

# Proletarian Era

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## Red Salute Comrade Mao Zedong



26 September 1893 – 9 September 1976

“Our state is a people’s democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. .... What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is internal, namely, to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the contradictions between ourselves and the internal enemy.... The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labour and make China a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture. Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally, the working class and the entire people under its leadership. ....Our socialist democracy is the broadest kind of democracy, such as is not to be found in any bourgeois state. Our dictatorship is the people’s democratic

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## Resist this killing price rise by organising powerful united conscious people’s movement

Market is on the boil throughout the country. Not only of onion, prices of all essential food items including vegetables, pulses, spices and edible oil are piercing the sky making it virtually impossible for ever pauperising people to have even one square meal a day to somehow stay alive. Already the people are gasping under savage fiscal attacks, mounting unemployment, massive retrenchment and lay-off, fall in real wages and rapid decline in purchasing power. It is a suffocating situation that is making it extremely difficult to eke out a bare living. On the top of it has come the killing attack of harrowing price rise. But the BJP-led central government as well as the various state governments irrespective of hues are showing no sign of concern. While it was expected of any civilized government worth the name to adopt remedial measures on war footing giving some relief to the suffering people, the Modi government at the centre, is, on the one hand, trying to show that the situation is not that alarming and on the other hand busy calculating how could the Indian monopoly houses and MNCs benefit at the latest downturn of Chinese economy, what more tax waivers and other concessions could be granted to Foreign Institutional Investors and how much the interest rate could be slashed to encourage onrush of funds in speculative capital market to boost plunderers’ trade. In other words, when market

of essential commodities is on fire, the government is busy boosting share market.

In our earlier articles in the recent past, we had shown in details that continuous price rise is a feature of prevailing capitalist economy where production as well as distribution of products is not aimed at meeting people’s need but at maximization of profit of the capitalist owners of the means of production—both land and machine. The very economics of minting maximum profit entails rapid dwindling of the purchasing power of the people. That causes shrinkage of market prompting the capitalists to close down industries and stop production giving rise to growing unemployment and job loss. Denied means of earning, the people are more and more pauperized and their buying capacity plummets further. This accentuates the market crisis of the capitalists causing production to stagnate further exacerbating people’s plight. The capitalists cannot earn maximum profit unless they deprive the labour of their due legitimate wage, expropriate value of surplus labour power and squeeze the buying people even to their last drop of blood. And the prices are so fixed as to ensure achievement of this objective of profit maximization. But not content even with this, the ruling capitalist class feels no qualms in adopting with the help of its servitor government other dirty tricks like creation of artificial scarcity by

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## Mammoth students’ rally in Kolkata



Mammoth students’ rally in Kolkata on 26 August organized by West Bengal State AIDSO to protest privatization, commercialization and saffronization of education and in demand for earliest reintroduction of pass-fail system

## Price Rise

# Last morsels of food are snatched away by the fangs of savage assault of capitalist economy

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hoarding, resorting to all kinds of manipulative tactics including large scale stock speculation on food grains (technical name—forward, future and option trading on the stock market) to jack up prices and sell the commodities in black market. As per a government study, not even 25% of the food reaches the poor—most of it is sold in the black market. The capitalist class and its government prefer food articles to rot in the godown, to be ferried overseas to book higher profits but keep the countrymen starving unless they buy the items at the prices stipulated by them. This is the common experience of all. Earlier, there was a belief that prices rise when supply falls. But is there any scarcity of food articles? Absolutely not. The government itself admits that there is bumper crop production. India achieved a record food grain production of 264.77 million tonnes during 2013-14. In 2014-15, the figure is stated to be marginally down to 252.68 million tonnes, as per official estimate. But this production is more than enough to feed the entire country at affordable price. While presenting budget or addressing high level seminars and symposiums, the ministers and other high ups of the bourgeois government always boast of higher agricultural production. But when the question of feeding the countrymen at affordable low prices comes, they look the other way. They hardly explain why the produces are not available to the countrymen at affordable price. To camouflage creation of artificial scarcity through hoarding and then selective releases in black market, the government and its henchmen including self-styled economists-columnists have made it a habit to point finger at drought and flood or insufficient monsoon, unseasonal rains or hailstorms. By this, they in fact give green signal to the hoarders and blackmarketers to carry on their heinous game with impunity.

Had the government a wee bit concern for people's plight, it would have at least taken a few positive measures to mitigate their hardship. It would have procured the food grains from the peasants at remunerative price eliminating unscrupulous middlemen and keeping private operators at bay. Next, it would have arranged for proper storage of the procured staff

under its strict surveillance. And that way it would have geared up the almost defunct Public Distribution System to make the food articles available to the common people at prices within their means plugging all loopholes and controlling corruption with firm hand. What is happening is just the reverse.

In their efforts to keep the exploitative capitalist machine running through implementation of the ruinous prescriptions of globalization-liberalization, the outright anti-people pro-capitalist policies and practices of the governments protecting bourgeois class interest have systematically abolished whatever little price control mechanism hitherto existed. This provides the widest opportunities to the unfair, unethical, and immoral business community, to fleece the people by resorting to large scale black-marketing and hoarding with alacrity. Everyone knows that hoarding and black-marketing are punishable offence. But, despite all verbiages of undertaking special drive against such culprits, none of the bourgeois governments, whether at the centre or in the states, has cared to touch these hoarders and blackmarketers who virtually control the foodgrain market in the country. They at their sweet will regulate the pricing. The periodic shoot up in the prices of onion including the current one is a glaring example of how the powerful onion lobby pockets bumper profit by manipulating supply and price. Everyone knows that this monstrous surge in sugar price is the handiwork of this lobby. But the BJP government is virtually keeping mum. Because, this onion-lobby like infamous sugar-lobby has a considerable clout among the leadership of the ruling parties and hence can get away with all such criminal acts while the countrymen bleed white. Thus, the hoarders, blackmarketers, price manipulators in connivance with corrupt government officials and ministers-ruling party leaders are having hey days trading on the hunger of millions.

It is from this perspective that our Party has been demanding for the last six decades that there should be all-out state trading in food and other essential items. But the government whether of Congress, BJP or any other bourgeois party or combination, did never pay heed to it. Incredible is the fact that while the proposal of total government control over procurement and distribution of foodgrains and other essential items

is ignored, the ministers and bureaucrats often shamelessly advocate a weird logic that people are suffering because unscrupulous traders-middlemen are on a rampage. But then what debars government-administration which is so prompt in crushing people's movement baring its tooth and claw from apprehending the culprits and putting them behind the bar and dismantling the rackets? Here lies the hard truth. These blackmarketers, hoarders, price speculators, middlemen are all part and parcel of the out and out reactionary moribund decadent capitalist system. Capitalism creates them, nurtures them and lives on them. It is these blood-sucking creatures who fund the bourgeois parties and their ministers and leaders. So, the government-administration is virtually captive in their hands.

Besides other reasons attributable to capitalism which we explained in details in our previous articles in Proletarian Era of 15-04-08 and 01-12-13, the current unprecedented price rise is mainly due to rampant hoarding and black marketing with the government as an indulgent onlooker. As we mentioned above, when people are gasping with strangulating noose of price rise fastened around their neck, starvation deaths are on the rise, peasants' suicides have crossed 3 lakh figure, the country is declared to be abode of one-third of hungry people of the world, the BJP government is busy scouting for FDI, pushing through a slew of anti-people legislations like Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill, Labour reforms, Goods and Services Tax, shielding the corrupt ministers of the ruling parties and engaging in war of words with Pakistan for public consumption. Not only that. The 'expert' economists and statisticians who are paid by the government for manufacturing data suited to the class need of the ruling bourgeoisie even if that means bluntly obscuring the reality and claiming 'pitch darkness' as 'bright

sunshine'. The latest claim of the stable of bourgeois economists endorsed by the central government is that close on the heels of the significant moderation in retail inflation and drop in CPI (consumer price index) inflation, wholesale prices have plunged on the back of a decline in food and fuel prices and this lowest level of the inflation based on wholesale price index (WPI) since 1976 is the longest stretch of negative wholesale prices in the country since 1975. What would one call it? Just parading in utter falsehood deliberately or playing cruel joke on the oppressed impoverished millions whose last morsels of food are being snatched away by the fangs of savage economic assault by ruling capitalism?

Obvious question is what is the way out? As we have been reiterating time and again, since the root of this killing rise in prices lies in the outmoded and out and out corrupt capitalist system, permanent solution lies in revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in culmination of the historically determined course of conscious people's movement. Till the time the desired emancipation from the clutches of capitalism come by, only a surge of united sustained powerful democratic movement watchful against rampant hoarding, black marketing and other manipulative exercises by the unscrupulous traders' lobby receiving all necessary support, protection and even aid from the governments, both at the Centre and in the states, can exert necessary pressure on the government-administration to take some steps and give some breathing space to the suffocating citizens. We once again reiterate our appeal to the oppressed people back-broken by this draconian rise in prices to come forward and join the democratic movement built up by our Party on the edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics in demand for immediate action by the government to arrest this artificially created price spiral and introduce all-out state trading in food items.

