government. In 1977, Jyoti Basu mentioned in his radio speech that there would no more be any movement or unrest in West Bengal because SUCI(C) was not with them. Thus he assured the capitalists. It was for this reason that the CPI (M) broke unity with us well in advance. Thereafter, the government the CPI (M) ran from 1977 was no different from any other bourgeois government. It charged batons and fired bullets on the workers and peasants. In the name of maintaining industrial peace, it virtually banished strikes from the industries. The CPI (M) leaders through their trade union wing taught how to compromise with the owners and surrender to the capitalists in the name of class struggle. They have perpetrated carnage and mass-rape in Singur and Nandigram. They have fostered worst opportunism in the rural areas through the panchayats and ruined peasants' movements. Thus, they have during the 34 long years destroyed mass movements and class struggles, sullied leftism.

CPI (M) and not the rightists have ruined leftism

On the other hand, there was no cult of leftist politics, leftist ideology, let alone Marxism, in their party. There was only slogan of leftism. And you know what the kind of their rule was. Everywhere, they have used police for petty-party interest, built up a huge criminal force. The leaders and ministers of the party were engaged in really promoting and contractor business. Benoy Chowdhury, a veteran honest CPI (M) leader and minister became so enraged as to call the CPI (M) rule a rule of the promoters and

contractors. Jyoti Basu told him to resign then. He was not allowed to contest the election after that. During the entire period of the CPI(M) rule, its workers everywhere were involved in realty business and contractor jobs. The CPI (M) leaders issued fiat that unless one voted for the CPI (M), one would not be allowed to stay in the locality, to take part in cultivation. The CPI (M) had orchestrated attacks any time anywhere, even killed people. 161 leaders and workers of our Party have been murdered by the CPI (M) for organizing movement. Former CPI (M) chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee has said a few days back at Raidighi that they had not slapped false case on anyone. Comrade Prabodh Purkait, nine times MLA of our Party, was implicated in false case and sentenced to life term. Similarly, 49 others of our Party are also serving life term. These are the things the CPI (M) had done. Even if any CPI (M) man had committed multiple crimes, it was not possible to register FIR against him at the police station. The party used to decide who would be the teachers in schools and colleges. The Coordination Committee of the government employees controlled by the CPI (M) used to decide who would be promoted, who would be demoted, who would be transferred and so forth. Today the Trinamool Congress (TMC) is doing exactly what the CPI (M) had done. Who else but the CPI (M) has created this situation? Why is the CPI (M) facing such a crisis today? Why did the people of West Bengal vote against it in the last parliament and assembly elections? True there has been massive rigging in the recent parliament election but such large scale rigging did not take place in the earlier two parliament and assembly elections. In the last assembly election also, there was no rigging. At the time of last assembly election, the CPI (M) was in power. But the people gave their verdict based on the Singur-Nandigram movements. A strong anti-CPI (M) mentality developed among the people. The CPI (M) leaders are blaming their workers, saying that the debacle has happened because of the arrogance and insolence of the workers; the workers had lost contact with the masses. Thus, the CPI (M) leaders are passing on the buck of their own misdeeds on their workers. They themselves have taught their workers all these wrong things. If the CPI (M) leaders continue to do such things, they

would never be able to convince the people. If they have courage and honesty, let them admit their mistakes before the people of West Bengal. Let them confess that what they have done during the 34 years of their rule were anti-left, anti-people. In this connection, let me recall an invaluable teaching of Comrade Lenin. He said, "The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses."¹ Only a genuine communist party admits its mistakes honestly and with an open mind. Do the CPI (M) leaders have that honesty and courage? Certainly not. Yesterday I saw in the newspaper that one of their leaders has said that one thousand workers of theirs of North 24 Parganas district did not work in the elections out of fear. What a revolutionary party! What are they afraid of? We have conducted movements while being physically assaulted by them. 161 leaders and cadres of our Party have been murdered by them. In the very venue of this meeting, there is a martyr's column in the name of Madhai Haldar who was shot dead by the CPI (M) government in 1990. Still we continued our struggle. What great harm has been caused to the CPI(M) by the TMC? Then what type of 1000 workers they have in North 24 Parganas? Their mass organizations are stated to have lakhs of members. Where are they? Why are they in their shelves? Because, the CPI (M) leaders themselves have made these workers coward. They have not taught their workers politics, ideology or leftism. Only thing they told their workers were: We are a big party, we are in power, if you are with us, you shall get these and these privileges. Police is in our hand; even if you commit gravest of crimes, you will go scot free. Nobody would dare to touch you. So, when police was under them, the CPI (M) leaders and cadres were a brave lot with the support of the criminals and anti-socials. They have told the students that even if they did not pass in the examination, they would be promoted and their results

would be good. This is how they strengthened their party. They never allowed other students' organizations to contest the union elections in the colleges and universities. Today, the TMC is doing in the colleges what the CPI (M) only did earlier. The criminals trained by the CPI (M) are now carrying TMC flags. The police who once worked for the CPI (M) are now working for the TMC.

CPI (M) has paved way for BJP to raise head

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did not see CPI (M)'s ascendancy to power in 1977 nor did he witness the 34 years of CPI (M) rule. He only saw CPI (M) during the second united front in 1970. At that time only, he observed: "When there was maximum increase of strength of the so called Marxist party CPI (M) during the last United Front government, the countrymen were scared at the thumping around of its workers and supporters. ...it was among the people under its influence that the tendency to secure unjust privileges to satisfy personal interest by using the police and administration had grown much. Instead of increased social obligation, the tendency to dodge duty went up. As against growth of philosophical tolerance towards people having different opinions, the reprehensible tendency to muzzle their voice through cowardly attacks in congenial environment grew formidably. As a reaction to all these, when the situation turned adverse for them following capture of power by the Congress, it was found that the 'firebrand revolutionaries' of the Front regime had lost all courage to make the least noise. If the situation turns favourable again, you might once again see them back in their previous form. Already, there are symptoms towards that effect. If theirs would have been real revolutionary politics, they would have on the one hand received blessings from all sections of the well-meaning people while on the other hand, invited severe repugnance from the oppressive bourgeoisie. But, in reality, just the reverse has happened."²

This is what he said by seeing the activities of the CPI (M) during the second United front in 1970. And during the 34 years, the CPI (M)'s attack on class struggle, mass movement, workers of other parties increased manifold. The CPI (M) had precipitated terror, used police to its petty interest and turned police into an appendage to it. So, if

Contd. on page 4

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

BJP's contention is contrary to what the renaissance stalwarts and leaders of freedom movement had said

Contd. from page 3

anyone has caused immense damage to leftism, it is not the TMC or any other reactionary force but the CPI (M). So, I would like to tell the CPI (M) leaders not to unnecessarily blame their workers. Let them look at their face in the mirror. If they have honesty and courage, they must admit this. Let them openly declare that they had done so many unjust things during 34 years of their rule. But this would not happen through deception. See how severely the people are criticizing the TMC. They are turning away from the TMC. Their complaint is that the TMC is toeing the line of the CPI (M). They find that the TMC is doing what the CPI (M) had done. Why are the people not able to view the CPI (M) as the alternative to the TMC? Because, during the 34 year long misrule of the CPI (M), the people were suffocated. The CPI (M) itself is responsible for that. Whatever influence the BJP could cast in West Bengal is due to the CPI (M) leaders. I would like to read out another observation of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He said this in 1969. Please see for yourself how prophetic this great Marxist thinker was. At that time, there was no BJP. It was Jana Sangh then. Criticizing the CPI (M), he said, "In this situation, the proponents of religious nationalism like the Jana Sangh are lying in wait. They are waiting for the right opportunity. Once the attraction towards left movement among the people which still exists will go away, they will appear in the scene. The ruling CPI (M) leaders do not understand this. Abandoning the ideology and basic tenets of communism, they, almost like the Congress, are confusing people with trickery of tall talks and sweet coated words. Thus, they are maligning and tarnishing the image of communism here." 2. Way back in 1969, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned that the CPI (M) was tarnishing the image of communism, maligning leftism, and the Jana Sangh was lying in wait to increase its strength taking advantage of that. See how his words corroborate today's perspective. In the last 34 years, the CPI (M) has caused immense harm to leftism and thereby paved the way for the BJP to raise its ugly head. I also want to say this to you.

We do not have hostility towards the CPI (M) or any other party. Our difference is ideological, political, in the interest of the proletariat. Let the

CPI (M) leaders confess their wrongs. What is needed is not some perfunctory talks, some kind of whitewashing the mistakes or merely replacing some leaders but change of policies. Let them come back to militant leftism. Can they do so? Honest workers and supporters of the CPI (M) should ask their leadership this question. As a genuine Marxist party, we have been pursuing the line of militant leftism for long. But they maligned militant leftism. Can they admit it? Otherwise, how can people trust them? This is where their test lies. Left movement cannot be strengthened without honesty, sincerity, militant class or mass struggles. This cannot be done by telling lies, by indulging in deception or resorting to trickery.

Moreover, their honest workers and supporters as well as the left-minded people ought to understand that it is not that the CPI (M) party has just committed some mistakes. Here, the character of the mistake has to be determined. Whatever it has done, it has done as a social democratic party as per its class character. If a Marxist label in the nomenclature makes one communist, then the Menshevik party of Russia would have been communist and there was no need for Lenin to build up the Bolshevik party separately nor would have the Second International undergone revisionist degeneration. The role that the united CPI and later the CPI (M) had taken in the mass movement of the 1950s and '60s were as social democratic parties only, as compromising force between labour and capital. Similarly, in keeping with its social democratic character, the CPI (M) on being saddled in power conducted itself like a bourgeois party in the interest of the bourgeois class. So, those who have emotion for communism ought to be disillusioned about this party and reject it. At the same time, they must identify the correct Marxist party and strengthen the same. Let you not be overwhelmed by blind emotion or suffer from frustration.

BJP has surrendered to the monopolists as bonded slaves

Now I shall place my views on the BJP. I have already said that before the last elections, the monopolists, foreign capitalists and corporate sector had taken a decision to put the BJP to power as the Congress, which acted at their behest so far, was found to be no

more useful for the present. So they spent huge money on publicity for the BJP. Narendra Modi, who was considered as the architect of the Gujarat pogrom in the country, whose hands are stained in innocent blood, overnight became the 'saviour' of the country thanks to media publicity. This is how the bourgeoisie creates leaders. The BJP entered into an agreement with the bourgeoisie and corporate sector that after riding to power, it would obey whatever they would say. Exactly that is what it is doing after ascending to power. On the other hand, the RSS, which is the ideological guardian of the BJP, got an opportunity to propagate the doctrine of Hindutva in the field of education, culture as well as in the realm of mind. At one stroke, the BJP has implemented a slew of measures like FDI in defence, railways and insurance as well as more and more privatization of the public sector. The Congress also tried to introduce all these as political steps but could not do all of these things because of obstructions created by its coalition partners. The BJP also has heftily raised the railway fare and freight charges by one stroke. It is also withdrawing whatever little subsidy was hitherto being given towards public welfare. It is increasing the fuel prices. These are all the 'bitter pills'. More number of 'bitter pills' will be administered in the future. The BJP finance minister has invoked a new theory — 'pro-business is pro-poor'. According to him, more swells the wealth of the rich, more the poor stand to benefit. It means that the rich will only give some alms to the poor out of compassion. The common people know that the rich become rich by depriving the poor. The capitalists make profit by exploiting the working class. On the contrary, the BJP and its minister are saying that more is the profit of the capitalists, more benefitted will be the poor. This is the crux of the 'pro-business pro-poor' theory. I shall say a few more things about this later.

