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LONG LIVE COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH THOUGHT



5 August, 1923 - 5 August, 1976

imbibing the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we, in order to hasten the process of the struggle for elevating our standard as revolutionary workers and in keeping with the objective of the ensuing Party Congress, are providing a compilation of few selected excerpts from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's works on party, organization as well as character, code and style of functioning of revolutionary leaders and cadres. We are sure that this compilation will add new impetus to the countrywide initiative of the party leaders and cadres in connection with the preparation of the Party Congress of SUCI and also provide a beacon to the toiling millions seeking emancipation from gruelling capitalist exploitation.—Ed. Board. P. Era]

[The Second Party Congress of our party, SUCI, is going to be held from 11 to 17 November next with the objective of Revitalization and Consolidation of the party, its organizations as well as its leaders and cadres—the clarion call for which was given by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved leader and present General Secretary of the party, based on the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary of the SUCI and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era. In course of his historic life struggle for building SUCI as the genuine Communist Party and concretizing Marxism-Leninism on the soil, Comrade Ghosh elaborated, developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism and brought its understanding to a new height. There was not a single issue or problem related to the struggle for emancipation of the proletariat in the national and international sphere, no branch of epistemology, which was not illumined by his profound wisdom. Since the cause of Indian revolution is interwoven with

invincible and reaches its logical culmination — even if it is insignificant at the outset but gaining in strength it becomes victorious at the end — only when it is based on the correct ideal, correct politics and when it is tuned to a definite and a very high ethical-cultural standard. (SW, Vol. 3, p.418-20)

Yardstick for judging a revolutionary party

What should be our approach to this most complicated question and what should be the yardstick of judging whether a party is a genuine communist party or not? Should we be carried away by the fiery speeches and 'revolutionary' vocabulary of these parties? In that case, there could be no way to ascertain which party is the genuine working class party because none of us lags behind others in the matter of revolutionary rhetoric! Lenin has taught us that there can be no revolution without a revolutionary theory and so without a revolutionary theory there cannot be any revolutionary party. But by revolutionary

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Objective condition for revolution is ripe

...grasp the basic point — Indian revolution is on the threshold of emergence, and nothing of worth remains of this society —...No longer can the ruling class give it any lease of life with any palliatives whatsoever. The Indian society is in the throes of birth. Only, it suffers from want of people's organized conscious political movement, from want of a genuine revolutionary party with that minimum of necessary strength with which this ferment for revolution in the people, this situation ripe for revolution can be led into an organized protracted powerful war for revolution. In entirety the objective condition for revolution is ripe, with all its ingredients and ammunition. The people yearn for a change. The ruling class has nothing else to bank on, except the military muscle of this old order. They count also on people's ignorance and political confusion, but that is not of any major importance. The reality puts so much pressure on the people that no

confusing logic and delusions of religion can hold them back. Once the tide of revolution breaks out, no argument will succeed to prevent the onrush of the masses.even a strong countercurrent may be whipped up to temporarily forestall mankind's onward march, but it is never possible that a demoniacal power would destroy humanity. If it could, human society would not have survived at all. On this realization stands the ethics of revolution, its indomitable spirit, its determination. (Selected Works, Vol. 3, p. 404-6)

Need to mature subjective condition of revolution

I say that struggles will again appear, today or tomorrow. But if politics is wrong, if ideology is wrong, if in struggles ethics, morality are absent, people will fight, people will burst out in anger but movement will not proceed very far. A movement becomes decisive, it becomes

**2nd
PARTY
CONGRESS**
11 - 17 NOVEMBER, 2009 NEW DELHI
SUCI
Delegate Session :
11 - 15 November, SHAH AUDITORIUM
Open Session :
17 November, RAMLILA MAIDAN

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theory Lenin did not mean just the political programme and policies of a party, he actually meant a complete epistemological category developed by the central leadership of the party by dialectically coordinating the understanding and experiences of different branches of knowledge including science and covering all aspects of life.

So, to judge a party we will have to, first of all, analyze and examine its political theory. ...whether the political theory of the party ...is truly revolutionary or not. ...whether its political theory correctly reflects that objective process of revolution and its complexities which exist in the particular society. Secondly, whether that party has any independent analysis and stand of its own about the international situation, and if it has got any, whether the same is in conformity with Marxism. Thirdly ...which class methodological approach guides this party in analyzing any event, any phenomenon and also in formulating its strategy and tactical plan and programme and its method of conducting struggles. Lastly ...which class culture and what ethical standard the leaders and rank and file members of the party reflect in their life, day-to-day conduct, habits and practices in all spheres of their activities. (SW, Vol. 2, p197-98)

We are to critically examine by what process and through what sort of struggle the party has come into being and what its concept of leadership is. Is it the same formal democratic concept as of a bourgeois or petty bourgeois party? Or is it the concept of collective leadership that develops through democratic centralism which is a fusion of proletarian democracy and centralism? ...In ...a bourgeois democratic form, the individual is the focal point, and naturally... it is the individual leadership that is bound to operate centring round one or more individuals. ...as individual leadership is established in the name of democracy in bourgeois democracy, its character is nothing but formal. But as the object of socialist revolution is to establish social ownership and as it is a revolution to establish collective control over the means of production under the leadership of

the proletariat, the concept of leadership in proletarian democracy is bound to be collective. (SW, Vol. 2, p199-200)