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# “Imbibe Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, engage yourselves in the noble struggle for establishing communism”

(This is the speech delivered by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C), in Bangalore, on 8 August, 2015, in the meeting organized to observe 39th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.)

Comrade President and friends,

Death is nothing new in human society. From the beginning of the society, there have been births and deaths too. No doubt every death creates a void in the society, but with new births this void gets filled up. But there are certain times when a particular death creates such a void which takes ages to be filled up. Such a death occurred on 5<sup>th</sup> August in 1976, when Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, the great Marxist thinker, the leader and teacher of our Party, passed away. His was a premature death. But within his short lifespan, he, on the one hand, conducted a historic struggle to build up Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, while on the other hand, he provided the thought and guideline of revolution and a comprehensive knowledge about revolution. He also gave guideline as to how the revolutionaries should face any situation and conduct appropriate struggle to overcome any adversity. He answered all questions that confronted the international communist movement also. So his guiding thoughts have been covering all fields of knowledge and life. To dwell on his great contributions in all fields in a single discussion is an impossibility. So I will try to place before you his main guiding thought on the question of revolution, more particularly the particular form of Indian revolution today.

## What is revolution?

Actually what is revolution? People have different types of impressions on the question of revolution. When people face crisis in life, come across extremely difficult problems that cannot be solved very easily, then they say that we need revolution because revolution is the only solution. But, do they understand what revolution is? Surely not. A few persons might have understood but most of the people do not understand what revolution exactly means. Again a section of the people is strongly against revolution itself. They think revolution is anarchy; it means individual killings. But without understanding what revolution is, we surely cannot accomplish it. But we will have to accomplish revolution.

So all comrades, particularly the new comrades, young and bright comrades who have joined the Party recently should clearly understand what is that we all are fighting for? What revolution exactly and precisely means? And more particularly what is the character of Indian revolution today? So, I will take up that teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

We find in the entire universe--whether in nature, society or in life — everything is changing,



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty addressing in Bangalore

everything is in perpetual motion. But this change what takes place in anything and everything takes two courses. One is quantitative change, slow change, evolutionary change and the other is qualitative change, sudden change, abrupt change, change of the whole thing into a new thing. This we call in Marxist language quantitative change leads to qualitative change. That qualitative change which converts the whole thing into a new one in every aspect is called revolution. So, revolution is not dependent on likes or dislikes of anyone. Revolution is taking place daily, hourly in the whole universe in nature, in society, in life, in human thoughts also.

Generally people think revolution takes place only in human society. Yes, revolution does take place in human society. But it takes place not only in human society. Revolution occurs in nature also. Revolutionary change takes place in the realm of human thought as well. If we see very closely, we can understand in a very simple way. For example, if a wheat seed is sown on a fertile land and if it gets required water, air, sunlight, we see that after a period it sprouts, and after some

## — Comrade Krishna Chakraborty

more days we see that the wheat seed is totally destroyed and a wheat plant has come. This new phase when the old has become absolutely new with newer qualities like the plant is having qualities than of the seed that particular moment is called the revolutionary change and is revolution. This we see in the whole matter. Even the hardest of stones change. In everything there is change; change is the way of existence of matter and the material world. It follows two courses--quantity to quality. The plant did not come out of the seed in one day but

Without a conscious human struggle, there will be no revolution. Lenin says “Without a revolutionary theory and without a revolutionary party there will be no revolution”.

Why this? We, the proletariat, are trying to create a favourable condition for revolution. But we are not the only force in the society. The ruling capitalist class in power — the Tatas, Birlas, Goenkas, Ambanis, Adanis, meaning class as a whole using the state machine which comprises the army, the police, bureaucracy and judiciary. Using that very state, they oppose revolution. They create obstacles before revolution when resistance grows in the society, to stop it, to break it. To defeat it, we need a great thought, a revolutionary thought. We need a revolutionary organisation of the exploited masses which can withstand the attack of the ruling class and can defeat not only their police but their army also. When such power is consciously built up in a society, then only a social revolution can take place. So, the revolution is no anarchy or any fanciful idea as many people think. What we are talking of is a consciously organised proletarian revolution, the conscious upsurge of the armed people, not like scattered individual killings that the Naxalites are undertaking in few pockets. It is an organised mass upsurge. That is revolution. So, there is a struggle between two forces- between the two opposite classes in the society- the ruling class and the ruled, the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed. So, without conscious effort revolution cannot take place.

## Course of revolution in society

As we see in nature, change takes place naturally in normal course. Other than any particular occasional obstacle like if the seed did not get air, water or light; there is no obstacle for quantitative change leading to qualitative change. But in society, it basically follows the same course but change does not happen automatically, particularly in the class divided society, where there are two classes- an exploitative class which rules the society, and the exploited class who is being ruled, exploited, oppressed, suppressed. Here, revolution cannot take place automatically. There is no automation in social revolution. Here a new factor is absolutely needed, that is human consciousness.

## Violence and revolution

Many people say to us: you stoke violence. Not people but the ruling bourgeoisie and their agents propagate that revolution is anarchy and it precipitates violence. Working class never precipitates violence. They do not want it. Then why do we talk of armed revolution? Because, in a class divided society like ours, there is violence. When the working class consciously organise themselves and build movement, who suppresses it? The Police, armed to the teeth. When it can not suppress such a movement, then army is called in. Army in a bourgeois state is raised and kept only to suppress the revolutionary

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## Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech

# Without a conscious human struggle, there will be no revolution

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movement of the proletariat and oppressed. The ruling class and its servitors tell us that this army is necessary to protect our independence, to save ourselves from foreign attack. Army is necessary when there is drought, flood, earthquake and such other natural calamities. Army is needed then to serve the people to rescue people and to help them. This confuses the masses. But you must understand that ultimately army is preserved to suppress the revolutionary movement and to destroy revolutionary forces. If workers and other exploited are consciously organised and if they feel that they are ready to capture power which is necessary for the society, the workers will have to face the army of the ruling class. So, there is violence. It is the ruling bourgeoisie which precipitates violence and then passes on the blame on the working class and the exploited. So long as the ruling exploitative class would maintain its armed forces, violence will be there. Was violence not there in French revolution? Who organised French revolution? Did Communists do it? Communists were not even born then! It was the bourgeoisie who today blames the working class for violence. It was they who accomplished that revolution. And in French revolution particularly, there were killings after killings. Robespierre who discovered guillotine was himself guillotined. Was it bad? It was not bad. Is it then that killing of any man good? That is not the point. In revolution, men will be killed because when the mercenary army of the rulers will open fire, many innocents will die. But, the point is whether this violence changes the society, whether it paves the way for building a higher civilisation- a greater higher nobler society where man is freed from the shackles of old bondage. If so, then it is welcome. That violence is then great. For revolution, if bloodshed is a necessity, it will take place. We do not want bloodshed. But, bloodshed and violence would virtually be imposed on the working class when it consciously organises itself to meet the bourgeois army. Then it would turn into a civil war. And that is revolution.

So we find so long as the ruling capitalist class remains in power, revolution will be a violent one. Not because we want it, but because

they would impose it on the working class. Then will all revolutions be violent? No, not at all! When the primitive savage society slowly and qualitatively changed over to barbarism, there was a revolution but peaceful. Because, there was no oppressing class in power then to protect itself and destroy revolutionary movement. So also when working class will capture power and a proletarian state will be established, there will be dictatorship of the proletariat. But when the society will pass over from socialism to communism, there will be no force, no use of arms to stop that transition. On the contrary, the ruling class, i.e. the proletariat will itself want that revolution. So, it will be peaceful. Then where do we see violent revolution? We see it in a class divided society- particularly where the ruling capitalist class, the exploitative class in power, be it in feudalism or slavery or capitalism, revolution takes such a violent form. So in proletarian revolution, the conscious role of the proletariat is a very important question. The role is not just of the conscious proletariat but of the organised proletariat. The consciously organised proletariat can only take up arms and overthrow bourgeoisie from power to establish socialism, the rule of the proletariat. That is a great revolution and that will create a new civilisation, much higher and solve all problems that we are facing today. So the proletarian revolutionary movement is a great social movement.

### **Stage of Indian revolution**

Next point is what is the character of Indian revolution today? Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of his penetrating analysis pointed out that it will be an anti-capitalist socialist revolution. What does that mean? Let's very closely examine what is the type of that revolution. First, we will have to understand that India is a capitalist country. There are confusions among the so called communists in this country whether India is a capitalist country or not. Not a single so called communist party in this country accepts that India is a capitalist country. Least will they accept that India is just not a capitalist country but a very powerful capitalist country where the national bourgeoisie, the monopoly houses, have become imperialists. What does that mean? It means that Indian imperialists themselves export capital to other poor countries and

exploit their natural resources and cheap labour power for profit maximization. The British imperialists used to export capital to our country before independence. They established direct military rule, and through that they exploited the Indian market. Indian bourgeoisie today is playing the same role in other countries though it is not controlling any country militarily. No imperialist country can anymore control another nation militarily whether England or France or Germany or America. But, through exporting of finance capital, the imperialists of one country exploit the cheap labour power and cheap raw materials of another country. Indian bourgeoisie is also doing the same thing. Hence India is just not a capitalist country but an imperialist power — mini super power in the south Asian region. So we have to at the outset understand that India is a capitalist country. Then we will have to understand what can be the character of revolution in a capitalist country.

