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Long Live Great November Revolution



Comrade Ranjit Dhar, veteran member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C), garlanding Lenin's portrait after hoisting red flag in Party's Central Office in Kolkata on 7 November, 2015 on the occasion of 98th anniversary of the great November Revolution

Congratulations to the people of Bihar

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of SUCI (Communist) has issued the following statement on 09-11-15 on the poll results of Bihar Assembly:

“The Bihar assembly poll results is a decisive verdict of the people against the BJP’s nefarious, communal and all-out anti-people politics. Besides sham slogans of development under Modi’s regime, the Sangh Parivar resorted to aggressive communal campaign, but the people of Bihar could see through this heinous game and have decisively rejected BJP in the poll. We congratulate the people of Bihar for this. The defeat of BJP was not only the desire of the people of Bihar but of all the secular and democratic people of whole India.

Yet, it should be noted that the constituents of the Mahajot were ruling parties in different times in the past either in the state or at the Centre and their record shows them as neither secular nor democratic and pro-people. As there was no powerful united left-democratic alternative, the people had to vote for the Mahajot in the election. We hope, although the Mahajot is not a progressive force, its victory in the present situation will definitely put a check, to an extent, on the growing arrogance of the Hindu fundamentalists. But only powerful united left and democratic movement can thwart the rising danger of fascism in the country.”

People’s protest against savage economic onslaught of crisis-ridden dying capitalism needs channelizing along right track

Raghuram Rajan, Reserve Bank of India (RBI) governor, in a speech delivered in London Business School conference four months back admitted that global economy is slowly slipping into problems reminiscent of the Great Depression of the 1930s. He held that the problems today are not restricted to industrial economies or emerging markets but encompass the entire world and hence there is need to define “the rules of the game” to find a solution. But he hastened to add that he would not venture a guess as to how to establish new rules of the game. It is not only Rajan. Many other economists-columnists-bureaucrats entrusted with the job of running capitalist economy in the world also find it extremely hard to shield the reality that capitalism is in great peril. The head of the IMF characterized the world economy the other day as “weak” and “brittle” and described Europe as in danger of sliding into a third recession. Since the word recession, which means stock-piling of goods in absence of buyers i.e. market, is quite well-known and indicates sickness of economy, the bourgeois economists have now coined new words like ‘economic slowdown’ or ‘economic downturn’ to camouflage sinking capitalism. Instead of admitting that economy is declining, they say there is a ‘negative growth’. One wonders how ‘growth’ could be negative! But then what else can these defenders of a dying economy do other than playing with words to suppress truth. High-tech research centres have been set up at various bourgeois nodal agencies like World Bank, IMF as well as at the government institutions to find out new techniques to conveniently distort the numbers traditionally projected as key economic indicators like GDP, inflation, poverty level, industrial output, employment etc. And then the distorted numbers

are highlighted to show how the capitalist economic engine is moving fast while in actuality, the engine is so derailed that it cannot be put back on track. In India, the very basis of calculating GDP has of late been changed to project an inflated figure. Likewise, the very calculation of inflation rate in India is highly questionable as it glaringly contradicts the objective reality.

Widening gap between few rich and vast multitudes of poor

But, all arithmetical juggleries and statistical gymnastics are proved abortive. The gasping stage of capitalist economy could no more be kept under wraps. People find that while the economists of the establishment are painting a rosy picture by highlighting GDP growth which represents the total market value of all final goods and services produced in a country in a given year, harrowing inequality in distribution of the wealth so created is manifest in the rapidly widening gap between a handful of rich and vast multitudes of poor and have-nots. Top 1% of global rich own 41% of all the personal wealth in the world; the top 10% own 86% and the bottom 50% own less than 1% of all the wealth. In developed and developing countries alike, the poorest half of the population controls less than 10% of the country’s wealth. The 85 richest people globally have as much wealth as the 3.5 billion poorest in the world, the United Nations said. In US, stated to be the locomotive of capitalist-imperialist economy, the top one-tenth of 1 percent (i.e. 0.1%) of rich and affluent own almost as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent of the populace. Picture is no different in other countries. Inequality in Germany has increased by 12.7 per cent in last 10 years. In Greece, Cyprus, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain, there

is deepening inequality with growing numbers suffering from poverty and social exclusion. In Ireland – depicted as the poster child for austerity – income inequality soared between 2009 and 2010 with the top 20% earning five times more than the bottom 20%. Equally dismal, if not worse, is the Indian scenario. According to a Credit Suisse Report, the top 1 percent of households in India owned 49% of the total wealth of all households in 2014. The net worth of India’s billionaire community has soared 12-fold in 15 years—enough to eliminate absolute poverty twice over in the country, according to the IMF. So, if wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few rich while the majority of the people languish in abject poverty, cannot the claim of a growing economy only evoke derision. Rabindranath had once said that if the entire blood of the body accumulates in the mouth, it cannot be sign of a good health. Same is the case with decadent moribund capitalist economy today.

Growing poverty

In tandem with soaring wealth accretion to the rich, poverty and pauperization of the people are also multiplying alarmingly. 16.4% of the population is stated to live below the poverty threshold in the European Union. Spain is still one of the countries, together with Bulgaria and Romania, where poverty remains highest at around 15%. The poverty rate of the United Kingdom is officially stated to be 10%. But when we consider large scale manipulation done at the factory of data compilation, the figure could well be taken as much higher. The number of British households falling below minimum living standards has more than doubled in the past 30 years. Despite the size of the economy claimed to have been increasing

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Why this setback of Communist Movement and what is to be done

Central Committee, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)

[On request from the MLCP, Turkey, a communist party of that country, for a write-up for their journal on the setback of international communist movement, emergence of modern revisionism and related issues, the present article was prepared by the Central Committee of our Party, SUCI (C). Considering the persisting relevance and importance of the issue, we are publishing it in *Proletarian Era* in two instalments. — Ed. Board, P. Era]

What led to collapse of the USSR and the socialist camp remains a question to prick the minds of a great many people across social strata all over the world. To the communist revolutionary, especially to him who had been keeping vigilant watch on the developments leading to the debacle, this turn of events, immensely shocking though, did not come as something inconceivable, something unforeseen or unanticipated. He would recall that all the great leaders of the proletariat had recurrently given caution and warning on the possibilities and conditions of reversal happening, urging the revolutionaries to grasp the essence of the historical-materialist conclusion of *historical inevitability* of socialism which springs from the governing law as its *necessity*. It means that in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, which is the phase of socialist construction towards communism, reversion to capitalism might indeed happen should infringement occur of the law of socialist development and socialist construction strayed out from its historically determined course.

With the common man the question concerns how come the USSR and the socialist camp collapsed even as socialism had achieved astounding success in every field and its glory had won acclaim of peoples across nations. Or, is it that imperialist machinations colluding with internal subversive forces brought it about? To attribute the reason for this tragic turn to imperialist acts of subversion alone, or in the main, means just not fail to answer the question, it speaks of a grossly un-Marxist, un-scientific way of approach to this most acute and serious question, both practical and theoretical, because the argument comes to claiming that the basic cause of change is external.

On the other hand, the bourgeois academic sees in it an opportunity to launch a fresh tirade against communism. He solemnly advances the argument that the collapse of the socialist states falsifies the Marxist affirmation of *historical inevitability* of socialism. Cunningly he seeks to dupe people with the false and misleading argument that if socialism were truly inevitable, it would have come to stay and not be overthrown by people. Whereas, he points to, what people witnessed was the spectacle of socialist states falling like nine pins. Does it not corroborate his pronouncement? Cleverly he puts the question. Understandably, indeed, the sight of a counter-revolutionary deluge sweeping away socialist states one after another appears to have overpowered this spokesperson of capitalist-imperialist interests in the person of an academic, perhaps because the fallout of the counter-revolutionary upsurge went beyond his wildest imagination. The self-conceited gentleman cannot see the inner law running through apparently

accidental phenomena of history, nor can he grasp that historical events and processes are necessary results of social-historical development, while the particular forms they take in different instances and the times or places where they begin to take shape are conditioned by factors of the particular process and situation of their happening. Like in the case of all natural laws, the events and processes of history result as the inviolable necessity of operation of their governing laws of social-historical development. Because they happen as the necessity of law, they are *inevitable*. Given the appropriate conditions, or the requisite conditions maturing, necessity *inevitably* translates into corresponding actuality. Till then, till the material conditions mature, the *inevitable* remains as inexorable drive towards its materialization. Marx deduced the *inevitability* of “transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of motion of capitalist society”. (ref. in V.I. Lenin) It means, under the governing law of capitalism, capitalist development becomes pregnant with the historical possibility of socialism springing from its womb. *Inevitability* is, therefore, to be understood as inexorable drive towards the realization of what is rational and necessary in a process under given conditions. While socialist revolution is *historically inevitable* in a capitalist society, under certain conditions following seizure of state power by the proletariat, reversion to capitalism may happen; but this reversion is not an *historical inevitability*. That it is not so is because, the law of socialist development is an objective law, its necessity is inviolable—and hence *inevitable* — but reversal is not the necessity of the law. Reversal happens only if and when the law is violated.