But most sinister is the propaganda of ultra Hindutva. You know that already a discussion has been initiated to incorporate religious education in the text books. This is nothing new. Even the Congress also mooted such a proposal. After the second world war when it was widely publicized that the defeat of Germany and Italy signified defeat of fascism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had differed. He held that downfall

of Germany-Italy did not mean that fascism had been defeated. He said that fascism has appeared as a general feature of all capitalist-imperialist countries, whether developed or under-developed. He showed that when capital was not concentrated like today, not concentrated in the hands of the monopolists, when only small capital was in existence and there was free competition, the bourgeoisie stood for liberal democracy. When monopoly appeared and concentration of capital took place, that liberal democracy ceased to exist and economic base of fascism was established. Centralization of power in the hands of the administration and bureaucracy is also political characteristic of fascism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh further showed that in fascism, there would be no scientific outlook, no rational thinking or scope for healthy debate but only blind religious faith. Science will be used only to manufacture machines and arms. In the realm of mind, there will be a fusion of spiritualism and technical aspects of science. This is fascist culture. This was first started in this country by the Congress. Today, through RSS, Indian capitalism is trying to implement that design on a wider scale.

Views of Rammohan-Vidyasagar-Rabindranath-Saratchandra

Now, it is being pleaded that the Gita and the Vedanta have to be incorporated in school syllabus. In Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, it has already been introduced. One Judge has also advised to include the Gita, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in the text books. But you know that at the dawn of the Indian renaissance, it was Raja Rammohan who first brought the light of knowledge in the Indian society encumbered with age-old obsolete creeds, obscurantism and medieval darkness. What did he say? I shall read out from his works. He was against teaching Sanskrit and the Vedanta. He said: "The Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy with other useful sciences.

Nor will youths fitted to be

Contd. on page 5

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Only Marxism correctly showed place of religion in history

Contd. from page 4

better members of society by the Vedanta doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence.

We now find that Government is establishing Sanskrit school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men.⁷⁴ These are the words of Raja Rammohan. The preachings of RSS-BJP are against the teachings of Raja Rammohan. Following the footprints of Rammohan came Vidyasagar. Vidyasagar went a few steps ahead to comment that, "For certain reasons ...we are obliged to continue the teaching of the Vedanta and Sankhya in the Sanskrit College. That the Vedanta and Sankhya are false systems of philosophy is no more a matter of dispute."⁷⁵ See what Vidyasagar had said: "the Vedas and Vedanta are false systems of philosophy." Ramakrishna had rushed to Vidyasagar's house to pay his respect. Vivekananda had deep respect for Vidyasagar. Vivekananda himself said that like him, there was not a single youth in Eastern India who had not been inspired by Vidyasagar. Vivekananda knew that Vidyasagar called the Veda-Vedanta a false system of philosophy. Ramakrishna and Vivekananda also knew that Vidyasagar was an atheist. Vidyasagar further said, "Whilst teaching these in the Sanskrit course, we should oppose them by sound philosophy in the English course to counteract these influences...The bigotry of the learned of India, I am ashamed to state, is no less than that of the Arabian Caliph. They believe that their *Shastras* have all emanated from omniscient *Rishis* and therefore, they cannot but be infallible."⁷⁶ This is how Vidyasagar spoke against the religious scriptures. He also said, "We want teachers who know both the Bengali and the English languages and at the same time are free from religious prejudices."⁷⁶

This is Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar. He himself wrote four books. There has not been any discussion on god in these books. He did not believe in god. So he advised, "Geography, History, Biography, Arithmetic, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and Physiology should be taught."⁷⁶ Such

were his views. You can see for yourself that these two doyens of Indian renaissance, Rammohan and Vidyasagar, had opposed religious education and stressed on natural philosophy and study of science. The Congress did just the reverse. And now the BJP-RSS are adding dimension to that.

Even being a believer, Rabindranath said, "Delusion of religion makes man lifeless. It makes his intellect enmeshed in meaningless inert behaviour assimilated in flesh and blood. Where intellect is chained, manliness is heavily burdened. In that unfortunate country, all kinds of physical, mental and political misfortune remain unexplained and static."⁷⁷ This is Rabindranath. Saratchandra had said, "No religious scripture can be infallible. The Veda is also a religious scripture. So, there is no dearth of falsehood in it.... All religions are false — superstitions of the primitive ages. There is no greater enemy of mankind than this... Man is not for any specific traditional characteristic of a particular country. The traditional characteristic is cherished because of man only. The moot point is whether that tradition is beneficial to mankind at the present time. Except that, everything else is blind delusion. The tradition of man is not greater than man himself. When we forget that, we lose both man and his tradition."⁷⁸ These are the words of Saratchandra. They are the bold voice of renaissance of those days. The Congress as well the RSS-BJP is opposing the thoughts of these great renaissance personalities to create a fascistic mindset.

Views of Subhaschandra

Let me narrate to you another incident. Before leaving India on the eve of the second world war, Subhaschandra was under house arrest. Prior to that, he was in Alipore jail. He went for a fast unto death inside the jail on certain demands. He thought at the time that the Britishers would not accept his demands. So, he would embrace martyr's death like Jatin Das. He wrote two articles at that time; one was his directive to his party workers and the other was a guidance to the Indian youth. I may add here that in early life, Subhaschandra was a believer in the Vedanta and opposed to materialism. But, in later life, he gradually tilted towards Hegelian dialectics. I shall read out what he said at the end. "On the question of as to the nature of the world of phenomena, we better keep an open mind while

making note of all that science has revealed to us so far. More light is bound to come, as science makes further advance. Meanwhile, we should bear in mind that the old conception of materialism has broken down completely. It has been under a crossfire, being attacked by scientific research on one side and by philosophical reasoning and speculation on the other."⁷⁹ It shows that his lack of faith in old materialism being proved to be wrong in the light of scientific discoveries and logic, he emphasized on science only to find out truth. He wrote these lines so that the Indian youth do not go wrong like he did in his youth. I have been referring to all these because what the BJP is telling or going to do is totally contrary to what Rammohan-Vidyasagar-Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Subhaschandra had said. Whom should we follow? Even if you do not want to accept Marxism, as citizens of West Bengal or India, you have to think: should we go back to the dark days of yester years by disowning these great men? Should we revert back to the days when the Veda-Vedanta-Manusamhita were considered to be infallible? It was these obsolete philosophies against which Rammohan-Vidyasagar-Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Subhaschandra-Nazrul waged their battle. Which course would you adopt? This is what I want you to ponder over.

Who is real Hindu, Vivekananda or BJP-RSS?

The BJP-RSS display photo of Vivekananda and claim that they are following his ideals. But see what Golwalkar, an RSS leader whom the RSS considers to be its ideologue, writes, "So, foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e. of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights."⁸⁰ It means those who are not Hindus will have to respect Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu language i.e. Sanskrit. Otherwise, they shall have no right in this country. This is the fiat of Golwalkar, the RSS satrap. Now I shall read out what Vivekananda had said, "Christians need not

become Buddhists nor need the Muslims to become Hindus or the Buddhists Christians. But each of them will be nourished by absorbing the essence of other religions and develop according to its nature maintaining its distinct identity... We want to take mankind to that end where there is no Veda, Bible or Koran but all works will be performed through integration of the Veda, Bible and Koran... we not only tolerate all religions but believe all of them to be true."^{81,82} This is the version of Vivekananda. Then who is a Hindu, Vivekananda or the RSS-BJP? Vivekananda had also said, "If I had a son, I would not have given him any religious tutelage except practising concentration, one paragraph of prayer and chanting mantras. Thereafter, in course of growing in age and listening to various opinions and advices, he would have been acquainted with something which to him would have been the truth. It is very natural that simultaneously with full freedom and without having any conflict, my son could be a Buddhist, my wife a Christian and myself a Muslim."⁸³ Now you examine for yourself whether you would call Vivekananda a Hindu or the RSS-BJP as Hindu. The RSS-BJP contend that the Muslim kings and emperors had spread Islamic religion in this country at the point of the sword. On the other hand, Vivekananda wrote, "The conquest of India by the Muslims gave the poor a taste of emancipation. That is why, one fifth of the population of this country became Muslim. This did not happen on the strength of arms. It is sheer insanity to think that such had happened because of power arms and acts of destruction. The poor wanted to be free from the clutches of the zamindars and the priests."⁸⁴ It means the lower caste poor Hindus became Muslims to get rid of the oppression of the Hindu zamindars and priests. Who is saying this? None else than Vivekananda. Then, who is right? Vivekananda or the RSS? Do the RSS-BJP have any moral right to carry Vivekananda's photo?

The BJP leaders demolished a historic monument like Babri Masjid just like the way the Talibanis destroyed Buddha statues in Afghanistan. No one used to pray at Babri Masjid. It was an old deserted structure. The RSS-BJP razed that structure into rubble fomenting sentiment about Rama, an imaginary mythological character, solely with a view to garnering votes. We want to question them—a question that we

Contd. on page 6

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

RSS-BJP's views are against the teachings of Vivekananda

Contd. from page 5

raised earlier also—was Chaitanya a Hindu? Was Ramakrishna a Hindu? Was Vivekananda a Hindu? Were they not aware of Babri Masjid, its history? They never exhorted the Hindus to demolish it and build Rama temple in its place. Just for the sake of vote, the RSS-BJP destroyed such a historic memorial by telling lies and engineered communal riot. Do they know that Ramakrishna had himself offered *namaz* in a mosque as well as prayed in a church? About temple, Vivekananda wrote, "Millions of rupees are spent opening and closing the gates of Kashi and Vrindavan temples. Once the god is changing clothes while at other time, he is eating rice or chiding at the sons of barren women. On the other hand, living gods are dying without food and clothes."¹⁵ Vivekananda criticized that while the real poor have no food, no clothing, the so-called worshippers were constructing temples, decorating the idols with gold ornaments while living gods i.e. men are dying without food. He cried shame on this. Let me remind the BJP-RSS leaders what Vivekananda had said, "First bread and then religion ...Not only the Indians, if any human being starves anywhere, I shall not propagate religion." "So long as even a single dog in my country has no food, my whole religion will be to feed them."¹⁶ What would the RSS-BJP leaders say about this Vivekananda? Do they have acquaintance with this Vivekananda? He believed in the Vedanta and we believe in Marxism. Here we have a fundamental difference. But he was a great man. He did not practise vote politics or indulged in falsehood. He even questioned as to who should be considered as a true patriot? In his language, "The people have been living in semi-starved condition for centuries. Do you understand that the dark clouds of want of education have engulfed India? Do these thoughts make you restive; take away your sleep of night? Have these thoughts mixed with your blood and are flowing through your veins? Are these thoughts maddening for you? This is the first step of becoming patriot."¹⁷ Do the RSS-BJP leaders who are now saddled in power know this Vivekananda? Vivekananda had dual personality. On the one hand, he was a spiritualist, believer in the Vedanta. On the other hand, he was the person to rouse Indian nationalism. We respect Vivekananda for his nationalism and whatever humanist values he upheld and hold him as a great man. Tragedy was that while nationalist

Vivekananda was deeply pained and agitated by the poverty, oppression and absence of education which existed in reality and raised voice of protest, he, on the other hand, believed in spiritual Vedantic philosophy which preached that "the objective world is false, the Supreme Being i.e. *Brahma* is the only truth". It means everything in objective reality is illusion, myth, having no existence. As a corollary, woes and misery of the people are also myth. This is the painful tragedy in the life of such a great man. But see how great one has to be to say that "So long the crores of Indians will remain plunged in the darkness of poverty and ignorance, I shall consider those who are educated at the cost of these myriads of poor and ignorant but do not even look at them, as traitors. ...So long twenty crores of Indians will lead life of a hungry animal, I shall call those rich who are enjoying a grandiose life by earning money through squeezing of these hapless, as sinful rascals."^{18,19} In the light of this observation of Vivekananda, how would one rate the "patriotic" 'pro-people' leaders of today? Though as Marxists, we have differences with the views of the great men of different ages, we hold their dreams in high esteem, respect whatever concern they felt for the oppressed people. We not only respect that, we struggle to appraise their worth in the given space and time.