Lenin showed that in the context of social revolution - the main question of revolution is the question of state power. Revolution occurs when the oppressed captures the state power. Without destroying the old capitalist state machine and establishing a new socialist state power, the proletariat cannot accomplish revolution. They will have to capture the state power, smash the capitalist state and create a new socialist state of the proletariat. Why so? All the previously established states, whether the slave-master state, feudal state or the bourgeois state, have been exploitative states. By reforming or improving those exploitative states, the proletariat cannot establish its own state. It's a new state that the working class will have to build up to free the society from exploitation. So this new socialist state is absolutely and qualitatively different from the previous exploitative states. This state will ensure that there is no exploitation of man by man. In capitalism, few individuals are the owners of the means of production. In factories, mills, industries, big firms, the capitalists exploit the working class. They purchase the workers' labour power and engage them in production giving a virtual pittance to them as wage and pocket the rest as profit. In socialism this exploitation will go away as all the workers will be the owners of the

means of production. It will be a new society, where all the means of production will be under the control of the society and governed by the proletarian state. In such a state, production will not be to make profit, but to meet the growing needs of the society. Such a society is absolutely different and qualitatively higher. If we understand this, then we will understand the concrete nature of our revolution.

### **Why Indian revolution is anti-capitalist socialist revolution**

Lenin showed that the question of revolution in the society is the question of state power as we have just discussed. Stalin explained it elaborately and showed: in revolution we will have to first see which class or classes are in power, which class is the revolutionary class that will lead revolution combining with which other classes. That is the main question of revolution. The ruling class and the ruled class have to be identified and it is to be understood which one amongst the ruled is the most revolutionary class to lead revolution. Understanding that concretely is the understanding of revolution of a particular country. In our country, when our Party was founded in 1948, Comrade Ghosh showed: up to 1947, it was the rule of the British Imperialist powers combining with Indian feudal landlords and princely states - like the princely states of Mysore, Patiala or Nizam of Hyderabad etc. More than 500 such princely states combined with the British imperialists. Therefore, class in power constituted the foreign imperialists combining with feudalism. Who were then the forces to lead revolution? Now I will discuss something important. New comrades may find it difficult but I will try to explain as clearly as possible. If the new comrades are unable to follow, they will have to know from the state leaders later. At that very time, Tata, Birla, Goenka, who are in state power now, were not in power. It was the British imperialists with local feudal landlords who were in power. So, they wanted control over the vast Indian market and also control over the state. So they organised struggle against the British Imperialists for taking control of the Indian Market. Congress was the representative of the national bourgeois class. But, by then, internationally capitalism had

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### Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech

# So long as ruling exploitative bourgeoisie would maintain its armed forces, there will be violence

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already reached its highest stage, the stage of imperialism, became decadent, moribund and reactionary hence could no longer lead any revolution. The national bourgeoisie of the countries under colonial domination, particularly in our country, had a progressive role to the extent they fought against foreign imperialism and feudalism to end colonial rules. But as a part of the international bourgeoisie, they were mortally afraid of proletarian revolution. Proletarian class by then had not only come into existence but they had organised themselves as a class, particularly in Russia where the proletarian revolution had already taken place. So, the Indian national bourgeoisie mortally afraid of proletarian revolution, fought against the British imperialists for grabbing Indian market and at the same time compromised with them to stem revolution. They did not build any cultural movement to democratize the society. So, they allowed feudal remnants, feudal culture, habits, practices, to stay amongst the Indian masses. If they had fought against these old obsolete feudal practises, habits and cultures - that would have opened up a struggle where the proletariat would have come to the fore. This was the role of the Indian national bourgeoisie during Indian freedom struggle. Many revolutionaries came from amongst the middle class like Subhas Chandra Bose, Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad, Masterda Surya Sen and many others who followed an uncompromising line of struggle against the British imperialists as against the compromising line of the Congress. So, both these compromising and uncompromising forces were there in our freedom struggle. Unfortunately, the leadership of the revolutionary forces could not be established over the freedom movement. It was the Indian bourgeoisie who took over the ultimate leadership of the freedom struggle especially through the Congress.

After the Second World War, situation became such that the victory of socialism under the leadership of great Stalin was ensured. The countries of entire Eastern Europe turned socialist and China was also liberated. In such a situation when a socialist camp came into being in the world, the sense of fear gripped the British imperialists. So, they handed over

the power to the Indian national bourgeoisie, so that power remained at least with their step brothers and did not fall into the hands of the proletariat. They could have remained and ruled this country for some more years. But they feared that if the revolutionary movement growing in the country took over the leadership of the freedom struggle, not only the British imperialists would be kicked out of the country, the Indian capitalists also would also not be allowed to capture power. The Indian Proletariat would then combine with other socialist countries. So the British imperialists intelligently handed the power to the Indian bourgeoisie. Hence, Indian independence was a transfer of power, a peaceful transfer of power. Many people do not understand that it was indeed a revolution. When state power passes on from an imperialist-feudal landlord combine to the national bourgeoisie, it is a revolution. That exactly happened in India after transfer of power from the British imperialists-feudal landlords combine to the Indian national bourgeoisie.

Hence Indian revolution, as pointed out by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh took place in a half-baked and truncated way. Then onwards, India is out and out a capitalist state with the national bourgeoisie in power. This very fact could not be understood either by united CPI or later by the divided CPI i.e. present CPI, CPI (M) and the Naxalites. Comrade Ghosh showed referring to Lenin's teachings that Russia was also a country very much like British-ruled India. Industries were not very much developed. Agriculture was the major activity. So when February revolution was over in Russia, all thought that they would not go for an anti-capitalist socialist revolution. But Lenin pointed out that as soon as state power was transferred from the Tsarist rulers to the Russian bourgeoisie through February revolution, to that extent the bourgeois democratic revolution was complete and Russia had entered into the stage of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. He said that transfer of state power from one class to another is historically, politically, scientifically a revolution. Guided by this teaching of Lenin, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh studied Indian situation and concluded that since the state power of India was transferred from the hands of the British Imperialist-feudal landlords to

the Indian national bourgeoisie in whatever way through compromise, to that extent Bourgeois Democratic Revolution in our country was over, though in a half-baked and truncated way. Now the Indian national bourgeoisie is in control of state power. Who are the revolutionary classes to take over this power? It is the Indian proletariat comprising agricultural labourers, industrial workers, which is the most revolutionary class. Under the leadership of that very class, the semi-proletarian strata of the masses - the poor peasants, skilled workers like carpenters, etc. winning over the middle class to the side of revolution, will overthrow the bourgeoisie from power. So, our revolution is, therefore, totally an anti-capitalist socialist revolution. The very objective is to overthrow the bourgeoisie from power and establish the rule of the proletariat.

#### **When does revolution take place?**

Another very important thing has to be understood here deeply. Revolution cannot take place in a country where the existing system—economic, political, social, cultural—has not become old, decadent, moribund and reactionary. There you cannot accomplish revolution how much ever you struggle and talk. But when this old system becomes decadent, moribund and reactionary and the new emergent revolutionary force that will establish the new civilisation by overthrowing the old obsolete is mature to take over, then only revolution can take place. Following Marxism, Lenin showed that in the beginning of the last century, the capitalism which during its rising period against obsolete feudalism brought about a new democratic life, new society, opened up the gates for unhindered flourishing of culture, science and technology and established so many industries, mills and factories and thereby triggered advancement of the society, entered its dying, moribund stage by reaching the stage of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. It would now only breed problems and crises in life. Dying capitalism cannot solve any problem. And that we are seeing too. There is one crisis after another. Education, culture, ethics, morality, economics, politics, social life—none of these fields is free from crisis. Who is responsible for this crisis? A particular government of Congress or BJP or any

particular individual like Manmohan Singh or Modi? No individual or political party is responsible for this crisis; it is the capitalist system itself which has become reactionary, obsolete and moribund and is hence the root of all crises. Those who are serving this old, reactionary, dying, moribund, corrupt and anti-people system cannot but be corrupt and reactionary like Congress, BJP and many other bourgeois parties. As I have said earlier, revolution will not come by if we just wish for it. It will come by when the working class has not only appeared but has matured, has become conscious and organised, has become capable of establishing a new society by overthrowing the old reactionary class from power. Revolution is impending; it is waiting for that very day when the working class will consciously rise for revolution. Society is crying, weeping, not just in our country but everywhere. Look at all the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries. Crisis has engulfed them all. What is happening in Greece? Crisis of unthinkable dimension has gripped that country. Parents are selling their children because they cannot rear them up. What a severe economic-social-moral crisis which forces mothers to sell their babies! Look at Spain, France, England, America, the whole of Arab world. The same crisis persists everywhere. Gigantic people's movements are breaking out everywhere. Why? Because, people are bursting forth against the gruelling capitalist exploitation and capitalist rule. So many big powerful movements with tremendous possibilities are surging forth. But, revolution is not coming by. These movements are also fizzling out. Why so? It is here that Lenin's teachings prove to be so valid, so invaluable. Lenin taught that without a revolutionary theory and a revolutionary party, there can be no revolution. In India the same reactionary bourgeoisie is in power. The same reactionary capitalist system is in place. Who are the enemies of revolution here? The enemies are Tatas, Birlas, Goenkas, Adanis, Ambanis-- the national bourgeoisie, the homogenous bourgeois class. Who are the forces of revolution here? The forces of revolution are the proletariat- the rural proletariat (agricultural labourers) and the urban proletariat (industrial workers). They should be

