

Proletarian Era

Volume 44 No. 1
August 15, 2010

Organ of the SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (COMMUNIST)
Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Price : Rs. 3.00

COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH MEMORIAL DAY ON 5 AUGUST

We vowed to carry forward the struggle for emancipation of the toiling masses to victory

The Fifth of August returns every year, unnoticed by most of the countrymen and awaited by many with a heart laden with pain, a mind steeled in resolve to fulfil the behest of the great leader of the proletariat, departed most beloved leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Outside the air is heavy with clouds, sunshine reflecting on it. Inside us, the party comrades, supporters, sympathisers, a fire is aflame without wavering.

For, however profound is our grief, however pervading is the pain, our striving cannot stop for a while, we cannot awhile flinch from our task. This he taught us. We must turn our grief into our strength, he taught. Every instant must we attend to his teachings, every day must we apply ourselves to his behest. For, he lends his voice to agony of our people — their urge of centuries for liberation from slavery, their struggle for emancipation from exploitation, their cherishment for creation of ‘paradise’ on this earth, in this ‘mundane’ life. So the Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), renews its avowal, to be equal to the task he adjured by departing from us.

This year also, the day has been observed in the 22 states across the country with due solemnity. Here we are covering news of observance in Calcutta and Thrissur (Kerala). The rest will be covered in the next issue.

Calcutta

There was an avalanche of people at the Rani Rashmoni Road on 5 August. Occasional rains could not mar the spirit of the gathering. Exhibiting a rare sense of revolutionary discipline and purposiveness, the meeting

proceeded with the sequence of scheduled programmes. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh once reminded us that, “Even if you rally a million people but do not change yourselves, I tell you, you will never succeed in bringing about revolution. On the other hand, it is

my firm conviction that a revolutionary party can accomplish revolution with far less numbers of people, if it is well-knit and disciplined, if every member of it is disciplined and takes individual initiative, if every worker of the party maintains revolutionary conduct, he is spirited, he has leadership quality — if the workers can take risks and do not lose their bearing in any situation, if they have prepared themselves politically, theoretically, mentally and physically to face the challenge under all circumstances. If every worker of our party develops in this way, then the party of a hundred thousand can achieve revolution in India. I urge you to direct your thoughts towards this goal.” The gathering bore a testimony of the whole Party rising as one man to prove equal to the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat. After a very brief presidential speech by Comrade Yakub Pailan, Member, Central Committee of the Party and

a veteran leader, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) addressed the gathering as the main speaker. The speech of Comrade Provash Ghosh is given separately in this issue. Others present on the dais were Comrade Soumen Basu, member, Central Committee and West Bengal State Secretary, SUCI(C) and Comrade Sankar Saha, member, Central Committee, SUCI(C) and General Secretary, All India UTUC. The meeting started with the song composed on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and ended with the *Internationale*. The volunteers of Komsomol, the Young Communist wing of the Party, offered guard of honour.

As a part of the programme of 5 August observation, an exhibition of selected invaluable quotations from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was arranged from 3 to 5 August at College Square. The exhibition was inaugurated on 3 August by Comrade Ranjit Dhar, member, Polit Bureau, of the Party with Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Polit Bureau and other Central Committee leaders present on the occasion. In his address, Comrade Ranjit Dhar said that the Party organizes the quotation exhibition every year on the occasion of the Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day. He pointed out that this year we are holding the quotation exhibition at a time, when the few young revolutionaries who founded our Party in the midst of a very adverse situation have passed away one after another, with Comrade Nihar Mukherjee — the



Mammoth gathering at Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial day meeting in Calcutta on 5 August, 2010

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day Observed in Kerala

On 5th August Comrade Shibdas Ghosh memorial meeting was organized under the auspices of the Kerala State Committee of the party at Town Hall , Thrissur. Polit bureau member of the party Comrade Manik Mukherjee, was the main speaker. Comrade C. K. Lukose, member, Central Committee and Kerala State Committee Secretary, presided over the meeting. Comrade V. Venugopal, member, Kerala State Secretariat of the party also spoke. Prior to the meeting there was a colourful and spirited demonstration in the town in which people from different walks of life participated.

Comrade Manik Mukherjee's speech at Thrissur, Kerala

Comrade President, Comrades and Friends,

You know, on this day in 1976 we lost our beloved leader, teacher and guide, founder general secretary of SUCI (Communist), a great Marxist thinker of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So 5th August is a day of sorrow. At the same time when we are, with tears, observing this day throughout India we want to take the teachings from the life and struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So, each year, observance of this Memorial Day puts serious questions before us : Are we fulfilling the task devolved on us by our beloved leader, great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh? Are we struggling the way Comrade Ghosh wanted us to? Are we preparing ourselves and struggling to be a good communist so that we can lead the Indian proletariat and have-nots to overthrow this capitalist system and successfully lead the socialist revolution?

Before the British transferred political power in 1947 to the Indian bourgeoisie under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh realized that they would establish capitalist economy and rule, meaning capitalist oppression, and that even though the country would attain political independence the people would not attain the aspired liberation in the economic, cultural and other spheres. Comrade Ghosh repeatedly taught us that the main problem before the formation of our party SUCI (C) was the absence of a genuine revolutionary party in India.

When our independence movement, the anti-British, anti-imperialist struggle was going on, there were many parties other than the Congress. Particularly, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was there. At that time it was a united communist party, not divided like today. The people had great expectations that the communist party would try to lead the masses,

would lead the Indian working class for attainment of independence and liberation of India; that it would play a distinct political role. But unfortunately the expectation of the Indian people was totally belied. The Communist Party of India not only failed to lead the Indian masses, but betrayed the Indian masses and helped the Gandhite leadership of the Congress, that is, the reformist bourgeois leadership, to assume power. At that time a severe political conflict between Gandhi's leadership and the leadership provided by Subhash Chandra Bose was going on inside the Congress. Subhash Chandra Bose was in favour of armed revolution, of uncompromising fight against British rulers. Accordingly he tried to consolidate this opinion inside the Congress. And to some extent he was very much successful and became the President of Congress defeating Gandhiji's nominee and candidate. That meant the Congress would have to pursue under the leadership of Subhash Chandra the uncompromising line of struggle against the British rule.

At that time it was expected, at least people expected, that the CPI, who call themselves communists, should come forward and support Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's line inside the Congress, that is, his uncompromising line to fight British imperialist power. But actually they did not support Subhash. Rather, they extended support to the Gandhite leadership. So virtually, they supported the line of the Indian capitalist class, that too, particularly the reformist bourgeois line inside the Congress. That was nothing but treachery to the Indian freedom struggle. So the Indian patriotic people actually got disillusioned about the role of CPI and they strongly felt that the communists are anti-patriotic. At that time the general feeling of patriotic people of India was that not just the Communist Party but communists are anti-patriotic. But Netaji Subhash Chandra refuted this idea. He clearly said that so far I know the communists of the world, so far



Comrade Manik Mukherjee addressing with Comrade C. K. Lukose, member Central Committee (on his right) and other leaders on the dais

I have read Lenin and the Communist International's theses, communists can never be anti-patriotic. So the Communist Party of India does not reflect the tune of communist tradition. Subhash Chandra said this in his speeches and articles. At that time the CPI became extremely discredited among the patriotic people. Communist nomenclature itself became very much discredited.

When these controversies and political turmoil was going on inside the Congress and throughout the country, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh along with Comrades Nihar Mukherjee, Sachin Banerjee, Pritish Chanda and some other revolutionaries, who were inside jail, concluded that now transfer of power and independence would be nothing but establishment of capitalist oppressive government and state. And the historic role a real communist party ought to have played at that juncture could not be played by the CPI. So, that was a crisis. And from that crisis, Comrade Ghosh drew one conclusion. That is, without a genuine communist party we cannot achieve our proletarian revolution and overthrow the capitalist system and capitalist state. So, Comrade Ghosh started the struggle for building up the genuine revolutionary working class party.

It is a great teaching of Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin that when imperialism became a world phenomenon, capitalism reached the stage of imperialism, the revolutionary content of the capitalist class got totally exhausted. The bourgeoisie was to perform bourgeois democratic revolution in Europe and other countries of the West. Now they cannot. They are unable to take the responsibility of fulfilling bourgeois democratic revolution. Naturally, these

unfulfilled tasks of bourgeois democratic revolution have to be fulfilled by the working class of different countries along with a section of the national bourgeoisie like Mao Zedong did in China, for example. In 1924 Stalin categorically stated that in India the Communist Party should unite those forces inside Congress who are representatives not of the Indian bourgeoisie but the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. But the CPI could not grasp this guideline of Stalin, because they are not at all a communist party. So, they supported Gandhi, not the revolutionary petty-bourgeois section headed by Netaji. In this way they actually threw away the chance of leading anti-British liberation movement in its correct course.