What does this collective leadership actually mean? ...collective leadership is the concrete and personified form of expression in an individual of the collective knowledge of all the members of the party derived through conflict and interaction of ideas and experiences not only on political and economic questions but on questions covering all aspects of life. ...the collective knowledge and experiences of the party which develop and continually grow through the struggles of its leaders, members, supporters, the class and the masses take concrete and personified expressions in all the individuals involved in these struggles. ...The individual in whom personification of this collective knowledge and experience takes the best form of expression emerges as the concrete form of expression of the collective leadership. The emergence of Lenin's leadership in the Russian Bolshevik Party or that of Mao Zedong in the Communist Party of China is nothing but the emergence of the collective leadership in its concrete form in those parties. The struggle to develop collective leadership is the principal struggle for a working class party in order to develop its internal party structure on the foundation of democratic centralism (SW, Vol. 2, p 200-203)

Hence, in order to assess whether a party is being guided by the concept of collective leadership, it would first have to be seen if, in order to build up and develop the collective leadership on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking — not on political and economic aspects alone but covering all aspects of life — has grown in the party or, in other words, whether ideological centralism has been achieved and whether the struggle for attaining uniformity in approach and singleness of purpose is being conducted consciously and correctly... whether the leaders of the party, in the name of ensuring discipline and oneness in approach, are actually cultivating a sense of blind allegiance and party

fanaticism similar to religious fanaticism among its members and supporters, or, far from encouraging practices like irrational conduct and fanaticism and various other bourgeois vices of blindness, obstinacy, indiscipline, egocentricism and falsehood among the workers and supporters, the leaders are actually conducting a principled and determined struggle against all these and are continuously endeavouring to instil in them a rational approach and philosophical tolerance. (SW, Vol. 2, p 206)

Grasp of Revolution

...loyalty to revolution means unquestioning loyalty to the class. Now what is the correct expression of the concept of loyalty to class about which we are talking? The concrete expression of loyalty to the class is complete and total loyalty to the class party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat. So, unflinching loyalty to and unbound love for the class and the class party is the correct expression of class consciousness and class realization. (SW, Vol. 3, p 111)

Study Marxism thoroughly and deeply, grasp it. Try to get to know its ethics, values, philosophy... If you do not understand Marxism in this way, it will appear as if people are attracted towards this ideology only because they are suffering from the pangs of hunger, poverty or misery. One has become a Marxist simply because one is haunted by hunger — the issue is not like that. In every country it is boundless love and compassion for humanity that have impelled great men and thinkers of this era to embrace Marxism. Many of them even hailed from the exploiting class, from Kulaks, from rich families. So did Mao Zedong, Engels and many others — none of them experienced any want. They became Marxists precisely for the ethics, ideology and values of Marxism, because they could not find anything in the world that was even greater, nobler, loftier. The appeal of Marxism is not such that a man feels attracted to it just because he is starving. (Free translation of the Bengali booklet '*On Preserving Unity in and Establishing Revolutionary Leadership on Workers' Movement*'- p 78-79)

Favourable situation for revolutionary party to grow

If we correctly understand the political significance of, or are not confused by the difficulties caused by the attacking attitude or the tendency of the opposing forces to corner us, we have no reason to think that it is very bad time for us. On one side there are big hurdles, many difficulties, but on the other side the prestige of the party, the interest about the party's political assessments, that is the interest about the party has grown in the people's mind, and there exists the possibility of the party's expansion; if we correctly understand these we would realize that it is an excellent time in history for the party's development. In other words, if we make good use of the present circumstances, compared to all the past time, this time is very good for us. Good does not mean that there is less opposition. Good time means that it is an excellent time to grow, if the party workers can show the strength, the working ability, the political consciousness and the maturity to politically combat in all spheres the opposition, to properly develop the party bodies and the committees of mass organizations. Because the public want to hear us; they harbour a soft feeling for us. And not only among the public but, in spite of all the oppositions, even among the rank and file of different parties the influence of SUCI's analysis is being noticed. We can see this from many symptoms. (Free translation of the Bengali booklet '*On the Style of Work of Revolutionary Workers*', p 1)

Need for improving style of functioning of revolutionary party

Hence, at such juncture it is necessary to further close up the rank and file of our party. The individual initiative of every party worker, his political consciousness, his ability to carry out political activities, his style of overall collective functioning, his work style — all these have to be further improved to meet the need of the hour. This is our principal task. I would like to talk about what needs to be done at all levels keeping in view that the speed of work should be stepped up. Each party worker should try to enhance his political

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initiative, raise the level of his political consciousness, so that his individual political and organizational initiative in the spheres of political movements of daily life and of discharging his various responsibilities is further enhanced. What it means is not taking down instructions from the leaders at every moment, being briefed by them and then acting according to it. It means equally to act using your intelligence when instructions come, and to act according to your own contemplation when there are no instructions. When questions are raised, you should be able to provide the answers yourself, you do not have to rush to the leaders. You may commit some mistakes, but you would yourself learn from them, or others would point them out. When a party worker faces questions if instead of grudging himself he has to rush to the leaders to know how to answer them, if he feels perplexed whenever counter-questions came, then that indicates want of consciousness, it indicates that we have not trained the party workers in the proper way. The second point is that the method of working collectively that exists in our party, this style of collective functioning has to be further improved so that the individual initiative of each gets augmented. ...Compared to what is needed, we are lagging much behind, as I see it. We are still a small force in the context of a big country like India. Under the given circumstances, a historical responsibility has devolved on us, whether we want it or not. One course would be to shirk this responsibility, and thereby go down in history as cowards; the other course open to us would be to manly, and as a revolutionary, accept as a challenge the responsibility that is developed in us. But it is not enough to just resolve to act; to act would mean to release a torrent of effort, initiative and preparation. Each person has to put these questions to himself, "Am I developing myself as being properly politically equipped? On each issue can I place my own analysis, in whatever way that may be, but without consulting anybody? In any meeting of the party body can I place my own suggestion? Can I place my analysis? Can I speak up not just for speaking, but

to help the work, to improve the work? Or do I come to the leaders just to listen, to ask them, 'tell me what I should do?'" Each party worker should ask himself such questions and struggle to prepare himself accordingly.