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Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech

# India is in the stage of anti-capitalist socialist revolution

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organised for revolution. Who are the friends of revolution? Friends are the semi-proletarian strata of the masses like the people in villages with small land holdings. But from the produces in that land, they cannot maintain their families. So, the rest of the time they work in others' fields. They have a peasant and wage slave character. Therefore, they are called semi-proletarian masses. These semi-proletarian masses constitute a large section of our rural population. So also in urban areas, workers like cobblers, carpenters, weavers who produce goods with their labour and sell them, also have to be organised and a unity is to be established between the proletariat and the semi-proletariat strata of the masses. And these forces and friends of revolution should win over the middle class to the side of revolution or at least make them benevolent neutral towards revolution. Then only the bourgeoisie will be isolated and the condition for revolution will be created. Before that, taking up arms in hand is misadventure. The Naxalite friends have not understood this at all. They have not prepared people for revolution but have taken arms in hand. That's why people feel revolution means bloodshed, individual killing. All these things we will have to clearly understand.

### Wrong line of the CPI (M)

Now, what is the line of CPI (M)? The entire analysis of CPI (M) is a ridiculously jumbled up one. They do not accept that India is a capitalist state. They say India is still a colony. Then what state is India? Today there can be only be two types of states — the bourgeois national states like America, England, Bangladesh, etc. and socialist states like North Korea and Cuba today. (Cuba's foundation is also very bad. When it will fall, we don't know. Though very painful, we have to wait for it.) So, there can only be two types of countries—the bourgeois countries or socialist countries. There can be nothing in between. If CPI (M) does not accept India as a capitalist country and surely will not call India a socialist country, then what kind of a country, according to CPI (M), is India? See the language they use in characterizing Indian state. They say India is a bourgeois landlord state headed by big bourgeoisie. This

is nothing but class collaboration. There is no such state like this anywhere in the whole world. Based on the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said that even if it is accepted for argument's sake that India is a bourgeois landlord state headed by big bourgeoisie, then also the dominant feature is the bourgeoisie. The state headed by big bourgeoisie means it is a capitalist state. Let CPI (M) accept that. But they do not accept. As per their formulation, they will achieve people's democratic revolution in India as it happened in China, Vietnam, Cambodia, North Korea and Cuba. In these countries, the revolutionary proletariat, supported by semi-proletariat and national bourgeoisie fought against foreign invasion and domination. And if one has to believe in the formulation of CPI (M), the national bourgeoisie is to be characterized as progressive and ally of revolution. This is exactly what CPI (M) says that the national bourgeoisie is ally of revolution. Then whom they will fight? Only a few individuals? They do not understand the simple law of capitalism that where there are big capitalists, there are small capitalists as well. These small capitalists they paint as national bourgeoisie. In capitalism, why will the small bourgeoisie fight against the big bourgeoisie? Because, the big bourgeoisie is not allowing the small bourgeoisie to become big. So, the fight of the small capitalists against the big capitalists is for becoming big. If socialism comes, the small capital will also go. Then why will the small capital support revolution? This elementary thing CPI (M) does not understand. So, their revolutionary line is a big jumble, hotchpotch, absolutely unclear. Perhaps that's why they talk of combining with 'Congress, the national bourgeoisie', against 'BJP, the big bourgeoisie'! Actually the big bourgeoisie backs and supports both Congress and BJP. The big bourgeoisie has been supporting the Congress ever since pre-independence times. CPI (M) has made the enemy of revolution their friend thereby confusing the working class. That's why they combine with Congress during election. And not able to accept that, a section of workers in their party raised the question as to why they should combine with national bourgeoisie? They should

immediately start revolution. Falling out with the leadership over this question, that aggrieved section comes out of the party and begins misadventure. This is how the united CPI split into CPI and CPI (M) and then when CPI (M) started contesting elections joining hands with Congress, the CPI (ML) faction came out. This how, they are drifting towards either right opportunism or left adventurism. They do not understand neither of these lines has any link with achievement of revolution. The difference between CPI and CPI (M) is that while CPI(M) tells that the united front which will accomplish revolution should be led by the proletariat and hence it is people's democratic revolution, the CPI also tells the same thing except that the proletariat together with national bourgeoisie will accomplish revolution and hence it is national democratic revolution. CPI (ML) also does not accept India as an independent country. However wrong they are, at least the CPI (ML) is consistent in its theory: They say India is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state; therefore people's democratic revolution is normal, logical and natural. But all of them are very much away from the reality of India. India is an out and out capitalist country and therefore revolution here has to be anti-capitalist socialist revolution. This we must deeply understand and prepare ourselves accordingly for accomplishing it. It warrants releasing a comprehensive socialist struggle covering all aspects of life. That's why Comrade Ghosh has endowed us with a comprehensive understanding of revolution covering all aspects of life; how a revolutionary movement has to be built up, how a revolutionary should be and all such things necessary for revolution. In their parties, CPI, CPI (M) and CPI (ML) confuse everything; what is NDR, what is PDR and so forth. They do not take up cultural questions for discussion. They have no real concept of a revolutionary. Go through their literatures and you will find nothing on these aspects. Hence, they can never accomplish revolution on this soil. Revolution cannot be achieved by any person. Revolution can be accomplished only by the genuine revolutionaries. We will have to understand who these genuine revolutionaries are.

### Difference between SUCI(C) and other parties calling themselves leftists

Basic difference of our line of revolution with these parties calling themselves leftists should be very deeply understood. These parties have created and are creating enormous confusion. They are big parties. Once they enjoyed support of Stalin and Mao-Zedong. The international communist leadership accorded recognition to any party growing in new countries with the name tag of 'communist'. But whether these parties are communists at all, has to be judged on the anvil of Marxist analysis by the proletariats of the respective countries. This was rightly pointed out by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Now, by observing their politics and conduct, people are disgusted with them so much so that they have become opposed to the very name 'communist'. After internationally the Khrushchevite revisionists and then Deng-Ziaoping revisionists destroyed socialism and in our country, the right opportunism of CPI, CPI (M) on the one side and the left adventurism of the Naxalites on the other side are creating abundant confusion centring on the question of revolution or communism, we have to show people the correct line of struggle. And the fact is since we are showing the correct line of struggle and higher concept of life and providing clarity on ethical moral questions, people are getting attracted to us. Do they understand with due clarity our political line as I have placed now? Do they understand the difference between us and CPI-CPI (M)—CPI (ML)? Do they understand how anti-capitalist socialist revolution differs basically from people's democratic revolution and national democratic revolution? They cannot understand so easily. We will have to make them understand. But they are attracted towards us. The fact is that our Party is growing. Why and how? Because the people see the culture of the leaders and the workers, their knowledge, their dedication, their sacrificial mind, total submission to the cause of revolution, their sincerity and their honesty. These things attract them. When they get attracted, we make them acquainted with the concept of revolution in a way understandable to them. Without

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Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech**CPI, CPI (M), Naxalites — all have incorrect understanding of Indian revolution***Contd. from page 6*

understanding the concept of revolution, they cannot side with revolution. If they cannot understand what is capitalism, what is imperialism, why capitalism has become moribund and reactionary, why will they fight against it? If people do not understand what is socialism and how socialism fundamentally differs from a capitalist society, why problems of life will be solved in socialism and how society will progress towards communism, which party can achieve it, how to recognise that party, how revolution will take place—then how would they stand by revolution? All that I have placed here is available in our Party literatures. But today the situation mandates to repeat these things, to remember it, to recall it again and again to cultivate Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought assiduously. Because, we will have to take these things to the people. Who will speak about us? Will the bourgeois media carry our political line to the masses? Will the bourgeoisie give any publicity to us? Comrade Ghosh used to say that revolutionaries will have to beat their own drums. We ourselves have to master the art of becoming good propagandists. Besides propagating revolutionary line in the meetings, in the organs and literature, we shall also have to undertake whisper campaign asking our friends who are convinced about us to tell it to their friends, their relatives, their neighbours. That way our thought would spread far and wide. When we reach out to lakhs of people through friends, relatives, neighbours the whole country will be acquainted with Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought.. So, comrades this is the struggle today.

