Why did Comrade Shibdas Ghosh accept Marxism in his pursuit of truth

[This is the English translation of the speech delivered in Bengali by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C), at the public meeting held at Rani Rashmoni Avenue in Kolkata on 5th August, 2012 on the occasion of 36th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary of the Party and a great leader of the proletariat. The responsibility of translation error as well as inadequate representation, if any, solely lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era.]

We have assembled here today to pay our deepest of respect to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, great Marxist thinker and guide to the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat. On this very day, the Party activists as well as supporters-sympathizers imbued by his teachings are observing his memorial day in 21 states of the country. Notwithstanding virtual absence of his name and thoughts in the media, at least several lakhs of the countrymen carry his name and teachings in their heart of hearts with profound respect and intense emotion. His thoughts are gradually spreading even overseas. It is Comrade Shibdas Gosh who enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and brought its understanding to a new height. Based on his thoughts, a powerful proletarian revolutionary movement has been growing in the neighbouring Bangladesh. There is a cultivation of his teachings among the revolutionaries of Nepal. The communists of Pakistan are translating his Works into Urdu. Revolutionaries engaged in building up struggles in Europe, USA, Africa, West Asia and Latin America are contacting us with a view to acquainting themselves with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, grasping and acquiring his teachings. In various parts of our country, thousands of students-youths, workers-peasants-women inspired by his teachings are developing class and mass struggles subordinating all the needs and wants of their personal life. On 14th of March last in Delhi, they successfully organized a mammoth protest rally of over a lakh of people with signatures of over 30 million countrymen on the charter of demands centring on the burning problems of life. The Party is gaining strength, both ideologically and organizationally, with every passing day. The fighting people of the country are getting attracted towards us in large numbers.

Historic struggle of Party formation

At the outset, I would like to recall under what an adverse situation, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh waged a historic arduous revolutionary struggle to form this Party. Let me quote his words. In a workers’ meeting in 1967, he said: “What did we have in the early days of Party formation? We had nothing, neither money nor manpower. Many had told us: Yes, your theory is correct. Your logic is sound. But is it that easy to build a party? You have no leader, no press publicity. So, it is impossible a task. It can never be fulfilled. I did not argue with them much. I only asked them one question: Ok. Let me agree for argument's sake that the task is impossible. What should I do then? Become a slave or an agent of the vested interest and sell out conscience? Do I have to act contrary to what I have understood as truth? I would not be able to do that. If I die starving in the street, I shall die with honour raising my head high. But I cannot put myself up for sale. I may be shot dead. I know I might die starving and there would be no one to even enquire if I am living or dying. But what is the alternative? I might at the outset fail in my endeavour. In that event, I would think I lack ability to achieve success. The ignominy of inability is one thing. But it is a crime to sell out conscience. I would take it as my failure but at the same time, I would know I have not bent my head. Yes, I might have died starving. But have I not been able to achieve anything? Every revolutionary is aware that even his death due to starvation would spread out the message that the existing system has become obsolete. So this oppressive system must be changed by revolution. This appeal of a revolutionary never goes unheard, never is it proved to be abortive. Slowly, one or two persons come forward and respond to his appeal.” 1 In another discussion in 1969, he observed: “I can still recall those early days when we started building up the Party — there were very few people to support us; we could not even arrange a room as shelter and, day

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Contd. on page 2
Question arose in Comrade Shibdas Ghosh if mere orator of British imperialists would beget desired emancipation

Contd. from page 1

afforded a day, in a fierce battle to build up a new party in the midst of severe obstacles and a completely adverse situation, we had to strive hard even without food, but we had no grievance for all this. For years together we shared a grass-mat only, and so many winters we passed like that. Our old friends will bear it out even today. They will relate that never could they trace any lack of composure in us. How many days we went without food, but we felt ashamed to tell about it! That we could not arrange our provisions, we could not collect even the minimum was considered to be our own fault and to be punished for? How could it be the height of ‘sacrifice’? I further added in his speech delivered at the youth conference in 1975: ‘…when I started this party with just a handful of comrades. Everybody laughed at us then. The CPI, then an undivided party, ridiculed us. They taunted, we had sprouted like a mushroom. They derided: if the SUCI is a party, then a bat also is a bird; bow is it that they, too, would sit with us! The Forward Bloc, RSP and RCPI, everybody said that the SUCI was not a party at all, it was just a club. Even sitting with us could not be contemplated. I endured all this silently. I ignored all their ridicules and just proceeded along with firm resolve to build up the party. ’” In these few lines is contained a glimpse of the history of prolonged, complex, determined, death-defying struggle to build up a genuine revolutionary party on this soil.

Initiation of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh towards Marxism