At that time Comrade Ghosh decided that a genuine communist party is to be formed. And he started that struggle, knowing well the teaching of Lenin that for successful revolution, correct revolutionary ideology and correct revolutionary party, that is, communist party, is essential. The absence of these in Indian soil gave the opportunity to the Indian bourgeoisie to lead the masses and betray them. Comrade Ghosh observed that within the Communist Party there were many good comrades. They wanted to be real communists. They made sacrifices. They gave up their career, family and many things for Indian revolution. But the leadership could not launch the correct struggle by which a Leninist model of party would be built up. That struggle was totally absent. So the comrades who joined CPI with honesty and sincerity could not attain communist character. Because, that party did not have working class character. The struggle shown by Lenin, how a genuine communist party should

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SUCI(C) founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, great leader of the proletariat, is the only ray of hope in this all-pervading darkness

— Comrade Provasch Ghosh

(This is a free translation of the valuable speech that Comrade Provasch Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) delivered in Bengali at the Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day meeting in Calcutta on 5 August, 2010. The responsibility of translation error as well as inadequate representation, if any, solely lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era.)

Comrade President, Comrades and Friends,

In order to pay our deep respect to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, guide to the emancipation struggle of the proletariat of this country, we have been organizing memorial meetings in this state as well as in other states for the last 34 years. We recollect with gratitude his exemplary historic revolutionary struggle, so that his immortal teachings and profound wisdom do endure as a living inspiration and beacon to us who are his ardent disciples in furthering the revolutionary movement in this country.

Formation and advancement of the Party

You all know that the revolutionary journey of our great teacher began in the days the whole country was in ferment against the foreign imperial rule. He set out in his struggle being imbued by the teachings of the doyens of the Renaissance movement and the front-ranking leaders of the uncompromising trend of the Indian freedom movement. The reminiscence of all great men of his time was etched in his bosom till the last breadth. He used to tell us that unless we remember these luminaries, take due cognition of their invaluable contributions, we shall not be able to understand their teachings and struggle. While fighting as a young volunteer of the uncompromising trend of Indian freedom struggle, he came in contact with the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Germinating in him was the realization that the real emancipation of the people, of mankind from all sorts of exploitation is possible only with one weapon – the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. So he transcended the precincts of petty-bourgeois revolutionism and embraced Marxism-Leninism as guiding philosophy of life. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has been the only Marxist thinker who could successfully apply Marxism-Leninism in the concrete situation of India. Prior to him, many leaders of the undivided Communist

Party of India, including M. N. Roy and others tried to develop movement based on Marxism. But they did not succeed. There was no dearth of honesty, sincerity and sacrifice of these leaders. Yet they could not grasp the science of Marxism and hence failed to understand its application in every aspect of life. But there was no failing on the part of Comrade



Shibdas Ghosh in this regard. The realization dawned on him that Marxism is not just a political theory; it is a comprehensive life philosophy covering every sphere — economic, political, social and cultural. It has to be understood and accepted in that manner. Mere pedantry will not do, nor the mere reading of books. It is imperative to attain proletarian revolutionary character by applying Marxism-Leninism in all aspects of life. That is why, in Russia, neither Plekhanov, nor Martov or others could succeed. But Lenin could successfully apply Marxism on Russian soil. Likewise, in China while Li Li Shan and others tried but failed, great Mao Zedong was successful. In the same way, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of his all-encompassing penetrating analysis showed us why for the emancipation of the toiling people of India, it is Marxism and not Gandhite philosophy, spiritualism or nationalist thoughts which can illumine the path. Not only that. By correctly applying Marxism-Leninism, he formed the genuine communist party on the soil. SUCI (Communist) is that party founded, reared and steered by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Those who love and admire our Party as well as many of our new

comrades are not aware as to how this Party was formed. When Comrade Shibdas Ghosh took upon himself the task of building up the Party, he had just crossed his teens. He was just a volunteer of the freedom struggle, unknown, unheard of. He started with only seven revolutionary compatriots. He had no press backing, no financial support, no following. The sole means at his disposal was the correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and his inexhaustible love for the oppressed people that spurred him on. Today, everyone hates CPI (M), not only in our state but everywhere, after its ugly face has come to the open. But when our Party was founded in 1948, the undivided CPI — many of you might not be knowing, was a big party commanding enormous strength. Great Stalin was at the helm of affairs in the Soviet Union. Revolution of China under the stewardship of great Mao Zedong was on the anvil of victory. Struggle for emancipation was going on in Vietnam. The tide of communism was sweeping across the world. And the undivided CPI by carrying the name 'communist' was enjoying support of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, of Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao. So the undivided CPI then was having tremendous support base among the common people, particularly the educated middle class. And at that juncture, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was saying that he considered Stalin and Mao Zedong as great teachers, as guides of world communist movement. But he did not consider CPI as the genuine communist party on the soil. How difficult it was at that time to get across this view! Is Shibdas Ghosh above Lenin or Stalin, taunted many. When we were associated with the Party in our school days, we had faced all these. Though the undivided CPI leaders were pursuing a wrong line and understanding, they were honest, struggling in nature. So, it was very difficult to realize the party's non-Marxist character. RSP which was formed from the Anushilan Samity, an outfit of the uncompromising trend of the freedom struggle was also a very big party then. Forward Bloc founded by

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was also a giant party. This was the backdrop in which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh set out in his revolutionary journey with only seven comrades-in-arms. He had no office, no place to stay. He spent nights after nights in parks. Day after day, he was either starving or went half-starved. We have seen him starving during our student life. We are stirred by these memories today when we receive so much of respect and hospitality in so many houses. What hard and fierce struggle was his! Many had told him at that time: Your contention is correct, your logic is impeccable, but you will not succeed. So vast is the country, so many big parties are in existence, so many renowned leaders are round the corner; what will you do here? Your life, your whole career will be spoilt. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: What I have comprehended as truth in the course of revolutionary struggle, I shall remain firm and unwavering to that. I shall fight that. I shall fight unto death, I shall die fighting. Perhaps no one will come to know the news of death. I shall lie dead under a tree. But if there is truth in my struggle, truth in my saying, people will once accord value to that. That people do accord value and has accorded value has been vindicated in the tremendous growth of the Party he himself founded and reared with utmost care. How many parties whether in the country or abroad have grown like this? Today you all have assembled here despite rains. The peasants have come keeping their job of cultivation pending. Factory workers, office employees, students, teachers, professors have all turned up in this meeting. What has drawn them here, what necessity has driven them? It is the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh stirring mind and heart of all of us. This is the driving force, fount of inspiration. This Party is not growing based on the number of MLAs or MPs, strength of ministership or backing of the media. It is the power of correct revolutionary ideology, the guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought that is propelling this growth. Tomorrow also, you will not find any news of this huge gathering in the

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Comrade Provash Ghosh's Speech

Revolutionary life alone is of self-respect and honour

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press. At best, a few words might appear in one or two papers. The bourgeois media never give publicity to the genuine revolutionary party. Because they know that the party which grows in absence of any publicity will gain tremendous strength if it receives coverage in the media. But could they stop our progress? Is it possible to stop? Today, memorial meetings are being held in 19 states. The strength and influence of our Party is on the rise. Those who want revolution, struggle, honesty in politics, steadfastness and decency are all tilting towards us. No one has the power to prevent this. There is a permanent martyr's column just in front of this dais. This is in remembrance of Comrade Madhai Halder, our young comrade who embraced martyr's death when the police of the CPI (M) government opened fire on the volunteers of mass violation programme of the anti-price rise, anti-fare rise movement in 1990. During the tenure of the CPI (M) government, 152 leaders and workers of our Party have been murdered. Having been implicated in false cases, 49 leaders and cadres of our Party are serving life term. No other party had so much of casualty in course of developing people's struggles. Yet, could the CPI (M) deter us? Neither could Congress do so earlier nor the CPI (M) now. No one will ever be able to hinder our progress. Our Party is advancing in other states as well. The power of revolutionary ideology and truth is decisive. No gun or canon, bullet or baton can rein in its advancement. Had that been possible, the course of social progress, stride of history would have come to a grinding halt. Coercive power of the reactionaries and vested interest can at best pose some temporary problems or cause some harm. Nothing more than that.

Invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Not only in India, even in other countries the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who emerged through struggle as worthy continuer of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong are being studied. People are eager to be acquainted with his teachings. But who had known him when he began his journey with only seven revolutionary compatriots? I am emphasizing this point because

many youths and new workers have been joining the Party now. Today, relatively speaking, securing support has become easier. But that should not make anyone suffer from a sense of complacency. No one should forget even for a moment through what arduous a struggle this Party has grown and developed. After conducting a relentless historic struggle, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh departed at the age of 53 only. But with the great storehouse of knowledge handed down by him he has bestowed on us an inestimable treasure. With that as an invincible weapon, our Party has struggled for 34 long years after his demise under the able leadership of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, his best revolutionary compatriot and disciple. Even on this day last year, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee was leading us in our struggle. But when we are observing 5th August today, he is no more with us.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught us that mere living has no meaning. If gathering food, shelter, good clothing or a luxurious life becomes the aim of life then how could a man be distinguished from an animal? An animal has no intelligence. Yet, it also fights nature for survival, gathers food, looks for a shelter, creates progenies in the natural process. Where is the difference then? The difference lies in the intelligence, thinking faculty the human beings are endowed with. It is this unique power of thinking from which have arisen the concepts of human values, essence of human qualities, ethics and morality. If we are self-centred, if we only seek our own wellbeing, indulge in slavery of nature and kill our conscience inch by inch, then that is tantamount to dishonouring oneself. So, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh exhorted that if one intends to live with honour, then the only course is to hold high the banner of revolutionary movement, of emancipation of the society. In embracing this course, there could be death due to starvation, severe repression and inhuman torture by the coercive machinery of the power that be. Yet this is the life of self-respect and honour. All other modes of life are of ignominy and dishonour. All of us have been inspired by this teaching of his. He has taught us that revolutionary politics calls for nobler feelings of heart. All great men were initiated

into struggle because the pain and tears, deprivation and misery of the underprivileged, weak and oppressed created a penetrating impact on them. It is the nobler feelings of heart that have spurred them on. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that if intelligence is divorced from nobler feelings, it becomes abode of deception, devilishness and pretension. In our Party, the nobler feelings are still being cultivated. He also said that the kernel, the living soul of revolutionary politics lies in its higher cultural and ethical standard. If politics comprises only some tall talks, high-sounding slogans but is devoid of ethics-culture, human essence, then it is akin to a dead body which, if left aside, only pollutes the environment. However big a party may be, whatever may be the number of people rallying behind it, if it is bereft of human essence, ethics-morality then its growth in terms of support and cadre inflow will not bring about uplift of/raise the cultural standard in the society, among the students and youth. If such is the case with any party, it is to be understood that the party concerned does not have a higher ideology or character. Such a party is harmful to the society. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had repeatedly drawn attention of all to this very fact. People are attracted by our Party workers. Many veterans, octogenarian representatives of the freedom struggle say that by seeing our Party workers, they are reminded of the golden days of the 1930s and 40s. In our Party workers, they find the qualities of the committed soldiers of freedom movement. But what is the origin of that? Could all the leaders and workers of the Party develop themselves in accordance with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh? Certainly not. We can only say that we are struggling for that. There is variance of standard among the different levels of the Party. But whatever little we are able to reflect in our character is seen by the people at large as a sparkle in the pervading darkness. That is why we are receiving such affection, sympathy and support.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh once said with pain that we have not been able to preserve the high standard of politics and culture that this country once had. We have become rootless.

We indulge in tall talks but do not cultivate nobler feelings of heart. Once the alien British rule was thrust on us like deadweight. In spite of that, hundreds of boys and girls were stirred into the freedom movement forsaking career, job, family responsibility and without asking for anything. They faced the onslaught of the British government, went to jail and embraced the gallows. What for? Because, they had before them a higher ideology. In our childhood, we have seen that the very word *swadeshi* (freedom fighter) used to generate a deep sense of respect even among our illiterate mothers. *Swadeshi* meant those noble souls who had dedicated everything to the cause of their motherland. Where is that high standard of patriotism today? Those who are running governments at the Centre and in the states—whatever may be their hues or colours of their flags—do they appear to have any concern for the country or the countrymen? Is there any ideology governing their politics? Does one find in them any feeling for the people? The height of hypocrisy, deception and falsehood mark their politics. Their sole objective is vote and ministerial berth. When in opposition, they try to encash people's grievances for being saddled in power. So long BJP had been in the government, Congress as the opposition used to shed tears for the woes and wails of the people. Now with Congress on the throne, it is the BJP leaders who are shedding crocodile tears. In West Bengal, it was Congress who once was in power. At that time, the CPI (M) leaders used to cry hoarse for the people. Now you are witnessing what the CPI (M) leaders in the seat of government are doing. One government is succeeded by another government. But what benefit is accruing to the country?

Fallacious arguments of the rulers

Yesterday, the Union Finance Minister said in Parliament that prices are bound to go up. The whole country is reeling under soaring price line. Previously, one used to compare the rise in prices on a year to year or six monthly or monthly basis. But now the prices are changing on an hourly basis. There is no rein on the price spiral. And the Finance Minister is saying

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Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Bill

Providing legal immunity to foreign monopolists against nuclear accident

Consequent upon signing the Agreement on Nuclear Cooperation with the USA, the Congress-led UPA Government at the Centre tried to place the Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Bill in the Parliament in March 2010 and get it passed as the next step to set up nuclear power plants in the country with the help of the US nuclear power companies. This sparked off vehement protest by the people and civil society groups being alarmed at the haste with which the government tried to introduce the Bill. The move was halted at that time and now again the government is going to place the same Bill in the ongoing monsoon session of the Parliament. It is reported that the government might extend the monsoon session for that purpose.

Provisions of the Bill

The obvious question is why the Indian government is in a pressing hurry to get the Bill passed. Before we enter into that analysis, let us see what the provisions of the Bill are. In short, the Bill mainly deals with the liability of compensation for the victims in case of an accident in a nuclear power plant. According to the provisions of the Bill the operator of the nuclear power plants (in India it is the Nuclear Power Corporation of India Ltd. or NPCIL), not the suppliers or builder companies, will remain liable to pay the compensation and it is capped at only Rs.500 crore. Over and above, if necessary, the Indian Government will be liable to pay further amount but totally capped at 300 million SDRs i.e., Rs.2087 crore. The Bill also restricts liability in time to 10 years. If thoroughly examined, it will be amply clear that the Bill is quietly pernicious and goes against the interest of the people of the country, safeguarding only the business interest of the foreign nuclear power companies of the West, particularly the US on many counts.

Bill — prelude to entry of US MNCs

On the face of it may seem that the government is going to enact this Civil Liability for Nuclear

Damage Bill in the interest of the victims of any possible disaster in future in nuclear power plants but the fact is that it is actually a precondition for the entry of US nuclear companies in Indian civil nuclear sector because they are by law prevented from investing in any foreign country that does not have a liability legislation. Two other prospective countries, France and Russia, interested in investing in the nuclear power sector have also been insisting on this legislation because such legislation limits their liability to a minimum in case of a nuclear disaster possibly with unlimited damage even.

Compensation — a pittance

In case of India under Clause 6 of the Bill in question the maximum liability of the operator and

comparison to that of USA, the cap as defined in this Bill is well below international level. For example, Russia has unlimited liability and Japan has boosted its plant operator liability to 120 billion yen (\$1.33 billion). Under the OECD's 2004-amended Paris convention it was set at \$2.04 billion with operators' share being nearly half. Germany, for its part, has unlimited operator liability and demands \$3.4 billion security from each plant's operator. In UK this amount is 140 million pounds for each major installation, so that the operator is liable for claims up to this amount and must insure accordingly. Besides, if the unthinkable devastating quantum of damage in case of any reactor disaster is taken into account, the liability cap in this Bill can simply be called a pittance. The accident



18 July 2008 rally in Calcutta against Indo-US Nuclear Deal

government combined has been set at the "rupee equivalent of Rs300 millions special drawing rights (SDRs)" or Rs2087 crore (\$458 million) whereas in the US under equivalent law, the Price-Anderson Act, this amount is \$10.5 billion. In US domestic market, for each accident the Act provides more than \$10.5 billion in total potential compensation through a complex formula that includes insurance coverage carried by the reactor that suffer the accident, 'retrospective premiums' from each of the covered reactors in operation and a 4% surcharge. The US government assumes liability for any catastrophic damages from accident only above \$10.5 billion which is inflation adjusted every five years and thus variable. Not only in

almost 31 years ago at Three Mile Island nuclear plant in Pennsylvania, US did not kill any one, but it led to 14 years of clean up costing \$1 billion. The compensation liability in case of a Chernobyl type catastrophic damage is estimated at \$250 billion ! In the case of Bhopal Gas leak tragedy, \$470 million (Rs. 2152 crore) was granted as damage which could be shared out into only Rs.12500 per victim including the dead and the victims with lifelong diseases and nothing for the affected future generations. What would Rs.2087 as envisaged in the Bill do in case of a nuclear disaster which would involve loss of many more lives and many times more grievous long-term health hazards?