I want to add that we respect the religious preachers. A wrong notion is spread about the Marxists in this regard. We hold that religion in its time played a progressive role. Some of the religions also played fighting roles in social progress. But in the dim past, there was no concept of god in the human society. This has been conclusively shown by Marxism by analyzing history. If you go to the Andamans, you would find a primitive tribe called Jaroa. They do not know how to wear clothes; they have no private property, no home and hearth. There is no rich and poor among them, no ruler. They do not believe in god, do not observe religious rituals. This was the primitive age which Marxism has shown.

Let me again read out from Vivekananda's works. The blind disciples of Vivekananda may be a bit displeased because it is Vivekananda who is putting them in trouble. In 1897, Vivekananda said in his Lahore speech that, "The first was in search in External nature for the truths of the universe; it was an attempt to get the solution of the problems of life from the material world."²⁰ Vivekananda himself is

saying that man's first thought was centred around this material world. This is the greatness of Vivekananda. He gave recognition to the truth of history.

Marxism only showed the correct place of religion in human history

So, in the primitive society, there was no religion. Religion marked its advent during the slave-master society when the oppressor-oppressed, ruler-ruled relationship came into being. Marx has a historic observation in this respect. He said, "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and also the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world and the soul of the soulless conditions."²¹ In that age appeared a band of thinkers who were moved by the wails and woes of the oppressed slaves. They said that as there was a master at the helm of the society who ruled the society, so there ought to be one Lord, the ruler of the universe. Everything is happening according to his order. They held that all were children of that almighty god. Both the slave and the slave master were his children. So, the society would run at the behest of the god. In those days, there was no scientific answer to the questions like what is mind, what is thought, how do we think and so forth. These answers were provided much later by Marxism based on science. It has shown that thought evolves through contradiction of human brain with the external world. Thinking changes with the change in the material condition. The thinkers of that time used to believe that the almighty god was making them think. Thinking was perceived to be the contemplation of god. So, the thought of social welfare which was coming in their mind was viewed as endowment of god. This was to them the directive of god. This is how the concept of religion came in the world. That is why great Engels had said about Christianity that, "Both Christianity and the workers' socialism preach forthcoming salvation from bondage and misery; Christianity places this salvation in a life beyond, after death in heaven; socialism places it in this world, in a transformation of society."²² Though he spoke of Christianity, he meant all religions. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also observed, "...since Christianity preached equality of all, the slave masters, by perpetrating oppression on the slaves, were acting against the will of god, and so to torture the

slaves was to defile Christianity. Viewed from this angle, it is not difficult to realize that Christianity helped the slaves in a way to organize struggles against the injustice and oppression by the slave masters and in that sense helped in social progress at that time. Similar was the case with the adherents of Islam as well... You should bear in mind that it was the religion at a particular stage of social development that helped in furthering the concept of morals and ethics, the sense of values, the concept of right and wrong, the spirit of service to others and not despising anyone. As a result, a sense of discipline grew which helped to bring about consolidation and cohesion in society. From this angle too, religion played a role in social progress."²³ From that respect, we respect and honour the religious preachers. Rather many of you might not know that religion first came under attack from the bourgeois thinkers during European renaissance in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. At that time, the bourgeoisie was raising its head. By overthrowing feudalism, capitalism was then a rising and progressive force. In feudalism, the king was perceived to be the representative of god. The rule of the Bible was believed to be the rule of god. In course of its fight against feudalism with science as the weapon, the bourgeois humanists launched attack on religion. Thinkers like Bacon, Spinoza, Hume, Kant and Feuerbach called religion 'an aberration of history'. They did not correctly evaluate the role of religion. To them religion was a deviation, distortion of history. So, their call was to abandon religion. Marxism, on the contrary, acknowledged that religion had a historic role and at one point in history, religion had a progressive role. But can religion solve any of the problems of contemporary world? Do the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita, Bible or Koran have any discussion on the burning problems of today's life like price rise, unemployment, poverty, fair wage, job creation, hike in tax, rise in fare, atrocities on women, exploitation of capitalism or aggression of imperialism? There is no such discussion. Only it is written that one should follow the path of justice and truth. But in a given phase in history, the question of right or wrong, truth or false ought to be decided based on the necessity of that particular period. This is the limitation of religion. We have no conflict with those who believe in

Contd. on page 7

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Nation or state is not created based on religion

Contd. from page 6

religion. Let them join us in the movement against price rise, retrenchment of workers, rape, curtailment of scope of education, rampant circulation of liquor and drug, corruption and such other menaces. Believers in all religions can come forward. We can fight unitedly with all of them. Where is our objection? We object when it is propagated that rich and poor is the creation of god, one is poor because of one's wrong deeds in the previous birth; one is starving, being raped, seeing one's child dying in the hospital because of the sin one committed in the previous birth. Everything that happens is the injunction of fate. What man proposes, god disposes i.e. everything is handiwork of destiny. So, one should not protest, should not fight because it is god's will. So, whatever may be the extent of pain, endure it as the will of god. In that event, one would be happy in the next birth. Our objection is against all such notions. Marx had pointed out to all these when he said that religion has been used as the opium by the exploiting class. You see for yourself. So many hungry people are wandering around, so many oppressed women are screaming. But do you find those propagandizing the messages of Vivekananda or Hazrat Mohammed protesting against all these? Do you find them waging struggle against such social maladies and aberrations? Do you find any priest of any temple or church, imam of any mosque or any religious preacher to fight against price spiral, corruption or atrocities against women? Had Christ, Mohammed or the exponents of Hindu religion been alive, even if Vivekananda would have been alive, would they have acquiesced in all these? Would they have said that let everything continue as it is as these are all ordained by god and we better concentrate on worship and promise offering to the deity? So, it is clear that religion has outlived its utility in course of history. Religion today is a prop in the hands of the exploiters. At one point of time in history, the religious preachers starved, faced onslaught, physical assault. But defying such attacks, they fought. And today, the mosques-temples-churches have properties worth millions of rupees. The priests, clergies and imams are issuing religious sermons by sitting on huge wealth. This is how religion has lost its utility following inexorable course of history. We need to understand that Great Lenin had said that

Marxism has not clutched out of the thin air. In the finest continuation of all the great men who appeared in history, of all the cults of truth and knowledge in all ages, Marxism has come with the new truth in recognition to the necessity of the new era. He said that "only those who cultivate the treasure of knowledge acquired by mankind over the ages are communists". We study the life struggle of the great religious preachers of the yester years and try to acquire from them what is worth acquiring. We try to learn from the lives of all great men. This is what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught us.

RSS had opposed freedom struggle

You can have an example of the evilness of the views of the RSS-BJP from their attitude towards the freedom movement of our country. Golwalkar, their ideologue, had said, "The theories of territorial nationalism and of common danger, which formed the basis for our concept of nation, had deprived us of the positive and inspiring content of our real Hindu Nationhood and made many of the 'freedom movements' virtually anti-British movements. Anti-Britishism was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the freedom struggle, its leaders and the common people."¹⁰ See for yourself how dangerous these words are. The concept of Indian nationalism which grew throughout the entire geographic area of India centring on anti-British imperialist movement is stated to be disastrous. According to him, their concept of Hindu nationalism has been disturbed because of emergence of the concept of Indian nationalism. In his opinion, the very contention that the anti-British imperialist movement was patriotic and nationalistic was reactionary; the leaders who talked of nationalism while opposing the British imperialist rule were all guided by reactionary thoughts. The RSS-BJP and their leaders think that one should have raised the slogan of Hindu nation. If the concept of one unified Indian nation which grew in course of freedom movement against the British imperialists embracing the Hindus and Muslims alike and irrespective of all religions, castes, creeds and ethnicities is called reactionary, then, according to the RSS, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Netaji Subhaschandra, Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Surya

Sen— all were reactionaries and traitors because they did not talk of Hindu nation. The reality is that had not there been British imperialist rule, the unified Indian nationalism would not have grown. What was the condition of India before British rule? There were some Hindu kings and Muslim nawabs. Before the Muslim kings came, there were some isolated Hindu kingdoms. But they were not unified as a nation. If the Britishers had not come and the British rule had not established a communication system to link various places, fostered improved trade and commerce through an improved communication and thereby developed an integrated economy through which had grown national capital, India would have remained disintegrated into separate Bengali national state, Odisha national state, Gujarat national state, Tamil national state and so forth. If Hindu is a nation based on religion, then why is Nepal a separate state and nation? Nepal is a country of Hindu religion. Nepal is a state, not a state based on Hindu religion, but as a distinct national entity. In the entire Middle-East, in the Arab world, there are so many states. But all are Muslims. How could so many states be established while Islam is being professed by all? So it is clear that nationhood does not grow, state does not come into being based on religion. So, please bear in mind that the RSS, the mentor of the BJP was opposed to Indian renaissance, opposed to anti-British imperialist freedom movement. That is why, the RSS did not join the national freedom struggle. Where are they leading India to with this flawed unhistorical theory? The fact is capitalism needs this distortion today. If the people could be carried with this flawed concept, they would not protest, question or argue even if the crisis mounts in their life. They will remain intoxicated with the fatalistic thoughts, thoughts of having committed sin in previous birth, decrees of fate and such other backward notions. This is fascist culture. Capitalism is trying to invoke the same in a more organized way through the BJP. Of course it is true that in this country, there are obstacles before doing so. Already Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had pointed out that notwithstanding centralization of monopoly capital, there is contradiction between regional capital and monopoly capital. Small capital exists in abundance. Also there is regionalism. These all obstruct growth of all-out fascist national unity. The educated people and the

liberal democrats constitute a formidable force. They would not accept growth of fascism so easily. They would protest and build up movement. There will be fight. This is the reality. If we can correctly develop class and mass struggles, we can confront this danger. But as Marxist revolutionaries, as genuine leftists, we must understand that we are going to face a grave danger. (At this time, it began to rain torrentially. Comrade Provash Ghosh asked the gathering if he would continue or end there. The people who assembled there said loudly that Comrade Provash Ghosh should continue his speech).

The RSS is raising bogey of 'Hindu Nation'. But I want to you to remember an observation by Rabindranath in this regard. He said, "it will not be enough to recognize Hindu minds only in India. The development of literature, art, sculpture, science, etc. in variegated opulence has made its acquaintance through fusion of the Hindus and the Muslims."¹¹ The RSS-BJP are talking of ancient tradition. If that be the case, then there was Goutam Buddha in this country as well. Buddha did not believe in god. Mahavira, the exponent of Jainism also did not believe in god. In this country, there were materialist philosophies i.e. philosophy of Saint Charvak, Lokayat philosophy and such others. Did this country have only Vedantic philosophy? The RSS-BJP would not cultivate those philosophies in the name of tradition because those pose danger to their theory of Hindutva or Hindu nation. What they want is blind faith, blind religionism. That only can assure capitalism. That is what they are trying to do. We must understand that.