The Party was founded in 1948. In my school life, I was initiated into the Party in 1950. I had occasion to witness a part of that historic struggle. There is so much of elaborate arrangement for today’s meeting—dais, rostrum, mike, chairs, table and so forth. Despite inclement weather, what a massive turnout of people! But in those days, it was so difficult for us to arrange even a table and chair, a simple microphone for a meeting addressed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh at Hazra Park in South Kolkata. We were happy if there was a gathering of few hundreds of people. Overcoming all these hurdles, we have inched forward without any media backing or financial assistance by big bourgeois houses. That day also, we used to resort to street collection of funds from the people as we do today. How in this way our Party is advancing guided by Marxism-Leninism-Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Some of you are aware, those who are new might not be, that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh started his political life at a very young juncture of Indian freedom movement. At that time, the country was in ferment. Waves of freedom movement were sweeping across the land. A boy of just thirteen, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh plunged into the freedom movement. The then undivided Bengal was the citadel of revolutionism. He got associated with that revolutionary trend of working class movement. Even at his teens, he was immensely inspired by the struggle and teachings of Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Netaji Subhasas well as Kshudiram, Surya Sen, Chandrasekar Azad, Bhagat Singh and others. Later, in course of his penetrating analysis, he showed that there were two distinct trends in the renaissance movement of our country, one compromising and the other uncompromising. Vidyasagar, Saratchandra and Nazrul in his early period represented the uncompromising trend while Bankimchandra, Vivekananda, Rabindranath and a few others belonged to the pro-religion compromising trend. Gandhi was the representative of the compromising reformist trend in politics while Netaji Subhash and the revolutionaries of the country like Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen were upholding the uncompromising trend. Even today, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was connected with this revolutionary trend and waged struggle. While the objective of the struggle to many was to free the country from the alien rule, the question that came in the mind of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was if mere orator of the British imperialists would achieve the desired emancipation of the workers-peasants-oppressed people. And if that desired emancipation has to be brought about, what was to be done? In his search for the correct answer, he came in contact with the lofty revolutionary scientific philosophy of the time, Marxism-Leninism. Already, after successful working class revolution in 1917, socialism was making bold stride ahead in Soviet Union under the leadership of great Lenin and so Stalin. That message reached our country also. Rabindranath after his visit to Russia in 1930 was amazed at the phenomenal progress of Soviet socialism. Netaji Subhashchandra also observed that in the eighteen century, the best contribution of France was the French revolution. In the nineteenth century the most significant contribution of Germany towards human civilization was Marxist philosophy. In the twentieth century, Russia had enriched human civilization and culture by accomplishing a proletarian revolution, installing a proletarian government and acquiring proletarian culture. Saratchandra, the celebrated litterateur, was in vogue of working class movement and socialism. All these had a great impact on a section of the revolutionaries of the country then. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was also greatly inspired by that.

Religion cannot show path of emancipation

One question can arise why was he drawn towards Marxism despite existence of other philosophical thoughts including idealist philosophies prevailing in the country? Why did he embrace Marxism as the guiding philosophy? I want to dwell on this aspect in a bit details today because a malicious campaign has been unleashed against Marxism both in our country as well as in other countries. Dismantling of socialism in Soviet Union and China, setback of world communist movement and the decadence, degeneration of the so called communist parties like the CPI(M), CPI have, in particular, raked up this question anew. Such campaign did not arise from the uncompromising trend while Bankimchandra, Vivekananda, Rabindranath and a few others belonged to the pro-religion compromising trend. Gandhi was the representative of the compromising reformist trend in politics while Netaji Subhash and the revolutionaries of the country like Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen were upholding the uncompromising trend. Even today, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was connected with this revolutionary trend and waged struggle. While the objective of the struggle to many was to free the country from the alien rule, the question that came in the mind of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was if mere orator of the British imperialists would achieve the desired emancipation of the workers-peasants-oppressed people. And if that desired emancipation has to be brought about, what was to be done? In his search for the correct answer, he came in contact with the lofty revolutionary scientific philosophy of the time, Marxism-Leninism. Already, after successful working class revolution in 1917, socialism was making bold stride ahead in Soviet Union under the leadership of great Lenin and so Stalin. That message reached our country also. Rabindranath after his visit to Russia in 1930 was amazed at the phenomenal progress of Soviet socialism. Netaji Subhashchandra also observed that in the eighteen century, the best contribution of France was the French revolution. In the nineteenth century the most significant contribution of Germany towards human civilization was Marxist philosophy. In the twentieth century, Russia had enriched human civilization and culture by accomplishing a proletarian revolution, installing a proletarian government and acquiring proletarian culture. Saratchandra, the celebrated litterateur, was in vogue of working class movement and socialism. All these had a great impact on a section of the revolutionaries of the country then. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was also greatly inspired by that.

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Idealists think mind is governed by a super-natural power