**We must remove confusions and misgivings about revolution and socialism**

But, before carrying the thought of revolution to the people, we have to understand the minds of the people. Even among those convinced about us, there are confusions about communism itself. This important point I like to dwell on briefly. It may take some more time but please listen carefully. First of all, many people say that when socialism has fallen in Russia, China and other countries, why are we fighting for socialism now?

Socialism cannot come to stay while capitalism is stable. It will remain, last for many more years. So many hundreds of years it has sustained. Yes, there are some mistakes, inadequacies in capitalism that we will have to rectify, reform but capitalism is the ultimate thing. Socialism cannot solve the problem. What is the answer to this? In short, I am providing the answer, the line of argument. If required, you discuss with your leaders elaborately. Socialism is not the final end of revolution. It is a stage of revolution. Struggle is going on between the bourgeois class and the proletariat class. In capitalist society, it is the bourgeoisie which rules and the working class is ruled, oppressed and exploited. Socialism is established by overthrowing the bourgeoisie from state power and establishing a socialist state with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even when the working class is in power, the bourgeoisie is not eliminated, not abolished. The bourgeoisie, though defeated, remains very much in existence in the socialist society. But they are not in power. Lenin showed that the defeated bourgeoisie in socialist countries did have enough link with the international bourgeoisie and reactionaries. This condition makes the bourgeoisie many more times powerful than when it was in power. They not only strive hard but actually take definite steps to orchestrate counter-revolution and stage a comeback to power. So, if working class is not alert and vigilant, if the cultural standard, thinking level of the working class do not get continually uplifted and developed, then, in a non-alert condition, the bourgeoisie would strike back and overthrow the working class. And that is what had happened in the erstwhile socialist countries. So long as giant communist leaders and authorities like Stalin and Mao were alive, the bourgeoisie could not bring about a reversal. These great revolutionary leaders knew that if people do not remain alert, are not conscious about the impending danger, if their cultural level is not adequate, their ideological standard is not improved, then the bourgeoisie can come back to power. When Stalin died, Khrushchev and his gang usurped power. The hidden bourgeoisie, the renegades slowly and gradually came to power and reverse the process. It took 30-35 years to complete the counter-revolution.

**All Marxist authorities cautioned about counter-revolution if correct Marxist line is not pursued**

Hence, so long as bourgeoisie remains, even with working class in power the struggle continues. Sometimes, if the struggle is weakened from the side of the working class, then counter revolution can take place. Lenin, Stalin and Mao had pointed this out and when Khrushchev came to power in socialist Soviet Union, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned several times about this to thwart counter revolution, to fight against revisionist line. But that did not happen. When revolution will be fully accomplished, when classes will be abolished, both the bourgeoisie and working class will cease to exist, only in that stage counter revolution can no more take place. But in socialism which is a transitional phase, there can be advancement if socialist line is followed, socialist culture is imbibed and gradually developed and thereby passing over to communism is possible. If there is lacking in conducting this struggle, then the possibility of return of capitalism through counterrevolution does exist. In all revolutions there is advance and retreat, there is victory and defeat. So, one victory of socialism in Russia or China does not end the struggle. This is not the final thing that has happened. The working class is very much there. The exploitative capitalist state is dying. It has no more life to live. Somehow it is surviving on ventilator getting oxygen from outside. But if the workers get consciously organised, capitalism will be overthrown in all countries of the world. That is very important. So, there is nothing to be confused about counter-revolution. Counter-revolution was anyway a possibility, both in Russia and China. Lenin told "socialism means abolition of classes". But classes could not be abolished. Classes were there only their roles had interchanged. The bourgeoisie had been overthrown but not eliminated. In such a situation, they could always come back and they have come back. There is nothing to be worried because of that. Struggle will again continue and in that very Russia socialism will again come back through revolution. Capitalism cannot solve the problems of life.

**Revolution does not take place automatically**

But here one more question has to be understood. Will crisis alone bring revolution? Crisis can prompt revolution but oppression and suppression alone cannot bring about revolution. Naxalites believe that where there is oppression, revolt breaks up. Where there is crisis, people will come forward for revolution. It never happens like that. Never. Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao all have shown that crisis alone will not bring revolution. In Ethiopia, because of severe crisis and starvation, people have become skeleton-like. But revolution did not break out there. Instead, people started begging. Unless there is conscious organised proletariat, there can be no revolution. This you must remember and believe. So, this answer has to be given to those who question why we should fight for socialism. They should be assured that revolution will again break out, surely break out. If we cannot accomplish it, we will be proved useless, ineffective. But then somebody else will come. They will take up the struggle and accomplish revolution because it is a social process. Revolution is a social force. It will happen when the consciousness of the proletariat grows, when the proletariat organise themselves.

**Socialism provides higher form of democracy**

Another bigger confusion has been created among the educated intelligentsia—lecturers, professors, doctors, engineers and such people due to bourgeois propaganda. You go and tell them about socialism. You will find that whatever you say, their answer will be there is no democracy in socialism. It seems as if the confusion that there is no democracy in socialism is ingrained in their heads. They think democracy can only be in the national bourgeois states. Because of this big confusion, there is a resistance against socialism. So, this point also we will have to deeply understand. What is democracy? Democracy is based on individual freedom. And more particularly it is based on equality. Equality is the basis of democracy. Equality in all fields—social, political, economical, cultural—all fields. The bourgeoisie raised these very slogans of equality, liberty and fraternity against feudalism. That was a great concept

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Comrade Krishna Chakraborty's speech

# Socialism provides true equality in all fields

## — economic-political-social-cultural

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in those days because there was no freedom of individuals in the absolute rule of the feudal lords, authoritarian rule of the monarchy. The vast masses of subjects were victims of feudal oppression and suppression. In that condition, the slogan of equality, liberty and fraternity was really great. But ultimately could the bourgeoisie give that equality? Can there be any equality in a bourgeois system? Can there be equality in a capitalist system that guarantees private property, sanctioned by the state and considered sacred? Can the entire society, the whole people of the society, be the owners of the means of production? No. Only few like Tata, Birla, Adani, Ambani, Goenka etc. can be the owners of the means of production. These people own industries, factories, big firms. It is a fact that working people get job there. What is the meaning of that job? People sell their labour power there to the owner capitalists. However harsh it may sound, the fact is that the capitalists purchase the labour power of the working class. Working class sell their labour power to their industries, their factories for job. Can those who purchase labour power and those who sell their labour power be equal? Only the ignorant or the motivated agents of the capitalist class think that there can be equality between those who sell their labour power and those who purchase it. Lenin has termed it as 'wage' slave and today you see what has happened to the slogan of equality in the present system.

On the other hand, in socialism, there will be no private property. Though at the initial stage, it cannot happen but gradually through a definite process, it will be abolished. The ownership of the entire means of production-- factories, mills, big farms— will be controlled by the entire proletarian class, not by any individual, not Lenin, Stalin or Mao. It is a class dictatorship, dictatorship of the proletariat. It will establish social ownership over means of production. There will be a strict rule in a socialist society that you cannot hire a labourer. There is no labour market in socialism. Labour power cannot be purchased. Labourers are the owners of the means of production and at the same time are workers themselves. Unlike in capitalism, there is no distinction between the owner and the owned. Secondly, in capitalism production is

for maximization of profit. Profit can be earned by exploiting the workers, by appropriating the surplus they have created. In socialism, there is no question of individual profit. There is production, higher production to meet the growing needs of the society. Production includes social and cultural spheres also. Need determines the aim of socialist production. Equality can be achieved only where there is no individual owner over means of production, where the entire society is the owner of the means of production. Still in socialism, some private property will be there in the form of one's own garden, kitchen garden etc. for some time. But ultimately, these things will also go. Everything will be social. That's why we say socialism is a struggle to pass over to communism. When all property is social property, then only equality in the highest sense can be achieved. Democracy or democratic period in history started from the bourgeois society. In feudalism there was no question of equality, individual freedom and liberty. It ends with socialism. This is the phase of democratic period of

society. The first one is known as bourgeois democracy, the second one is known as proletarian democracy. When such question came, Lenin showed that in capitalism there is no democracy, while in socialism there is true democracy. There is democracy for 10% of the owning class as against the 90% of the working people. It is narrow; magnitude of democracy is smaller. While in socialism it is the 90% of the people who enjoy democracy and 10% of the bourgeoisie is overthrown from power. So, if we see in terms of magnitude, scope of democracy is much higher in socialism. More important is, the bourgeois democracy protects exploitation, so culture is degraded. But in socialism, the socialist democracy frees man, frees production from profit motive. It is a greater nobler democracy. So, it is not that proletarian democracy is larger by size only. In quality also, it is much higher. Then when we pass over to communism, classes will get abolished, rule of the class would go away, production would be in abundance to enable anyone take whatever he or she needs. The

working principle will be that of "each according to his need to each according to his ability". So, when real equality will come in communism, the question of democracy itself will vanish. There will be no question of individual freedom, no question of struggle for democracy. All these questions will go out of existence. Such a noble struggle is the struggle to establish communism. So, this we will have to deeply understand and bring our friends, relatives, and neighbours into the vortex of this noble struggle to build socialism and ultimately communism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh concretised Marxism Leninism on the concrete Indian condition. So deeply understand his thought, deeply imbibe it. With this I conclude.