I also want to dwell on another point. In this country, there has been too much of vulgarization of the word secularism. The Congress hitherto explained secularism as equal encouragement to all religions. In the name of encouraging all regions, it was Hindu religion which was encouraged under the leadership of Gandhiji. Otherwise the country would not have been divided. Pakistan would not have been created. Gandhiji himself led a life of Hindu monk. In the freedom movement, there was dominance of upper caste Hindus. So the so-called lower caste people — we, of course, do not consider anyone as lower caste — also did not join the freedom movement. The upper caste Hindus only controlled the freedom movement. What is meant

Contd. on page 8

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech**Secularism implies that religion would not intervene in social and political affairs***Contd. from page 7*

by secularism in the truest sense of the term? Secularism which marked its advent in Europe during renaissance held that the state would neither encourage nor oppose any religion. Religion will have no place in politics, economics, education or culture. Religion would remain a private affair of the individuals. If anyone desires, he can follow religion. If anyone does not, he need not. Someone can believe in god, some may not. This is true secularism. But the reformist Congress leadership, in the interest of the compromising bourgeoisie, did not allow this true concept of secularism to take root in this country. Subhaschandra also said that religion will have no truck with politics. Politics will be conducted based on science, economics, political science, etc. He said, "Religion should be totally kept out of politics. Religion should be one's personal matter. There should be full liberty for an individual to profess any religion he wants as a human being. But politics should not be guided by religion or any supernatural concepts. Politics should be guided by economic, political and scientific reasoning."² He also said, "Hindu Mahasabha has sent the monks and female ascetics to solicit votes with tridents in hand. Every Hindu bends his head by seeing saffron cloth and trident. Hindu Mahasabha has appeared in the scene by taking advantage of and defiling religion.... isolate these traitors from the national life. Do not listen to them. We want that all freedom-loving men and women of the country serve the country unitedly and intently."²³ Rabindranath also opposed infusion of religion in politics. Saratchandra also told the same thing. But this true secularism has not been practised in our country. The CPI(M), CPI also did not bring true concept of secularism before the people. Otherwise, could their position be so pathetic? The workers, supporters and voters of the CPI (M) are joining the BJP in large number. Just think what kind of revolution and leftism the CPI(M) has taught its workers and supporters. In the last election, the Hindu CPI (M) swung towards the BJP, the Muslim CPI (M) sided with the TMC. Such is the kind of communism, leftism and secularism the CPI (M) has taught. It has only practised opportunism for the sake of votes.

False promise of development

Of late, the word 'development' is being uttered by all the ruling parties. Whoever contests election, talks of development. This is a deceptive slogan which people are also often carried by. Never is asked the question, development for whom? The society is class-divided. It is divided between labour and capital, oppressor and the oppressed, the rich and the poor. Whose development then the election-oriented parties are talking about? If it is development of the exploiters, the capitalist class then that is bound to entail severe crisis in the life of the workers and peasants. Because, there is antagonistic contradiction between the class interest of the capitalists and the class interest of the workers and peasants. Development of both cannot take place together. The CPI(M) used to talk of 'development'. Now the TMC is also saying that. So is the BJP. Thus, all of them are duping the people. Look at the character of the bourgeoisie today. Once during the days of French revolution, capitalism raised the slogan of nationalism, national industry, national market and national economy. In those days, nationalism was progressive. In our country, there was slogan for national freedom from the rule of the British imperialists. The bourgeoisie itself gave slogan for national industry, acceptance of national goods and boycott of foreign goods. At that time, the national bourgeoisie was progressive. But today the national bourgeoisie has entered the stage of monopoly, has been exporting finance capital abroad for exploiting labour and raw material of foreign lands, has given birth to multi-nationals. On the one hand, it is going overseas to exploit foreign market while on the other hand, through mutual understanding, it is inviting foreign capital to exploit the domestic market. There is nothing left of nationalism in the bourgeoisie today. Multi-nationals have no nation. The whole world is their land for plunder. Now even Foreign Direct Investment is invited in defence industry, the industry of arms manufacturing. Because, the ruling national bourgeoisie needs more foreign capital and modern technology for manufacturing sophisticated arms. Indian capitalism desires to be equipped with latest ammunition. Because it itself has attained the stage of imperialism.

Just the other day, prime minister Modi went to Nepal. He would also be visiting Sri Lanka, Malay and Bangladesh. Once Advani was made to resign when he praised Jinnah. But, under pressure of the corporate house, the prime minister of Pakistan was invited on the day Modi took oath. Why? Because, the Indian monopolists want the markets of Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka. Now the Indian capitalists want market for their goods. So, there is a change in the approach of the RSS-BJP. The Indian capitalists have already invested Rs 32,426 lakh crores abroad. Indian capitalists are running industries in the Middle-East, Europe, Latin America and even the USA. You have heard of Mittal. He is among the first top ten rich persons in the world. This is where the Indian bourgeoisie is today. In order to establish dominance in the markets of other countries particularly the countries of south-East Asia, what is needed is both power of capital as well as power of military. That is why all such things are being done. So, nothing of nationalism is left in the Indian bourgeoisie. It has no concern for the country. What is its attitude towards the people? As great Stalin had said, to the capitalists, human beings are nothing but raw material, human raw material. As coal is required in the factories for being burnt into ashes in the machines, labour is also required in the industries so that all its flesh and blood is squeezed to run the wheels. It is through appropriation of this labour power that the capitalists make profit. So they exploit people both as labour as well as buyer of goods. Only for this they need people. And the country is nothing but their turf of exploitation. Capitalism has come to this stage now. The very concept of nation and sovereignty has changed in the period of multinational. The capitalists incite national feeling only if there is a war centring on market. If war breaks out over capture of market, the capitalists would again foment national sentiment in the form of national jingoism.

What is the condition of the world because of fierce capitalist oppression and exploitation? The wealth owned by only 85 persons is equivalent to the wealth at the disposal of 350 crores of people. See for yourself how wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a few. 300 crore people in the world

earn Rs 155 per day. Rs 77 is the daily income of 120 crore people. This is the daily income of 420 crores (4.2 billion) of people. This is what constitutes the world capitalist market. Then what is the condition of that market? Just the other day, the Indian President said in a speech that 66 crore out of 120 crore Indians have no job. If 66 crore people are unemployed, what is the condition of the capitalist market in this country? We are of the opinion that the actual figure of unemployment is over 80 crore and 85% people live below poverty line. There is acute market crisis round the globe. When a tiger eats a deer, the cub in the womb of the deer is also consumed. So, deer virtually become extinct causing shortage of food for the tiger. Similarly, those who are herbivorous eat away even the roots of the grass. So, there is no grass left for eating in future. Capitalism is like that; it squeezes people so much that it cannot protect even its own market for exploitation. Today, capitalism is enmeshed in insoluble market crisis, what is called to be over head and ears. The capitalists have coined a new word, quasi-permanent recession. It means almost permanent recession. This is what is going on in the world. Sometimes production increases by 2%, only to fall by 3% after two or three months. Really, world capitalism is now over head and ears. All the governments are running on debts. Foreign debt of our country is Rs 2, 41, 56, 000 crores. Fiscal deficit of this year is 61% of the total budget income. Most of the earnings of the government are spent on repayment of debt. As a result of this, prices will soar further. Taxes will increase. There will be printing of huge quantum of currency notes which will push up inflation. Whatever little subsidy is provided towards food and fertilizer would be withdrawn. And the multi-nationals and corporate sector would intensify their exploitation. Unemployment, closure, retrenchment, appointment of contract labour in place of permanent labour will increase more and more. How is it that this capitalism will exist and yet there will be development? Even the almighty god who is worshipped by the believers cannot rescue capitalism from this crisis. Long back, great Marx had said that capitalism which brought industrial revolution would itself destroy the industries.

Contd. on page 9

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

When monopoly appeared and concentration of capital took place, economic base of fascism was established

Contd. from page 8

Capitalism is only destroying industry today

Present day capitalism is a dangerous enemy of the mankind. In its parliamentary democracy, there is 'parliament' but no 'democracy'. Nowhere there is democracy. The slogan of the bourgeoisie during the days of its rising had been of equality-fraternity-liberty. Where is that equality? On the one side, there are the oppressors while on the other, there are the oppressed. There is acute discrimination, no equality. Two world wars have destroyed people of many countries. Where is fraternity? The imperialists are generating war among the countries, perpetrating murderous attacks. Israel is razing Palestine into rubbles, indiscriminately killing the Palestinians. You are shaken by these news everyday. By waving the flag of parliamentary democracy, the US imperialists have destroyed Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan. Gone are the earlier days. Fraternity has come to such a pass now. Liberty today means liberty of the exploiting class to loot and oppress with alacrity, liberty to chain the people. This has been the import of the slogan of equality-fraternity-liberty of the bourgeoisie today. The bourgeois leaders today are hypocrites, cheats. During the freedom movement, our leaders were the guardians of the nation. The youth used to learn from Subhaschandra, Deshbandhu, Rabindranath, Saratchandra. Youths were roused by Vidyasagar—Vivekananda. What will the boys

and girls learn from today's leaders? Capitalism is destroying human faculties and values. There is no dearth of cult of religion. So many temples, mosques and churches are there. So many religious festivals, fairs are organized. There is so much shout in triumph of democracy. Alongside all these, there is a competition over addiction to liquor, drug, gambling and satta, ugly remarks centring on woman's physique and rape. An old man is raping a child. A teenager is raping a woman of his mother's age. Did anyone witness such things earlier? This is the 'development' story of India. This is the kind of 'progress' the country has registered. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said long back that fascism is destroying the very process of man-making, is destroying values. Neither religious values nor the humanist values of freedom movement are working today. Revolutionary proletarian values have not yet reached the larger section of the masses. So, there is a vacuum. Human essence develops centring on certain ideology and value. Once religion provided values. Thousands of years back, great characters appeared based on religion. Later, European renaissance and democratic movement, freedom movement of our country provided values. Still higher values evolved based on the proletarian revolution in Russia, China and Vietnam. Today, those values are absent.

There is a terrible vacuum in the realm of values. There is no peace in any family. Too much of unrest, separation and bitterness are

devouring the families. The children do not take responsibility of old parents, drive them away from home. This is the kind of civilization capitalism has developed. Will it be allowed to continue? Either spurt in unemployment, poverty, retrenchment, starvation deaths, deaths in absence of medical treatment, rape of women, drinking of liquor, proliferation of gambling and satta and destruction of family life and rule of the Congress-BJP-CPI (M)-TMC should continue or there should be a change? Real change can come by only through overthrow of capitalism by revolution. That is the path shown by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. SUCI(C) is the Party to lead that revolution.

Yes it is true that socialism has been dismantled in Soviet Union and China.