Contd from page 2

science and history, such a belief would prove to be wrong, unhistoric. History has shown that in the primitive society, there was no concept of god. Even today, if you happen to look at the aboriginal populace in the Andaman-Nicobar or the deep jungles of Africa, you would not find any concept of any super-natural power or entity in them. That was the scenario in the primitive society. Primitive man did not think of any non-material or super-matter entity, nor was there any scope for that. These are not my words. I am referring to the observations of Swami Vivekananda, who is respectfully obeyed by all the believers of the country and, despite philosophical differences, is revered by us also. Vivekananda himself had said that the thinking of primitive man was materialistic, matter-based. To quote his words, “There was a search in external nature of the truths of the universe; it was an attempt to get the solution of the deep problems of life from the material world.” How great a man he was to acknowledge the objective truth despite himself being a believer of spiritualism. In the land known as India today, in the dim past, there was cultivation of the land known as India today, in being a believer of spiritualism. In that context, Vivekananda said that every object in creation was made up of paramanu (atoms). It was here that “zero” was discovered to be a digit. In other words, it was held that there was nothing, no existence of any non-matter in the universe. So, even zero has a quantitative value which implies that no existence of “nothing”. The person held in high esteem as Bhagwan Buddha was a non-believer in god. Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was a non-believer too. Similar non-belief prevailed in some other parts of the world also in ancient time. Later, at a particular stage of social development, when keeping with the social necessity and the course of social progress, the idea of God appeared in the society. I want to allude to one more point in this connection. Many are of the belief that we, the Marxists, have been the first to propagate atheism. This is incorrect. The fact is that much before advent of Marxism, the bourgeois humanists in Europe during the period of industrial revolution and establishment of parliamentary democracy in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century had attacked theism while fighting the monarchy, perceived to be the advocates of spiritualism. They pleaded for the necessity to develop democratic thoughts and establishment of democratic social order, many philosophers and scientists like Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, Descartes, Diderot, Kant and Feuerbach had sought to promote science, scientific enquiry and scientific reasoning as against the doctrines of theology and religiousity. They believed in either mechanical materialism or agnosticism or atheism or secular humanism. Vidyasagar, during sprouting of Indian renaissance in nineteenth century, was a firm atheist. Many scientists of this country as well other countries were protagonists of atheism. But, all of them, apart from calling theism as untrue, harmful and hence liable for being rejected, could not say anything further nor could they throw any light on the origin of this thought in history. It is Marxism which first provided scientific-historic genesis of theism. Marxism has shown that religion or religious thoughts appeared in the society at a particular stage of social development in order to meet the then social necessity and further the concept of morals, ethics and well-being of the humanity. For that reason, the Marxists highly respect the founders of various religions as great men of the then society. Based on the fact that material condition of human thoughts and ideals appears first and then, on that base, develops the world of ideas. Matter or material condition is prior, ideas or thoughts germinate basing on that given conducive objective condition. In the primitive society, there was no ingredient in the material world for idea of god or religion to appear because there was no private property, no concept of ownership of property, no class division, no ruler-ruleless relationship, no division between rich and poor. In other words, the society was running without because of any law-giver ruler or master. So, there was no material condition or objective situation conducive to emergence of the concept of God. At that time, primitive man made efforts to know the various forces of Nature, tried to propitiate or control those natural forces lest those should harm him. With that objective, he had based on whatever understanding had developed in him, used to dance and gesticulate to show the natural forces and even chanted mantras to appease them. The idea of super-natural entity or god came much later only after agriculture was introduced, stable property had appeared and centring on that, society became class-divided and the slave-master society was established. Society was running at the order of the slave master. Slave master’s order was the law at that time. When the barbaric oppression and repression of the slave masters accentuated beyond endurance, the question of emancipation from the yoke of this oppression also arose in society. Greatly moved by the tears, wails and woes of the subjugated slaves, a group of thinkers in those days were struck with the thought that as there was a master in society because of any law-giver ruler or master, society was being run orderly by the rule or dictate of the master, there ought to be a lord or super-master at whose behest and conduction, the vast universe was running orderly with systematic outbreak of day and night, sunrise and sunset, alternating new moon and full moon, ebbs and tides and periodic change of seasons. This super-master ought to be the lord of the slave-master also. Slave master and slave both are creations of God. Hence both are the God’s children. This is how the concept of god and subsequently unending thoughts, system of worship and such other religious ceremonies arose in society. That is why Marx had made a historic statement that “Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the opium of the people.” Thus Marx has given due recognition to the positive role of religion in the then context of social progress. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, too, hailed the religious preachers of stature as men of great height, outstanding personalities who, in their times, had left unmistakable marks of their genius. He had explained that once Christianity fought against the slave system. Islam too took up cudgels against the slave system and injustices. In Hinduism too, there were concepts of virtue and sin, justice and injustice, social well-being, ethics and morality, and societal good in the prevailing perspective. So, we, the Marxists, do not have any disrespect for religion. We only say that concept of religion came at a particular juncture of history to meet social necessity of that time and based on religion grew religious thoughts and religious scriptures. The religious preachers then argued that the oppressor and the oppressed, the slaves and the slave master were both sons of god and all were deemed to be equal. So, they urged upon the rulers to govern by obeying the precepts of religion. It occurred to them based on whatever they could understand and in their quest for truth in the then period, that all kinds of thoughts and ideas germinating in their minds were divine contemplations, gospel truths. Since they believed that this world was created by god and so were the rich and poor, these would continue forever. But the ruler should govern his subjects following religious directives. Later, slave-master society was replaced by feudalism, monarchs were considered to be in the name of religion. Monarchy used religion as a prop to establish a belief that the king was accredited representative of god. God was the owner of all properties and on behalf of him, the king or the emperor or the feudal lord was owning that property and ruling the society. So the decree of the king is the command of god. Thus all kinds of exploitations, repression and oppression by the monarchy and the feudal lords were sought to be sanctified in the name of obedience to religion. There was no scope for protest because that would have been deemed to be rebellious against religion. In pointing out this role of religion, Marx had opined, that is “the opium of the people.” Referring to religion, the rulers were concerning themselves to be exploited to accept their destitution, penury and misery as having been ordained by god. Any protest against oppression and exploitation was tantamount to going against the command of god and hence a sin. Already he was paying price for his sin in previous life. Now if he dared to rise up against the king or feudal lord, he would only multiply his sin and thus spoil his both earthly as well as reincarnate life. So the advice was to remain as opiated and desist from rising against oppression-repression. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie who in the period of rising capitalism attacked religion and religious backwardness has itself in the phase of its decadence turned utter reactionary and is using religion as intoxicant to destroy the revolutionary thought and struggle.

I have said earlier that it was the
Slogan of ‘nationalism’ is against interest of the struggle for emancipation today

Contd. from page 3

bourgeoisie who first launched attack on religion when Ramayana revolution, European renaissance and establishment of bourgeois democracy by overthrowing obsolete feudal order, fight was directed against the monarchial system substituting on the belief that such rule was based on god’s command. It is in this way that renaissance based on modern science marked its augury with the announcement that the material world is only the truth, nature is the only reality, nothing exists beyond nature and there is no super-natural existence. So, in the realm of thought and human life, there can be no place for god. Death is the contemplation of god—such belief was discarded by the votaries of European renaissance. It was Vidyasagar who first brought this thought on Indian soil. Many are not aware that it was Vidyasagar who first said boldly based on reason that Veda-Vedanta and Sankhya, the old Hindu religious scriptures, are false systems of philosophy and hence do not represent the truth of life. He wanted to free the thinking process of people from the shackles of spiritualism and influence of Vedanta and invoke new enlightened rational scientific thought process and rational faculty. So was his call for new system of education, secular scientific education as against old obsolete religious tutelage. What is worth noting is that Ramakrishna Paramhans, known to be the preceptor of Vivekananda was preaching spiritualism, Vidyasagar was struggling for freeing human mind from the clutches of spiritualism and setting up a secular education system. Why were there these two trends in thinking? The answer has been provided by Marxism, by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh based on Marxism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that a thought cannot appear unless the material condition conducive to its growth developed prior to it. This is one aspect. But that is not all. It is immensely important as to how you are approaching an objective reality. One might be honest, dedicated and ready to make sacrifices. But if one’s philosophical outlook, methodology of thinking and prevent the human race on part one can never find the truth. Just like a doctor who might be very honest, extremely caring for his patient but is bereft of necessary medical knowledge. Then, he cannot cure his patient. Same is in the realm of thought. Ramakrishna’s approach was based on the Veda-Vedanta, spiritualism, belief in super-natural power. So, he encouraged cult of religion. On the contrary, Vidyasagar wanted to develop a mind free from religious thoughts because he embraced secular humanist approach of Western renaissance, modern science, rational thought process. If we follow spiritual process today, then we ought to accept the Indian capitalist state, the exploitative capitalist social order, the class oppression, deceptions and deprivations all as command of god and hence fate accompli. In that event, there could be no question of protest. Only course left is to please god through ritualistic worship and pray for salvation in next life. So the fundamental difference is between the two outlooks and methodological approaches in getting to know the truth. This is why Marxism is distinctively different from other schools of thought.