Long live anti-capitalist socialist revolution!

Long live the genuine communist party on Indian soil — the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)!

Red salute to the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!

## AIMSS Convention in Delhi against growing obscenity and crime on women

All India Mahila Sanskritik Sangathan (AIMSS) organized a convention at Ghalib Auditorium, New Delhi on 23 August, 2015, against obscenity through mass media and crimes on women and children. In a hall packed to capacity with people determined to raise their voice against this scar on civilized society, the convention brought together eminent people from all walks of life. The convention was presided over by Advocate Deepika Jain and had as the main speaker Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, President, AIMSS. Other speakers included Dr. H.G. Jayalakshmi, General Secretary, AIMSS, reputed social activist and teacher Prof. Janakirajan, Advocate Vijay Panjvani, who was instrumental in filing a PIL against pornography before the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India and getting about 890 pornographic sites on the internet banned, reputed Hindi writer, Ms. Chandrakanta and Comrade Ritu Kaushik, Delhi State Secretary, AIMSS. The speakers gave a call to the people, women, students and youth in particular, to

come out and raise their voice against the conspiracy of the ruling class and the vested interests in destroying the social fabric of the society through widespread propagation of obscene literature, films, TV shows and pornographic sites on the internet. They described how this has been promoting commodification of woman body and viewing women as object of pleasure. The mushrooming of drink bars and liquor outlets throughout the length and breadth of the country and the reckless attitude of the governments towards the security of women is also causing a

grave concern.

The convention unanimously passed a resolution against obscenity and crimes on women and children, with the following demands:

- Stringent implementation of cyber law
- Bringing TV under the ambit of Press Council of India;
- Strengthening Advertising Standards of India (ASCI) for not just giving directions but also ensure implementation of the same and
- Enactment of strict laws to stop the production and broadcast of pornographic material



Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, President, AIMSS addressing the Convention

# COUNTRY OBSERVED 39th MEMORIAL DAY OF COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

(In our last issue, we covered news of observance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day in 10 states. Now we publish the news of remaining 10 states.)

## Agartala, Tripura

The Memorial Day was observed with a meeting at the TB Association Hall at Agartala, Tripura on 7th August. Comrade Arun Bhowmick, the President of the meeting and the Secretary, State Organizing Committee, Tripura delivered a brief speech. Thereafter, the main speaker, Comrade Saumen Basu, Central Committee member and West Bengal State Secretary addressed the meeting. Highlighting the hard and arduous life-struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to set up a genuine revolutionary party in this soil, Comrade Basu added that it was Comrade Ghosh who had given us the Marxist methodology of judging and analyzing all aspects of life. He appealed to the present workers-supporters to adopt this methodology and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, free themselves from rotten thoughts of individualism bred by the crisis-ridden capitalism and develop themselves as true proletarian revolutionaries to lead and accomplish revolution Comrade Shibdas Ghosh dreamt of.

## Jaipur, Rajasthan

Memorial meeting was organized at Anand Guest House hall in Jaipur on 5 August. Comrade Ram Pratap Chowdhury presided over. In his speech as the main speaker, Comrade Satyawan, Member, Central Committee and Haryana State Secretary, presented the history of formation of the Party and the historic struggle conducted by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in founding the Party in course of concretizing Marxism-Leninism on Indian soil. Referring to some of the valuable teachings of Comrade Ghosh, he said that when both the central and state governments are blatantly pursuing pro-capitalist anti-people policies, life is shattered in every respect, the forces of reaction are out to divide people on communal-casteist line, it is only Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought which can illumine the path and provide guide to action. Also speaking on the occasion was Comrade Pratiba Nayek, General Secretary, AIDYO.

## Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Memorial meeting was organized at Jubba Sahni auditorium with Comrade Arun Kumar Singh, Member, Bihar state Committee, SUCI(C), as the president. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Member, Central Committee and President, All India MSS, was the main speaker. In her analytical speech, Comrade

Chhaya Mukherjee said that objective situation is ripe in the country for bringing about anti-capitalist socialist revolution. What is now required to fulfil the subjective condition i.e. strengthening SUCI(C), the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat on the soil founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Specifying the immediate need, she said that it is high time a united powerful mass movement of the left parties based on the Marxist principle of unity-struggle-unity is unleashed throughout the country against the anti-people pro-capitalist policies of the central and state governments. She said that the correct way to pay heart-felt respect to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is to cultivate and apply in all walks of life his teachings which are the most enriched and developed understanding of Marxism-Leninism and acquire through struggle higher communist ethics and culture. Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Shiv Shankar, Bihar State Secretary, SUCI(C), said that the Nitish Kumar government which talks about the poor is actually subserving the class interest of the capitalists. In his presidential address, Comrade Arun Singh showed that Modi before coming to power vended dream of "achhe din" (good days). But now people find that days brought are 'bura' (bad) with communal-casteist feelings incited to divide the oppressed people and scuttle development of united protest and resistance movements.

## Patna, Bihar

Memorial Day organized by Patna district Committee meeting was on 5 August at the IMA Hall. Comrade Manikanta Pathak, Bihar state committee member presided over. Comrade Swapan Chatterjee, senior member of UP State organizing committee of the Party addressed the house as the main speaker. Over and above presenting the contributions of Comrade Ghosh in national and international questions, Comrade Chatterjee highlighted how life of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was totally identified with the cause of the people, Party and Revolution. Also spoke on the occasion was Comrade Sadhna Mishra, Patna District Secretary, SUCI (C).

## Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day was observed on 6th August at the Community Hall, Subhas Nagar in Bhopal, MP. Comrade Shankar Dasgupta, Staff



Comrade Saumen Basu, Member, Central Committee and Secretary West Bengal State Committee addressing memorial meeting in Agartala, Tripura.

Member of the Party, was the main speaker. Comrade Uma Prasad, member, state committee presided over. Comrades and supporters from the city itself, as also from different districts of the state, viz., Gwalior, Sagar, Jabalpur, Indore, Ashoknagar, Shivpuri, Guna and Raisen etc. took part in the meeting.

At the outset, Comrade Pratap Samal, MP State Secretary, pointed out that the BJP's pronouncement "Ek Saal Baymisa" (Unique one year) was nothing but adding salts to the wounds of the common people, Taxes, privatization of service sectors, imposition of land acquisition bill, reforming labour laws- all this add nothing but difficulties and miseries. He reiterated the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which everyone should follow.

Comrade Shankar Dasgupta said that in the national and international scenarios, we observe two types of happenings: One, the capitalist countries enmeshed in acute market crisis are continuing loot and plunder while the exploited people are coming forward in movements and protests. The Modi government raising the 'Make in India' slogan is inviting foreign capital with the message to them that 'we will allow you to plunder Indian people, in exchange you allow our monopolists to loot other countries'. He pointed out that leadership of the correct revolutionary party can only lead the movements to their logical culmination.

## Budhlada, Punjab

The memorial meeting on the occasion of 39th death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Founder General Secretary, SUCI(C) and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, was held on 9th August, 2015 at FCI hall, Budhlada (Punjab). Comrade Aminder Pal Singh, Incharge, Punjab State Unit of SUCI(C) presided over the meeting. Comrade Partap Samal Secretary, MP State Committee of SUCI(C) was the main speaker. He elaborated the arduous life-struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and his invaluable teachings to raise the political-ethical standards of the revolutionaries, armed with which SUCI(C)

is playing vital role in the national and international struggle.

Comrades Jagtar Singh, Thana Singh, Sandeep Kumar, Sukhvir, Sursati and Hardeep Kaur and Prof. Gurbachan Singh, also spoke on the occasion.

## Cuttack, Odisha

This year, the State level public meeting was organised at Saheed Bhawan, Cuttack on 5 August. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Dhurjati Das, Odisha State Secretary SUCI (Communist). Comrade Rabin Samajpati, Jharkhand State Secretary, SUCI (C) graced the occasion as the main speaker. Comrade Binapani Das, State Committee member gave a brief introductory address.

Recalling the historic struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh conducted to build the Party, Comrade Rabin Samajpati said that on this saddest day of our Party life, the great leader is remembered not just as a matter of ritual but also for taking pledge to accelerate the struggle to expedite revolutionary movement in the country. As warned by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh long ago, the danger of fascism is menacingly looming large over the country. United powerful people's resistance movement with ourselves as equipped organizers at the core can only keep fascism at bay.

Comrade Dhurjati Das sharply criticized the plethora of anti people policies being formulated by the central BJP and state BJD governments which are forcing people of mineral rich Odisha to migrate to other states as migrant labour and peasants to face pauperization.