Subhaschandra, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul, Premchand, Subramania Bharati, Romaine Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Einstein would have shed tears in pain if they saw this dismantling of socialism. None of them was a communist. Yet they all had high regard for socialism, held socialist Soviet Union led by great Stalin in high esteem. They made lot of observations in this regard. Rabindranath had said that Soviet Union had been the biggest pilgrimage of his life. When Subhaschandra was losing the battle of INA, he exuded confidence by saying that Stalin was alive and he would show the path to the mankind. This very Soviet Union was dismantled by the imperialists-capitalists-revisionists. But, there is no scope of despair for that. We are

immensely pained but we are not depressed. Because we know that no great movement can achieve victory at one stroke. Buddhism, Christianity, Islam as well as Hinduism had to fight for hundreds of years to achieve victory. Repeatedly, they faced defeats. The religious preachers used to claim that they had divine power. But still they had to fight for hundreds of years. It has taken over 350 years for bourgeois democratic revolution to score victory in Europe. In our country also, the freedom movement continued for so many years. As against that, the first exploitation-free socialist society in the world existed for only 70 years in Soviet Union. Slave society, monarchy and capitalism constitute together an exploitative system that has been in vogue for thousands of years. Compared to these thousands of years of exploitative orders, 70 years are virtually nothing. Socialism was facing danger from both inside and outside. We must take lessons about the cause of dismantling of socialism and raise our heads again. Marxism did not come because Marx wanted it. Likewise the religious preachers and the bourgeois humanists did not appear because they so desired. Every ideology is born out of a historic necessity. Marxism has also emerged in recognition to social necessity. It is the urge for anti-capitalist socialist revolution which gave birth to Marxism. Marxism is the only philosophy which is based on the experimentally verified scientific truth. The various disciplines of science like Physics,

Contd. on page 10

Observance of 38th Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day

(In our last issue, we published the news of observance of 38th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in various states. We hereby publish some more news of the observance.)

Guwahati, Assam

On 5th August 2014, the Assam State Committee held a mass meeting at the Lakshmiram Barua Sadan in Guwahati in commemoration of the 38th anniversary of demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the fore-ranking Marxist philosophers of the present era and the founder General Secretary of our Party SUCI(Communist). Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Polit Bureau Member of the Party was the main speaker. Comrade Chandralekha Das, Assam State Secretary was the president of the meeting. She in her presidential address highlighted the essence of the teachings of

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, elaborating at the same time on the complex and difficult situation prevailing in Assam. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya's speech is published separately.

Ghatsila, Jharkhand

The memorial meeting was held on 5th August at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought in Ghatsila. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Rabin Samajpati, Jharkhand State Secretary while Comrade Ranjit Dhar, veteran member of Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) was the main speaker. Before the meeting, Comrade Dhar hoisted the red flag and placed wreath at the full bust

of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Speech of Comrade Ranjit Dhar will be published later.

Cuttack, Odisha

Memorial meeting was held at Shaheed Bhawan hall, Cuttack, on 8th August. Comrade Dhuryati Das, Odisha State Secretary presided over. Here also, Comrade Ranjit Dhar, was the main speaker.

Lucknow, UP

Memorial meeting was held on 5th August at Gangaprasad Memorial Hall. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Jagdish Chandra Asthana, member of the UP State Secretariat while Comrade Dhurjati Das, Odisha State Secretary, SUCI(C) was the main speaker.

Andamans

In observance of the Memorial Day, a discussion was organized at

little Andaman on 5th August. 15 local people garlanded the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Balamanna Manna who was the main speaker dwelt on the various burning problems of people's life and criticized the various anti-people policies of the central government.

Alipore Central Jail, Kolkata

SUCI(C) workers and leaders who are serving life term after being implicated in false cases organized a memorial meeting on 5th August inside the Alipore central jail. It was presided over by Comrade Bansinath Gayen, veteran member of the Party. Comrades Janardan Pal, Anirudha Haldar, Srikanta Haldar, Harisadhan Malik and other workers, supporters, sympathizers offered floral tribute to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrades Bansinath Gayen, Janardan Pal and Anirudha Haldar spoke on the occasion.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Marxism is the only philosophy based on experimentally verified scientific truth

Contd. from page 9

Chemistry, Physiology, Botany etc. work in different domains of nature. Each of these disciplines discovers the laws governing the particular domain. Marxism dialectically coordinated, co-related and generalized these particular laws and discovered the general principles, as a system of discipline governing all movements in nature. Marx also discovered the particular laws of social transformation and development. The capitalists use science for development of technology for their industry, defence and agriculture, for the need of medical treatment, for exploring the space, for manufacturing transport vehicles and for meeting such other necessities of theirs. But they have tremendous opposition to applying science in the realm of philosophy or in the sphere of social development. They do not want science to govern evaluation of ideology and society, examination of social problems. They are afraid to apply scientific philosophy in these spheres. Because, in that event, the very existence of capitalism will be threatened. But we want science, scientific methodology in examining each of the domains and phenomena. The inexorable law governing transition from primitive society to slave society, slave society to feudalism and feudalism to capitalism also governs the transition of capitalism to socialism and socialism to communism. This is the course of history. This is the teaching of Marxism. This is what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us and built up the Party to lead the revolutionary transformation.

CPI, CPI (M) never followed Marxism

He saw that the dream of the pioneers of Indian renaissance and leaders and martyrs of freedom struggle did not materialize in the transfer of power. The desired liberation did not come by. True liberation means establishment of a society free from exploitation. Since there was no real communist party on this soil, he built up the SUCI (C) as the genuine communist party to fulfil the necessity of freeing the society from exploitation. The party carrying the name communist party of India from which was formed the CPI (M) by split never grew as a true communist party. What is its history? You will be surprised to know that in 1925, great Stalin had said that the big national bourgeoisie

was compromising with the British imperialists while the small bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois revolutionaries were fighting the British rulers. He advised that the communists should forge unity with this petty-bourgeoisie and isolate the compromising bourgeoisie from the freedom movement. But when the Gandhites cornered uncompromising fighter Subhaschandra and compelled him to resign from the post of Congress President and then suspended him, these so called communists stood by the Gandhites and did not support Subhaschandra. This is the history of the so called communist party. Otherwise, the very character of our freedom movement would have been different. In China, great Mao Zedong had formed unity with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a nationalist revolutionary like Subhaschandra, to prepare the ground for successful accomplishment of proletarian revolution. Similar role could have been played by supporting Subhaschandra. Subhaschandra himself wanted that. On the eve of Ramgarh left consolidation conference, he exhorted the CPI to join so that the base of communism could be created in India. The so called communists did not attend that conference because they were busy arriving at a compromise with the Gandhites. This so called communist party of India did not join the August movement of 1942. When the whole country was in ferment, this so called communist party took side of the British imperialism. Great Stalin had reprimanded them by expressing disgust at their shameful support to British imperialism. This was the role of the party named communist party of India. Subhaschandra had formed INA. INA had a tactical unity with Japan. Whether this tactics was correct or not is a matter of debate. But, there cannot be any question about Subhaschandra's patriotism. But the communist party joined Nehru in calling Subhaschandra a stooge of Japan. This is the history.

Then the leaders of undivided CPI said that Hindus and Muslims are two different nations. The RSS leaders would be delighted to know this version of the then undivided CPI. The CPI leaders supported the demand for Pakistan. This is their past. What is the theory of the CPI and CPI (M) even today? According to their theory, Indian bourgeoisie is progressive. Their

thesis talks of people's democratic revolution. In characterizing Indian state, the CPI (M) says that it is a bourgeois landlord state headed by the big bourgeoisie. Who is this big bourgeoisie? It is the monopolists. Who can deny that monopoly has appeared in India? Lenin had shown that monopoly is the last stage of capitalism. But, the CPI (M) says it would fight against feudalism and imperialism and the national bourgeoisie is its ally. In keeping with this theory the CPI and later CPI (M) had called Indira Gandhi as progressive and Morarji Desai reactionary. They objectively supported emergency by supporting the 20-point programme of Indira Gandhi. They did not participate in the movement spearheaded by Jayprakash Narayan. CPI had openly supported Indira Gandhi while the CPI (M) did it covertly. Taking advantage of that and exploiting the movement, the Jana Sangh increased its strength. Had the CPI and CPI (M) joined the movement of Jayprakash Narayan, the BJP could not have come to this position today. We alone tried to resist. But our strength was limited. These very CPI (M) leaders had united with the Janata Party which had within its fold the RSS and the Jana Sangh. This they did to gain in the 1977 election. They had come to power in the state of West Bengal with the backing of the Janata Party. This very CPI (M) had joined hands with the BJP to support the V P Singh government. At Kolkata maidan, Jyoti Basu had addressed joint meeting alongwith Atal Behari Vajpayee. Once with the support of the BJP, the CPI (M) ran the Kolkata Corporation. These are all instances of worst opportunism.

How SUCI(C) was formed through hard struggle

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh could understand the character of this so called communist party while he was in the jail. He realized that the said party did not grow following correct Marxist methodology. Their leaders could be honest but they did not adopt Marxism as the philosophy of life. They could not concretize Marxism in India. So, he felt the need of a real revolutionary party. He started his struggle with six revolutionary compatriots. Nobody knew Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at that time. There was no office of the Party, no place to stay, no availability of food. Comrade Ghosh

had spent nights at Railway Station, at the parks of the city. So many days he had spent without food or in half-starved condition. I have seen Comrade Shibdas Ghosh going without food in my school days. Today, there is so much of arrangement for us. The Party has grown today substantially. But we cannot forget even for a moment the days Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had to live without food. Undivided CPI was a very big party at that time. RSP formed from Anushilan Samity was a big party. So was Forward Bloc founded by Netaji Subhaschandra. They used to taunt us saying that if SUCI(C) were a party, then bats were to be regarded as birds. They used to say that SUCI(C) was not party but a club. But, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh cared a fig. He moved with a firm determination. Some people told him: 'You will not succeed. You have hardly any follower. You have no press publicity. You have no money either. Your whole life will be doomed.' But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh replied: 'I shall die fighting and fight while dying. If there is truth in my ideology, history will give value to that one day. I might die under a tree. But I shall lay at least one foundation stone of revolution.' Today our Party is growing and expanding, spread to almost all the states. Our growth has not been based on the number of MLAs or MPs like CPSU led by Lenin and CPC led by Mao Zedong. Has our party shown any sign of breaking up? Before last election, we had an MP, but this MP was not elected based on our singular strength. We at that time had a unity with the TMC based on Singur-Nandigram movement. This time we fought alone. We knew we had hardly any chance of winning. We, as a revolutionary party, fought the election. We had people's support. But we could not defeat money power-muscle power-media power and the rigging machinery. But has any of our members or workers left the Party? We have instead increased our strength. Guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, our Party comrades are firmly committed to revolutionary ideology. We have got many new contacts during the last election. These contacts have been from the CPI (M) as well as other parties and from among the masses. We run our Party by raising funds through sale of coupons in the streets and

Contd. on page 11

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech**Guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, our Party comrades are firmly committed to revolutionary ideology***Contd. from page 10*

collecting subscriptions by knocking door to door. There are hundreds of our workers who are whole timers, who do not lead ordinary family life and are ready to give everything for the Party and revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed way to move with head high