And what is the method is to constantly and on all issues engage yourself in political discussions, to acquire the ability to link a discussion on any stray topic with the main political questions. For example, a discussion may start on a trivial topic, or on literature or comedy, or a question of aesthetic taste, or on cinemas or through jokes and banter. We should have the aptness to enter into such exchanges, and link my discussion with the main political issue and make it purposive, not bluntly and mechanically, but in a living way. What is this main party thought? It is to create an anti-capitalist revolutionary frame of mind among the people; to create among the general public a hatred against capitalism and all things related to capitalism, on the basis of correct appraisal, not just a blind hatred, because blind hatred does not last long. We have to create a feeling of hatred against what has become exhausted today or has become harmful, so that when any interest or attraction for them arises in a hidden manner or openly, clothed in whatever logic, we may demolish them, defeat them, through the sharp weapon of reasoning — this is how we have to prepare ourselves. (Free translation of the Bengali booklet 'On the Style of Work of Revolutionary Workers', p7- 9)

Essence of collective functioning

The concept of the collective did not arise to mean that no one has to discharge individual responsibility. Individual initiative and individual responsibility taken up and coordinated through a particular method give rise to the collective. This collective is far greater than just the sum total of the individual initiatives and discharge of responsibilities — something advanced which in turn will further guide everyone and help him acquire more and more proficiency in individual work. This is what is called collective. So, you see, collective minus individual initiative of each and every comrade is an empty word and only an excuse for

one's own inaction, or failure in fulfilling responsibilities. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 138-39)

...everyone has to conduct the struggle being part and parcel of the collective. Routine work, which is an indispensable part of revolutionary struggle, teaches the cadres of revolution to have patience, to acquire the habit of working remaining within the collective. It helps them to fight out the individualistic traits, the ego, which constantly tend to deceive them, to lead them astray. Rational judgement in each of us directs us to one course, but our individualistic trend tends to obstruct that course and misdirect us. This is the contradiction which is going on within each of us. This struggle of the two opposing forces within each of us is also a reflection of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the present society. In this situation one has to either convince the collective to accept one's point of view, or happily abide by the collective decision even if it goes against one's own view. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 183)

On attaining communist character

As Marxists, as dialectical materialists, we are aware that we do not become what we wish to be or what we ought to be simply because we wish or think so. It can never be like that. Whether really we will become so depends entirely on one thing — whether we are truly following in actual life the scientific method, that is, the only course which can enable us to become what we wish to become under given conditions. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 108-09)

One important trait among others, or an acid test, of a high communist character is that whenever he takes up any work, he does it with such devotion, meticulousness and flawlessness that we hardly find any parallel. This applies to all types of work, big or small. He performs each and every work with utmost care, concentration and perfection. Even in doing small things like sweeping a room clean, he does it with a creative mind. Because, to a revolutionary no work is mere trifle. So I say, do not carry out any work

in a casual or non-serious manner. Because, if you do not do every work with all seriousness, thinking it to be unimportant, then not only will the work be spoilt, but the process of developing integration in your method of thinking would be impeded. A casual attitude is detrimental to development of integrity of character. So when you take up any task, small or big, apply your whole mind to it and try to do it with perfection. (SW, Vol. 3, p 165)

...comrades...are to conduct two types of struggles. One is the political struggle outside; the other is the struggle within. This inner-party struggle must be properly integrated with the struggle of the working class outside. The day-to-day political battle of the party should be conducted in tune, in conformity with the struggle to build up the party as 'one man'. So whoever asks a question, and whenever, the same has two aspects. One is the political or theoretical aspect and the other is the aspect of conduct of the person who raises the question. None of these two should be taken lightly. (SW, Vol. 3, p.135-36)

I ask you to take it into heart that whatever your personal difficulties, sorrows, and pains, whether the situation favours you or is against you in the extreme, in spite of all adversities and mental turmoil — mind you these are all common in people — you must not flinch from this fundamental teaching of the party under any circumstances. It is no doubt true, if you cannot adequately fight against these, temporarily you may be in difficulty and for that your work may slow down somewhat. So, you should fight against these to prevent even that much. But if you are revolutionaries worth the name, you cannot put forward excuses for why you cannot do your work or why you cannot take the responsibility and carry out your assignment, even offering a 'materialistic' explanation for why you cannot do it at all. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 401-02)

The unceasing class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the present society is constantly influencing our realm of thought, ethics and culture. This

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class struggle is not confined to the economic sphere or the arena of movement of the workers against the owners only. It is equally present in the spiritual world or mental domain. Whether you like it or not, it is firmly entrenched in your mind. One aspect of it is of the owners, the capitalists. The other aspect relates to the workers. Consequently sometimes it makes you tilt towards the capitalists, and at some other time it draws you in favour of the workers. This is the objective existence of class struggle in our society. The prevailing thoughts and concepts of the bourgeois society do impact your mind in the natural course. No leader or cadre can keep himself altogether out of bounds of this social environment. And because that is not possible a leader, no matter how high a stature he may enjoy, must remain ever conscious and introspect whether the thoughts, ideas and attitudes that take shape in his mind at every moment, his behaviour and style of functioning are compatible or not with the revolutionary objective and aspiration of the people.