The muddle which the bourgeois academic makes over the question of inevitability leaves him also incapable of grasping that the proletariat's seizure of state power through anti-capitalist socialist revolution is not the culmination of socialist revolution. It is the beginning, the beginning of a whole period of socialist revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism. All through this phase class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat assumes fiercest proportions. That is to say, socialism is the phase and period of class battle for supremacy between the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, i.e., the dispossessed class whose long legacy and pursuits outlive in socialism as hangovers in habits, outlook and mental bent of people, and the proletariat, on the other hand, the class in power, which is set to eliminate the thriving capitalist elements from economic base and the bigoted social mores, outlook and practices from people's psyche. Thus, “... the issue in this struggle is: Who will win? Who will

gain the upper hand? “(VI Lenin) Hence it is that the social motion in the phase of transition can be forward and backward, depending on the conditions under which the specific law of social development or social dynamics operates—forward it goes when conditions are such that social forces act in accord with the *historical necessity* of the law of social development, and backward it goes, maybe as far back as restoration of capitalism itself, when conditions are such that influences of social forces alien and inimical to socialism are exercised *externally*, i.e., forces not in accord with the necessity of the law, and hence external to the process of operation of the law, come to prevail over socialist construction in violation of the law.

Debacle Confirms Truth of Marxism

History testifies that rise of socialism from within capitalism did happen, and is tending to happen, but not irrespective of conditions or independently of any conditions. *Inevitability* is not the signification of *fatalistic* predetermination of something ‘certain-to-happen’. It is determined. It is the necessity of the law—let us repeat it. Necessity materializes into actuality only under appropriate material conditions or circumstances. Precisely when a social transformation will initiate, its motion forward or backward, depends on development of certain specific conditions, and cannot be foretold with certainty. This is because, social development proceeds under what is known in natural sciences as probability laws as opposed to dynamic laws. The probability laws operate where the conditions of change themselves go on changing constantly as a result of constant and complex interactions of extremely subtle and sensitive factors which go into the making of the process of change. The conditions thereby change and become ever newer qualitatively at each point of change. In the *chaos of chances* or *accidentals* which happen, only the probability of an outcome at a given place and time can be determined and foretold. That is, when and where the *inevitable* social change or transformation will materialise can be said only in terms of probability or degree of certainty, but not in definitive terms, i.e., not in terms of hundred percent certainty. This probabilistic nature of *predictability* of happenings or actualisation of the *inevitable*, which the law stipulates, does in no way counterpose or contradict the *inevitability* of happening. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China collapsed because, in the name of augmenting production and raising the standard of living of people, revisionist leadership in either country pursued policy-measures in violation of the socialist law. Hence the truthfulness of the Marxist affirmation that socialism is *historically inevitable*, being the causally-determined happening as also the inexorable determination of the concerned historical process. Therefore the collapse of the socialist states and the socialist camp is not the end of socialism, it is a temporary

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Setback of Communist Movement

Mechanical relation in communist movement led to decline of revolutionary consciousness

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setback. To organize the *inevitable* happen is the charge of the communist revolutionary.

The great question before us is not just why and how this colossal setback happened. The question gets to the bottom of the issue: What are the true conditions which must be fulfilled in order for transition from socialism to communism and emancipation of the working class and humankind from exploitation of man by man? To get to know and understand the true conditions is to grasp what the historically determined goal of socialism is and what stood, and does stand still, as the roadblock on way to attainment of the goal.

Marx put the aim of socialism, which he termed the first phase of communism, to be the goal to build a society, or a *social condition*, which permitted actualisation of man's *true essence*, "casting off all natural limitations to make possible all-round development of individuals" and "cultivation of gifts in all directions", re-establishing "the intimate ties of man with the earth, since the earth ceases to be an object of huckstering and through free labour and free enjoyment becomes once more a true personal property of man." Does the fall of the USSR and the socialist camp lend ground to believe that, by concluding this aim of socialism, Marx indulged in utopian thinking? Let us take note of what Marx is saying here. He makes here three main points, expressly or by way of implication: 1. that primitive man was tied with nature in unity— he depended on nature for sustenance and life but, unlike in class society, had no antagonism with nature; 2. that in the primitive commune man performed labour almost as a natural instinctive response to basic needs of life, and labour was integral to his existence, it was *no burden* on him— and, unlike in class society, one's labour was not exploited by some other man, none lived as a parasite on labour of another, nor was labour a commodity for sale in exchange for wage, it was a want of life, man gave it free to nature and received free enjoyment; 3. that after establishment of the rule of exploitation following class division of society, man's power and promise, his true essence, has been crippled and stunted — and, therefore, *objectively* the goal of man's endeavour in socialist society has to be the creation of such an economic and spiritual condition which will permit man to break off from limitations which has animal descent has set upon him, a society where man will be free to develop his natural gift in many faculties at once, and he will no longer exploit nature, thus re-uniting himself with nature. Labour will not be forced on him any longer, he will regain his true essence on a higher level. Man will become identified with his home, Earth, which will again become his personal effect.

Class-society present just the opposite picture— Man in antagonism with Nature. Rulers of all ages have sought to inculcate the belief in people that man never acts without self-interest, that the trait of self-interest is inborn in him. Ingrained in his being is a hankering after material incentives as recompense for labour. Could this 'self-seeking' man ever transform his *innate* self and be free from *self-interest as his primary*

drive behind all his action? For one thing, Marx points out, man is a creative being. He is a productive being, to produce is *evolutionarily* natural with him—it is in his 'species being', that is, it is characteristic of the human species. So, human nature can be understood only in the measure of labour, man's primary nature. Animals also produce, but they produce only when their immediate physical need compels them to do so; while man produces even when he is free from physical need and he truly produces only in freedom from such need. Labour is the prime factor, the determinant of the material condition for production, for the life activity of man. It is for this that labour is not only natural to man, it is his prime want as well. Coerced labour in exploitative society, on the other hand, especially under capitalism, turns man's essential being into a being alien to him and a means to sustain only his *individual* existence. This has made man self-centred and self-seeking. He was not born like this, class division made him like this. He was not born like this, class society makes him like this. It is indeed possible for man to transform himself from his warped and vulgarized being to his true essence on a higher level than that of his primitive ancestor. How? "Society", explains Marx, "does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relations within which these individuals stand." Marx goes on to show that "In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; ... The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, the social being that determines consciousness." (Karl Marx, Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*) This very fact that the mode of production of material life determines the social-political-intellectual life goes to explain why it is that "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society at the same time is its ruling *intellectual* force.... The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as idea." (Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, 6, p. 59) Here is the answer. Society means men in their interrelations round production. Class division warped and twisted the interrelations that were there between men in the primitive commune society, replacing them by mutually antagonistic relations between the exploiting class and the exploited class or classes. So, to rid himself of his now self-centred nature and self-seeking approach, man will have to transform the interrelations wrought in by class division.

Furthermore, when social institutions are very strong, people come to take them for granted as if they were part of human nature. This is why the inculcation of the falsehood by the ruling class that men are by nature selfish has struck roots deep in the social mind. There cannot be an abstract conception of human nature, however. Men do change, they have the historical

potentiality to change, develop and transform themselves. Which is to say, what appears today to be the innate being of man owes to the social-historical condition which primarily has determined and shaped man's present state of being. The future is not, and cannot be, a state to correspond to our fancy, fascination or subjective desire. The future is a state which arises from the state in existence in correspondence with the dynamics and conditions of operation of the governing law of the particular process. This is the point which Marx makes when from his historical-materialist analysis he concludes that "Communism is for us not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself. We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the premises now in existence." (*ibid*) The law of socialism asserts that the vulgar individualistic trait of man in decadent capitalism be negated to be negated again by the collective spirit of socialism.