## Lucknow, UP

Under the auspices of Uttar Pradesh State Organizing Committee a memorial meeting of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, great leader of proletariat, was held at Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall on 9 August 2015. The meeting was presided over by Comrade VN Singh, Secretary, Uttar Pradesh State Organizing Committee. Addressing the august gathering as the main speaker, Comrade Shiv Shankar, Secretary, Bihar State

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## COMMENTARIES

### CELEBRATE! PRICES HAVE PLUMMETTED AT AN ALL TIME RECORD

We know that all of us who go the market to procure items of minimum requirement including essential food articles would be shaken at the captioned statement. But then what can we do. This is what is claimed by the government based on the data supplied by the experts in its pay roll. Data released by the Commerce Ministry showed that wholesale prices plunged for the ninth consecutive month in July on the back of a decline in food and fuel prices. This was the lowest level of the inflation based on wholesale price index (WPI) since 1976 and, according to economists, is the longest stretch of negative wholesale prices in the country since 1975. The sharp dip in WPI, this bunch of 'erudite' claims, comes close on the heels of the significant moderation in retail inflation in July and together the two data sets. Barclays economists Sidharth Sanyal and Rahul Bajoria have discovered that food inflation fell 1.16% year-on-year in July, while vegetable prices fell 24.52% during the month. What could be more preposterous than this? In fact, the ruling capitalist class and its servitor governments have created a team of their lackey economists-statisticians whose assignment is to fudge, manipulate and manufacture data and then present that as 'hallmark of achievement of the government'. (Source : News Agencies)

### IT IS CONFIRMED, ISIS IS A US CREATION

The Islamic State, like Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda has been consciously created by the U.S. This has now been confirmed by the release of classified documents of the US Defence Intelligence Agency by Judicial Watch that obtained these through a federal lawsuit in the US. It was doubly confirmed in an interview to Al Jazeera more recently by Lt General Michael T. Flynn, the director of the Defence Intelligence Agency, commander of the Joint Functional Component Command for Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance, and chair of the Military Intelligence Board from July 24, 2012, to August 2, 2014.

The DIA report, formerly

classified "SECRET//NOFORN" and dated August 12, 2012, was circulated widely among various government agencies, including CENTCOM, the CIA, FBI, DHS, NGA, State Department and others.

The DIA report states that "The West, Gulf countries, and Turkey (which) support the (Syrian) opposition...there is the possibility of establishing a declared or undeclared salafist principality in eastern Syria (Hakasa and Der Zor), and this is exactly what the supporting powers to the opposition want, in order to isolate the Syrian regime..."

In an intense interview with Al Jazeera where he was questioned thoroughly US military's top intelligence man admitted that extremist insurgency that turned into the Islamic State has been stoked by US policy in West Asia. General Flynn said that clearly there was something wrong with American policy and strategy for the region as the number of designated terrorist groups had doubled. (Seema Mustafa—The Citizen, 11-08-15)

### Bourgeois Media stoops to depth of mockery to denigrate Stalin

Severely unnerved at the way toiling people round the world are increasingly showing their respect to Stalin, defying all slanderous malicious propaganda of the bourgeois world and rather holding him in high esteem as a great communist leader and authority who built up Soviet socialism unwaveringly pursuing the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism and saved mankind by inflicting crushing defeat on Hitlerite fascism, the bourgeois world is now trying to slurring and maligning without heeding when and where to stop. The ruling Indian monopolists and their pliant media have also jumped into the fray.

Times of India, one of the largely circulated English dailies, in its edition dated 2 August, 2015 brought out a coloured box-coverage enlisting the names of 10 top rich persons in history like Mansa Musa, Augustus Caesar, Emperor Shenzong, Akbar, Genghis Khan, Alan Rufus, Andrew Carnegie, John D Rockefeller and Bill Gates who were and are either empires or conquerors, looting and amassing wealth and in the process more often than not using brutal force, employing mercenary armies or soldiers or business magnets and

financial oligarchs building a swelling coffer by ruthlessly exploiting labour. All these nine persons stood to gain personally thereby themselves getting enriched materially. And the tenth name mentioned in the list is of Stalin—as a move to deliberately denigrate this great leader of the proletariat and put him on par with the exploitative rulers, empires or monopolists. The excellent gymnastic of journalism has been in calculating the personal wealth of Stalin. Stalin, wrote Times of India, "controlled one of the largest economies in the world and in 1950, the USSR made up roughly 9.5% of global economic output. As of 2014, that level of production would be equivalent to nearly \$7.5 trillion". What could be more preposterous than this! How could the wealth created by Soviet socialism in its spectacular advancement within just three decades from revolution be described as personal property of Stalin? Can by any stretch of imagination the wealth of the entire country be shown as personal kitty of the head of the State? In that case, \$16.7 trillion worth GDP OF USA should be shown as personal wealth of Barack Obama and the personal coffer of Modi should be of \$2 trillion, the GDP of India. What distinguishes Stalin from others is that he was head of a socialist state pursuing socialist economy which is not based on exploitation of man by man and the motive of profit maximization. The wealth of the country belonged to the wealth of the people. As regards Stalin's "personal" property, it is worth recalling what Ribin who was employed as Stalin's security had reported and recorded in history. Ribin stated that all Comrade Stalin had left behind on his demise were just some clothes and shoes, books and a few rubbles. It goes without saying that such attempts at tarnishing the great leader cannot in any way undermine the unique contributions of Stalin which can to say the least precisely be defined as rewriting through his lofty efforts the history of mankind.

### Poor get gallows, rich mostly escape

The fact that our legal system is skewed against the poor and marginalized is well-known. And to that extent, it's only expected that they get harsher punishment than the rich. A first of its kind study, which has analyzed data from interviews with 373 death row convicts over a 15-year period, has found three-fourths of those given the death penalty belonged to backward classes, religious minorities and 75%

were from economically weaker sections. The reason why the poor get a rougher treatment from our courts is more often than not their inability to find a competent lawyer to contest their conviction. Senior advocate Prashant Bhushan said: "It is true that there is a class bias, otherwise why would we have so many people languishing in jail because they cannot afford a lawyer to get bail?" He said only 1% of the people can afford a competent lawyer. Founder of Human Rights Law Network and senior advocate Colin Gonsalves holds similar views. "I think the finding that 75% of the death row convicts are poor is the absolute minimum. The rich mostly get away while the very poor get the short shrift." For the economically weak, legal aid or advice comes at the trial stage by which time it is too late. (Times of India-21-07-15)

### BJP MLA threatens journalist of 'encounter' killing'

Bharatiya Janata Party legislator from Dhar, Vel Singh Bhuriya threatened to encounter a journalist as the media persons posed several questions to him during a public meeting.

The MLA, a former RSS functionary lost his cool when he was questioned about farmers compensation.

Bhuriya said, "Talking of my rights, I even have the right to encounter someone, if people breach peace and indulges in problematic activities."

"You have made me the MLA so respect me like one," he added.

This is another instance which proves that earlier power-hungry politicians used to maintain a criminal force to flaunt their muscle power but now criminals have become political leaders and legislators. (News18, 06-08-15)

### Sangh Parivar activists reveal how Modi masterminded Gujarat Pogrom

Ashish Khetan, an investigative journalist, interviewed multiple people, who were directly involved in the 2002 riots or were part of the conspiracy to derail justice post 2002 riots, through hidden cameras. All these interviews have been combined in to a 17 minute video which revealed how Sangh Parivar activists admit Narendra Modi being the mastermind behind 2002 riots and the denial of justice post 2002. Babu Bajrangji first elaborates how

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he masterminded the riots, and then explains how Narendra Modi saved him by manipulating judiciary. The same judge, Akshay Mehta, who bailed out Bajrangji is one of the 2 judges in Nanavati Commission investigating 2002 riots. Bajrang Dal leader Haresh Bhatt admits that Modi had given them a free hand for 3 days, they could do whatever they want. Arvind Pandya, advocate representing Gujarat Government in Nanavati Commission, states that Modi gave oral instructions to Police to let go the rioters. He further states that – “If he wasn’t a CM, he would have burst a bomb. (Truth of Gujarat-10-03-2014)

### 8 million people starve to death per year while imperialist sharks spend astronomical sum in arms manufacturing

Roughly 8 million people in the world die of starvation per year. It requires \$30 billion to end world hunger. But the imperialist sharks who in order to satiate their never-quenching thirst of profit trade on the hunger of millions and squeeze out the last drop of blood from the oppressed people pressed under the grinding wheel of ruthless capitalist exploitation and go on militarizing the economy. US imperialists, the chieftain of world imperialism-capitalism, spend on defence \$737 i.e. 250% more than what could eradicate hunger from the world. This is the face of the global brigand who exports ‘democracy’ in gunboat. (Source:-- world hunger education service 2015)