In spite of all such precautions, non-revolutionary bourgeois thoughts and ideas might sneak into your mind, ... The moot point is whether you can detect that in time and whether you are able to rectify it accordingly. This is the real issue. If you can yourself detect infiltration of non-revolutionary thoughts in you that becomes the biggest guarantee. On detection, you might cry shame on yourself and adopt necessary remedial steps. As because, to a revolutionary fear of outward public shame does not appear that important. What is important is whether he himself feels shame from within. To a revolutionary, this ought to be the real and prime lesson. If it so happens that when others puff him up, he feels great, but if others cast aspersions, he is stricken with shame — then of course a revolutionary cannot make a single stride. Because in a hostile environment, common men, being misled by others, may indulge in vicious slander against a revolutionary. Does this undermine a revolutionary? People may even shoot him, beat him to death on the street. The same people for whom

he is steeled in resolve to give up everything may kill him. Does this in any way humiliate or dishonour a revolutionary? No. A revolutionary is not disgraced if the police drag him to the police station and beat him up in the lock-up. Again he is not honoured either if the police address him "Sir". Those revolutionaries, who consider these as determinants of honour and disgrace, are wrong. Perhaps they are not aware that in it are hidden bourgeois individualism and ego of bourgeois society which in different forms are out to lead us astray. We did not aspire to become professor, engineer nor had we been after money and fame — we longed to become revolutionaries. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that we wanted to become revolutionaries, we feel a tinge of pride at being addressed as "Sir" and lose face if beaten in the lock-up. This is no revolutionary concept of honour and dishonour at all. To a revolutionary, sense of honour and dishonour by its very nature lies within himself, otherwise if people prop him up, he will go up and if the props are removed, he will come crashing down and break his limbs.

No revolutionary can afford to harbour such an attitude. Our workers must have this realization instilled in them. If this is done, they will be inspired to build up unity amidst adversity and hostile surroundings. (Free translation of the Bengali booklet '*On Preserving Unity in and Establishing Revolutionary Leadership on Workers' Movement*', p 70-71)

Nobility of revolutionary life

...politics calls for noble feelings of heart. Nobler still is the feeling that spurs on to revolutionary politics. Tender as it is in one way, inherent in it are stern reality, strict discipline, and steadfast sense of duty. Our work cannot suffer because of our grief. Outwardly, the conduct of this politics appears so heartless. But it is here, in what appears so heartless, that the significance of true realization of grief lies. That is why, big revolutionaries, even in the midst of most profound grief, unwaveringly pursue their revolutionary work (voice again chokes with tears, and he continues in a tearful tone). Work they must.

In no event can they allow themselves to muddle up the work. Else, it was not for them to tread this path. They had better lead lives of common men. So I said, revolutionary politics comes from nobler feelings. Whereas, its style of functioning appears so pitiless. Outwardly, it looks as though it is devoid of compassion and tenderness, it is much like a machine. But in reality, it is truly not so. In this commitment to duty is revealed the true nature of the tender heart of the revolutionary. The pain and sorrow of the entire society together with the revolutionary transformation they underwent in the realm of values made such a penetrating impact on the revolutionaries that they have become steeled in their resolve to make revolution a concrete reality. That is why; the revolutionaries never neglect their duty. Even death of the most beloved, a profound loss, or an event leading to deep emotional upsurge cannot make them oblivious of their duty. (SW, Vol. 3, p.373-4)

New standard of communist character

...the ideal of surrendering the individual's interest to social interest, adjustment of individual necessities with those of the society is nothing different from the ideals of bourgeois humanist values. Up till now, the highest standard of communist moral values was considered to have been reflected in this, and only they were considered to be the real communists who were able to surrender unconditionally and happily the individual interest to social interest, place the cause of revolution and party above all and subordinate individual interest to the cause of revolution and party. ...this has been regarded as the highest communist standard. But this cannot be considered as the adequate standard for the leading communists in the context of newer complexities of present-day life. Because, it is found that living under the exploitative capitalist system, the concept of freedom and individualism is being reduced to individual privileges on a wide scale and the individual's indifferent attitude to social problems is on the increase daily. After bourgeois sense of right of equality being really established and the individual freedom and individuality being

freed from the bourgeois and feudal repression in socialist society, an individual is enjoying more and more freedom and privileges. But even in a socialist society, as the state still exists as an instrument of coercion, man's struggle for emancipation has entered into a new historical phase. Consequently, unless a correct theoretical analysis and understanding confirmed by the law of historical development is provided as to what stands as the stumbling block in the way of man's emancipation today, even the communists who are enjoying more and more facilities and amenities in the socialist society, may reduce the sense of individual freedom and liberty to a privilege again. So, sufficient light must be thrown on the newer problems confronting man's struggle for emancipation in the socialist society. (SW, Vol. 1, p 241 -42)

...bypassing of this struggle for merger of the self with the party and the class gives birth to ego. ...If one falls victim to ego and ...if any power or position is given to him, he may use it in personal interest. From a sense of personal interest and individualistic notions he may gradually even cause distortion of the theory which may ultimately lead to reversal of the theory of the party itself. Even an outstanding pedant like Trotsky could not help being thrown into the dustbin of history. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 130)

On organization and style of functioning

Common constant association, common constant discussion, common constant activity — this should be our mode of life. (Free translation of the Bengali booklet '*On the Style of Work of Revolutionary Workers*', p. 14-16)

Question of leadership

What makes a man a leader? One who can rouse the masses, build up revolutionary organization among the people and, at the same time, maintain cohesion and the health of the party — only he can become a leader. Without all-round abilities one cannot become a leader.....In resolving the problems of organization the most important point is that one must be able to clearly understand another's point

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Is economic gloom ebbing?