To reiterate: the goal of socialism is objectively defined as creation of conditions which will permit man's true essence to flourish by overcoming distortions wrought in by exploitative class society. Man's true essence consists in his self becoming the personification of the social-collective, labour becoming his prime want, and his being becoming bound with nature by mutually complementary-supplementary relation. So, this question of realizing the true essence of man identifies with the question of fulfilling the true conditions of emancipation of man from exploitation of all sorts.

The foregoing makes it apparent that the bourgeois academic, let alone the sold-out intellectual, and the casehardened politician, is incapable of grasping what exactly is at issue here. It is the charge of the genuine communist revolutionaries to go into depths and grasp the real issue by its roots, and to undertake waging an unremitting struggle for resolution of this most deep-lying question which appears as the immovable roadblock to mankind's quest for emancipation today. So it has become necessary to examine the whole issue by the method of dialectical and historical materialism to determine whence the process of socialist construction got deflected from its course of onward development toward communism, and determine thereupon the basic conditions to be fulfilled for compliance with the law of social development. The present outcome, hardly it needs to be emphasised, could not have materialised overnight. It is the appearance, not the essence, moreover. Let us follow, in the first place, wherefrom in its law-governed course did socialist development start deviating.

Mechanical Relationship between Parties in the World Communist Movement

Since long, since the late forties in point of fact, our party, led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved departed leader, teacher, guide, and founder General Secretary of the Party, had assiduously been seeking to draw attention of the

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Savage Economic Onslaught

Poverty, unemployment, gap between rich and poor soaring

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twofold, a study on poverty and deprivation in the UK shows that 33% of households endure below-par living standards – defined as going without three or more “basic necessities of life”, such as being able to adequately feed and clothe themselves and their children, and to heat and insure their homes. One in five children under age 18, or 21.3%, is living in poverty in the United States, according to the latest data from the US Census Bureau. More than 600,000 Americans are homeless on any given night. Just last year, the national poverty rate of US rose to include 13.2% of the population. 1 in 7 people are at risk of suffering from hunger there. In addition, 3.5 million people are forced to sleep in parks, under bridges, in shelter or cars. Overall, 71% of 25 US cities reported an increase in local demand for emergency food assistance in just one year and 43% of those cities reported an increase in homelessness. Moreover, in US, an astonishingly high number of people work at low-wage jobs. Plus, many more households are headed now by a single parent, making it difficult for them to earn a living income from very low wage jobs that are typically available. The near disappearance of cash assistance for low-income mothers and children — i.e., welfare — in much of the country plays a contributing role, too. And persistent issues of race and gender mean higher poverty among minorities and families headed by single mothers.

Indian picture is no different. Almost 36 million people are living as slaves across the globe, with India having the greatest number of more than 14 million victims of slavery, ranging from prostitution to bonded labour. 230 million Indians go hungry daily. A UNO report says that about 30 crore (300 million) people still live in extreme poverty in India. But, as per findings of government appointed Arjun Sengupta report, 77% of Indian citizens live below poverty line. Piercing the balloon of so called growth, the socio-economic census report published a few months back, revealed that 75 % of rural households do not earn even Rs 5000 a month. In 92 % of households, the main earning member makes less than Rs. 10,000 a month. In nearly 75% of all rural household, the income of the highest earning member is Rs 5,000 or less per month. It could be either Rs 1,000 or even Rs 10. Obviously, they have to be categorized as abysmally poor. 6.68 lakh families survive on begging while 4.08 lakh families earn their livelihood by rag picking.

Unemployment

Bourgeois economists and politicians often talk of poverty alleviation to hoodwink people. But they never say why is this appalling poverty? Obvious answer is that there are no jobs, no gainful employment. So, there is no income, no means to make both ends meet. But the ruling capitalists and their governments are no less active in statistical manoeuvring to understate the figure of unemployment. For example, the Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS) in US, which “creates” figures of unemployed, has a very arcane way of determining who is “unemployed.” The figure is not an accurate measure of the number of people who want and need jobs. The real unemployed are not counted. Rather, the BLS surveys 60,000 households, which are selected because they “represent”

different U.S. regions and populations. The bureau asks people in those households whether they have been actively seeking work in the prior four weeks. If they have worked at all during that period, regardless of their earnings, or whether the work is part-time or sporadic, they are counted as employed. In pursuance of this formula, US government says that only 3.8 million Americans are in the category of long-term unemployed. This figure furnished by the Bureau of Labour Statistics is based on the official definition which defines an unemployed worker as someone who has been looking for a job. A record 91 million people who were not in the labour force from October 2013 through February 2014 is excluded. In May last, the labour force participation rate has been mentioned as 62.8%. That means that 37.2 % were not participating in the labour force during those months. Then there are the millions of workers who earn less than minimum wage or do unpaid work, who are among the most exploited, including agricultural and dairy workers, domestic workers, those toiling in sweatshops, immigrants, prisoners, people with disabilities and victims of human trafficking. This is the unemployment situation of the world’s biggest capitalist-imperialist power.

As per figures in November last officially released now, unemployment in European Union is 10%. In Greece, it is 25.75, in Portugal 13.9%, in Ireland 10.7%, in France 10.2%. Unemployment in Spain has doubled over past three years. In UK, officially, 2.12 million are unemployed. The number of people claiming Jobseeker’s Allowance there is 1.04 million. Japan’s Unemployment Rate is stated to have hit 16-Year Low. When adjusted to large scale manipulation, the figures would naturally jump much higher. Indian government has a unique practice of never disclosing the figure of unemployment. Though in the past, figures of people enrolled in the Employment Exchanges were sometimes leaked, that too has stopped now. So, from various other studies, one has to figure out the actual unemployment assuming alarming proportion with every passing day. As per census 2011, more than 20 per cent of Indians in the 15-24 age group were jobless and seeking work. In absolute terms, this army of unemployed youth is staggeringly huge — around 4.7 crore of which 2.6 crore were men and 2.1 crore women. Overall, the unemployment rate among the working age population in the 15-59 age group is stated to be 14.5 %, including marginal workers seeking work. In the 25-29 age group, the unemployment rate is nearly 18%. It is also revealed that 65 lakhs of employable

people are added to the figure of unemployment every year.

Numbers apart, anyone acquainted with the objective reality of Indian situation knows to what scale unemployment has increased with regular job losses, virtual moratorium on new recruitment and no creation of jobs because of industrial recession,

Mounting crisis of capitalism

Based on just the above three parameters leaving aside other fierce economic onslaughts in the form of spiralling price line, rise in indirect taxation and a slew of fiscal savageries, it is clear that more the ruling capitalists and their servitor economists-columnists-analysts-ministers are claiming growth and development of economy, more plunged in distress and destitution are the common people. And with accelerated pauperization of the people because of increasing concentration of wealth in the kitty of the ruling capitalist class, the capitalist economy based on exploitation of man by man and driven by the motive of maximization of profit through appropriation of the value of surplus labour power by denying the labour its due wage, as shown by Marx, is faced with severe unsolvable market crisis. People have no money to buy. Hence, the capitalist owners find shrinkage of market. If there is no market or, in other words, no buyer of goods at prices fixed by the capitalist owners of production, the capitalists find no opportunity for maximization of profit. So, they stop production of goods even if those are needed by the people. Stoppage of production means downing shutters on industries entailing more and more job losses and rise in unemployment. More is unemployment, more plummets the purchasing power of the people. So, the market crisis becomes more acute. This in a nutshell is the crisis capitalist economy is enmeshed in today. The fall in the purchasing power of people is so rapid as to far outweigh even the snail pace with which whatever little production is taking place. So, whatever goods are produced is also getting stockpiled. As we have said earlier, this stockpiling of goods is called recession. On the other hand, as purchasing power of people at larger squeezed, the capitalists in order to maximize profit from selling less number of goods jack up prices arbitrarily. Lest the price fall should jeopardize scope for profit maximization, they even do not release the stockpile at lower prices. Rather, they hoard the products, create artificial crisis and then sell the goods at yet higher price (black marketing) to extract more pound of flesh from the ruthlessly oppressed impoverished

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First state level Students Conference in Madhya Pradesh organised by AIDS0

Savage Economic Onslaught

Market crisis of capitalism cannot be solved keeping capitalist economy intact

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people. This is cruel inhuman capitalism. The market crisis of capitalism is created by its own law of operation and hence cannot be solved keeping capitalist economy intact.