Limitations of idealist philosophy

My next point is there are idealist philosophers, spiritual thinkers who even by going to the extent of acknowledging many scientific truths like the world is full and matter, the inner world of human thought one cannot find the truth. Just like a doctor who might be very honest, extremely caring for his patient but is bereft of necessary medical knowledge. Then, he cannot cure his patient. Same is in the realm of thought. Ramakrishna’s approach was based on the Veda-Vedanta, spiritualism, belief in super-natural power. So, he encouraged cult of religion. On the contrary, Vidyasagar wanted to develop a mind free from religious thoughts because he embraced secular humanist approach of Western renaissance, modern science, rational thought process. If we follow spiritual process today, then we ought to accept the Indian capitalist state, the exploitative capitalist social order, the class oppression, deceptions and deprivations all as command of god and hence fate accompli. In that event, there could be no question of protest. Only course left is to please god through ritualistic worship and pray for salvation in next life. So the fundamental difference is between the two outlooks and methodological approaches in getting to know the truth. This is why Marxism is distinctively different from other schools of thought.

SUCI (C) condemns unprovoked police firing on anti-Koodankulam Nuclear Power Plant protesters

We strongly condemn the unprovoked police firing and bursting tear gas shells on the peaceful anti-Koodankulam Nuclear Power Plant protesters yesterday (10th September) at Tuticorin causing death of a fisherman and grievous injuries to many and demand a high level judicial enquiry into the incident, stringent punishment of the guilty and adequate compensation for the families of the dead and injured, release of all those arrested, dropping of the false charges on the protesters, lifting of the unlawful imposition of act 144 and withdrawal of the central and state police forces stationed there. We also protest brutal police atrocities on another set of protesters at Koodankulam itself on the same day. At the same time, we hail the courageous sustained just struggle of the people of Koodankulam and adjoining areas against the heinous move on the part of the Congress-led central government to the commission of a highly risky nuclear power plant on the seashore endangering life and livelihood of the poor fishermen and to the sections of the people residing in that area. Setting up of such nuclear power plants at any part of the country is fraught with the danger of radioactive radiation, widespread environmental pollution, extensive damage to animal and plant lives and severe health hazard of the people who are living near the nuclear power projects. We strongly condemn the unprovoked police firing against the peaceful anti-Koodankulam Nuclear Power Plant protesters yesterday (10th September) at Tuticorin causing death of a fisherman and grievous injuries to many and demand a high level judicial enquiry into the incident, stringent punishment of the guilty and adequate compensation for the families of the dead and injured, release of all those arrested, dropping of the false charges on the protesters, lifting of the unlawful imposition of act 144 and withdrawal of the central and state police forces stationed there.
No religious doctrine can provide answers to today’s problems

Contd. from page 4

played a historic role in rousing the people of India, in fostering a spirit of human essence in them at the dawn of Indian nationalism. But, along with respect, there can be difference of opinion and stating that difference boldly is no sign of disrespect whatsoever. This has been the teaching of Vivekananda himself. As I have mentioned earlier, Vidyasagar had clearly said that there was no truth in Veda, Vedanta and Sankhya. He did not believe in god, never used to go to temple or perform pujas. Ramakrishna had gone to his house and after paying due respect, invited him to visit Dakshineswar. But Vidyasagar, honest and dedicated as he was to his firm belief in atheism, did not even for the sake of formality go to Dakshineswar, known to be a pilgrimage because of Ramakrishna’s Kali temple there. Later on, Vivekananda had stated that he equally revered both Ramakrishna and Vidyasagar though he was a preacher of Vedantic philosophy which was contrary to what Vidyasagar espoused. Vivekananda had done that without deviating an inch from the respect he had for Vidyasagar. Let me now quote certain relevant portions from the works of Vivekananda. He said: “Knowledge is inherent in man, no knowledge comes from outside, it is all inside. What we say a man ‘knows’, should, in strict psychological language, be what he discovers or unveils. What a ‘learns’ is really what he ‘discovers’ by taking cover off his own soul, which is a mine of infinite knowledge.” (8.) From this understanding, what conclusion did he arrive at? We all know that Newton had discovered gravitation. Was it sitting anywhere in a corner waiting for him? It was in his own mind; time came and he found it out. All knowledge that the world has ever received comes from the mind; the infinite library of the universe is in your own mind. The external is simply the suggestion, the occasion, which sets you to study your own mind. The falling of an apple gave the suggestion to Newton and he studied his own mind. He rearranged all the previous links of thought, in his mind, and discovered a new link among them, which we call the law of gravitation.” (8.) This very observation of Vivekananda reflected the same idealist philosophy as pursued by Gandhi. As per such belief, human soul is a part of the divine soul, divine soul is the Supreme Being and the Supreme Being is the Supreme Brahman and abode of eternal knowledge. So the knowledge of the entire world is stored there from time immemorial. Hence, there is nothing to be called a new discovery. According to Vivekananda’s line of thinking, the theory of gravitation could have been discovered even ten thousand years ago. It could have been discovered by either Plato or Socrates. Likewise, Jesus Christ or Shankaracharya could have invented theory of relativity. Only what was needed was a kind of act like the fall of an apple from the tree which struck Newton. Would modern scientific historic outlook endorse such an explanation? Since not take any interest in them — each and every one of them I count guilty of betraying the country.” (8.) This is another Vivekananda, who loves the poor masses, who is humanitarian. Tears well up in him for the starving masses, for the exploited. On their behalf he is urging upon humanity’s conscience, he is crying shame upon the owners of riches, the so called educated men and women. Even, he says: “Millions of the distressed masses of this land are asking bread, just bread, in a voice clamped with hunger. Bread is what they are asking from us, and we are doling out chips of stone. Holding out the virtues of religion to souls who are starving angst of hunger, or explaining to them the high points of philosophy is to abuse them with humiliation.” (8.) But you would be surprised at another saying by Vivekananda and wonder if both are utterances of the same person. In a speech delivered at Lahore in 1897, he said: “Whether you know it or not, through all hands you work, through all feet you move, you are the king enjoying the palace, you are the beggar leading that miserable existence in the street; you are in the ignorant as well as the learned, you are the man who is weak and you are in the strong; know this and be sympathetic. That is why, we must not hurt others. That is why, I do not even care whether I have to starve, because there will be millions of mouths eating at the same time, and they are all mine, therefore I should not care what becomes of me and mine, for the whole universe is mine, I am enjoying all the bliss at the same time; and who can kill me, or the universe? Here is morality. Here, in Advaita alone, is morality.