Of late, a section of the bourgeois economists are claiming that the gloom which has engulfed capitalist economy world over is finally ebbing. They are particularly referring to certain developments in the US economy, the locomotive of global imperialist-capitalist economy in support of their claim. Also they are drawing comfort from the announcement of The Federal Reserve that the worst of the US recession is over.

The Claim

According to them, the US stock market has rallied 44 percent since March 2009 (i.e. average prices of shares listed on the stock exchange for trading) because of renewed optimism and improving earnings of big companies like Goldman Sachs and Apple. U.S. stock prices shoot up once it came to light that domestic retail shops selling low-priced goods have in August registered sales more than what they expected. The prices of bonds issued by US government are falling indicating thereby that people are interested in spending than saving. In June, seven of the 10 indicators in the Conference Board Leading Economic Index showed upward swing, including manufacturing hours worked and unemployment claims (i.e. claim for unemployment allowance). What they are trying to argue is that dwindling claim of unemployment allowances indicates a positive job market. So it proves that the disappointment of the capitalist investors over mounting rise in unemployment which is reflected in the increase in the number of claims submitted for jobless allowance, is receding. That is why, there is fresh inflow of funds in stock market. Some experts point to stabilization in the housing and job markets as signs the recession has ended. Other recent official figures showed that US consumer spending had risen in June for a second successive month, while worker productivity had increased at its fastest annual pace for nearly six years in the second quarter of 2009. The Leading Indicators Index, a report that looks at consumer goods orders, stock prices, building permits and seven other key economic data points, rose sharply in May 2009 for the second consecutive month. The US Department of Labour meanwhile said productivity, which measures the hourly output of a worker, increased much faster-than-expected in the second quarter and at a pace-6.6% (i.e. 6.6% jump in hourly output by worker) not seen since third quarter, 2003. For example, on July 31 US

government announced that the economy had declined by "only" one percent in the second quarter, compared to 6.4 percent in the first quarter of 2009. On Aug. 6, a week later, it announced that "only" 2, 47,000 workers lost their jobs in July 2009 and that unemployment declined—from 9.5 percent to 9.4 percent. President Obama has announced two stimulus packages viz. the \$787bn economic stimulus package, which was signed into law in February last and the October's \$700bn Troubled Assets Relief Program for the banking sector. In March, the Federal Reserve also announced a \$1.2 trillion programme of buying government debt to boost lending and promote economic recovery - a policy known as quantitative easing. White House assumes the stimulus will preserve or create 1.5 million jobs by the fourth quarter of 2009 and another 3.5 million by the fourth quarter of next year. The nation's biggest banks also say they expect GDP which was tracking -0.1% for the second quarter would grow in the third quarter. Perhaps with unemployment mounting and job loss not abating, bourgeois commentators are grabbing hold of anything they think might be the early sputtering of the capitalist economic engine coming back to life.

The Reality

But is this an irrational exuberance? Even a section of experts and analysts belonging to the bourgeois school within US believe so. They continue to see weeds - not green shoots. They wonder if jump in stocks also poses another chicken-versus-egg question. They have been asking whether the market is rallying because people think the recession is over or do people think the recession is over because the stock market is rallying. This exactly is what one should try to understand. When the big corporates and monopolists do not find avenue for investment in productive industries because of continuous shrinkage of market due to incessant plummeting

of the purchasing power of the people inevitable in capitalist economy, they increasingly deploy funds in capital market speculation and thereby jack up stock market indices. So rise in the stock market indices is no sign of any economic recovery as is sought to be impressed nor does it signify any revival in the sustained deterioration in the economic condition of the toiling people. Anytime, the market speculators and shrewd operators can artificially prop up stock market indices to mislead people. "With all due respect to Mr. Market, it is highly fallible as a forward looking barometer," said David Rosenberg, chief economist & strategist at Gluskin Sheff + Associates, a Toronto-based wealth management firm.

There are other reasons as well. Wall Street journal, the organ of US capital market, itself reported in its issue dated 31 August, 2009 that "the market barreled ahead this summer and is hovering near its high for the year fueled in large part by stronger-than-expected second-quarter earnings. But the significant driver of the good news was cost cutting. Many companies had disappointing sales." So it is clear that sales continue to be on the wane. But costs have come down and that is, as we all know, is due to mass scale retrenchment and lay off.

Facts corroborate that. The threat of double-digit unemployment looms and wages are declining despite the pickup in the stock market and an uptick in corporate profits. The loss of 6.5 million jobs since December 2007 has spurred the sharpest rise in the unemployment rate since the 1930s. It has also come to light that in addition to 2,47,000 workers, another 4,22,000 had already dropped out of the workforce and were not being counted. So the unemployment rate would actually have gone upto 9.7 percent if the discouraged workers had been counted as part of the workforce. Further, as manufacturing jobs move overseas and companies struggle to further reduce costs, unemployment—which stands at 9.5 percent—is likely to rise above 10 percent. US payrolls firm ADP reported that the US private sector shed the smallest number of jobs in nearly a year- 298,000 in August—but this was still more than the

250,000 expected and hit sentiment on Wall Street (i.e. rise in stock prices). An Associated Press story on Aug. 24 reported: "So many jobs have been lost—nearly seven million since the recession began in December 2007—that the unemployment rate will remain high long after the economy begins to rebound. The vast majority of layoffs during the present crisis have been permanent layoffs. This means that of the seven million jobs destroyed so far, most will not return.