So called mitigating measures are strangulating people further

But there is a frantic attempt on the part of the ruling capitalists to somehow stave off the crisis by adopting certain measures which besides aggravating the crisis are slaying the slain people further. The whole and sole strategy of the capitalist-imperialist rulers is to pass on the entire burden of the crisis on to the people, lock, stock, and barrel in the name of aggressively pursuing mega scale reforms for revival of economy. When they talk of economic revival or so called reforms, they do not speak from the perspective of the people but simply try to buttress their narrow sectarian class interest at the cost of the people. For example, the current refrains in the parlance of ruling capitalism are austerity, wage cuts or wage freeze, slashing subsidy, increased privatization and commercialization of essential service areas including key government sectors like health, education, railways, surface and water transports, civic and financial services and even defence. Alongside, prescription is for extending more and more tax concessions, waivers, facilities and amnesty to the monopoly houses, corporates and MNCs. Emphasis is on more and more militarization of economy, arms trade and share market speculation. The agenda of economic reforms which the ruling Indian monopolists like their global counterparts, are embarking on with all fanfare is nothing but a package of the aforesaid measures—all designed to benefit themselves through intensification of the exploitation of the people.

But the irony is that even then, the crisis is chasing them like, what Marx said, a spectre of horror. US imperialists who are busy exporting 'democracy' at gunpoint throughout the world and extending their sphere of influence riding on drones and nuclear weapons, now find that their government will exhaust its emergency cash-management measures by 3 November, 2015 and risk running out of cash shortly thereafter if the sovereign debt limit (the loan which a government raises from the market to meet its budget deficits) is not increased. As of now, the federal debt limit is set at USD 18.1 trillion and the Obama Administration wants to borrow more money to run day-to-day operation of the federal government. Everyone is witness to how most of the European countries are on the verge of bankruptcy because of mounting burden of sovereign debt as all of them had no alternative but to bank on huge borrowing to finance their yawning budget deficits. Greece has already collapsed. Portugal, Ireland and Spain are waiting to follow suit. Italy's public debt is 120% of its national output. Public debt to GDP ratio of Germany is stated to be 74.3%. Total debt in the 18 Eurozone countries rose to 93.9 percent of GDP in the first three months of 2014. In the full 28-member EU, total debt rose to 88 percent, the Eurostat statistics agency said. Japan has national

debt well in excess of 200% of GDP. Standard and Poor's, a US-based rating agency itself has ruled that US economy is in such a crisis that there is every possibility of the Washington government defaulting in repayment of its sovereign debts. It is not that US or any other capitalist country including India are having budget deficits because of increased spending on public welfare. The bulk of the spending is on sophistication of military and nurturing, so to say, a war economy while revenue income is depleted because of enormous waivers and grants to the industrial houses and super-rich. U.S. military budget is estimated to be \$786.6 billion for financial year 2016. The total cost of US's Iraq war has reportedly touched \$3.3 trillion. After US\$10 trillion in government bank bailouts, a further US \$787-bn stimulus package to the Industry barons was announced by the US government to help bringing in an upturn in economic activity after outbreak of sub-prime crisis. Thus, unlimited war spending together with liberal grant of bailout and stimulus packages to the monopoly-controlled banks and Financial Institutions and inexplicable tax relief to the swelling-coffer owners has been triggering huge budget deficits in the US to finance which, it has no alternative but to go for increased market borrowing even exceeding the limit of its capacity to repay. What is obvious is that to get out of one credit crisis, the capitalist rulers have to pick up another credit route and the chain is going on piling up crisis over crisis.

Who then are at the receiving end? Who is suffering because of capitalist crisis? One has heard of sick industry. But it is actually the oppressed common citizens who are forced to bear the burden of the crisis. While, on the one hand, the public exchequer being used to bail out large industries and big corporates gone sick as well as to finance wars of occupation and destabilizing other countries, there is, on the other hand drastic cut in public expenditure in the name of austerity. The French government has announced plans to cut spending by •45bn over the next three years. Germany plans to cut subsidies and cut lakhs of job. In Spain, public sector employees are facing a pay cut of five per cent. Similarly, Italy has been cutting pay and freezing new recruitment in government sector. As prime condition of temporarily salvaging Greece from insolvency through grant of special economic package, the EU and IMF have stipulated excruciatingly harsh austerity measures that would make common Greeks bleed white.

Indian context

What is happening in India? In the last one decade, the government has liberally granted

relief of an estimated amount of Rs 40 lakh crore rupees to the industrial houses and corporate sector in the form of various waivers, exemptions and concessions. Whereas, this year, total subsidy affecting toiling people as percentage of GDP has been further brought down from Rs. 2.60 lakh to 2.44 lakh crore. Food, fuel and fertilizer subsidies have been reduced substantially. Allocations to education, health and whatever little of public welfare schemes are in operation have been drastically slashed. Defence budget allocation for 2015-16 is raised to 2, 46,727 crore. While Rs 1 lakh crore of non-performing assets (loan defaulted mostly by big industrial houses and corporate sectors) with banks are stated to have been written off (meaning waived without any penalty), poor peasants who are assailed by galloping rise in the prices of agricultural inputs and non-availability of remunerative price of their produce because of a flawed and corrupt system, have been issued notice for repaying loan amounting to Rs 5000 crores. Not only that. The government proposes to pump in as high as Rs.2, 40,000 crore to the nationalized bank from public exchequer in the name of recapitalization to ensure their financial viability. That means, the government is indirectly financing the loss incurred by the banks because of wilful default of loans by the corporates. But the same very government pleads inability to provide subsidy to people on the plea of absence of fund. Moreover, the government, in the name of encouraging investment through lowering of cost of capital, has been regularly slashing interest rates so that the same very corporates who have been defaulting repayment of earlier loans can get fresh loan at cheaper rate, not for any productive investment but for promoting real estate business and participate in share market speculation. At the same time, there is an effort to offer easy credit to middle and upper middle class for house building and acquisition of cars, furniture and other electronic and utility articles. So, just the way the country is running on borrowing, there is an attempt to artificially increase public spending on selected items through liberal grant of loans and thereby create some artificial demands of the said items. The public is loser on both counts. Those who are

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On 9 November last, hundreds of eminent writers, novelists, columnists, film directors, theatre activists, singers, scientists of Jharkhand have marched on the streets of Jamshehpur against growing intolerance, and attack on the fundamental right of freedom of expression and silence of government. They occupied the Sakchi Golchakkar, heart of the city for hours, street plays were performed, revolutionary songs rendered and speeches made. Before this a huge protest rally was organised

Setback of Communist Movement

Comrade Stalin cautioned against neglecting ideological work

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world communist movement to the drawbacks and shortcomings afflicting it severely. All the while, the party cautioned about the danger of the emerging trends of serious ideological confusion in the communist ranks and among people at large. Back in 1948 itself, at the time of Tito's expulsion from the Cominform, Comrade Ghosh pointed finger to the portents of the prevailing mechanical process of thinking and mechanical relationship between parties and within parties in the world communist camp: "While acknowledging with just pride and deference the very many achievements and successes and glorious sacrifices of the world communist movement, we have not failed, even for a moment, to point out the serious shortcomings in it. ... *These serious shortcomings and defects are largely due to the fact that the present leadership of the world communist movement is, to a very large extent, influenced by mechanical process of thinking.* ... In our opinion, it is precisely because of this that there

has been continuous violation of the Marxist dialectical principle of mutually dependent and beneficial relationship, based on equality and mutual respect, between the fraternal communist parties of different countries that has virtually led to the negation of the Marxian science accepted through test of the historical experiences regarding the dialectical process of emergence and formation of the revolutionary communist leadership through interaction of ideas." (Shibdas Ghosh, *Self-Criticism of the Communist Camp, Selected Works*, 1, p. 2)