Victims left bereft of legal protection

Legally also the victims have been left in the lurch. The most dangerous part of the Bill is that victims shall have no right to move any court of law in India or abroad. All nuclear damage will be dealt with Claims Commissioner or a Nuclear Damage Commission and any award made by him or the Commission "shall be final" and cannot be appealed in any court of law. "No civil courts shall have jurisdiction to entertain any suit or proceedings in respect of any matter which the Claims Commissioner or the Commission, as the case may be, is empowered to adjudicate under this Act and no injunction shall be granted by authority in respect of any action taken or to be taken in pursuance of any power conferred under this Act", reads Clause 35 of the Bill. So draconian is this proposed Bill. This preposterous provision is also equally binding on any refusal by the foreign supplier-builder to pay compensation to the operator NPCIL. Thus the government is granting foreign suppliers immunity from legal actions, however culpable they may be for an accident, and is thus protecting them from punishment and payment of adequate compensation for even criminal negligence or willful act as in the case of Bhopal gas leak tragedy committed by Union Carbide. Not only this, the time limit for claim of any compensation is 10 years. Clause 18 states "the right to claim compensation for any nuclear damage caused by a nuclear incident shall extinguish if such claim is not made within a period of 10 years from the date of incident..." That provision was not deleted in spite of the Environmental Ministry's note of caution, revealed in newspaper reports, that the 10-year time limit was untenable because damage to human health from serious radioactive radiation "involves changes in DNAs, resulting in mutagenic and teratogenic changes, which take a long time to manifest."

Bill — out and anti-people

Moreover, the out and out anti-people character of the government

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Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Bill

Ramifications are ominous — call for people's resistance

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is exposed in its exercise in the Bill to shield the foreign nuclear reactor builders from the onus of the financial consequences of any nuclear disaster or accident by shifting the accident liability from them to the Indian State and citizens. According to the Bill, the operator, i.e. the NPCIL, in India shall remain responsible for paying the basic compensation of Rs.500 crore but not the builder company. However, the government owned operator NPCIL can make the foreign builder legally responsible but up to its own ceiling of liability of a trifling Rs.500 crore. According to clause 17, only the "operator shall have a right to recourse". The state-owned operator can sue the foreign builder-supplier where "such right is expressly provided for in a contract in writing" and "the nuclear incident is the willful act or gross negligence on the part of the suppliers". And needless to say it is too difficult to prove the incident 'a willful act' or 'gross negligence' on the part of the supplier-builder and this compensation money will have to be paid almost invariably by the government-owned NPCIL i.e., from the public exchequer. Moreover, any denial of compensation by the builder-supplier is unchallengeable in any court of law or in their home country. Thus to guard the interest of the foreign company the government is unabashedly going to violate the "polluter pays" principle. Whereas a law should have been enacted to ensure immediate relief to the victims – viz, by providing for the constitution of tribunals regulated by special procedure for determining compensation to the victims of industrial disasters or accidents, to provide for interim relief to victims during pendency of proceedings, ensure establishment of a statutory Industrial Disaster Fund contributions to which may be made by the government and industries, whether they are transnational corporations or domestic undertakings, public or private and with the right to move any court of law in India and abroad, the government is going to

enact such a pernicious law blatantly against the interest of the common man.

Government's plea for bringing the Bill

Such being the case what plea or excuse the government is dishing out behind introducing this widely hated Bill? The Bill's accompanying 'Statement of Objects and Reasons' creates the deceptive impression that it will make India eligible for membership of a Convention on Supplementary Compensation (CSC) for nuclear damage that will enable India have access to enhanced amounts of money for its victims of nuclear accidents from an international corpus. But the fact is that countries with a majority of the world's present 436 nuclear power reactors are not yet party to any international liability convention. Many countries still maintain a 'wait and see' approach. For example, Japan, China and US are not party to any international convention, while Russia, a party to Vienna Convention in 2005, has refused to pass legislation to waive or cap accident liability for its foreign suppliers. Yet, the government is trying to camouflage the fact that the Bill has been brought to facilitate the entry of the giant US monopolists into the country.

Why this Bill

It is clear that the government of India is trying to frame this Act purposely in the interest of foreign nuclear power companies and their Indian cohorts – the Indian monopoly houses — at the expense of the interest of the Indian people. But what are the basic reasons for that? In our article exposing the sinister design of the ruling Indian bourgeoisie behind establishment of Nuclear Power Plant (vide Proletarian Era dated 01-08-10), we had shown that the thrust on nuclear power generation is not in any way aimed at mitigating the problems of power generation, nor is driven by any urge whatsoever for meeting people's need of energy. Rather, under the subterfuge of responding to growing need of power, it is a sinister bourgeois design to boost

nuclear armament development programme to serve the heinous class interest of ruling capitalism. The ruling Indian capitalist class has already attained imperialist character and is now a junior member in the imperialist camp. Its aspiration is to enhance its economic and military might and emerge as a regional superpower in South and Southeast Asia. Hence, it is so desperate for nuclear weaponization. We also explained in details that generation of nuclear power in a capitalist society like ours where earning profit is an overriding motive for production, a nuclear power plant irrespective of whether the ownership lies with the capitalist state or private monopoly houses cannot address the all important issues of safety and security which entail huge cost. Establishing nuclear power plants without proper safeguards is fraught with serious consequences and is akin to set up a death trap for the plant workers as well as the people inhabiting the adjoining areas.

Moreover, we have seen the rabid anti-people face of the rulers and their subservient government in the Bhopal gas tragedy. Let alone allowing the culprits which included the US multi-national giant Dow Chemicals to go scot free in such a criminal act which beside claiming over 25, 000 lives and leaving lakhs grievously injured or permanently disabled has practically crippled even the next generation because of genetically transformed diseases and deformities, the government has neither paid any compensation worth the name to the victims and their families over the last twenty five years since the disaster nor has cared to extend to them any medical assistance. Though under public pressure created after the Bhopal district court virtually let off the offenders of this horrendous crime, the government announced marginal increase in the compensation amount, it is viewed by all and sundry as a cover up operation. Through years of struggle, the working class has earned certain vital rights including trade union rights. The right to adequate compensation in case of an

industrial disaster is a part of that. But the ruling bourgeoisie in this era of capitalist globalization is arraying all its arsenal to deny as well as rob most of these rights under this or that plea. The Bhopal gas case is a glaring example of that. The motive behind introduction of the Nuclear Liability Bill is also a step in that direction. Drawing a lesson from the Bhopal gas episode and under pressing need to relive the giant MNCs and big business of imperialist superpowers particularly US of any financial burden in case of a nuclear accident thereby wooing them to invest in the nuclear programme of the country aimed mainly at augmenting military might, the Indian ruling bourgeoisie is now in pestering hurry to see the Bill through.

People must resist

Clearly, if this Bill is passed, while the guilty foreign suppliers will bask under legal immunity, the Indian people will have to not only bear the brunt of nuclear disaster but also the financial liability. Though the government in the face of rising people's protest is mulling on some cosmetic changes in the Bill in the form of amendment of clause 17 (b) and getting the same ratified by a select committee of the House, the fact is that it, in the aggregate interest of Indian ruling class the government will go ahead with this pernicious enactment today or tomorrow. The so-called opposition including the sham Marxists like the CPI (M), CPI will not, as is evident, will not take any effective step to resist the Bill as they all sail in the same boat in so far as serving the class interest of the ruling bourgeoisie is concerned. Their pretentious opposition will remain confined to some verbal duels and ruckus and fracas with the government side in parliament under media glare solely to brighten election prospect. Hence, it is imperative that people should rise up in protest and compel the government to scrap the Bill by developing powerful movement. There is no other way. We call upon the people to realize that and close their rank to repel this black Bill.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day in Kerala

Democratic centralism is the lifeline of a communist party

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be formed, was completely ignored or could not be grasped by them. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown us, shown the Indian people, the real process of formation of a genuine communist party, how to develop the party in a way so that a political struggle covering all aspects of life on the basis of Marxism-Leninism can be released and in this process those who want to be communists can acquire communist character, revolutionary character. He had suggested the method, the process to build up the party, and started that scientific process to form our party Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist). It is a unique creation of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Initially he started one Platform of Action comprising a few small parties and trade unions, and released the struggle to form the party within that platform. But that platform ultimately did not operate properly. So he had to undertake to form the genuine communist party himself with a few comrades. And he started a socialist movement covering all aspects of life to build up collective leadership, to build up inside the party one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking and singleness of purpose. That means, in every aspect of life, from politics, economics, culture, love, sex and everything the scientific approach should be one and the same. Party approach on the basis of Marxism-Leninism will be one and the same. And this uniform approach should be developed through that struggle inside the party. Otherwise uniformity of purpose and will cannot be achieved. And if we want to form a genuine communist party, then this process is to be followed. And Comrade Shibdas Ghosh started that process. So, on the basis of that struggle he built up our party as the genuine revolutionary party on Indian soil.