Next is the queer logic of productivity increase. "US output per worker rose at its fastest pace in six years during the second quarter as businesses wrung more from shrinking staff in a sign that recovery from recession will be slow and unlikely to create a surge in hiring," reported Reuter. So the cat is out of the bag. Citing the economic crisis endemic of the very capitalist system, the capitalists have merrily shed workers on a permanent basis and instead opted for improved technology, reorganization of work flow and process simplification. As a result while worker's productivity has gone up by 6.6%, workers' hour has plunged 7.6% and production fell but just 1.7%. It shows that workers produced more in less time. On the other hand, the average annual wage of 80 percent of the working class is now down to \$33,000 a year—about one-and-a-half times the official poverty level (Business Week, Aug. 27, 2009). It is, therefore, glaring how the workers have been exploited to the hilt. This is what has caused a rise in corporate profits, despite unabated decline in economy notwithstanding claim of slowdown in the rate of decline. In fact, only a fraction of the much hyped stimulus package has reportedly entered the economy via tax cuts (\$43 billion) and aid to state and local governments (\$64 billion). It is learnt that bulk of that has been used to avert cuts rather than to create jobs. "We definitely would have been faced with another half-dozen layoffs had we not gotten these stimulus projects," admitted David Baker a manager of construction operations. (Source: Newsweek) US administration in White House itself admits that less than 10 percent of the employment impact from the stimulus will take

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of view before telling him anything. Secondly, he who is himself free from problems can alone resolve the multifarious and complicated problems of the organization. How can a leader lead others if he fails to conduct the struggle to free his own self from personal problems? (SW, Vol. 3, p. 137)

Nothing great can be achieved by falsehood. Those who know the history of the world, all of them would agree that in our country as well as in other countries, in communist movement too, there was no dearth of leaders with erudition and wisdom....Many leaders are endowed with power of oration, and many leaders do possess power of writing also. There has been no dearth of such leaders appearing in any stage of mass movement. Most of the leaders do not apply in their own life the ideology they preach, they talk of....The teachings of Marxism-Leninism they preach only in the political movements, in pulpit speeches, but they do not apply these in their lives. Many top leaders, many eminent leaders even do not conduct this struggle to build themselves up in conformity with ideals covering all aspects of life — their family life, personal life, ethics and culture. To this aspect of struggle they do not pay any heed, they simply neglect it. And because this is neglected, it is through this loophole that many revolutionaries with immense possibilities not only deviate in thoughts and ideals but a revolutionary character gets degraded too. Human history is replete with innumerable such instances. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 409, 414-6)

...the revolutionary movement stands the risk of being misled by those leaders who, after having once gained popularity by means of the parliamentary platform or by some other means, crave for more popularity, on the one hand, and tend more and more towards populist gestures which are alien to the communist code of conduct, and, on the other, drift away gradually from the struggle to merge oneself with the party. As I already told you, no test is final for any leader or cadre. If the struggle is not conducted correctly, if leaders fall victim to self-complacency, then they also start deteriorating. The

revolutionary workers and leaders should take great care that in their constant association with the people in order to organize people's struggles against all sorts of social injustice and oppression, they always uphold the standard of proletarian ethics and never, for once, fall victim to the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois hypocrisy, that is, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois populist gestures and style of agitation for gaining cheap popularity. (SW, Vol. 3, p 123)

If leaders and cadres fall victim to populist bourgeois gestures and conduct in their bid to become popular and go on compromising with the culture and taste prevalent among people which has naturally arisen from the existing social system, then their own standard of culture steadily goes down. The essence of acquiring that revolutionary art of mixing with the people lies in correctly realizing the fact through continuous cultivation of revolutionary theory and practice, that the way of becoming popular in the bourgeois sense through populist gestures and populist conduct is completely different in character from the way the revolutionaries become popular. Otherwise, the term 'revolutionary' becomes a catchword for one who talks about revolutionary theories and revolutionary ideology but moves like a bourgeois. Those leaders and comrades, who betray such signs, though there are but a few of them, should better be on guard against it. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 123-24)

Revolutionary cadres to be more equipped politically

For some time past, I have been saying again and again, 'keep up your political initiative at your fore'; I have said that each party worker has to raise his personal initiative and political initiative.... Encourage initiative of those comrades; allow the comrades to work their own brain; they will work but not in an anarchical way. On the one hand let them improve the understanding of the party line, let them master it, and on the other hand give them the opportunity to organize the people's movements in the way they want, according to their own understanding. (Free translation from the Bengali booklet '*On the style of work of revolutionary*

workers' p. 12-13)

To attend theoretical classes, to attend general theoretical classes on Marxism are absolutely necessary; one cannot do without studying and mastering these, but one's knowledge is not sharpened unless this theoretical knowledge is combined with experience in practice. (Free translation of the Bengali booklet '*On the Style of Work of Revolutionary Workers'*', p. 12-13)

Is there only one method of making them (the revolutionary cadres) equipped? Are meetings, individual talks the only methods? We have to equip even through casual chats; of course when we talk informally, we have to talk in such a way that there may not be a word of politics, there may be only casual talks, light bantering, but cadres become equipped, their mental make up is changed. This does not come spontaneously, you have to learn it. What is the main condition for learning this? Revolution has come to be in my blood, other things are inseparably mixed with me. Practically nothing else remains. Whatever alien is there it has no power to divert the revolutionary consciousness or the revolutionary initiative, or if at times it tries to raise its head with some strength, the revolutionary strength opposes it, does not allow it to raise its head. This is how the leaders and cadres have to prepare themselves. So today our slogan ought to be, "To cope with the situation prepare yourself to improve the style of work, develop your political consciousness and political initiative, read the organs and literatures regularly, increase the circulation of organs, go to the people, develop organization and organize mass struggle." These are the main tasks for the present times.