Continuing: "... *whereas the leadership of the communist parties should have been developed through struggle and interaction of ideas between all members of the party, between the leaders and rank and file and through deriving knowledge from* different kinds of experiences of the world communist movement, most of the parties have chosen the easy way of mechanical centralization which has led to the formation of bureaucratic leadership at the top." (*ibid.*, p. 3) He forewarned: "From all

this it appears that instead of overcoming the present crisis of the world communist camp, the approach and attitude of the present leadership would presumably push the present situation to a far deeper crisis in near future." (*ibid.*, p. 2)

Modern Revisionism Looms Large

What might be this "far deeper crisis"? Indeed the crisis brewed up, when, in 1956, Comrade Ghosh sought again to draw attention of the international communist movement to the manifesting crisis of modern revisionism, and he warned against the danger of the 'opening of the floodgates of revisionism' at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. Explaining Lenin's teaching that revisionism is nothing but 'infiltration of bourgeois ideology in the working-class movement', Comrade Ghosh cautioned that if this modern-revisionist infiltration was not fought out in time it might hinder and inhibit socialist construction and socialism's progress, even it might endanger socialism itself. Alongside, he laid

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Savage Economic Onslaught

Most developed and enriched understanding of Marxism-Leninism lies today in Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought

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keeping their hard earned savings in banks will receive lower interest. So their purchasing power will fall further. On the other hand, those taking loans will have to shell out part of future earnings which are also uncertain in a tumbling economy in repaying loan. Moreover, finding bank interest lower, a section of the people will divert savings to speculative stock market in expectation of higher return. Thus more money would be injected in stock speculation allowing punters to reap benefit. Over and above, there is a spree of privatization of essential sectors and services allowing private operators to fleece people at large. Hoarding and black-marketing is going on in full swing to contribute significantly in galloping rise in prices of essential items in goods. This is how people are bearing the brunt of capitalist crisis. As we have seen, not just US, the big capitalist powers on the continent — Germany, France, Italy, Japan — are all sunk in deep economic crisis. The Russian capitalist economy is losing steam fast. The much-hyped growth of capitalist China is now proved a misnomer with its nose-diving in last few months. Capitalist India aspiring to emerge as an Asian superpower is also on a tottering, if not shattered, economic base. How prudent was Marx in foreseeing this crisis almost 175 year back when capitalism had not entered its decadent stage. And all the Marxist authorities from Lenin-Stalin-Mao-Zedong to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who had been witness to the decadent moribund stage of capitalism have further elaborated how capitalism is caught in its own web, facing an hourly crisis, somehow dodging one crisis only to land into a bigger crisis. Howsoever hard may try the bourgeois economists and hang-ons of exploitative capitalist rulers, there is no way they can wriggle out of this crisis. At the same time, it is imperative for common people to imbibe the truth that ultimate

solution does not lie in some cosmetic reforms or achievement of a few economic demands through movement but in overthrowing oppressive capitalist system by revolution.

The road to remedy

The silver lining is that people all over the world are bursting forth in protest against this economic onslaught. Tahrir Square in Cairo, the streets of Tunis, Syntagma Square in Athens, Yemen in Arabian Peninsula, North African state of Algeria, Madrid's central square and then Times Square in New York — popular anger against entrenching power elites of ruling capitalism-imperialism have started spreading across the world. "We Are The 99% that will no longer tolerate the greed and corruption of the 1%".... "Banks got bailed out, we got sold out!"... "Like our brothers and sisters in Egypt, Greece, Spain, and Iceland, we plan to use the revolutionary Arab Spring tactic of mass occupation to restore democracy in America." "Down with capitalism"—such have been the slogans chanted and displayed on placards and banners held by the protesters of historic "Occupy Wall street movement" that had spread like a wild fire. Even today, mass protest against long-term unemployment, job loss, rising and uncontrollable food prices, budget cut on social welfare measures to denial of all kinds of democratic rights, political repression coupled with rampant corruption and the brutality of coercive government machinery are sweeping across the globe. There has been sustained protest movement against austerity in Greece. A massive anti-austerity rally in Germany turned violent a few months back when protesters clashed with police at the opening of the new European Central Bank headquarters. Railways, Port and Mine workers in various European countries are organizing massive strikes paralysing the countries. In last June, hundreds of thousands

of people took to the streets of London in the UK's biggest anti-austerity rally for years to oppose the government's programme of social benefit cuts and privatization. Protestors had carried banners reading "No Cuts," "No More Austerity," "Cut War Not Welfare", "We struggle for every pound," "the government... is taking money away from us all the time," and "it's very disturbing to think where it's going" etc. In India also, there are sporadic outbursts of discontent. It is true that people are desperately crying for a change of the existing order. They are raising slogans 'down with imperialism-capitalism', 'down with globalization' etc. So, the objective condition for overthrowing exploitative capitalist system by accomplishing proletarian revolution under the leadership of the working class is mature. But the slogan that is yet to be raised is, 'organize socialist revolution'. That means what is badly wanted now, is the subjective preparation: strengthening the revolutionary parties of the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism in different countries and intensifying class and mass struggles leading to their logical culmination. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the most developed and enriched understanding of Marxism-Leninism lies today in Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. The forward march of world communist movement was halted; the mighty socialist camp was dismantled because of menacing rise and conspiracy of modern revisionism. One of the significant contributions of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has been in providing genesis of modern revisionism and pointing out that revolutionary working class movement is to be built up today based on higher proletarian ethics and culture and consciously fighting the menace of bourgeois individualism. So, it is Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought which is historically poised to provide beacon to emancipation from ruthless capitalist-imperialist exploitation.

Setback of Communist Movement

Disregard of the law of socialist development hastened up revisionist infiltration

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bare the real motive of the Khrushchevite clique's slander, calumny and vilification campaign against great Stalin on the plea of fighting out the 'cult of personality'. He showed, this malevolent act was nothing short of distorting Leninism and 'uncrowning' Lenin himself. In the name of fighting the 'cult of personality' round Comrade Stalin they fought not against the 'cult' but most unethically against the person Stalin through recourse to undermining the authoritative presence of Comrade Stalin's undying spirit in the hearts of people — Stalin who provided the correct understanding of Leninism against its distortion by Trotsky, Bukharin, and some others. This revisionist leadership confused the Marxist sense of authority with authoritarianism. It undermined the concept of authority, engendering thereby polycentricism, ultra-democracy and confusion in galore on every question of right or wrong approach to any and every political phenomenon. This had the crippling effect of distorting and vulgarising the conception of Leninism. Which in turn opened the door to infiltration of revisionist influence to warp the revolutionary understanding of Marxism-Leninism. Expressly, Comrade Ghosh spoke of his apprehension that this ideological confusion might even engender a situation in the long run "when people would witness that communists of different countries ... are at loggerheads with each other...". (Shibdas Ghosh, *On the steps taken by the CPSU against Stalin, Selected Works, I, p.59*). Subsequent development confirmed his apprehension.

Serious communists would recall, the *Report to the Nineteenth Congress* (1952) of the CPSU, placed by Comrade Malenkov under guidance of Comrade Stalin underlined that there had been negligence in regard to ideological struggle in the spheres of philosophy and science, which retrograde development, coupled with the decay of the process of criticism and self-criticism, in particular criticism from below within the party, resulted in the lowering of the level of political consciousness of the rank-and-file in its aftermath, giving birth to bureaucratic trend in a section of leaders. The Nineteenth Congress recorded in the spirit of self-criticism that "The Party could not but notice that this rapid growth of its ranks had certain negative features, leading to certain lowering of the level of political consciousness of the Party ranks and to a certain decline in the qualitative composition of the membership." Then, "... where criticism and self-criticism are neglected, where mass control over the activities of the organisations and establishments are weakened, the inevitable result is such ugly developments as bureaucratism, rotteness and even disintegration in individual links of our apparatus." It was recorded, further, that a tendency had grown in the CPSU to give priority to production instead of to politics. Private-property mentality and morality continued to prevail as a strong and tenacious force. On this, the task of the party had been set down: "Ideological work is prime duty of the party, and underestimation of its importance may do

irreparable damage to the interests of party and state. We must always remember that if the influence of socialist ideology is weakened the effect is to strengthen the influence of the bourgeois ideology." (*Report to the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU, 1952*) Under Comrade Stalin's leadership the party was contemplating to initiate a revolutionary struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces and bourgeois tendencies. But with usurpation of the leadership of the party and the state by the Khrushchevite revisionist clique, after demise of Comrade Stalin, the process got reversed. A whole complement of retrograde measures in the economic, political and cultural fields led to an accelerating downhill slide, the USSR landing in total disaster and crash in the end. What had germinated initially as a problem due to laxity in the practice of dialectical relationship in communist organisations and communist movement opened the door to a virulent affliction and a myriad of problems.