It means that the person who is begging for a morsel is also occupying the throne. One who is uneducated is at the same time educated. Where were such thoughts coming from? Such thoughts were stemming from the belief that only truth in the world was the Brahman (Supreme Being). And this Brahman is residing in each of us. As a humanitarian, one personality of Vivekananda was standing by the wail and woe of the hungry, upholding their demands, deprecating the elites and the affluent while the other personality of Vivekananda was consoling the suffering. It means that mind is governed by a super-natural power. Mind is controlled by Super-mind. Soul is part of the Supreme Almighty. What is mind? How do ideas and thoughts arise in mind? Such questions prevailed for quite a long period. In ancient time, the materialists could only say that mind and life were created through combination of earthly particles. But they could not elaborate any more as it was impossible to do so at that point of time. During the days of industrial revolution, the bourgeois humanists and scientists argued that the human body is a machine, so is brain and mind. Yet, the most question remained unresolved. Confusion prevailed all around. Idealist Hegel viewed matter as the

Contd. on page 6
There is a super-natural power, super-

matter thought and those are eternal.
The truth they have understood through
cult is divine command. So
their gospels are also eternal and
 applicable in all ages.

But what is the objective

reality? Copernicus, Galileo, Bruno
had to face outrageous assault of the
Churchdom and fight religious
thoughts to propel growth and
development of modern science. Rise
of bourgeois democracy in the
Western world was based on
disapproval of spiritual thoughts and
religious flats. There is no
denying the fact that solution of any
of the modern day problems in
either the economic-political-social
spheres or any other walk of life can
be found in any of the holy
scriptures, be it the Gita or the Bible
or the Koran. Because, the religious
leaders of the past had no occasion
to witness the present era and its
problems. And they were not even
understand how ideas develop,
thoughts arise or mind is
constituted. It is not that they were
inferior in genius. Rather, in the
then context, they were amazingly
talented. But they could not get the
opportunity of being acquainted with
the developments of modern science.
But, right from Marx to
Comrade Shiba das Ghosh, all
Marxist thinkers had that
opportunity. At the same time,
deeply
for being familiar with
latest discoveries of science, a
group of thinkers notwithstanding
their exceptionally talented
could not accept science as means to
know the truth. So, they were
stripped by spiritual-idealist outlook and
hence failed to reflect the truth. These
spiritual thinkers had assumed that
socialism was unchangeable and
gulf between the rich and the poor
or the divide between the oppressor
and the oppressed would remain
forever. These are all eternal. So,
the desired emancipation of
the oppressed people cannot come by
following the spiritual line. On the
contrary, spiritualism poses stiffer
of hurdles before the struggle for
emancipation. It is for this precise
reason that Comrade Shiba das Ghosh
in his quest for truth did not
embrace spiritualism.

As you have already seen,
materialization of the humanist
aspiration of a person like Vivekananda
could not take place because
his spiritual thoughts, his
idealistic outlook became the
stumbling blocks. Gandhi in the
last phase of his life had at least
repented on one question. He did
not want partition of the country.
When Nehru and Sardar Patel came
to him with the proposal for
partition of the country, he could not
agree to that. He wrote: “My
struggle has failed. Hindus and
Muslims are engaged in fratricidal
bloodbath. No one understood me.
Only one person could, but he too is
not near. He is Subhas.” “Today, I
am alone. Even Sardar Ballavbhai
and Jawaharlal also.
my analysis of the situation is
incorrect and acceptance of
partition of the country will bring
back peace. …They think that with age,
I have degenerated. …. I clearly see
that dark future awaits
independence earned at this cost. I
pray let not God keep me alive to
see this.”

But, why did the partition take
place? It was also an inevitability of
Gandhism. Gandhi and his
followers participated in the
freedom struggle with religious
books in hand. As a result, the
leadership of the freedom
movement in the many cases of the
hands of the upper caste Hindus.

Consequently, vast masses of
the people belonging to the Muslim
and lower caste Hindu communities
remained out of the mainstream of
the movement. Such would not have
been the case if secular humanist
leadership was at the helm. The
demand for partition of the country
as India and Pakistan arose based on
this religion-oriented nationalism.
As Gandhi had rejected science,
scientific outlook, what he did not
want had happened because his
pursuit of truth was based on
religion. That is why the question of
civilization outlook is so important.

Gandhi who sincerely longed for
materialization of the humanist
aspiration of a person like Rabindranath.
This shows how
much pain and agony he had for the
oppressed and exploitation. But,
immediately after that, he said:
“I had often thought about them,
but came to the conclusion
that there was no help for them.”

(bid) Why is there no help?
Because, according to him, “If there
were no one below, how could there
be anyone above, and it is necessary
to be there above. If there is nobody
at the top, it is impossible to see
anything beyond one’s immediate
ken; mere animal existence can
never be man’s destiny. His
civilization consists in going beyond
bare subsistence. The most
choleric fruit of civilization has
flourished on the field of leisure.”