If we can get rid of the basic weakness from which we are suffering, if we can free ourselves from the weaknesses because of which we are not in a position to fully utilize whatever strength we have in our command, we can make best use of this situation. As it is, we do not have the resources that we need in the context of such a vast country. We are lagging far behind. It would be difficult for us to acquire that much of required resources in immediate future. On

the other hand, in view of the incidents that are happening, the way the people's will to fight are being manifested, the manner in which increasing interest about the party is growing, in such a situation if all of the comrades enhance their political consciousness and ability to work, for properly utilizing our limited strength, master the art of carrying out discussions and arguments, increase the circulation of the organs, then the pace of our advancement will greatly increase. We have to explain to the people that the enemy is capitalism, it is to be overthrown; the rural and industrial proletariat along with the semi-proletariat will overthrow capitalism. And ensuring victory will depend on the success of isolating the pseudo-Marxists from the masses. We have to ensure that the comrades correctly understand the party politics and the situation, and accordingly explain to the people and throw correct light. Merely talking against capitalism about the role of proletarian revolution, giving a list of the Congress misdeeds — is this a complete political speech? No. The speech must be such as to show by relating with all the problems, why it is necessary to overthrow capitalism; it is to be lucidly explained why the working class will lead this proletarian revolution, who will be their allies and how they should conduct the struggle. When would the working class attain victory? That would be when it would be able to advance along the real revolutionary path, when it would be able to become free of illusions about the pseudo-revolutionaries, when it would succeed to expose them, to defeat them. Till the latter are exposed, till they are isolated from the people, till the people have illusions about them, have expectation about them, they have to be brought in the united battle. And again, as long as they are the main force in the united battle, they also are the principle obstacle before developing revolutionary movement. To grasp this essential point and effectively bring it out in all discourses and discussions is what meant by political understanding or political speech. (Free translation from the Bengali booklet '*On the style of work of revolutionary workers'* p. 23-24)

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Keep in mind, to become conscious revolutionary political workers, you have to acquire such qualities that you can single-handedly carry on any responsibility. You feel it a shame to refuse an assignment, your head hangs in shame to offer excuses that hurts your dignity. To say: "I cannot", makes you droop in shame. It should be that you can keep your cool under any storm and stress. If others distract you, even so you keep yourself steady. Or, if you find you cannot, you will constantly strive to learn the art of keeping your cool. To have this quality is a vital necessity for a revolutionary worker. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 540-41)

Criticism and self-criticism

...a prime condition of acquiring the revolutionary code of conduct is the struggle for identification of the self with the revolution, the class and the party. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 112)

...code of conduct has two aspects. One aspect is: the mutual relationship between leaders and cadres, between the party body, on the one hand, and the leaders and cadres, on the other, and the norms of discussion and criticism between leaders and cadres and their general conduct; and, above all, what should be the attitude, or approach of

everybody in the party, from the leaders to the cadres, to each and every aspect of their personal life. The other aspect is: what should be the norm of behaviour of the leaders and cadres in the broader field of social life, in dealing with people, in public relations, in organizing people's struggles by being with them and, in building up the revolutionary organizations of the people, imbuing them with the revolutionary consciousness. This is so important especially because the high esteem in which the people of our country once held communism has become greatly lowered today, thanks to the moral standard, day-to-day conduct and the individual life style of the leaders and cadres of the so-called communist parties in India.... Hence the necessity has arisen for the leaders and cadres of our party to conscientiously practice and master the true communist politics, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to adhere most sincerely to the communist code of conduct in their personal life and social relationships. Only if we can do this would the masses realize easily that communism is the noblest and loftiest ideology, higher than any other in the present day world, and that communism alone can usher in a higher social order free from all injustice and exploitation. (SW, Vol. 3, p.104-105)

For a revolutionary, the method

of criticism is self-criticism first and then criticism of others. That is to say, only after making criticism of his own self first and, side by side, a critical appraisal of the plans and programmes of the party should he proceed to criticize the role of different leaders and cadres in implementing those plans and programmes. *Hence criticism becomes really helpful for revolution only when it is based on the attitude of self-criticism.* If it is found in a case that criticism is not made following this method or principle, then however fine may be the expression apparently, if one goes deep into the matter it will be found that the criticism is taking this form out of some personal grievances or dissatisfaction somewhere. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 107-08)

...to the communist code of conduct, before discussing or criticizing somebody else's conduct, one should first place oneself in the other's position. Otherwise, the mode of criticism can never be impersonal. (SW, Vol. 3, p.128)

...we consider any critic to be our teacher, whether he is an outsider, a party man, or an enemy even. (SW, Vol. 3, p. 113)

On unity with others in democratic movements

"Hence, in the united movement, we observe two main

ingredients that work against unity : one is coercion and the other sectarian attitude. Apart from this, I want to discuss another aspect, the over-sensitiveness of some of the revolutionaries who fear that if they have any association or work together with the non-revolutionaries, they would lose their revolutionary character. Marxists, more particularly Comrade Lenin had sounded a note of caution time and again against this tendency. He once said that those who cannot work together, with their enemies, with foes and non-revolutionaries if need be, having failed to recognize the need of revolution, the necessity of unity that has arisen in the course of revolution, are in fact haunted by their own shadow. They are frightened having seen their own spectre within themselves. Actually they lack firmness of character. They are no revolutionaries. They must know how to work with all, even with difficult people. Revolutionaries must have the ability and strong base of character to work with anyone. But the wish or capability to work with anyone does not mean, ipso facto, that working with anybody will be possible. The question of working with one and all depends on many a factor"... (Free translation from the Bengali booklet, 'Sramik Andolan Prasange', p.66-67)

Downturn of economy unabated

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place during 2009. It is also learnt that there are 30 million workers either unemployed or underemployed, with depression-level rates of joblessness in the African-American and Latino-American communities, and things are getting worse for them and their families. (Workers' World Sep 3, 2009)