What all this added up to was that, whereas the USSR under the leadership of Comrade Stalin had made lofty progress in all spheres of life and social activity by correctly following the law of socialist economy and educating workers politically, advancing thereupon to a point when it could consider measures to pass on from socialism to communism, the same USSR receded miles behind in the aftermath of usurpation of power by the Khrushchevite revisionist clique. At the Conference of Strakhanovites, while he spoke about the worker's life and their vanguard role in augmenting production in the USSR, Comrade Stalin observed: "Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous." Under the revisionist dispensation, by contrast, life lapsed into a burdensome existence, and the revisionist leadership took recourse to doling out material incentives to induce workers to work and prevent the level of production from sagging. What a fall!

The Issue

What issue is this? The issue, when viewed in its essence, is 'simple and straightforward'. Comrade Ghosh explained that the basic problem as also the basic factor is the revisionist outlook which swamped the CPSU leadership when the Khrushchevite clique usurped power. It is the mechanical relationship between the leaders and the cadres in the communist parties, and between the fraternal parties in the communist camp, which, in the first place, widened the gap between their respective levels of consciousness and inevitably led to lowering of the general standard of consciousness in the communist movement as a whole. The decline of the level of consciousness created the condition for bourgeois liberalism to infiltrate stealthily and, in sequel, the socialist society to contract revisionism. This lowering of the general standard of consciousness was fast becoming a feature of communist parties in general. Stressing this aspect in particular, Comrade Ghosh explained in 1961: "Firstly, the philosophical development of Marxism-Leninism which ought to have been made in the face of multiplicity of newer problems of life and class struggles and in keeping with the spectacular

progress of natural sciences that marked the post-Lenin period was not made. ... *Nobody would, perhaps, deny that at present the phenomenon of individualism and the bourgeois sense of liberty are, in the ideological sphere, stiff obstacles in the path of development of class struggles in advanced countries.* ... Secondly, like the proverbial one-eyed deer, the communist leaders in general, to a very large extent, neglected the important task of conducting ideological struggles inside the party to raise the ideological standard of millions and millions of young communists who were dragged into the vortex of communist movements and kept themselves busy mostly in organizational activities." (*ibid.*, p. 78; *emphasis added*) Later, again, in his observation on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China in 1967 he reminded that "If backwardness continues to persist in the fields of epistemology and culture, then the entire party and working class may, being misled, tread the revisionist-reformist path and bring about restoration of capitalism while waving the banner of Marxism-Leninism and chanting socialist slogans." (Shibdas Ghosh, *Cultural Revolution of China, Selected Works, I, p. 191*; *emphasis added*)

This relatively low level of ideological standard, this accumulating neglect of the cause of ideological or theoretical struggle within and between the communist organisations and forces, and the consequent lowering of the general level of consciousness led to a situation in which subjective practice lagged increasingly behind the objective necessity arising from changing conditions of life and society. It is this gap, this loophole so created, which provided modern revisionism, and does provide still, with the route to infiltrate stealthily the working-class organisations, working-class movements, and socialist systems. This the capitalist-imperialists did exploit. They are ever ready to exploit to their advantage this internally created condition as opportunity. The revisionist slide continuing unresisted, Comrade Ghosh made this crucial observation in 1968 in the aftermath of Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia: "... the present Soviet leadership has been treading the revisionist path. What do we mean by this? We mean that by disregarding the law of socialist economic development, in their bid to anyhow increase production, they are virtually fostering the capitalist trends and tendencies and have thereby not only given the scope of revival to the social force which sustains capitalism but have actually walked into its trap, although this social force had not totally died out there but had diminished almost to the stage of elimination. How far alignment or conscious agreement with the imperialists outside or their machinations have been operative or active in this regard — our party has never shown any interest in it. Our party has, however, shown that so long as correct implementation of the law of socialist development had not allowed any impairment of the fundamental revolutionary role of the Soviet Union, despite some mistakes or shortcomings

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Setback of Communist Movement

Prerequisite in realm of idea precedes economic prerequisite

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here and there, the political structure, the character of the Soviet State and of the party, its basic revolutionary role, everything stood on a firm footing; but now, this economic outlook and approach, which is unscientific and has come about disregarding the law of socialist economic development, has in effect struck at the very roots. This tendency is the basis of the theory behind the political practice now prevailing in the Soviet Union.” (Shibdas Ghosh, *Soviet Military Intervention in Czechoslovakia and Revisionism, Selected Works*, 1, pp. 299-300)

Economic Questions of Socialism in the USSR

Such analyses should serve our examination of the actual conditions under which, and the way of approach with which, socialist construction was shaping up in the USSR in the teeth of imperialist machinations, intrigues, invasions, and adversities of previously un-experienced and unknown problems, under the guidance of Comrade Lenin in the first place and, afterwards, under his worthy continuator Comrade Stalin.

In its pithy form, the question of leap-forward from capitalism to communism concerns the application of Marx’s *theory of development through concrete analysis of concrete situation*. Historically, “there must undoubtedly be a special stage, a special phase, of transition from capitalism to communism.”, Marx explained. This transition from capitalism to communism is impossible without going through “a political transition period”, a period of revolutionary transformation of outlook and attitude. What the working class has to deal with in this period is a society, “not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it comes.” (Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, 2, 1962)

The Soviet society at the time carried its birth-marks in the sphere of economy chiefly in the form of group- or collective-farm ownership, commodity production and circulation along with its law of value, and in economic and cultural relations discrimination between town and village, between industry and agriculture, between physical and mental labour. The problem was that the collective farms at the time would not recognise any other economic relations with the town except commodity relation — exchange through purchase and sale — so “commodity production and trade are as much a necessity with us as they were when Lenin spoke of the necessity of developing trade to the utmost.” (J.V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, 1952, p. 15)

This fact of existence of group- or collective-farm ownership alongside of state ownership of industry “leads to the preservation of commodity circulation, and that, only when this distinction between industry and agriculture disappears, commodity production with its attendant consequences also disappear. ...The same must be said of the problem of the abolition of the essential distinction between mental labour and

physical labour.” (*ibid.*, p. 27) Also, “Wherever commodity and commodity production exist, there the law of value must also exist.” (*ibid.*, p. 19) As a matter of fact, consumer goods were produced and realised in the USSR as commodity coming under the operation of the law of value. However, the sphere of operation of commodity production was restricted, so also was restricted the sphere of operation of the law of value. When there will be “only one all-embracing production sector”, with the right to dispose of all the consumer goods produced, commodity production, with its ‘money economy’, will disappear as an unnecessary element in the national economy. “But so long as this is not the case, so long as the two basic production sectors remain, commodity production and commodity circulation must remain in force as a necessary and useful element in our system of national economy.” (*ibid.*, p. 16) Until then, “commodity production would serve the development and consolidate production.”