In this process he concretized Marxism-Leninism on Indian soil. Thus concretizing Marxism-Leninism on this soil he developed the understanding of Marxism-Leninism. Regarding some aspects, particularly bourgeois individualism inside a communist party, which is a serious problem, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emphasized from the time of conception of our party, that, if we cannot fight this bourgeois

individualism which exists in us then it is impossible to become a good communist. Not only that. If this individualism persists within the leaders of the party then that will bring modern revisionism that can destroy a genuine communist party, and counter-revolution may occur.

These valuable teachings, at the time of formation of the Party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh explained and practised, so that we can fight individualism within the party. In our Party, you know, the individual definitely enters into a struggle where he or she will try to submit himself or herself to the class, revolution and the party. This submission is nothing but the scientific process of fighting individualism. If one cannot submit to the party, to the leadership, one's individualism, that is, all matters personal including individual desire, individual family relations, sex relations, etc. then that individual will remain as bourgeois individual, and his thought process will remain bourgeois thought process inside the party. And that thought process may seriously affect the thought process of the party as a whole. Comrade Ghosh, from the very outset, at the time of foundation of our party, laid serious emphasis on fighting this tendency of individualism.

He introduced collective life inside the party in the form of collective living, collective work and collective association. Party communes and many centres were started by Comrade Ghosh. And now you are observing that process is very much there within our party. Because without this collective life and collective living, collective association, genuine collective thought process and collective leadership cannot emerge. So, it is the scientific process for the emergence of collective leadership inside the party. Comrade Ghosh, describing the collective knowledge, said that collective knowledge is collective leadership. Collective knowledge is knowledge of the total party members. That is not mere addition of the knowledge of all members. But through dialectical interaction the knowledge of all members will get crystallized into general concepts stage by stage, through different levels of leadership, from cells, local

committees, district committees, state committees and finally the Central Committee. This way whole collective leadership will be centralized through this process. And the struggle of this nature will definitely produce the concrete expression of collective leadership. Without that we can not achieve democratic centralism inside our party. And without democratic centralism no communist party can exist. That is the lifeline of a communist party.

This collective struggle inside the party, and developing concrete leadership inside the party, will have to be based on Marxism-Leninism. Grasping Marxism-Leninism is an essential task for a real communist. But how will we understand whether we have been able to grasp it or not? Comrade Ghosh told, Mao Zedong also told, that it will be reflected in your culture. Whether you have grasped Marxism-Leninism — and today I will say, whether you have grasped Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh thoughts properly will be reflected in your culture. And what is that culture? It is proletarian culture — that culture by which you can preclude private property mental complex is proletarian culture. If we cannot acquire it, then our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh thoughts will remain poor. And naturally we will be unable to build up ourselves as revolutionary cadres. Today, we can say that to some extent our Party through this arduous struggle has reared professional revolutionaries, and good cadres are being produced.

Another aspect that I want to mention here is that along with this development of revolutionary cadre, of individual character of good communists, what we need is that with this higher culture or values, grasping and understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, we will have to go to the masses, to the working class, to the toiling millions, to organize them, to try to develop mass and class struggles. And through these mass and class struggles we will convey revolutionary politics, content of revolution to the masses. We will have to make them conscious so that they can come forward and join not only mass and class struggles, but

revolutionary movements. So, it is also a serious struggle amongst us. Just as teachers examine a student, how far he has been able to understand the subject, here also it is to be examined whether we have understood Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

Another serious examination we have to make is whether we have been able to imbibe the masses with this idea and organize mass and class struggles. And we have to examine ourselves, examine oneself — have I been able to grasp Marxism-Leninism. You know in science there are theoretical and practical examinations. That is theory and lab. In our life, lab is people's movements, mass and class struggles. Going to the people, what I have learnt I am placing before them, educating them, not just through my idea but through my character. And if I cannot draw the masses to some extent then I will have to ponder whether I have really acquired knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. So, ideological struggle embraces understanding and practice as to how much I have been able to influence the working class, peasantry, common people, students, youth and women and organize them in the vortex of mass and class struggles.

Today these questions are very, very serious for us. We should ponder over them. There is serious crisis of capitalism today, international and national — all countries are suffering from tremendous crisis. This crisis is much graver than the great depression of 1930s. So, people in our country today are faced with the serious problem of unemployment, retrenchment and price rise of essential commodities. Workers and peasants are doomed to destruction. More than 75 per cent of people live below our poverty line. People today are helpless. They want to free themselves from this oppression. But they do not know what to do. And we know — people's movement is the only answer.

Today, in Indian politics Congress and BJP and other regional bourgeois parties are all serving capitalism. And today's left social democracy represented by CPI(M), CPI, Forward Block, RSP,

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Comrade Provash Ghosh's Speech

Government's fallacious argument hides its anti-people face

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that price rise is an inevitability. Because, there is spurt in development. If development occurs, inflation will go up as a corollary. There is abundant money in the hands of the people and too much of money is chasing too little of goods. So prices are soaring. How cruel and unkind one needs to be to make such a statement! All leaders of the power-seeking parliamentary parties are like birds of the same feather. In order to shield their misdeeds and wrongdoings, they advance all such bogus arguments and presume that people are such fools that they do not understand these trickeries. If there is development, increase in production, then quantity of goods produced are bound to go up. Increase in production means increase in the quantity of products. Then why are goods in short supply? Who is going to explain that? Moreover, who are having money at their disposal? Where is the wealth concentrated? Commonwealth game is being organized in Delhi. It is reported in the media that one lakh beggars are roaming in the streets of the nation's Capital. Since the foreigners who would come here in connection with the commonwealth games might get

an adverse impression at the sight of these beggars, the government is seized with the problem of removing them from the city. If the Capital city of the country is the abode of one lakh beggars, think of the number in the whole country. There are several crores of them and their number is going up with every passing day. This is the 'hallmark' of country's progress! There are crores of unemployed and under-employed. By the stroke of the current recession, several crores have been thrown out of job. Millions and millions of rural poor are migrating to the cities. "Migrant labour" is a new word added to the lexicon. This is the harrowing spectacle of the country. But the Finance Minister contends that the country is on the course of development and so there is rise in price line. Are we to believe such trash? Just a few days back, the government imposed a steep hike in the retail tariff of petro-products. From various quarters, it was contended that the prices of petrol-diesel are so high in the country because of excessive dose of taxation. In reply, the Finance Minister said that the central government earns a revenue of Rs 1,08,000 crores from taxes levied on petrol-diesel while Rs 72,000 crores

go to kitty of the state governments on account of this. So the states have no propriety to ask the Centre to lower taxes for giving relief to the people. Sonia Gandhi also argued on the same line. You are plundering at will, so am I. Hence you have no right to raise question. What an incredible justification! This is the state of affairs in the country's politics today.

The excess money the Finance Minister is talking about is not at the disposal of the common people. The wealth is getting concentrated in the hands of the monopolists- unscrupulous traders-hoarders-blackmarketeers-smugglers overtly or covertly. One of the main reasons behind this spiralling inflation is the circulation of huge amount of black money in the system. Black money is, so to say, omnipotent like the 'almighty God'. It can not be seen or laid a hand on. But it is found to be very much operative. The government is merrily resorting to deficit financing. Thousands of crores of fake notes are circulating in the market. On the other hand, the people are getting pauperized and turning destitute. Millions are dying out of starvation, malnutrition and without treatment. Being unable to repay loans, several lakhs of peasants are committing suicide

every year. Millions of mothers and sisters are being initiated into the flesh trade. A major section of the prostitutes in India are little girls who ought to be affectionately cared for and loved as innocent children. And yet they say that the country is moving ahead. It is moving no doubt but towards the hell. These are the kind of leaders we are having in the country. They are stated to be passing sleepless nights for the country's progress. They are only in the media glare. You are being dished out through electronic channels and print media elaborate coverage of the news that the prince of the Nehru-Gandhi family slated to be anointed as the Prime Minister of the country is having a meal in a poor village. But no one takes account of the tears of the myriads of poor and underprivileged. This is the prevailing scenario in the country.

Worldwide capitalism is in acute crisis

It is not that the state of affairs is so sordid in our country only. Capitalism throughout the world is now ridden with a severe crisis. In the last phase of feudalism, capitalism emerged as a progressive force holding aloft the banner of industrial revolution. During the

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etc. are also supporting capitalism, either directly or indirectly. These so-called Lefts, so-called communists, have turned their face away from mass movements. They have become party of the establishment, party of the capitalist class. And the whole Indian masses are depending upon us. If we can give leadership and develop mass and class struggles they will definitely bring an end to this oppressive capitalist rule. Otherwise it is impossible.