A new struggle is developing across the country based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us to respect the great personalities and luminaries of the past, learn from their life and struggle and apply Marxism-Leninism in our own life. He has taught us that the kernel of revolutionary politics lies in the higher standard of character, not tall talks or quotation mongering; what is needed is higher character and human essence, winning others by our behaviour, by affection and decent conduct, nothing great can be achieved through falsehood. He taught us that every person would die one day, but so long one would live, one must live raising his head high, even at the time of death, one's head ought to remain high; one ought not to bend before any injustice or falsehood; one must protest each and every injustice one comes across life, boldly and manly; here lies the real joy of life. Remember, no one has attained greatness based on the quantum of wealth amassed. In the world, no one has become great on the basis of his bank balance or property. Many of the great men had starved, had no shelter and had to bear with immense repression. But they are ever alive in our mind because of their human qualities, human essence. This is what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us. Thousands of our workers are imbued with this teaching. We have been organizing working class struggles on various demands both in this state and other states in the country. We have been building struggles over the demands of the workers and poor peasants, agricultural labourers and rural workers. We are developing movement against atrocities on women. We are fighting for the legitimate demands of the students and youths. We are protesting against harrowing price rise. We shall continue to develop movements against the anti-people policies of the central and state governments. But what is the object of our movement? Our object is not just realizing the

demands but to educate the people with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, arm them with revolutionary consciousness and culture, teach them how to conduct struggle, how to die while fighting against injustice, how to be united based on ideology. We want united struggle, innumerable people's committees to organize movement. Build up public committees and volunteer corps in every locality. All the people who have assembled here in this vast gathering stretched upto Chowringhee do not belong to our Party. But we tell all of them that they have been deceived for long. Now, stand up and resist. At whose order do the print and electronic media function? Who own the media? The media is owned by the capitalist class. Who provide the crores of rupees spent in the elections? It is the capitalist class which provides that. Repeatedly, you have been duped. You will be duped again. You must be united. Please understand politics. Do not turn away from politics by thinking that the cobbler must stick to his last. Then wicked politics, nasty politics will reign and the country will be in further peril. Please apply your intelligence to evaluate the parties. Please be led by correct leadership. Please do not form opinion about a party merely looking at its organizational strength. Examine whether its ideology, principles, culture and character are higher or not. Please build up the character of the students and youth. The youth and the students are being undone. This Bengal once gave birth to Kshudiram, Pritilata, Bagha Jatin, Rammohan, Vidyasagar, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul, and Subhaschandra? Can that Bengal be found today? First the CPI (M) and then the TMC have ruined this state. Can these parties be accepted by the people of Bengal? That is why my appeal to you is to rouse the students and youth, set an example. My appeal to the teachers is: Do not bend your head before any party for the sake of job or promotion. You would not die starving. Is it graceful for the college principals, university vice-chancellors or professors to once rally behind the CPI (M) and then change colour overnight and tilt towards the TMC? Are the artistes and intellectuals who are selling their conscience for getting some award or title from the government, doing the right thing? I shall tell the police personnel that for getting promotion

or avoiding transfer to a remote place, you had once worked for the CPI (M) and are now working for the TMC. By that, you are only inviting hate from the public. What will the children of your families learn from you? It is known to all that the laws are promulgated not for the people but for the sake of the bourgeoisie. Yet, when the industrialists, ruling party leaders and workers violate law to buttress their own interest, you are unable to protect law. Is law taking its own course? Law takes the course which the capitalists and their servitors delineate. How are you being used? They are enjoying ministry, pelf and power, becoming who is who's and getting all the nasty jobs done by you. And you are hated by the common people. Please ponder over these questions. I shall again call upon the people to build up volunteer corps in the towns and villages. 11th August, the day of martyrdom of Kshudiram, is drawing nearer. Observe that day in every home. Next, in September, there will be birth anniversaries of two luminaries, Saratchandra on 17th and Vidyasagar on 26th. Observe these anniversaries with due solemnity. Carry their messages to all households.

Save the children for the sake of civilization

I shall tell another thing to you all. I have said this to my Party workers also. Now, I am suggesting the same thing to the responsible citizens like you. On the holidays, at least in the morning, organize sports and games for the children, encourage them to take part in recitation, in debates, in other cultural and social activities. Please acquaint them with Vidyasagar, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul, Subhaschandra, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad and such other great men. Under the vile influence of blue films, cellphones and dirty cinemas, the children of your families are getting polluted. Please save these children. No matter if they are not associated with our Party. But please undertake this responsibility of saving these children for the sake of civilization.

Civilization is yearning for emancipation—only Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought can provide the path

The entire civilization is under threat today. Human civilization did not face such a big crisis earlier. Civilization is in tears, restive in

pain and suffering, yearning for emancipation. This emancipation can only be brought about by the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Adopt these revolutionary thoughts and strengthen SUCI (C). More strengthened is SUCI(C), more will advance revolutionary struggle and mass movement. I conclude today with the hope that you will come forward to strengthen the Party.

Source of Quotations

1. Left wing communism, an infantile disorder
2. Free translation from Bengali speech
3. Free translation from Bengali speech
4. Letter to Ballantyne, Vidyasagar Rachana Sangraha
5. Letter to F. J. Mouat, Vidyasagar Rachana Sangraha
6. Karunasagar Vidyasagar—Indra Mitra
7. Letters written to Hemantabala Debi and her son, daughter, son-in-law, brother and grandson
8. Quoted from the novels, Charitrahin, Pather Dabi and Sesh Prashna
9. Crossroads — Subhas Chandra Bose.
10. We or our nationhood — Golwalker
11. Swami Vivekananda—Bani O Rachana, Udbodhan, 1st Edition, 1st Volume and 3rd Volume)
12. 12 (Letter to Mohammed Sarafraj of Nainital, Swami Vivekananda—Messages and Works, Udbodhan,(Compiled)
13. Bani O Rachana, 3rd Vol. 5th Edition — Swami Vivekananda
14. Future of India, Swami Vivekananda — Bani O Rachana, Bengali, Udbodhan, 1st Edition, 5th Volume
15. Bani O rachana Sangraha, 7th Volume Ibid.
16. My Life and Mission
17. Aamar Samarniti (My war principles) Swami Vivekananda — Collected Works, Bengali, 5th Volume
18. Swami Vivekananda — Bani O Rachana , Bengali, Udbodhan, 1st Edition, 2nd Volume
19. Swami Vivekananda Collected Works, Bengali, Volume 5
20. On the History of early Christianity
21. Some aspects of Marxism and Dialectical Materialism, SW, II Vol. p.122
22. Essays, Vishwa Bharati
23. Aranda Bazar Patrika, 14-05-1940
24. Critique of Hegel's philosophy of right
25. Adwaitya Vedanta, the scientific religion

Extremely complex and difficult international-national situation today urgently calls for elevated understanding and development of true Marxist ideology and its rapid spread : Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

(This is the speech of Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya delivered at the 38th Memorial meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in Guwahati on 5th August, 2014)

In his address Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya submitted at the outset: Owing to medical advice concerning my illness I might not be able to duly perform the imminent task of presenting the relevant issues in my speech with required adequate importance, as you may expect me to do on this day. So I will try my best to present a few very urgent points instead.

While paying his tribute to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Bhattacharyya said : It is fifth August today, this year marking the thirty-eighth death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our teacher and guide and the great proletarian leader and one of the greatest Marxist philosophers of the present era. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh rose to the height of a rare unique character leaving the imprint of bold strides on the course of history. Till his last breath, this great thinker spent all his efforts towards instilling the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism firmly in us. That has given us a new life, has brought us a new light in life. The day of his demise overwhelmed us and remains to overwhelm us with such a profound grief, that I do not find any difference between the 5th August of 1976 and the 5th August today in 2014. At the same time I recall Lenin's teaching: Turn your grief into determination. I recall the similar clarion call of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that the more profound the grief is in a revolutionary the more profound is the sense of duty that it awakens in him. Thus, the more intense is the sense of loss, the greater should be the realization — what it impels us to take up, uphold and carry out our tasks most courageously. And this makes the Day we lost him, the 5th August, the saddest day in our party life and it will ever remain so. No longer he is living with us as is the case with other giant Marxist leaders like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. But despite that, the way the thoughts of these great leaders indubitably and unceasingly exist as the only weapon in the hands of downtrodden, oppressed and exploited people of the world, in the

same way the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh are not just illumining the desired path to the downtrodden exploited people of India, those are acting as the guideline to the exploited oppressed people of the whole world as well. The ideology the great leader Marx had propounded emerged before the world as the most powerful weapon to the working class for their emancipation from exploitation. In course of time through its constant and correct practice, most

importantly through the relentless efforts of giant Marxist leaders of later period, that ideology attained newer heights, its understanding reached new dimensions. Following the same process in continuation of the philosophical struggle which the forerunners had launched, we find further development of its understanding making it more precise, more penetrating, in the hands of one of the great Marxist thinkers of this era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This empowered the revolutionaries of the working class with higher consciousness and a fighting zeal, showing clearly their path of emancipation in the changed international situation. True, on this very particular day we dwell afresh upon different facets of his teachings. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts and teachings make such a weapon, such an instrument that we try everyday to present it to toiling people, so that their struggle for emancipation is accelerated and the revolutionary movement in India advances faster along the correct path. History would not pardon us if we do not accomplish this task consciously and in the right manner. It needs no pointing out that observing the 5th August is no ritual. It is on this Day that we, the leaders, the cadres and the masses stand united to take pledge once more to equip ourselves further with the realization

of the highest understanding of Marxism- Leninism that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has bequeathed to us and to translate it into reality with utmost sincerity and thereby transform the unbearable pathos, pain and grief at the loss of such a great personality into the unflinching sense of responsibility.

While analyzing briefly the present economic-political-social situations in international and national fields in the light of the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Bhattacharyya said: This year 5th August is being observed under very difficult international and national circumstances. We must correctly assess that, because without a proper understanding of international and national situations we would not be able to correctly determine our

historical responsibility. You must have noted that the entire world is now in the tight grip of capitalism. Barring the two states, North Korea and Cuba, the entire world gripped under capitalism is being ravaged by it. This capitalism is no longer in its age of development; it has now become totally decadent capitalism, which everywhere on the earth has assumed the shape of the worst possible imperialism. At the same time, it has done away with all kinds of democratic values and has assumed the character of fascism. Long back Comrade Shibdas Ghosh lucidly and elaborately illustrated all this to us.

You are aware of the first and the second world wars. There has not yet been any third world war, so to say. But the happenings all over the world make no less than a third world war. Almost every country over the globe has turned into a battlefield. Whichever continent you may look at, Asia, Africa, Europe or America, everywhere some kind of war is continuing. Some of these may be military or economic wars between two states; but there is a notable fundamental difference between these wars and the first or second world wars. The way in the

latter there were wars between states, and the entire world got entangled into those wars, is not always to be found in the wars taking place these days. Most of the present wars or war-like conflicts are turning out to be deadly clashes between peoples. A section of people are falling into the traps of capitalist-imperialist powers and their subservient political parties; they are becoming victims of their cunning instigations and provocations. Thus people of one group are pouncing upon people of another group; are bringing about cruel ghastly massacres. Neither do these clashes show any signs of ending. Not only that. Provoked and fanned by imperialist designs those are spreading out with time. At the same time on critical ultimate analysis one can note that these painful events are not without forces conducting these as operators from behind; rather everywhere it is the capitalists and their subservient political forces and parties which are acting as the triggers and movers of these fratricidal clashes and killings. Losing everything from the all-out exploitation of capitalism and its subservient forces and thereby joining the ranks of proletariat, common people, in course of their frantic efforts for survival, are also losing their sense of rationality and judgment. From all this, it can be easily surmised that it is the economic factor which is acting as the root factor behind emergence of this dangerous situation. Obviously, these wars are not fixing capitalism-imperialism as the main enemy and are not being directed towards the goal of emancipation from their exploitation. Rather, in consequence of these, roots of capitalism-imperialism are driving deeper and more firmly into one country after another. These hapless warring people do not even have before them the ideology which can help them correctly understand the heinous designs of the capitalist class and make themselves free from clutches of these designs. As a result, on one hand suicidal wars and clashes and on the other all-pervasive exploitation of the capitalists are causing people to die pointlessly in millions. There is virtually no single country where people are being able to live free



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya on 5 August

Even successful mass uprisings need correct ideology and leadership to protect them from bourgeois counter-onslaughts

Contd. from page 12

from these onslaughts. So you see for yourself, this war-laden situation all over the world has its roots in capitalism and capitalist economy. All this is once more making it clear that economy is what determines everything else.