So, in his opinion, a section of
the people must live at the bottom
pending which another section
cannot be at the top. Unless there
are some people who are so
privileged, how can the
"scientific-PAGE SIX SEPTEMBER 15, 2012 PROLETARIAN ERA
With wrong or false ideas we cannot forge ahead

Contd from page 5
dialectical expression of an absolute
idea and assumed that idea was the
‘original idea’ which had inherent
contradiction within itself and it was
this contradiction that led to
creation of the material world. It
means that the material world is an
image of the idea, that is, it is an
expression of an absolute idea. And
this material world, to put it simply,
would one day be merged into the
absolute idea. So, everything
occurring in nature and society is
pre-determined. Opposing Hegelian
theory, Marx based on science had
shown that “The ideal is nothing else
than this material world reflected by
the human mind and translated into
forms of thoughts.” His worthy
disciple Comrade Shibdas Ghosh
had provided a developed and
enriched understanding of this
concept based on the latest
discoveries of science. He said:
“Philosophical-political questions.
Contd on page 7
epistemology, art-literature and such other necessary social activities, he thought. Rabindranath too believed that this gap between the upper and lower layers of society is eternal and necessary for civilization. He also went on saying: “I used to think that the utmost should be done to make life comfortable and secure of those who are compelled to labour at the bottom of society neither merely through circumstances (meaning not just for pecuniary condition), but by reason of their body and mind. So you can thus see that according to him, the very nature of body and mind of a particular section of the people is such that they are suitable as well as bound to perform inferior jobs. In other words, their physical and mental structures are so developed as to be only ‘fit’ for jobs considered to be low-grade. Hence, even to Rabindranath, rich-poor divide or worker-owner relationship and division between mental and physical labour had appeared to be eternal. This happened because his outlook was clouded with idealist thoughts and hence he failed to realize the specific reason behind class division in society. Now you can well understand how imperative it is to have a scientific outlook.

In another place, Rabindranath observed, “The attachment to one’s property is not a subject of argument: it is human nature. We want to express ourselves: this is a mode of self-expression….But for an ordinary mortal, personal property is the language of his individuality: he is struck dumb, as it were, if he loses it…private property will remain but the excessive individualism of its engendered is incommensurable. What overflows these limits must be for the common good….In short, for oneself there must be something of one’s own: everything else should be for others. A true solution is possible only by recognizing both self and non-self. When one of them is forgotten there is conflict with the law of human nature.”

It means that a person should retain legitimate something for his own consumption and give the remainder to others. This is humanist outlook, outlook of Feuerbach. “Rational restriction for ourselves and love and love for others”—were the words of Feuerbach. His exhortation was that there ought to be reasonable self-restriction in acquiring property and in case of self-consumption while the balance should be given to others out of love and affection. According to Feuerbach, love between ‘I and thou’ is eternal. It suits all periods, all ages of history. The man he conceived was an abstract man who did not belong to any class, to any period of society. It follows from this understanding that the relationship between capitalists and workers is also a relationship of love. So, whatever workers get from the capitalists is the expression of love. This is a concept of a supra-class abstract man. This humanism is deemed to be eternal. Same was the outlook of Gandhi and Rabindranath. As per this outlook, individual ownership of property and the urge of an individual for acquiring property have been taken as legitimate and logical. This approach, therefore, to Marx, brought a new methodology of analysis, a new methodological approach in searching out the truth. Marx showed that there is difference among the thoughts of different individuals because the thoughts of an individual, of a genius even, is in reality nothing but individual thinking. Hence, there could be different realizations of truth and falsity among different individuals. So, there have been differences on this score in different ages. For that reason, the methodological approach to examining a particular concrete event or phenomenon to unravel the truth must be such as to be acceptable to all and which reflects the truth. Next question is how do we know what is truth? Modern science has shown that such is possible only through the processes of scientific experimentation and verification. There cannot be two different understandings about composition of water or air, about the cause of tide and ebb, thyroid or tuberculosis, about the proton, about the configuration of an atom or electron or the nature of light. There can be only one understanding about each of these aspects if the same is based on experimentally verified scientific truth. As a philosopher, it was Marx who first said that experimentally verified truth of science is the only truth. Everything has to be judged on the basis of experiments, history and experience, not on any other criterion such as morality, reason or idea. After establishment of capitalism and considerable progress of modern science, Marxism evolved based on science at a particular juncture of history to meet the social necessity of accomplishing anti-capitalist revolution and finding out truth correctly. Marxism, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught, holds that on the question of knowing the truth, the favour of powerful is dependable than the power of an individual. So, it is only rational to depend upon science rather than on the belief or self-realization of an individual. At a particular age, there was emergence of religion for the well-being of humanity. Later, nationalist thoughts and bourgeois humanism appeared in society to free people from the tightening noose of monarchy and feudalism. And now has emerged Marxism based on science to take civilization forward by bringing about anti-capitalist revolution.