Today we have many a good cadre, many a good organizer. In almost every state our party is working. But it is a serious question before us whether we are able to organize the people according to the necessity of today. No other party will organize people for movements. It is only we, the disciples of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who will do it. So, if we go to the masses, if we can maintain mass life with our

proletarian culture and understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought then we can develop tremendous mass movements and give them effective leadership. That is the need of the hour and need of the day. In this respect we are lacking a much. I like to say here that our party today could not include one clause in our Constitution. It is that each and every member of our party must be a leader of the mass and class. Every member must have some followers. This condition is yet to be fulfilled by us. Because, we have many, many very good comrades, who can submit themselves, their individual interest to the party, class and revolution but are lagging in this respect. Many comrades have no mass following. If we can develop this, then tremendous mass movement can be released throughout the country. And we know that other than our party, no

other party will work for developing mass movement which is conducive to the growth and development of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

You know at our First Party Congress and our Plenum two important points were raised. One, each and every comrade must maintain mass life, practise mass life. The second is that each and every individual comrade shall detect his or her shortcoming and fight it out. In this way we shall elevate ourselves. Now we have to practice with all seriousness these two important tasks. The need of the hour is class and mass struggles, which only our Party can build up. For that these two essential things are very much required. Rectifying our shortcomings we must be able to conduct, give leadership to mass and class struggles properly. And through mass life the maximum possible people we can gather should be mobilized behind our party and in the vortex of struggle.

These two points should be activated inside the party and an intense thorough struggle inside the party to maintain these things must be released. So on the occasion of 5th August, Comrade Ghosh's expectations you know — if we want to fulfill them, then we have to develop ourselves in this way. According to his teachings, according to the guideline of the party, we will have to prepare ourselves. Then and then only can we pay him due respect. Let us take pledge that we will try to fulfill the behest of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. And in this way we can show our revolutionary respects to our great leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So, on 5th August all party members, cadres and leaders of our party must try in a combined manner to take pledge that we will do, we will achieve it according to the desire of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. With these words I conclude.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's Speech

Unassailable crisis of moribund capitalism pervades the entire world

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period of its advent, it raised the slogan of large scale industrialization as against the then prevailing cottage industry, foundation of a national economy by dismantling localized economic structure of feudalism and creation of a nationalist mental make-up in place of sub-nationality concept. It called for abolishing religion-based monarchical rule and establishing in its stead, democratic republics based on democratic thoughts. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, institution of parliamentary democracy illumined the Western world. Capitalism then was catalyzing social progress. It raised the slogan of equality, liberty and fraternity. However, just after the establishment of capitalism, great Marx based on scientific materialistic analysis made a forecast that this very capitalism in keeping with its own law of operation would hinder industrialization, destroy industries and trigger acute crisis. Today, it has been proved true. Great Lenin had shown that the crisis Marx predicted has become an inseparable part of capitalism once it reached the stage of imperialism. Capitalism is now decadent and moribund. What is the principal cause of this severe recession in world capitalist economy today? Marx had shown long back that capitalist economy is market economy as its motive of production is to make profit by selling goods in the market. It is the purchasing power of the people which constitutes the market. Marx showed that the capitalists earn profit by exploiting the workers. And the very same workers are buyers in the market. Because of exploitation, the purchasing power of the workers diminishes. So, market crisis ensues. Great Stalin explained that the aim of modern capitalism is to earn maximum profit. And earning maximum profit presupposes maximum exploitation. Hence, the market is squeezed further resulting in crisis of market for market economy. Continuous shrinkage of the market is leading to worldwide recession, closures, retrenchment and unemployment. Previously boom and slump used to come in cycles. But today, slump has become permanent. At best there

could be some variance in degree but there is no sign of abatement. In order to revive the crisis-ridden moribund capitalist economy now put on ventilation, the capitalist states are providing all kinds of medicines in the form of providing huge funds to the capitalists from public exchequer, offering them massive credit and showering on them plethora of tax exemptions and waivers. Yet there is no sign of recovery. Those who are making claims of recovery are in the same breadth calling it a fragile recovery. So, it is not a reliable claim. As against 'demand-driven economy', it is now a 'credit-driven economy'. How long can this work? In fact, it is not working also. On the other hand, the entire burden of massive withdrawal from public exchequer as well as of raising huge loan from the market by the government is squarely passed on the common people. Every capitalist country is in the grip of this crisis, our country included.

Indian bourgeoisie hobnobbing with US imperialists

During the last leg of our freedom movement, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that though the oppression-repression of foreign imperial rule was going to be over, a new terrible oppressive rule – capitalist rule — was in the offing. Why did it so happen? In course of his penetrating analysis, he showed that the need was to hold aloft the banner of working class revolution based on Marxism right during the phase of our freedom movement. But in absence of a correct communist party, that did not materialize in this country. Undivided CPI and later its split factions, the CPI (M) and CPI have deceived the people by wearing the cloak of Marxism. All these parties have not been Marxist parties but petty-bourgeois outfits. Petty-bourgeois means representative of bourgeois class thoughts in the realm of economics, politics and culture. Realizing the need of a genuine communist party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh took upon himself the task of founding the SUCI (C). He showed that Indian capitalism has given rise to monopoly capital and then finance capital. That is

why you find Tatas, Birlas, Ambanis and other Indian monopolists exporting capital abroad, buying industries overseas, investing in foreign mines. And the Indian capitalist state is rapidly augmenting its military might. Despite so much of unemployment and so many other problems in the country, the highest budget allocation is towards defence. Why does the Indian capitalist state need such a hefty defence budget? Because, India wants to emerge as a formidable imperialist power. That is why it is establishing cordial relationship with US imperialism. US imperialists too need India as an ally. So, the two governments are developing cooperation in the economic, political and military fields. Such unity between two imperialist powers is fraught with immense danger. The agriculture of the country is seriously suffering because of draught or flood. The government is pleading shortage of fund for allocation towards education or healthcare. But there is avalanche of funds available for defence build-up. Because, in order to become an imperialist superpower, the Indian state needs to increase its military strength.

US imperialism is destroying democracy and curtailing freedom round the globe. Under the fraudulent pretext of Iraq possessing weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the US imperialists militarily occupied that sovereign country. But there was no trace of the alleged WMD. Thus they have destroyed one country and are continuing military aggression in Afghanistan for quite some time. What prompts them to do so? Because, they desperately need to keep their imperialist economy alive and pursue overlordism and brigandage throughout the world on the strength of their brute military power. A section of the intellectuals of our country fails to see how waving flag of democracy the US imperialists are occupying foreign territory, carrying out mass murder and devastation, savage repression in the prisons, mass killing in the Palestine refugee camps through proxy and assassination of the opponents. The same set of intellectuals accused Stalin of 'barbarism' when he, prior to

Second World War arrested the undercover agents of Hitler who were conspiring to destroy Soviet Union, put them on trial and punished them in order to save the world from the fascist attack of the third Reich. Even today they relentlessly spread canard against Stalin for that. Did Soviet Union occupy any country or engendered any war? Rather, it saved mankind from despotic fascist force by making huge sacrifice. For this, Rabindranath, Romain Rolland, Einstein and others expressed gratefulness to Soviet Union and Stalin. On the contrary, when the US imperialists in the name of democracy are orchestrating political murders throughout the world and the Indian government in its own imperialist interest is establishing close relations with them, these intellectuals are observing the code of silence. Are they worthy of being called intellectuals? Could they even be called democratic?

SUCI (C)-TMC unity

We are faced with all-out crisis in every sphere—economic, political, social and cultural. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that the crisis would accentuate if capitalism is not overthrown by socialist revolution. He also taught us that vote and revolution are not one and the same. Revolution does not come about by vote nor does voting in the elections bring any fundamental change of the state and the oppressive system. Even if any political party tries to run the government with honesty and for argument's sake, if our Party also gets chance to form the government by gaining absolute majority in the election, there will be no end to oppression. Because, vote can change a government but can not overthrow capitalism from state power. The state with its three organs, military, judiciary and police-bureaucracy is protecting capitalism. None of these state organs can be changed by election. And out of these three, the most powerful is the military. If any government tries to bring down capitalism, the state will require not more than a second to topple that government with the help of

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Comrade Provash Ghosh's Speech**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh sounded caution about the immense danger of individualism***Contd from page 9*

military. That is why Marxism calls for revolution and not vote. This exploitative state can be smashed only by revolution.