Since the bourgeois economists and apologists of capitalist globalization have no answer to massive job loss and soaring unemployment, they have, of late, been propagating that unemployment is a lagging indicator — i.e. it probably would not peak until after the recession is over. But there are no takers of this view even within their own circle. Persons like David Rosenberg claims that the

labour market remains weak and should stay so for the foreseeable future. They have also commented that the current recession is of a different kind since it has been caused by a credit bubble. So they are of the opinion that unemployment is no longer a lagging indicator, but one that is coincidental and perhaps even leading. Countering the claim that decrease in the number of unemployment allowance is a sign of revival of job market, they say that jobless claims may only be declining because of the surge in the number of people who have exhausted their unemployment benefits. (Source: CNN Money 19 June, 2009)

The claim of increased demand for consumer goods is also found incongruent with objective facts. On

Aug. 13, 2009, it was reported that retail sales even at Wal-Mart, Kohl's and other giant stores which sell to the workers and other sections of the toiling people had fallen.. On Aug. 14, the University of Michigan report on consumer confidence showed a sharp drop. Despite talk of recovery and revival of the housing market, foreclosures are on the rise and getting worse as the unemployment crisis deepens. There were 3, 60,000 foreclosures in July last, a 7 percent increase over June and 32 percent above the year before. A record 13.6 percent of households are either in foreclosure (i.e. premature termination of loans due to the borrower turning bankrupt) or behind in their mortgage payments. More and more foreclosures are on prime mortgages of workers who have lost their jobs. Escalating

unemployment is leading to failed mortgages. Since layoffs are on the rise and wages and benefits are going down, there is spurt in credit card defaults and personal bankruptcies. The average household debt is near \$10,000. With debts and credit defaults spiralling, more than 100 banks have already failed since the economic meltdown began around a year back. Five banks failed just in the week of Aug. 10-14, 2009 alone. 416 banks with assets of \$299 billion are in danger of failing. Instead of coming to the aid of the foreclosed, enabling them to pay their mortgages, which would keep the banks solvent, the FDIC has spent \$40 billion taking over insolvent banks and merging many of them with other banks The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

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SUCI demonstrates on 3 September against WTO convention in Delhi



New Delhi (top) and Calcutta



Ahmedabad (top) and Patna

Protest demonstrations were also held at Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Agartala, Mumbai, Guwahati and elsewhere in the country.

AIDYO represented at Youth Camp at Turkey

On being invited by the Federation of Socialist Youth Association of Turkey, and Kurdistan (SGDF), Comrade Prativa Nayak represented AIDYO, youth wing of SUCI, at the youth summer camp held from 21 to 28 August last at Soats resort village in Dikili district. These camps held every year are part of a campaign undertaken by the Federation to build up countrywide movement against the autocratic measures adopted by the fundamentalist autocratic government of Turkey, assassination of opposition political leaders and workers, as also the decision to keep political prisoners in solitary cells. Besides 450 delegates from Turkey, fraternal delegates from Belgium, Italy, Croatia, Germany, France, Austria and UK participated in the camp which was inaugurated by Comrade Ozan, President, SGDF. On 24 August, international delegates took the floor. Comrade Prativa Nayak while answering various questions raised by the delegates on India, dwelt on the specific historic reason for and process of building up SUCI and AIDYO, the kinds of various protest movements surging forth and the role of SUCI in developing these movements. The suggestions given by Comrade Prativa on 27 August during review meeting for strengthening movement were accepted by all.

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(FDIC) has only \$10 billion left in its fund to deal with insolvent banks. (Source: Workers World, Sep 3, 2009) Noticing that unemployment rate continues to rise in US and close to 30 million workers are either unemployed or underemployed, economic observers like David Rosenberg are compelled to acknowledge that "there is a perfect link between unemployment and consumer delinquencies." According to US administration's report, on any given night there are 4,000 homeless people, and 785 shelter beds in a place called Nashville. There are now at least 30 known tent encampments in Nashville. It is reported that US government gave away \$1.2 trillion in cash to bail out AIG, Citigroup, Bank of America, Wells Fargo and the rest of the financial behemoths responsible for the outbreak of subprime crisis. If the sum would have been given for genuine workers' jobs program, some relief could be reached out to the 30 million employed or underemployed workers. So where is the sign of arresting the downfall?

Picture is no different in other imperialist-capitalist countries. New York Times of Aug. 13, 2009 reports that "Unemployment is expected to rise sharply this year as government programs that kept people on private payrolls throughout

Economic gloom

Europe begin to expire. Already, the euro area's unemployment rate stands at 9.4 percent, its highest level in 10 years, and the anemic growth of the coming quarters will not be enough to arrest the slide." Japan's jobless rate hit a six-year high of 5.4 percent and wages showed a record drop in June." "A self-sustaining recovery is still not in sight," declared a Japanese economist. In this backdrop, the pundits talking of Indian economy limping back to recovery trail is a complete hoax. "Consumer durables and the capital goods sector where the confidence level clearly reflects the ebbing demand conditions in the domestic market with both households and corporates having safely put the long-term and big-ticket expenditures on hold", wrote *Economic Times* on 30 May 2009.

Scenario can not be any different than this. The unprecedented crisis capitalist economy is now plunged in is no fallout of any procedural mismanagement, lack in supervision or policy aberration. It is caused by the capitalist system itself. More the days would roll by, more enmeshed will be capitalism in still graver crisis. No quackery will work for the capitalist system nor will any quirk of the protector or defender of capitalism keep the reality under the wraps. Only overthrow of capitalism will turn the table.

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