**Marxism is a science**

The different branches of science, through their methods of experimentation and verification followed by logical objective and scientific analyses of the facts gathered thereby, reveal the particular objective laws of particular domains of the material world. Through the process of scientifically coordinating, verifying, integrating, generalizing these particular laws derived from the particular disciplines of science, Marxism or dialectical materialism has emerged as a generalized concept of law-governance of the material world and a comprehensive science. Marxism has been first to proclaim that the material world is subject to changes all the time and such changes are law-governed. Right from elementary particle like electron to macro-terrestrial bodies like the planets—everything is in motion and hence changing. Even this is static. There is a law-governance that stays out of motion. But this motion is law-governed. In accordance with that law, matter is undergoing change. In course of this change that has evolved life, living species, men and human society. This human society is also changing. Marxism showed that first there was primitive society. Then came the slave society followed by feudalism and then bourgeois democracy. All these forms of society appeared following a definite law of social development. And in accordance with the same law, socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat would replace decadent moribund bourgeois democracy. This is the inexorable law.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when capitalism had not entered the stage of monopoly and imperialism, when industrial crisis and market crisis had not appeared with so much intensity, massive retrenchment, recession and such other phenomena of crisis-ridden capitalism were not there, when the relation of love among workers remained certain manifestation of its systemic crisis was still in the growing phase and neither the bourgeoisie nor the bourgeois economists could dream of outbreak of any crisis on such a massive scale. Marx, the founder of the scientific philosophy of dialectical materialism said based on scientific analysis that this growth of capitalism would not be sustained. Capitalism would be mired in severe crisis. He showed that in capitalism, the capitalists invest capital for reaping profit. That is the law of capitalism. Motive of production in capitalism is to earn profit. The capitalist owner makes profit by depriving labour of their legitimate dues. Mathematically, Marx showed that capital consists of two parts, constant and variable. The plant and machinery, land and raw material form constant capital. Investment in constant capital comes back to the capitalist investor in either one shot or periodic installments. Constant capital does not yield surplus value. The other one is variable capital which he pays the worker as wage to buy the latter’s labour power. If the worker works for eight hours, then in four or five hours, he produces value worth the wage he is paid by the capitalist owner for buying his labour power. In other words, the owner recovers the price he is paying as wage in four or five hours of labour expended by the worker. But the worker does not get wage for the remaining four or five hours of his labour. This is what is known as surplus value. Thus, the capitalist makes profit by usurping this unpaid surplus labour. The capitalist owner accumulates wealth out of this profit generated by expropriating the surplus labour of the worker. Thus Marx unfolded the truth that the capitalist owner earns
Decadent capitalism is breeding crisis in every walk of life

Contd. from page 7

common people to borrow money and spend for housing or acquiring consumer durables now and pay back the loan with interest later. Because, if purchasing power is boosted a bit with borrowed money, that would somehow stimulate the market and trigger some activity at the production front. And if there is increase in the number of buyers, there will be marginal improvement in credit off-take from the banks by the capitalist investors. Thus demand-driven economy today is replaced by credit-driven economy. As against normal demand, there is artificial creation of demand through offer of credit. But when the debtors or loan-takers because of falling income are becoming defaulters, the banks are going bankrupt. The industries are also shutting down. In order to rescue the banks, the state is injecting fresh capital to their kitty from public exchequer. The capitalists are also complaining of incurring loss. So, the state is also giving them huge financial assistance in the name of ‘fiscal stimulus’, and resorting to waiver of their loans. Whose money is thus used by the state for salvaging the ‘insolvent’ banks or the capitalists? It is public money deposited with the government through taxation route. The government is supposed to use this fund for various public welfare measures like education, healthcare, irrigation, road construction and so forth. Now the same very fund is diverted to revive the banks and compensate the capitalists for their reported loss. Even the government is resorting to market borrowing to secure funds for saving the banks and the capitalists and the corporate sector. Because of this huge market borrowing and loans, countries like US, UK, France, Italy, Greece, Spain are now burdened with huge debt known as ‘sovereign debt’. Scenario in our country is no different. Budget deficit is increasing by leaps and bounds. India too is a heavily ‘indebted’ country. Both the central as well as the state governments are laden with enormous debts running into several hundred billions of rupees. As a result of this, there is savage economic onslaught on the people. To meet the yawning budget deficit, the government is increasing taxes, cutting public allocations towards public welfare activities like education, health-care, irrigation, transport etc. The value of rupee as currency is falling. Apart from this, the government is increasing taxes, cutting public allocations towards public welfare activities like education, health-care, irrigation, transport etc. The value of rupee as currency is falling. Apart from this, the government is increasing taxes, cutting public allocations towards public welfare activities like education, health-care, irrigation, transport etc. The value of rupee as currency is falling.
Honour is in taking active part in revolutionary struggle for social transformation

Contd. from page 8

privileged section is making fortune. Two third members of Indian parliament boasted to be the emblem of democracy are billionaires. They are enjoying the status of people’s representatives.

Politics of opportunism and capitulation

In capitalist India, even the sphere of politics is afflicted with crisis. Politics has turned into a roaring trade. Like business, aim of ministership is also to accumulate wealth. The power-seeking politicians can stoop to any level for ‘leftism’ does not last. So they are without power, their brand of bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie installs managers, so also they need political managers. There are some cracks in their relationship with Congress. The TMC would not have get back the ministerial posts. For how soon they could return to power, they need to befriend Congress. The BSP, DMK, AIADMK—all are sailing on the same boat. There is a politics of capitulation to the ruling capitalists. As the capitalists need business managers, industry managers, so also they need political managers. These parties act as the political managers of the ruling bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie installs them in power alternatively. Yesterday only, the CPI (M) leaders sat in a dharna (sit-in demonstration) at Rani Rashmoni road to make a show of movement. Ousted from power, they are indeed passing through bad days. The CPI (M) leaders and cadres are passing sleepless nights worrying when and how soon they could return to power, get back the ministerial posts. For that, they need to befriend Congress. So they have voted in favour of the Congress candidate in the last presidential election. In between, there were some cracks in their relationship with Congress. The leaders of West Bengal CPI (M) are accusing their central leadership for losing assembly elections. Their contention is that the central leaders maintained good relation with Congress, there would not have been such a poll debacle for them. To get back the lost power, it was necessary to support Pranab Mukherjee to presidential post. If there is rift between TMC and Congress, they would stand to gain. The sole objective is to ride to power. Without power, their brand of ‘leftism’ does not last. So they are ready to stoop to any low for regaining power. This is one kind of politics which is practised by the parties in the corridors of power to cheat people. They thrive and survive on hypocrisy, deception and debased culture. To them, vote is nothing but a means to grab power.