You all know that for a long time we have been organizing movements against the CPI(M) government in this state, much before Trinamool Congress (TMC) was born. TMC was carved out of the Congress much later though there is no fundamental policy difference between the two. Even the TMC leaders agree to this. Whatever it may be, we have been since 1977 developing organized disciplined movements against the CPI(M) government by forming people's struggle committees with the objective of accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution. At a very later stage, the TMC from its objective of changing the government by vote started resorting to stay-in-demonstration, hunger strike, mass law violation etc. on the Gandhite line. We united to save the movements of Singur and Nandigram. We have said this earlier also. Had we not forged unity, it would have not been possible to save these movements and face the fascist onslaught of the CPI (M). Our unity was on three conditions: movement against the anti-people policies of the central and state governments, equidistance from Congress and BJP and no attack on Marxism-Leninism. I and the TMC chief made this declaration jointly in a press conference. But in course of the journey, TMC has joined the Congress-led government at the Centre and established a relationship with the Congress. So, there is no question of the TMC fighting against the policies of the central government. It could not maintain the equidistance. But it has honoured one thing. It has not directed any attack against Marxism-Leninism. In this state, we are building up movements against the CPI(M). TMC is also organizing movements in accordance with its political outlook. TMC wants an end to CPI(M) rule. We also want the same. But our analyses and outlook are not same. We want that there should be an end to the fascistic attacks of the CPI(M), its oppressive and corrupt rule, party control on the police-administration, the

suffocating situation all around and denial of the right to protest. Let the proper environment congenial for building movements and raising voice of protest be restored. TMC is claiming that if it assumes governmental power, it would solve many problems. It may try so. Whether it does so or no would be seen by you. But we feel that even if it tries honestly, it would not be possible to solve basic problems. Even if it ensures that there is no party control on police-administration, administrative neutrality is maintained to some extent and recurrence of Singur-Nandigram like savagery to crush democratic movement is forestalled, we shall consider it to be a change to that extent only. But with revolutionary objective, we shall continue our anti-capitalist movement, movement against anti-people policies and struggle against capitalist owners and *jotedars* (rural kulaks). Ours is a party of movement. We shall be on the field of movement, on the path of struggle. We go to Parliament or Assembly to reflect the voice of movement. This is known to all including TMC. We do not deceive people. Had we hankered for ministerial berth, we could have gone with the CPI (M). Even our enemies admit that we command much more strength than RSP, Forward Bloc and CPI. CPI (M) had sent feeler to us in the past. But we did not respond. Our unity with TMC is in the interest of movement. So long this unity is necessitated for the sake of movement, we shall move together, but not beyond that.

Capitalism has become totally reactionary

Today, our country as well as the whole world is in the whirlpool of a deadly crisis. The capitalist class is least bothered as to who is getting food and who is not, whether anyone is receiving medical treatment or not, whether people are dying on the streets or turning into beggars or paupers. Its sole concern is to reap maximum profit. Putting interest of maximum personal profit and individual self-centredness based on private ownership above everything else was not there during the early days of capitalism in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. At

that time, private ownership that capitalism brought in its wake was in the interest of development of social production. So, private ownership was progressive in the then social context. Concepts of individual liberty and individual right were also then conducive to social progress. At that time, Renaissance and bourgeois democratic revolution had provided character. Freedom movement of our country had also provided character. Today, capitalism in the stage of imperialism is utterly reactionary. So, loot, plunder, aggressing foreign lands are all for securing maximum profit. Retrenchment is for profit. Each and everything is singularly aimed at netting profit. The interest of private owners is supreme. Everything else is secondary to it. The crisis of human essence is stemming from this very system. This is the hideous underbelly of rotten individualism, abandonment of ethics and morality as well as social obligation. Capitalism has brought down the society to this level. Once, the spirit of nationalism inspired people to attain higher character. It called for national unity, meaning combined struggle of capitalists and workers, rich and poor against imperialism and feudalism. Today, the capitalist class is in state power, in control of the state machinery. Hence, the slogan of unity between the capitalists and workers in the present changed context is tantamount to abandoning workers' interest and indulging in slavery of the ruling oppressive capitalist owners. It is for this reason that the call of nationalism or national unity has lost its progressive character and become a privilege in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie. Those who clamour for nationalism today are worst power-seekers and flush with money. Once, people had to face imprisonment if they gave the slogan of "bande mataram". Today, "bande mataram" or advocacy for nationalism is an investment, a tool to obtain license, permit and ensure self-aggrandizement. An ideology provides base of elevated character only when it inspires to fight against injustice, imbues to sacrifice even life for upholding its loftiness. Even religion at a particular juncture of history played this progressive role

when it roused the people to take up cudgels against slave system and brought in its wake concept of ethics, morality and sense of responsibility. When religion in course of social progress lost its progressive character, the ideal of secular humanism free from the influence of religious values marked its advent based on emerging bourgeois democracy. It preached that everyone, whether rich or poor, is equal in the eyes of law. But today in the decadent moribund stage of humanism, has not this preaching become a mockery? Is there any semblance of such equality in the reality obtaining where someone is born in a palace and another in a dilapidated hutment or someone enjoys breakfast in a five star hotel and another begs in the roadside? Inequality is glaring because the society is class divided; divided between the exploiting class and the exploited class. But humanism does not recognize this stark reality. It denies existence of class-division in the interest of the ruling bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that nationalism or humanism can no more be the ideological base of a higher character. The more capitalism is becoming reactionary, the more it is dehumanizing people. Today, capitalism wants the moral backbone of the youth to be broken into pieces.

Menace of individualism

That is why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, as I pointed out earlier, was first to forewarn that individualism would assume worst reactionary form and pose immense danger not only before the communist movement of this country but even in socialism after its establishment, and give rise to revisionism. Way back in mid-1940s, in the very early period of party formation, he showed that a genuine proletarian revolutionary party would not grow if the leaders continue to nurture the bourgeois humanist ideal of subordinating individual interest to the cause of revolution. The leaders need to free themselves from bourgeois humanist influence, that is, individualism. Not only in respect of material property, must the leaders rid themselves of individualism in

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The living soul of the Party lies in its culture

Comrade Ranjit Dhar reiterates at the inauguration of quotation exhibition

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last and the most accomplished of them — breathing his last very recently. In such a situation, a grave responsibility devolves upon us — those living on.

Pointing out that this exhibition of quotations from the works of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh itself attests to the vastness and depth of his knowledge, Comrade Dhar made it clear that it is but a partial reflection of the vast and in-depth knowledge Comrade Ghosh acquired in the process of developing the proletarian class-struggle for emancipation. Comrade Dhar added that SUCI(Communist) was his best creation, grown out of his realisation of the truth that without a true revolutionary party, proletarian revolution is not possible, regardless of howsoever much struggle there may be, whatever sacrifice might have been made and whatever sincerity and emotion might have been involved in the process.

In a class-divided society, a political party being a class party, is the instrument of fulfilling the respective class aspiration. Each party has its own specific characteristics, has its own specific process of formation. The process of formation of party and the struggle involved in it, for a political party meant to establish an exploitative system and to keep it alive is fundamentally different from those pertaining to the party looking ahead to uprooting an exploitative system and establishing a society without exploitation. To develop a proletarian party with the latter goal on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, there is a specific struggle to be conducted. It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who founded and developed SUCI(C) as such a party in our country through a unique struggle based on Marxism-Leninism and equipped with Marxist methodology as his weapon. He pointed out that Marxism-Leninism was a methodology for analyzing and assessing the situation of any particular country and thereupon determining the strategy and tactics of revolution. And while building up the working class party on the Indian soil, he concluded that the basic question in forming the party of the proletariat was to develop the character of leaders and cadres on the basis of proletarian culture.

Every lofty ideology has its essence resting upon its higher cultural standard. A party has to adopt different programmes, raise slogans, paste posters, build up movements; all these are true. But only these do not make the party. The life-force of the party is its culture. And what then is proletarian culture? On the strength of teachings of Marx, Comrade Ghosh pointed out that communism stands for humanism minus private property mental complex. He elaborated that the crux of this latter mental complex is manifested in individualism and an incessant struggle has to be carried on inside the party to free the leaders and cadres of the party from its influence. Over the years, individualism has turned into ever more reactionary than it was when revolution was organized in Russia and in China. It was the greatness of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that lay in the fact that he developed SUCI(C) keeping ever alive within the party this struggle against individualism. In the struggle inside the party, he introduced and developed a cultural tuning whose basic tenet is to develop characters on the basis of proletarian culture, characters free from individualist mental make-up. Proletarian democracy can not work inside the party if it is not kept free from the influence of individualism. The forewarning Comrade Ghosh gave expression to as far back as in 1971, that the filthy impact of individualism would assume still more dangerous shape, after all these 39 years we find it in reality, when we witness how filthy it has become. It is the main obstacle in the way of our becoming communists, which, in turn, requires freeing oneself from all kinds of base mentalities, selfishness, narrowness and demeanour.