Transforming Collective Farm Property to the Level of Public Property

So, at the time, the question of overriding economic importance concerned the ways and means to raise the collective-farm property to the level of public property. There was no question of expropriating the collective farms by the socialist state, no question of coercion or use of force. Expressing Marx’s view on this, Engels had affirmed that “... when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of landowners. Our task relative to the small peasants consists in, in the first place, effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to cooperative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and proffer of social assistance for the purpose.” (F. Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany, Selected Works Of Marx and Engels*, 2, p. 393)

The problem was that the collective farms were “unwilling to alienate the products except in the form of commodity exchange for which they desire to receive the commodity they need.” (J. V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, 1952, p. 15) Considerable part of the farm products, the surplus collective-farm output, was being disposed of by the collective farms at their own discretion. This surplus output went into the market and was included in the system of commodity circulation. It was precisely this circumstance which prevented the elevation of the collective-farm property to the level of public property. With this analysis Comrade Stalin showed that the work of elevation had to be tackled from this end— i.e., from the end of the surplus output finding way into commodity circulation — and he laid down the economic measure to be taken to raise the collective-farm property to the level of public property. “... the surplus collective-farm output must be excluded from the system of commodity circulation and included in the system of products-exchange between the state industry and the collective farms.” Clearly, by excluding any surplus farm output from products-exchange with the other

sector, that is, with the state-owned industry sector, the policy-direction aimed at gradually transforming commodity circulation of farm products into products-exchange and bringing collective-farm production, too, under a centralised system of planning for national production in its entirety— integrating this way industrial production and collective-farm production into a single sector of production under the law of balanced socialist-economic development. That would go to augment production to match consumption requirement and would clear the ground for elimination of the material condition which sustains commodity production with its law of value. At the time, in 1952, total production of the USSR, which, like the proverbial phoenix rising from ashes had risen from the ruins of war, had already touched a level fifteen times higher than the 1913 level. Soviet Union’s prestige soared sky-high in the wake of the unprecedented growth in industry, agriculture, science, technology, and in many other fields, and this more so in the wake of victory over the fascist military machine.

Problems of Transitional Phase

The question which thrusts itself forward here is: What does this problem of transition from socialism to communism consist in? From which end has to be conducted the struggle to overcome the main hurdle in the period of transition? First, Comrade Stalin explained, with a note of caution, that “... it will be wrong to rest easy and to think that there are no contradictions between our productive forces and the relations of production. There certainly are, and will be, contradictions, seeing that the development of relations of production lags, and will lag, behind development of productive forces. Given a correct policy on the part of the directing bodies these contradictions cannot grow into antagonisms, and there is no chance of matters coming to antagonism between the relations of production and productive forces of society. ...This, above all, concerns such economic factors as group-, or collective-farm, property and commodity circulation... But it would be unpardonable blindness not to see that these factors are already beginning to hamper the powerful development of our productive forces, since they create obstruction to the full extension of government planning to the whole of national economy, especially agriculture. There is no doubt that these factors will hamper the continued growth of the productive forces of our country more and more as the time goes on. The task, therefore, is to eliminate these contradictions by gradually converting collective-farm property into public property, and by introducing — also gradually — products-exchange in place of commodity circulation.” (*ibid.*, p.70) For ‘real’, and not ‘declaratory’, transformation of the Soviet society to communism, Comrade Stalin laid down that at least three main preliminary conditions would have to be satisfied: *one*, continuous expansion of all social production; *two*, raising collective-farm production to the level of public property, and replacing commodity circulation by a system of products-exchange through gradual change carried out to the advantage of collective

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Low level of consciousness promotes individualistic tendency following economic uplift

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farms; *three*, ensuring such a cultural advancement of society as will be conducive to “all-round development of physical and mental abilities of all members of society.” To achieve this end, he pointed out, substantial cultural advance had to be brought about — substantial changes in the present status of labour — ‘changes’ through which “work will be converted in the eye of the members of society from a nuisance into ‘life’s prime want’”. He suggested taking measures like shortening the working day to facilitate workers have time to receive all-round education, universal technical education, improving the housing conditions, substantial increase in wages, and such like. “These are the basic conditions required to pave the way for transition to communism.” (*ibid.*, p. 71)

At the time when Comrade Stalin was alive and leading the party, the state and the people, vestiges of capitalist economy survived in several forms in the USSR. Characterising the situation, Comrade Ghosh observed: “This (capitalist—*added*) economic force did not grow and develop just by its own law. This tendency, which I call the capitalist tendency, had been suppressed and was almost on the verge of elimination in the Soviet Union, but still it was there. For instance, the system of collective farming is there and also production of commodities and commodity circulation and the existence of individual property like houses, money, bank deposits, etc. The law of value is operative there. All this shows that the seeds of private property have not been destroyed there. And so long as these seeds remain, the tendency of capitalist restoration in the economy would also be there.” (Shibdas Ghosh, *Soviet Military Intervention in Czechoslovakia and Revisionism, Selected Works*, 1, p. 300)

Second, although economic prerequisite is basic to transition, the individual’s mentality to work collectively for society, which is conditioned by the nature of relation between individual interests and collective interests of society, is the other *sine qua non* prerequisite for transition to communism. Connections between men round production, round sharing of labour for production, define the basic condition for the formation and development of the mental makeup, the level of consciousness, the aptitude, the outlook, the whole range of spiritual life and all that is there in the superstructure. In the given situation of the USSR, judged from this angle, vestiges of capitalism in the economic base did not constitute the only obstacle. In point of fact, the formidable obstacle was the hardened shoots of bourgeois outlook and forces of habit ramifying from the private-property mental complex of the class society and outstretching into the socialist society in the shape of bourgeois sense of right and equality, individualistic traits of mindset, and attitude to work as though it were a necessary evil — these all belonging to the spiritual superstructure. It concerned the status of labour in the eye of society, the division between physical labour and mental labour. The question which begs to be answered concerns what it was which held the ground for growth of reactionary

bourgeois ideological influence over the CPSU in the shape of modern revisionism. Should it be concluded that revisionism had its way through *just* because these capitalist elements were surviving in economy in the USSR? These are questions which tie in with one another and, therefore, need to be addressed together.

Third, after revolution and following economic uplift, the individualist tendency does not die out on its own, it rather tends to take hold of the minds of people, while lying ensconced in the deeper recess of the mental complex round private property — an intransigent complex in the superstructure which would outlive the phase of revolutionary seizure of state power. Comrade Ghosh explained that it is because bourgeois *law*, bourgeois outlook and culture outlive into the socialist phase, so economic uplift and improvement in the standard of living flowing from socialist construction tends to give rise to a sense of privilege and individualist tendency. Comrade Ghosh pointed out that in this phase of decadent capitalism bourgeois humanism and reactionary nationalism are fundamentally opposed to proletarian internationalism. It is this condition in the realm of idea which breeds, directly or indirectly, and is the root cause of, all forms of reformist and revisionist deviation. These howling contradictions manifest themselves in the ongoing class struggle in a class society.

Class Struggle in Socialism

The proletarian revolution does not immediately and automatically eliminate classes and class struggle in the new society. Marx saw that the victory of socialist revolution and the proletariat’s conquest of power launches the process of elimination of classes. Socialism is the period of operation of this process. The complexity of the process particularly owes to the fact that upon losing the state power the capitalist class takes recourse to flanking movements in the place of frontal assaults, this aiding its covert machinations gain fiercest proportions. Without grasping the objective law which governs class contradiction and class struggle the machinations of the dispossessed capitalist class cannot be defeated.

Comrade Lenin emphasised time and again that “The abolition of classes is a matter of a long, difficult and stubborn class struggle, which, *after* the overthrow of the rule of capital, *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear, but only changes its form, becoming, in many respects, more bitter.” (V.I. Lenin, *Greetings to the Viennese Workers, Collected Works*, 24, p. 31) He explained: “Classes have remained, but *each* of them has changed its aspect under the dictatorship of the proletariat; also their interrelations have changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it only assumes other forms.” (V.I. Lenin, *Economics and Politics in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Collected Works*, 24, p. 113) Comrade Stalin reiterated this teaching: “The more the socialist system and the socialist economy will be

strengthened and consolidated, the more sharpened will be the class struggle.” Recall also the words of Comrade Mao Zedong: “We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been settled yet.”

It should be understood, moreover, that what revolution immediately achieves is *not*, and could not be, socialism but working-class *power* to build socialism. “... in order to abolish classes completely it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters... not enough to abolish *their* rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish *all* private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time.” (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 29, p., 421) The task consists in, *firstly*, putting an end to the rule of the exploiter classes, and, *secondly*, establishing a single system of socialist economy, and overcoming fully class distinctions between workers and peasantry and also essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labour. The process to build socialism had started in the USSR, and it must have been many more years before this process could have been completed.