Higher revolutionary politics

As against this, there is revolutionary politics of the proletariat—politics which calls for noble feelings of heart—the politics illumined by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught that revolution is necessary to overthrow oppressive corrupt capitalism. While revolution are not same. Vote can change the government, but not the capitalist rule or capitalist state. For that is needed armed revolution. To accomplish that objective is this revolutionary party of ours. Apart from economic-political crisis, capitalism has bred another deadly crisis hitherto unprecedented in history. That is the crisis of culture, of human essence. Capitalism is excommunicating the country from its glorious past. This soil once produced luminaries like Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Kazi Nazrul, Premchand, Subramaniam Bharati, Jyotirao Phule, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Netaji Subhash, Bhagat Singh, Kazi Nazrul, Chandrasekhar Azad, Surya Sen and Pratilata. But they are going to the oblivion. With great pain, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had observed that the youth today is de-linked from this glorious past. As a result of that, there is virtually no culture today. Capitalism is snatching the country from its glorious past.

CPI did not grow as correct revolutionary party

When Independence Day was being celebrated on 15th of August, 1947 with pomp and grandeur, he spent sleepless night. He could realize that the fruits of such a glorious freedom movement, great sacrifices of countless of martyrs, so much of bloodshed had been usurped by the national bourgeoisie like the Tatas and Birlas. Foreign imperialist rule was being replaced by the rule of domestic capitalists through compromise. So, he gave go a call to anti-capitalist socialist revolution in 1948 and founded SUCI (C) to lead that revolution.

You should also know that Lenin had said that, “We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the corner-stone of the science which socialists must further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an independent elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian socialists, for this theory provides a general guiding principle which, in particular, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia.” In other words, he emphasized that Marxism is no static a theory. It has to be to be developed in keeping with the changing life and must be concretized in a concrete situation of Russia. Following the teachings of Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also concretized Marxism on Indian soil and contemporary condition. In the new situation and in the process elaborated it further, enriched it and developed it. He has provided us with developed understanding of Marxism-Leninism in the realm of philosophy, politics, epistemology, art-literature, ethics-morality, love and affection, conjugal life everything. He has left guideline for our development as true revolutionaries. Here is where our difference with the CPI (M) or undivided CPI. While being in the vortex of freedom movement, he could realize that despite bearing the name ‘communist’, CPI did not grow as a true communist party following correct Marxist process and methodology. So, it could not give birth to correct revolutionary leadership. Despite being honest and dedicated, the leaders and workers of undivided CPI could not develop themselves as Marxists. They viewed Marxism only as a political ideology, not as a ‘philosophy of life’ covering all aspects. All their theoretical formulations and decisions were anti-Marxist. That is why, the leadership of the freedom movement was usurped by the national bourgeoisie. Today, CPI (M) is so much hated by the people. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh could well understand that CPI (M) would be degenerated to this level. So, he developed, reared and steered SUCI (C) as a genuine revolutionary party. Based on his teachings, our Party is trying to build up correct revolutionary movement. With that objective, we fight for achieving the just demands of the various sections of the oppressed people by organizing class struggles and democratic movements. Though one of the aims of these struggles and movements is to realize the demands, the other important object is to rouse the people based on revolutionary ideology, make them politically conscious and morally bolstered, involve them in class struggles, form people’s struggle committees and volunteer corps.

Clarion call of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

It is resonating interminably today. Yet, you all are listening so patiently

Contd on page 10
Comrade Provash Ghosh’s Speech

Contd. from page 9

and attentively. I find the sky overcast. So, I would not prolong my speech. I would end by reminding you of one of the exhortations of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. In 1974, just two years before his death, he gave this clarion call: “...you will have to travel many a step, arduous and tortuous — painful but happier. I say this is the happier and honourable way. Yes, in this way of fighting things, it may be painful — sometimes even tortuous, but no doubt it is the honourable way to lead a life. Here in this struggle you may die, but you will die with honour, raising your head high. You shall not die with humiliation just as cats and dogs die, rotting in the street. Remember, we are all mortal beings. So, if to die, don’t die begging, don’t die humiliating yourself. When to die, die with honour, and you have got only one surest way to live and die with honour, that is by taking active part in the revolutionary struggle of the masses to bring about a revolutionary transformation of the society, and for that purpose you will have to organize yourselves in thousands, and close up your ranks. Comrades, engage yourselves and take active part in all the just struggles of the masses, individually and collectively, and all the while keep up your political initiative at the fore. Your slogan should be — go to the masses, organize them, help them in creating political power so that people, those toiling masses, can take up arms and bring about a fundamental change of our society by overthrowing the bourgeoisie from power, replacing capitalism and establishing socialism.”

If we all can respond to this call of his with due solemnity and develop ourselves as revolutionary fighters, then only observance of this Memorial Day would be purposive and efficacious. With this appeal, I conclude today.

Source of Quotations:
1. From a speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in Bengali in 1967 (Free translation)
2. “Why SUCI is the Only Genuine Communist Party in India” — Shibdas Ghosh Selected Works Vol. II
4. Advaita Vedanta, the Scientific Religion: Swami Vivekananda, Adwaita Ashrama
5. Karl Marx — Introduction to “A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right”
6. Socialism of My Conception by M K Gandhi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai
7. My religion, MK Gandhi Mahajiban Publishing House, Gujrat
8. Education, Swami Vivekananda, Ramkrishna Math, Madras
9. Selected Works Swami Vivekananda
10. Collected Works of Gandhi, Volume VI
11. Letters from Russia — Rabindranath Tagore

SUCI(Communist) strongly opposes FDI entry in retail trade and disinvestment of PSUs in the interest of domestic and foreign monopolists

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) has issued the following statement on 14th September, 2012:

The decision of the Govt. of India to open the retail trade sector for domestic and foreign monopoly capital and disinvestment of PSUs is totally against the interest of the people of the country. In fact, the domestic monopolists in order to come out of the severe market crises through more exploitation has been colluding with foreign imperialist capitalism. By the current policy decision, Govt. of India has now opened the public sector industries like NALCO, HINDALCO and others for the loot by the domestic monopolists, and on the other hand, has opened the retail trade sector for the imperialist capital by dint of which the agricultural sector is now opened for their unhindered plunder. This will throw away nearly 7 crore of retail traders and crores of poor peasants to streets for begging to survive.

We strongly oppose this pro-monopolist, both domestic and foreign, decision, demand its withdrawal and call upon people to come forward in movement.