Comrade Dhar asserted that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that despite being imbibed with the lofty ideals of communism, Russia and China had faced debacle because of revisionism — which means infiltration of bourgeois thoughts in communist movement — the crux of which is individualism. He continued to explain how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had observed that so long as we would remain encircled by capitalism-imperialism, under its influence, even cadres of a revolutionary party will be prone to be driven by tendencies to assert



Quotation exhibition in Calcutta being inaugurated by Comrade Ranjit Dhar with Polit Bureau and Central Committee members on the dais

themselves, to bring themselves to the forefront and to stress upon their individual opinion, all these smacking of individualism. Comrade Ghosh had urged that there should be a free and frank atmosphere within the party to ensure that everyone was able to speak out unhesitatingly and without fear; otherwise debates, disputes and criticisms can not be freed from the influence of individualism. Leaders must consciously guide this struggle and cadres too must carry it on consciously. Without this, collective knowledge cannot be developed. Comrade Ghosh had explained collective knowledge as not just a simple sum-total of experiences the cadres gather everyday from the field, but it is rather the truth arrived at collectively through a dialectical process based upon the truths on different issues brought out from the experiences of one and all cadres. We all tend to think that whatever we may see ourselves is correct. But everybody do not see it correct. May be a large part of it is correct, the rest is seen according to my ideas, my mental make-up. It is the collective action which help us weed out and eliminate the false impressions and imaginary ideas which we receive because of our individual mental make-up, despite grasping some truth in the process. And this must be done through debates and discussions. The arguments, discussions and criticisms, decision-making, committee meeting — whatever go on inside party bodies, have to be carried on consciously; otherwise we become victims of individualism. In that case, the party can never develop with a proletarian revolutionary character and proletarian culture as its

characteristics. It is a struggle difficult enough. Working amidst a bourgeois society, which is running based upon individualist interest, it is not that easy to develop a party, to develop mental make-up of its leaders and cadres on the strength of the sense of collective interest; yet such was the struggle which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had undertaken in the process of forming this party. Here lay his greatness. Comrade Ranjit Dhar went on to say that this struggle has to be appraised, to know and understand Comrade Ghosh and fathom his character and his greatness. The quotation exhibition, Comrade Ranjit Dhar said, reflects the marks of this struggle. Thoughts of Comrade Ghosh were the outcome of this struggle. The knowledge he had acquired was not bookish; it was the outcome of the struggle he had conducted in his attempt to free the society and the people from exploitation, oppression and injustice. Even what he learned from books, he evaluated them and tried them out in the light of his life-struggle. He did not accept them indiscriminately without judging. We must proceed keeping this particular struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in our view. With the demise of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the last representative among those who initiated the struggle of founding this party, the responsibility of carrying on this struggle has now devolved upon us all. Bearing it successfully alone can make a quotation exhibition and discussions on the occasion really meaningful and purposive. I inaugurate the quotation exhibition with these words.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's Speech

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every aspect of life including love, affection, ethics and morality, personal life, family life, conjugal life and attitude towards children. Individual needs to be freed from private property as well as private property mental-complex and identified with the cause of revolution. One does not have property but has some hankering for name, fame or post— such mentality one has to free oneself of such mentality. Individual interest must be completely merged with the interest of class, revolution and party. Unless this standard is attained, revolutionary movement will not surge forth. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also warned that socialism in both Soviet Union and China will be endangered by the problem of individualism. Great Stalin realized this at the penultimate stage of his life. In the Report to the 19th Congress of the CPSU, he first said that though private property had been abolished in Soviet Union, private-property based mentality and ethics were not. He intended to launch a struggle to fight that out. But he did not get time to do that because of his sudden demise. To thwart the fierce attack of capitalism in the realm of mind, Mao Zedong also in the last phase of his life started proletarian Cultural Revolution. He too could not lead it to success as death took him away from us. But Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us why socialism in both these countries faced such a debacle. After Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong, it is in the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that we find an enriched and developed understanding of Marxism. Not only in India but also in the countries abroad, those who are fighting for revolution and communism are drawing inspiration and receiving guidance from his thoughts.

Danger of blindness

I shall draw your attention to one more aspect. You have seen how socialism, established by overthrowing capitalism in Russia and a semi-feudal semi-colonial set-up in China, was dismantled. In India we are struggling to

accomplish revolution in a society where capitalism is dominating in economic, political and cultural spheres. Those coming to the Party are not free from the impact of this polluted society. If there is slight laxness in our alertness, the revolutionary character of our Party might get destroyed. In order to overcome this danger and ensure that impact of bourgeois thoughts and ideology does not pollute the Party from within, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee before his death released a comprehensive struggle through the inner-party movement of revitalization and consolidation. But that too is not the final guarantee. Attacks are coming and will continue to come. It is incumbent on the leaders, workers, supporters and the toiling masses to save this Party. I shall request all our workers to judge all leaders right from our level. There is no room for blindness. Blindness does much harm. During the freedom movement, the countrymen rallied behind Gandhiji and not Netaji Subhas. The country has been paying dearly for that. Today, the CPI(M) is hated in West Bengal. But in the 1960s, the people lent blind support to the very same CPI(M). At that time, the people refused to accept any criticism of the CPI(M). CPI(M) workers were also averse to criticism. If the masses and the workers practice blindness, such is bound to happen. Hence, do not blindly follow our Party as well. People must keep a vigil as to whether there is conformity between our words and deeds, whether we are conducting ourselves as per the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and upholding the banner of revolution in the correct manner. SUCI(C) is not a party of ours only. This Party has been formed to fulfill the necessity of emancipation of the toiling people of India, the vast masses of workers-peasants-middle class. This is their Party. It is for meeting their need that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh founded this Party through struggle. This Party is not fighting for grabbing MLA, MP seats or ministerial portfolios or earning name. It is struggling for revolution. So it is people's responsibility to protect this Party.

SUCI (C) on natural calamity in Leh

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) has issued the following statement on 8 August, 2010 on Leh flash floods and mudslides which hit the mountain town in small hours of 6th August that has triggered havoc bringing down homes, leaving 132 people dead, thousands injured and more than 600 people still missing.

We express our profound grief over the loss of lives which may surpass the official figure of 132 due to cloud bursts leading to flash floods rendering thousands homeless and many more untraceable. More than 500 people are under treatment with severe injuries and many more are waiting to be treated as rescue operation is stepped up.

The scale of destruction and disaster that struck Leh bringing down untold miseries and sufferings on the common people demands speedy rescue and relief operation. The central and state governments did not promptly act with full strength as was desired. Rather their activities exhibit routinism.

We urge the state and the central government to act promptly on a war-footing to save the lives of the hapless people and to urgently arrange relief and rehabilitation measures.

You are to protect us. Wherever and whenever you notice any incongruence between what we are saying and what we are doing your conscious watchfulness will protect the Party. Consciousness of the cadres will protect the leaders. If you find even slightest of deviation in any leader from following the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, immediately jump into the fight against it with revolutionary audacity. Do not feel constrained by any other obligation. The blindness of the cadres of CPSU has caused lethal harm to their party. So long Stalin was alive, blindness could not cause that damage because Stalin was correct. But after his demise, the party workers and the working class because of their blindness towards the party and party leadership could not understand what immense harm Khrushchev leadership was doing by waving the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Now, the people of Russia are repenting.

Protect and strengthen SUCI(C)

Hence, alertness and consciousness are so vital for our Party workers. They must grasp Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought and examine the Party, its leadership, each and every leader in the light of that. This leader is my friend, we have joined the party together, that leader has brought me into the Party, the other leader helps me a lot— such thoughts are reflective of personal weakness or personal obligation and hence can not lead to

correct appraisal. One who helped me once might get degenerated today. You might have praised me once for my good work. But if I am degenerating today, you can not lose sight of that degeneration as well. We have seen how a group of leaders under the garb of acclaiming Lenin and Mao Zedong have destroyed the parties and socialism. Likewise, I may also harm the Party by singing in praise of praise for Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. So is my appeal to you is to remain ever vigilant. The members of the first Central Committee are no more. Many of the leaders of the second Central Committee are either dead or ailing. Those of us who are in the Polit Bureau today are also quite aged. But we are unwavering in fulfilling our commitment to this great leader. We have learnt from him in close association. For that reason, we have been able to carry out the struggle so far. So long we are alive, we will keep this struggle alive. When we shall also not be there, the responsibility of protecting and advancing the Party will devolve on the next generation. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had represented both the trend of uncompromising revolutionism of the freedom movement as well as the glorious continuation of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong. He was a product of both. This Party founded by him is the only ray of hope in this all-pervading darkness. So it is up to you to protect and strengthen this Party, this ideology, this glorious struggle. With this, I end today.

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