The national situation is no different. In India, too, the same scenario is repeating itself, the same people versus people war. What do you see in Assam? Contradictions between Assamese and non-Assamese, between Boro and non-Boro, between Rava and non-Rava: all these giving way to endless bloodbath. This has become a time when a poor Rava would unhesitatingly kill a poor Muslim fellow or the reverse, one act giving way to the other in reaction, though both the killer himself and the killed belong to the exploited class, both are oppressed. Such community clashes with fratricidal bloodshed are coming up glaringly all over the country. The capitalist class are hell bent today upon ensuring that they do not have to face any situation of the sort of armed revolution like those of Russian or Chinese revolutions. So they are taking recourse to thousand and one deceptions and designs, are framing newer and newer means and methods of pushing people into the vortex of self-annihilation. So it is clear that these conspiracies, these tactics of the capitalist class must be repulsed and shattered. There is no second road to confront the situation. It is also an infallible truth at the same time that people do possess the necessary power to accomplish this task. If the exploited people can stand up united and thus strong, in the right sense of the term, in no country on this earth can the capitalists-imperialists hold themselves in power for even minutes together. You must have

noted that in the last few years in different Asian and African countries, people through their mass uprising, albeit transient, could overthrow their oppressive rulers at fair ease. But it is equally true that having done this without being organized on the edifice of correct ideology they could not reach their desired goals. Rather, the subservient forces of capitalists adopted newer tactics to come back to power with newer cloaks on.

The moot question is, who would provide people with this power, this required ideological understanding. Here the word 'who' does not mean any individual; it stands for the ideology. Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism founded upon science is that avowed ideology of the present days. Marxism is an invincible ideological weapon in the hands of exploited, downtrodden people of the world. The historic necessity arising in the present difficult situation is to step up and intensify the struggle for correctly comprehending and effectively conveying to the masses this weapon of Marxism which has been further enriched by all the great leaders like Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This process cannot move ahead, and hence revolution cannot be brought in until and unless one can correctly and properly carry out the struggle for developing the desired comprehension and realization of Marxism within one's self. Revolution connotes a fundamental radical change of an existing condition and system. If we cannot combat the present situation on the strength of Marxism-Leninism- Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts, it will become still more devastating. Then you see, revolution depends upon correct realization of its proper ideology. In continuity of Marx, Lenin

pronounced that revolution is invincible and inevitable in the course of history. Today, the concrete condition for revolution to take place has matured. What is needed is the midwife. Who is to act as that midwife? It is the revolutionary political party imbued and invigorated with Marxism-Leninism- Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts. Each and every revolutionary must engage him- or herself in the struggle to become glowing icon of this ideology of Marxism-Leninism, so much so that he or she acquires the power to attract downtrodden, exploited masses like a magnet. Through this struggle of acquiring the correct realization of Marxism-Leninism will be born a revolutionary, that first revolutionary will give birth to a second and so on and on. This way there will emerge unending numbers of revolutionaries through whom the idea "Life is for revolution" will be manifested glowingly. For that, first, these revolutionaries will have to wipe out all meanness, all traces of self-centredness from within themselves and thus clean themselves relentlessly, will have to free themselves from the sense of private property and uproot all vestiges of individualism from within themselves and, thus prepared, will have to go to the masses, organize them, to immerse themselves in the task of building up people's class and mass struggles on the correct path making it clear that in their own life they have no other existence than revolution, its ideology and struggle. Revolution will be ushered in only in course of such struggles. The

second requirement is the revolutionary party. Repeatedly Lenin brought it to attention that revolution cannot take place in absence of a revolutionary party and such a party cannot come into being without a correct revolutionary theory. So it is needed that a genuine revolutionary party must be founded on the edifice of correct realization of correct invincible revolutionary theory struggle must be stepped up to higher and higher stages on the basis of that theory in which every single revolutionary shall equip himself to carry out the struggle to its logical end and thereby developing himself or herself into worthiest revolutionary and in this process of acquiring higher ideological and organizational standard to emerge as immensely powerful, invincible revolutionaries. Building up oneself in this manner amounts to strengthening a revolutionary party. Failure to conduct this struggle in the post-revolution days brought about problems in Soviet Union and China. The leaders and cadres who were supposed to bear the brunt of the revolutionary responsibility in the Soviet Union after Lenin and Stalin or in China after Mao Zedong, could not perform the correct historical role they were bestowed with. Their thoughts and consciousness slid down instead of rising higher; as its inevitable consequence many of them became victims of capitalist thinking, knowingly or not. As inevitable outcome of this, the unique beautiful creations of Lenin, Stalin or Mao which had astounded

Contd. on page 14



AIDSO organised a massive students demonstration in Bangalore on 19 August against delay in distribution of text books at Bangalore University



Peasants and women against land grab in Jaunpur U.P. on 1 August



Eminent intellectuals protesting growing atrocities on women at a Convention in Kolkata on 23 August organised by Nari-Nigraha Birodhi Nagarik Committee

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya on 5 August

Thwart clandestine infiltration of bourgeois thoughts relentlessly with revolutionary thoughts and developed ideological standards

Contd. from page 13

the world and overwhelmed it, broke down in no time. The entire universe is subject to laws, is governed by laws. Violation of those laws and methodologies can only bring about disastrous ends: the debacles simply proved it once more.

On this background it is of paramount importance that the revolutionary party of any country must be zealously guarded from any kind of erosion, deviation, distortion or any kind of decline stemming from lowering of level of communist consciousness. These points need to be taken into account at the very beginning while considering the questions of preserving and protecting the Party that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had founded and thereupon, of advancing the Indian revolution towards its achievement. I wish to add firmly and emphatically that repulsing all those bourgeois attacks and keeping our party correctly on the revolutionary line equates also with defending the world communist movement. It is because without correctly realizing the latest and most illuminating understanding of Marxism-Leninism that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has bequeathed to us, we will not be able to bring about any advancement at all of the communist movement in India or rather the world. It is also

absolutely essential for everybody who aspires for revolution to correctly realize the more enriched and elaborate understanding of the historical role of individual that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has enunciated. The situation arising today in the entire world, the heinous tactics the capitalist class is adopting to befool and distract people and thereby, trying to make it virtually impossible to build up revolution: to resist and thwart all these we must raise our understanding of Marxism-Leninism to much higher and higher stage. Through that not only the world communist movement will be cleared of its maladies, it will become stronger and speedier. In this struggle it is unquestionably essential that we take up correct cult of acquiring Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts and applying those correctly in our personal life and conduction of revolutionary movement as well. How fast we can wipe out all the filth from within ourselves, can make our knowledge and realization of ideology sharper with every passing day, can respond to this call of historic necessity and engage ourselves in the struggle covering all aspects of life for building up communist character, upon all these will depend the growth and strengthening of the Party, SUCI (Communist). And this

is the course along which the road to Indian revolution will be made smoother and wider; it will advance the struggle for world revolution as well. On these questions, that is, on the question of strengthening the world communist movement afresh with new vigour and of advancing the Indian revolution fast, on the question of speedy growth and advancement of SUCI (Communist), we must recall every moment the unique struggle that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had carried out with a view to freeing every cadre from all the ideas, thoughts and activities detrimental to revolution. It is not true that because capitalism has proved itself exhausted, it cannot cast anymore its harmful influences on the cadres of revolutionary movements. Rather the truth is that it still holds the power to lead many of the revolutionary cadres astray in case of absence of adequate revolutionary consciousness in them. It is because of this, without fail, we must remain ever-vigilant upon whether any non-revolutionary traits and tendencies are sprouting, may be subtly, in the Party workers. Each and every Party worker must keep him- or herself relentlessly engaged in self-introspection. The leaders must also take it as one of their main tasks to destroy outright in the bud any

clandestine infiltration of bourgeois ideas and thoughts whenever they find it and to adopt every means and methods to help the victim workers to free themselves from these problems. We must always keep in mind that capitalism is an ever-flowing stream of deadly toxic air. Nobody can escape from it until and unless he or she relentlessly washes him- or herself clean with the revolutionary thoughts developing the ideological standard every moment. Be it leaders or cadres, capitalism would not spare anybody, in case there is not adequate resistance power. Today on 5th August, the date on which we lost this great thinker, we must take pledge united that in continuity of and imbued with his life-long struggle, we would not allow ourselves to be lead astray from our goal by anything surreptitiously acting from behind the cloak of reasons. We will thwart this heinous design by conducting all-out struggle relentlessly and guided by his teachings. We must uproot private property and the sense of private property, individualism and even the last vestiges, the last tips of the roots of most subtle self-centred thoughts. We, ourselves must be our ever-watchful sentinels. I end my discourse with this appeal to you all.

Long live revolution!

Long live SUCI(C)!

Red Salute to

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh,
the great leader of the proletariat!

Students launch militant movement in Patna Bihar

Students of Patna University have been agitating all these years against the Vice Chancellor's order to strike off the names and cancel the degrees of students against whom FIR had been filed for participating in movements between 2007 and 2014. On June 5, AIDSO had demonstrated at Patna and burned the effigy of the Chancellor. As the authorities of the Patna University closed down different students hostels, students protested with indefinite *dharna*, mass signature campaign on streets and

other means. Instead of attending to the problems of students, the authorities however declared that there should not be any sort of demonstrations etc. on part of students, teachers or the employees. When the students marched to the Governor's House in protest, the police lathicharged them. A convention was then organized in Patna College thereafter on July 16 followed by students' agitation the next day when the police again lathicharged. From July 19, students set on strike; college and university

both remained totally closed. Then followed one after another undemocratic decisions of the university. It declared that students would be charged a fine of Rs.50 per day for absence from class and in case of absence for five consecutive days, given TCs and expelled. Aggrieved, the students then marched to the Assembly only to be ruthlessly beaten by the police—several sustaining serious injury. The girl students were even manhandled. AIDSO District Secretary Comrade Saroj Kumar Suman, Pushpa Kumari, Sumanlata Mourya, Sadhna Kumari, Shimla Mourya, Dipika Kumari were among those arrested. On July 25, all over Bihar, Black Day was observed, demonstrations and blockades were held. This determined struggle led by the AIDSO against the undemocratic steps and attempts at privatization followed by the university has drawn active supports from other student unions and organizations like AISA, AISF etc. towards the cause and the movement.

Protest Demonstration in Haryana

The AIKKMS, Haryana unit organized a peasants-workers protest demonstration on 18 August at Tosham, Bhiwani in which several vital demands were raised and the effigy of the Prime Minister was burned. In his brief address, District Secretary of the organization Comrade Jile Singh brought attention to the increased onslaught from the BJP government led by Narendra Modi even during this short period it had come to power. As against that the AIKKMS was continuing movement with demands of declaring the state as drought area, restart of long-pending schemes, stopping land grabbing and eviction, withdrawal of rampant hike of prices of diesel, fertilizers and pesticide etc., and other essential items.