Elaborating this premise of class struggle in socialist society, Comrade Ghosh explained: “Nobody is going to overthrow them from power, no more is the police forcibly taking them to prison. In short, the old form of class struggle is no more today. The class struggle has assumed a new form, and has become subtle more and more. But so far as the concept of struggle is concerned, the old idea still prevails in them. The reactionary ideas and thinking of the old society have not been thoroughly wiped out from the minds of the leaders, cadres and the people, on the one hand; rather the bourgeois ideas, in the new condition, are infiltrating in new forms and in more subtle ways, while, on the other, with the growing economic and political stability of the socialist system, the sense of individual liberty is gradually tending to assume the character of a sense of privilege. *As a result, conducting class struggle has become all the more difficult today. The revolution, accomplishment of which once seemed very difficult, has assumed a still more difficult character in the present context. ... here, the enemy infiltrates stealthily, the party falls victim to it unconsciously — today the struggle is against all this. It is a struggle against the tendencies that grow from within. Where the enemy is known, it does not pose so much danger since it is then easier to detect and conduct struggle against the enemy directly. But where the enemy is within and enters stealthily, the struggle becomes much more difficult.*” (Shibdas Ghosh, *Cultural Revolution of China, Selected Works*, 1, p. 216; emphasis added)

(To be contd)

Six Left Parties to launch a nationwide campaign against the communal hate offensive spearheaded by the RSS

The six Left Parties met on 10-11-15 evening at Ajoy Bhavan, New Delhi. CPI (M), CPI, CPI (ML)-Liberation RSP, Forward Bloc and SUCI(C) leaders participated in the meeting. The meeting issued the following statement:

The Left Parties will launch a nationwide campaign against the communal hate offensive spearheaded by the RSS and patronized by the BJP-led government, from 1st December to 6th December through various forms of protest.

The Left parties congratulate people of Bihar and hail the BJP's humiliating defeat. The United Left Bloc campaign has been well received by the people of Bihar and has won three seats.

The Left Parties salute the litterateurs, scientists, historians, film personalities and intellectuals who have bravely risen against the growing communal hate and polarization unleashed by the RSS/BJP. The Left Parties condemn the campaign of vilification against them.

The meeting was attended by Comrades Sitaram Yechury, Prakash Karat and S. Ramchandran Pillai (CPI(M)), S. Sudhakar Reddy, A B Bardhan and D. Raja (CPI); Dipankar Bhattacharjee and Swapan Mukherjee (CPI (ML)-Liberation); G. Devarajan (AIFB); Abani Roy(RSP); Krishna Chakraborty and Pran Sharma (SUCI (C)).

A National Assembly in Defence of Education organized in Delhi

A National Assembly in Defence of Education was organized by FEDCUTA (Federation of Central Universities' Teachers' Association) & AIFUCTO (All India Federation of University & College Teachers' Organisations) in Mavlankar Auditorium, New Delhi on 14th Oct. 2015. Hundreds of Teachers and students throughout the country participated in the assembly and raised their voice against the forthcoming WTO-Nairobi Conference which will put its final stamp on bringing services like education under the purview of GATS – a process which started in Doha round of WTO in 2001. The assembly was addressed among others, by Prof. Narendra Sharma, President, Delhi Unit, All India Save Education Committee and Comrade Bhaskaranand, All India Vice President of AIDSO.

The speakers pointed out that in a desperate bid to survive for some more time the capitalist class through their governments are privatizing and commercializing all the peoples welfare services including the education to reap super profits by converting such services into lucrative markets. In its beginning stage of development it was this very capitalist system which opened the

doors of knowledge to common masses which helped to develop the then society. Now having reached its moribund stage – the stage of monopoly capitalism – it is facing severe market crisis. Now capitalism in its decaying stage of imperialism is afraid of imparting scientific and secular education to conceal the reality from the masses. Not only are they squeezing the people's right to education but they are diluting the very man making purpose of education. As a result, efforts are on to blunt the reasoning and rational approach among the students and develop an irrational and fanatical bent of mind by mixing spiritualism and science.

In all the capitalist societies Fascism is the order of the day. It is in pursuance of these fascist designs that the governments are trying to implement the policies of FYUP, CBCS, RUSA, Central University Bill and even issuing guidelines trampling underfoot all the democratic norms and practices. It is only through a protracted united democratic and secular mass movement that the governments of the day can be forced to retract their fascist steps, the speakers stressed.

Struggles against menace of fascism in AP and TS

HYDERABAD

In Hyderabad, a convention on New Education Policy-2015 & Rewriting of History and Science was held on 6 November, 2015 at Press Club, Hyderabad under the aegis of All India Save Education Committee, Breakthrough Science Society, All India Secular Forum and Child Rights Protection forum. It was presided over by Prof. P.L. Vishweswar Rao (Retd.), Dept. of Journalism & Communication, Osmania University. Rationalist Sri Gogineni Babu remarked that communal forces are trying to push the country into dark ages of pre renaissance era. Criticizing the claim that the Vedas contain all knowledge, he warned that it is an attack on education and it will hamper serious study of science and inquiry. The others who spoke in the convention were Sri Zaeheruddin Alikhan, Managing Editor, Siyasat Daily Sri K.Sudhakar Gowd, Former Head, British Council, Sri S. Govinda Rajulu, State Secretary, All India Save Education Committee, Sri D.Nagarjuna,

Former head, Institute of Printing Technology and Mr. R.Gangadhar, State in-charge of Breakthrough Science Society.

ANANTAPUR

At Anantapur in Andhra Pradesh a round table meet was organized at Press club on behalf of AIDYO. A good number of writers and intellectuals participated in the meet. They protested against growing intolerance, attack on freedom of expression and they hailed the voice of protest of eminent persons by giving up their awards or resigning from the Sahitya Academy. The meeting was presided by G Pratap Singh, Dist Vice President, AIDYO and lecturer in S.V.Degree college. Participants criticized Modi government for directly or indirectly encouraging the fascist forces led by Sangh Parivar, Siva Sena etc. They also expressed firm resolve to fight the forces and expressed the need to form a forum to fight the fascist forces. Noted writer Sri Singamaneni Narayana; Human Rights Forum

SUCI (C) strongly opposes the out and out anti-people decision of BJP government to fleece the common masses further

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 08-11-15:

"Immediately after the conclusion of the Assembly Elections in Bihar, the BJP Government, bypassing the parliament, announced a slew of anti-people measures through administrative orders. These measures include 1) slapping on the people the 'Swachh Bharat cess' at the rate of 0.5% on all services now liable to service tax which will have the effect of increasing the service tax from 14 % to 14.5%; 2) doubling the cancellation charges of railway tickets and allowing no refunds if the cancellation does not take place four hours before departure of the train; and 3) withdrawal of the LPG subsidy to families having income above the threshold prescribed by the government.

These anti-people measures which will result in a huge economic burden on the people, who are already groaning under the weight of grinding poverty, unemployment and skyrocketing prices, have once again exposed the anti-people and pro-capitalist character of the BJP government at the centre. Nothing could be more ludicrous than the attempt of a government, unclean in every respect, to bluff the people about freeing the country from filth and dirt. Similarly, for quite some months now this government had unleashed a campaign appealing to the people to voluntarily give up the subsidy and thereby create a ground for retracting from its election promise to provide cheap and clean fuel to all. What is significant is that all these announcements have been made just after conclusion of the assembly election in Bihar to ensure that there is no adverse electoral impact of these steps on the electorate.

While vehemently opposing all the above measures to fleece the people further, we once again call upon the people to realize the truth that unleashing a powerful united organized peoples' movement under correct leadership can only be a deterrent to the growing anti-people measures of the central government.

state Vice president Sri A. Chandrasekhar; renowned rationalist Sri B.V.Radhakrishna murthy; Telugu poet Sri Mallela Narasimhamurthy; senior journalist Sri Mudari Venu; president, district writers association, Sri Santhinarayana; noted writer Bandi Narayana Swamy; Social activist Sri Bose; District Sagu Neeti Porata Committee, convener, Sri G.Ramanjaneyulu; Trade union leader Mahahob Basha; leader of Organization of protection of Democratic Rights, Sri M.RamaKrishna; SUCI(C), Dist secretary, Sri B.S.Amaranath; Save Education Committee leader, Sri M. Subramanyam; Nagarabhi Vruddi Vedika member Sri Nagasayana reddy; state president AIMSS, Smt G Lalitha and others. An appeal signed by all was released to the press at the end of the meeting.

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