Malin landslide in Maharashtra reveals once more the cruel face of capitalism

On 30 July 2014 early morning, amidst heavy rain continuing from previous day, a massive flow of mud and boulders came crashing down on Malin village of Ambegaon taluka of Maharashtra in the Western Ghats mountains of western India. As the reports go, the entire village of Malin, barring the school building, was washed away. Hundreds of villagers were trapped under the rubble, scores of bodies were recovered along with a few survivors.

In this part of the country landslides are common in the Western Ghats hills during the monsoon season. Two nearby villages were hit by landslides in 2006-07 and the villagers are still fighting with authorities for relocation. Yet vulnerability of landslides seems to have increased manifold in recent years without causing any perturbation in the government or local authorities. The Malin tragedy was devastating, casualties and losses were evident, but there were still sadder parts of the incident that needed to be brought out to gauge its gravity.

Since long people there practiced terrace method of cultivation on the hill slopes, called Padkai system, carried out manually on gradual slopes (not greater than 50 degrees steep), cutting trees only where it was essential and creating water channels for drainage. For the last few years, private money in disguise of NGOs and then the Agriculture Department of the state government came into the scene and pushed for improved terracing projects. However, without caring to properly survey the land, they started using heavy machinery for quick large scale excavation, deforestation and flattening of land particularly on steep hill slopes that were intrinsically unstable. They left no water channels in fields to help drainage; on the contrary, they dumped excavated soil on the slopes without reinforcements or walls to hold it in place. Uprooting of trees and excavation loosened soil; deforestation on steep slopes added greater danger; dumping of excavated loose material created more of loose soil; machine-made pits or tranches held rain water for longer than desired; all these allowed rain water to get easily absorbed in the soil, loosen it further and act as lubricant. Thus use of heavy machines over the past 3-4 years has made the area extremely landslide prone.

To add fuel to the fire, a

windmill project on Indo-German collaboration with huge corporate money invested has been given sanction, without any regulation or monitoring, on the plea of introducing environmental friendly wind-energy. The project –work officially felled 28,000 trees; unofficial reports place the figure at around 3 Lakh. Roads with steep gradients were built from the base of the hill to the top.

On these observations, the 2011 report of the Western Ghats Ecology Expert Panel headed by Dr Madhav Gadgil, the internationally-acclaimed ecologist, predicted landslides in the area triggered by large-scale deforestation coming in association with the said Indo-German windmill project. The Panel also held that environmental damage taking place along the Western Ghats can only be controlled if local people are fully involved in planning for and monitoring the development without relying on the government machinery. The local forest range officer also had recorded that the area belonged to the tracts of high rainfall and biodiversity-rich evergreen forest, contiguous with that in the Bhimashankar Wildlife Sanctuary, and home to Maharashtra's state animal, the Malabar Giant Squirrel. On these, he had recommended that the windmill project should not be sanctioned. The government first tried to suppress Dr Gadgil's report. Failing that, they, as good as, buried the report. They even came out with another set of dubious findings diluting Gadgil's recommendations; the range officer was overruled by his superiors who cleared the project by patently misrepresenting facts. Afterwards there were further warnings on landslide. Last year the Kasturirangan Committee in its report on the Western Ghats marked Malin along with two other villages in the region as high-risk "Ecologically Sensitive Areas". Even immediately before the tragedy took place, on 29 July at 6 pm NASA released landslide potential map, highlighting Malin, rather the entire Bhimashankar region extending till Gujarat, as "strongly landslide prone". The South Asian Network for Dams, Rivers and People (SANDRP) had also posted an alert on its *Facebook* page on the night of July 29.

But all these were simply ignored, or overlooked, with usual blame game starting now after the debacle to fix the responsibility. The present tragedy is a natural outcome of all such gross negligence and

least concern for maintaining ecological balance, however loud may the authority cry to make people believe otherwise holding heavy rain as the culprit. The hand of man played foul on the nature to cause the latter bounce back in fury. The Malin landslide in an area which should have existed as a lush green locality of the evergreen forest of the Western Ghats is the latest example of that fury of nature. It calls upon mankind to check their relentless unwise moves against nature. Short of it, debacles similar to the Malin tragedy will recur now and then only to take toll of human life and property, only to add to the sufferings of common poor people who are already bend hard from the pressure of ruthless capitalist exploitation, from thousand and one problems of life and livelihood plaguing their life.

In our write up in *Proletarian Era* on the Uttarakhand calamity last year, we pointed out in conclusion that "Capitalism is facing acute crisis and recession, yet hankers for maximum profit and frantically strives for keeping the system on. The capitalists are not leaving any social, activity or field of life, economy, politics, science, education, games, and others free from their octopus-grip of profit-

hunting." We reiterate those words in characterizing this Malin landslide, an incident in nature brought about criminally negligently by the people-in-power. And as in all such cases, here again it is amply demonstrated that the governments which rise to power riding on the so-called democratic processes and on slogans like augury of *achchey din* (good days) or development and such others, discharge their duties simply in service of the corporate, the rich, the moneyed, be it of land or abroad. Not only people cannot expect them any more to stand for their life and livelihood; at every step they are going to find these governments act ruthlessly cruel to the people to make way for the corporates. This is where capitalism has come down to today. To ensure safety, security, certainty, real prosperity and not the horribly skewed development in favour of the rich, people will have to realize that so long as capitalism continues to exist, it will exist to torment and squeeze people to the last drop of their blood. There is no escape route for people, including those of Malin; on face of danger, it will be futile to search for a better abode; the only course that remains is to make correctly-led determined organized struggle to overthrow the capitalist system from its seat of power. The sad plight of Malin people is the latest eye-opener to this end.

Oil companies are making fabulous profit

The government has been systematically raising retail fuel prices on the plea of rescuing loss making Oil Marketing companies. In January 2013, the government had authorized the OMCs to increase retail prices of diesel by Re0.50 every month to close the gap on their under-recoveries. While petrol prices have been fully deregulated, OMCs claim their under-recoveries for 2014-15 for subsidized LPG, kerosene and diesel may cross Rs 1.07 lakh crore. In our earlier articles, we had categorically shown that this very contention of 'loss making' is a hoax as the oil companies are trying to pose so called "under recovery" as loss. In fact, they are all making profit.

Now that is corroborated by the findings of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) in its latest report on pricing of petroleum products. CAG's report summarized that the public sector oil companies –Indian Oil, HPCL and BPCL are making profits by selling oil and petroleum products to consumers, contrary to the perception that they are selling oil at a loss. The gain, which could easily have been passed on to retail consumers, has been estimated to be around Rs 50,000 crore in five years between 2007 and 2012. On the contrary, the OMCs have been reporting 'under recoveries' to the tune of over Rs 1.10 lakh crore every year. The government auditor has observed that all these projected losses are notional due to flawed petroleum pricing. The CAG report is believed to have detailed how state-owned oil companies adopted a pricing formula that resulted in windfall gains to them and even some private refiners. The federal auditor has disputed the under-recovery stories of these public sector OMCs and explained in detail how these could have been avoided to give relief to the consumers. The findings are based on a thorough scrutiny of accounts of IOC, HPCL and BPCL. (Source:—Times of India—02-07-14)



In Patna, on August 4, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Polit Bureau SUCI(C), discussing on "Difference among left and democratic forces and the present situation."

Martyrs Day Observed in Andaman and Tripura

On August 11 in the morning, nearly 5 thousand students of Little Andaman participated in programmes including a drawing competition organized in memory of the great martyr Khudiram Bose. Bijan Mondal, Secretary of Educational and Cultural Organisation addressed the gathering held on the same evening, with the Organisation President Mohan Mistry in conduction. To commemorate the occasion of August Revolution of 1942 on August 9 Dr. TK Palit Chief Medical Officer of the island and educationist Dr. N Nehru addressed a meeting held at Netajinagar in Little Andaman. At the meeting 9 of those early settlers

who had initiated habitation in the Andamans were felicitated.

In a programme at Delhi Ground N.R.Rath, Principal, Mayabazar College spoke. Another programme of discussion was also organized at Ramkrishna Bazar. In the different schools of Andaman, the students wore Khudiram memorial badges and the teachers dealt on the life-struggle of the great martyr.

At Agartala, Tripura, the 107th martyr's day was observed on August 11, with 107 candles being lit at the outset and badge-wearing continuing for the whole day. This programme initiated by the AIMSS, AIDYO and AIDSO had Comrades Sanjoy Chowdhury and Mridul Sarkar as the speakers.



At Agartala, Tripura, 107th Martyrs' Day Rally by AIMSS, AIDYO and AIDSO

Significant victory of AIDSO in Chhattisgarh colleges

In the recent student union elections in Durg district in Chhattisgarh AIDSO has registered a number of significant wins. In Science College, Durg Nisha Deshalhare has won the post of the Assistant Secretary in addition to AIDSO winning a class representative. In Kalyan Mahavidyalaya Bhillai AIDSO has won eight class representatives and

in Pankhaur College it has won the post of the Secretary.

UP College students launch movement at Jaunpur

At Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh, students of Purbanchal University organized a protest demonstration on 7 August 2014 at the TD College, Jaunpur, against delay in bringing out examination results and incomplete at that, against exorbitant fees-hike etc. The programme included burning of the effigy of Kulpati.

AIMSS strongly condemns Arun Jaitley's derogatory remark on the ghastly Nirbhaya rape case

Dr.H.G.Jayalakshmi, General Secretary, All India Committee of AIMSS, issued the following statement on 25th August, 2014:

The All India Committee of AIMSS severely condemns the statement of the Union Finance and Defence Minister, Mr, Arun Jaitley, referring to the painful Nirbhaya rape and murder incident in Delhi which shook the conscience of the entire nation, as a small incident. He has said that the incident advertised world over was enough to cost India billions of dollars in terms of global tourism. His clarifications notwithstanding his statement deserve severe condemnation. Not only it reflects his attitude of considering the rape a small crime but also his concern for business interests than the dignity, safety and security of women.

It is still fresh in the memory of the people the irresponsible remarks of leaders of different political parties like Mulayam Singh or Tapas Paul on a serious issue like rape, which are diluting the crime and emboldening the criminals. As suggested by Justice Verma Commission, time has come to enact a law providing for the subsequent disqualification of elected representatives for making derogatory statements for reinforcing gender bias contrary to the Constitutional mandate.



On August 20, a huge rally was taken out by SUCI(C) Delhi State Committee against privatization of potable water and electricity, price-hike, atrocities on women etc.

UP Movement against Land Acquisition

The Uttar Pradesh Bhoomi Adhigrahan Birodhi Morcha(Uttar Pradesh Platform to Oppose Land Acquisition) has been carrying on a movement since long to oppose forcible acquisition of arable land for the construction of National Highway from Lucknow to Varanasi. Also the authorities have a plan to build 17 by-pass roads. Of these, in Jaunpur alone 6 such roads will be built over an area of 64 kms. In the process arable lands, shops, animal husbandry, trees and over and above earning of peasants would suffer onslaught.

On August 1, a dharna programme was held where thousands of peasant women took out a rally to the District Magistrate's office. At the dharna meeting, Parasnam Singh presided

over with Ravishankar Mourya in conduction. Speaking on the occasion, District Secretary of the platform and others criticized both the state as well as the central governments for their plans and projects at the cost of people's interest. They exposed the government policy of land acquisition saying 65% arable land would be seized causing the peasants serious damage. The speakers laid emphasis on the necessity of strengthening the movement. A petition was submitted to the UP Chief Minister through the District Magistrate. A programme of setting up Human Chains was proposed to be held on August 24 against the land-acquisition policies of the Government.

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