### People subsidize loan-defaulter monopoly houses and corporate sector

True that we, the common people, are pauperized day in day out assailed by rising burden of price spiral, increasing indirect taxation and various other fiscal savageries. It is also true that the government is withdrawing all subsidies towards food, fertilizer and fuel, slashing healthcare and education budgets and instead has so far granted tax

waivers and concessions to the monopoly houses and corporate behemoths to the tune of Rs 7 lakh crores in the name of fiscal consolidation. Yet we are now forced to subsidize these financial oligarchs further. On the pretext of making productive investment, these oligarchs have taken huge loan from the banks. But now, it is found that as high as Rs 3.09 lakh crore worth of loans are not repaid. This amount of loan default is called non-performing assets (NPAs) of the banks. Of this total NPA figure, Rs 2.67 lakh crores pertain to the public sector banks. Union BJP Finance Minister himself has informed this. (another source puts the NPA figure to be as high as Rs 6 lakh crores or 10% of total advance—Ananda Bazar Patrika, Bengali daily dated 08-11-14) There is no practice in capitalist India to punish these loan defaulting corporates most of whom are wilful defaulters. So, to make good the loss suffered by the PSU banks, the government is now going to grant as high as Rs 1.80 lakh crore from public exchequer, the government treasury created with the tax paid by the people, to the ailing banks under the garb of recapitalization. Incredible paradox!! (Source—Business Today, 21-08-15)

### Drastic fall in crude prices, but price line soars sky-high

It almost became a habit of the Indian government to raise fuel prices on the pretext that because of rising global crude oil prices, the oil companies are making loss and hence needed to be bailed out by jacking up retail petrol-diesel tariff. The government also held that a substantial expenditure is incurred to foot oil bills. We had shown all these to be bogus excuses. But now there are concrete evidences to prove how the government is deceiving the countrymen on this count. When crude price was \$147 per barrel, petrol was sold roughly at Rs 75 per litre. Now when the crude price has slid to \$42 per barrel, petrol price is hovering around Rs 68 per litre. In other words, a 367% fall in crude price has triggered only a 10% fall in retail petrol tariff. In other words, the benefits have been absorbed by the government to favour the oil companies while people continues to bleed white under harrowing price rise which is not impacted even by the marginal fall in crude price. Moreover, till July, the longest global oil glut was estimated to save India close to Rs 1.5 lakh crore, or

roughly \$24 billion, in 2015-16. To put that sum in perspective, it would be enough to cover the government’s school education, health, women and child development budgets and pay for the rural jobs scheme. The oil ministry’s market tracker, Policy Planning and Analysis Cell, estimated the country’s oil import bill for this fiscal at \$88.2 billion, or nearly 22% lower than \$112.7 billion in 2014-15.

But this benefit would never be passed on to the countrymen. Rather using this sharp fall in crude import bill and drawing upon the manipulated data supplied by a bunch of so called experts in the payroll of the establishment, the government would only fudge the figure of inflation, claim a downturn in inflation (no matter how much the prices of essential commodities jump in the retail markets) and then lower interest rates to benefit the capitalist owners and lower the return on hard earned bank savings of the masses in general. So, people continue to receive deadly blow irrespective of whether crude price rise or fall. This is the sorcery of capitalism.

### Five million jobs lost during high growth years

As many as five million jobs were lost between 2004-05 and 2009-10, paradoxically during the time when India witnessed the highest and consistent eight per cent growth in its economy, throwing a question whether growth is necessarily linked to employment generation, said an ASSOCHAM study proving that so called economic growth is inversely proportional to not only unemployment but even loss of existing employment. In fact this is

### Saga of subsidy

Bourgeois economists-columnists-ministers-self-styled experts have made it a habit to advocate slash in subsidy to people arguing that such is imperative to push through ‘reforms’ which would stimulate ‘growth’, bolster ‘development’ and relieve the government exchequer from shouldering ‘unnecessary’ burden of expenditure. But, much to their discomfort, the figures of subsidy show how motivated their argument is. Look at the following figures:—

Year	Subsidy to Poor (in Rs crores)	Exemptions to Corporates (in Rs crores)
2009-2010	1, 05,579	4, 82, 432
2010-2011	1, 08, 667	4, 59, 705
2011-2012	1, 34, 211	5, 33, 583
2012-2013	1, 79, 554	5, 66, 235
2013-2014	2, 20, 972	5, 72, 923
2014-2015	2, 51, 397	5, 90,000

It is evident that tax concessions and waivers granted to the industrial houses and corporate sectors is almost 5 times of the figure of subsidy provided in food, fuel, fertilizer etc. This proves glaringly that ‘carrying coal to new castle’ and ‘slaying the slain’ is the motto of the protagonists of so called reforms.

nothing but ‘jobless growth’ in which the handful of capitalist owners and their servitors widening gap flourish while the common people lose their means of livelihood. It also proves that so called boasting of growth has no link with job creation—a fact often denied by the bourgeois governments and their pliant economic experts. The Study has further shown that much-trumpeted service industry which is stated to have contributed as high as 67% to GDP employed only 27% of workforce. The Study however did not specify if this employment is on contract or casual basis or is of the nature of gainful permanent engagement. This is the hideous underbelly of crisis-ridden reactionary capitalism pushing people to the precipice of total ruination with every passing day. (Source:— PTI and UNI 23-08-15)

### Islamic State is brutal, but United States is worse, says PIO professor

Deepa Kumar, an Indian-American and an associate professor at Rutgers University of media studies has set off a firestorm in the media and academic circles by declaring that “Yes ISIS is brutal, but US is more so, 1.3 million killed in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. #NoToWar,” tweeted on March 26, in a broadside consistent with her anti-US and anti-war critiques. The tweet attracted some attention in the immediate hours and days after it was posted, with several responses asking her to get out of America if she thought so poorly of it and others dismissing her as a joke. A few liberal colleagues defended her right to express her views. (Times of India 02-08-15)

## In memory of Great Engels



On the occasion of the death anniversary of Great leader of world proletariat Frederick Engels on 12<sup>th</sup> August Central Committee member Comrade Shankar Saha garlanded his statue at the Central Party Office in Kolkata. Later, a meeting was organized under the auspices of Kolkata District Committee at the Subarna Banik Hall which was presided over by Comrade Chiraranjan Chakraborty Kolkata District Secretary of our party and Comrade Saumen Basu, Central Committee member and West Bengal State Secretary was the main speaker.

## 39th Memorial Day of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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Committee, SUCI (Communist) highlighted the life- struggle of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh when he along with his few compatriots decided to build up a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party on Indian soil. He had no support, no resources and had to face many difficulties, but ultimately he succeeded to form a genuine Marxist-Leninist working class Party in India which has assumed the present formidable shape. He called upon the comrades to carry forward his great thoughts. Comrade VN Singh called for going to the masses and mix with them.

### Mumbai, Maharashtra

Memorial meeting was organized at Janata Kendra, Tardeo (Mumbai Central) on 5 August. Comrade Anil Tyagi, In-charge, Mumbai unit, presided over. Main speaker Comrade Tapan Dasgupta, Member, Gujarat State Organizing Committee, focused his discussion on how Comrade Shibdas Ghosh released an all-embracing arduous struggle to

### Andamans

Party workers, supporters and sympathizers assembled at a hall in Little Andamans on 5 August, rendered the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, read out the homage of the Central Committee after his sad demise and discussed the various important teachings of his. Comrades Balamanna discussed through what painstaking a struggle Comrade Shibdas Ghosh built up the Party braving all odds. Comrade Bijon Mandal conducted the proceedings. On this occasion, a political study class was organized on 9 August, with Comrade Asok Samanta, Member, West Bengal State Committee, as the conductor.



*A part of the gathering at memorial day meeting at Andaman*

build up the Party which has now its organizational base in almost all states of India and emerging as the only party acceptable to the people because of its ideology, culture and character. Also speaking on the occasion were Comrades Kumar Kulshreshtha and Jairam Vishwakarma.

### Uttarakhand

Memorial Day was observed at Garwal Mandal hall in Srinagar, Uttarakhand, on 5 August. In his address as the main speaker, Comrade Pratap Samal, Madhya Pradesh State Secretary, SUCI(C), dwelt on why it is imperative to embrace Marxism as the guiding philosophy in life and what is the crucial and decisive role a genuine communist party plays in organizing and leading the proletariat to accomplish anti-capitalist socialist revolution which alone can bring emancipation from all misery and penury. Also spoke was Prof. R.C. Dimri of Garwal University. Comrade Mukesh Semwal conducted the meeting.

## SUCI(C) strongly condemns publication of religion-based census calling it an attempt to foment communal divide

Strongly criticizing the religion-wise census report which has been released by the BJP-led Central Government on 26 August, 2015, Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(Communist) in course of a statement issued on the same date, raised the pertinent question as to how is that the ruling BJP and the Congress also who always proclaim Indian State to be a secular one, are openly indulging in this type of worst communalism which destroys the very fabric of secularism? He firmly stated that this type of acts clearly reveals their real face and real intentions to communalize the whole country. He strongly condemned it.

## SUCI (C) fervently appeals to the people of Gujarat to maintain peace and amity

In a statement issued on 26-08-15, Gujarat State Organizing Committee of SUCI(C) strongly deplored the high handed and atrocious behaviour of Police towards the common people, not sparing even women and children. SUCI(C) also severely condemned the failure of the state government to maintain law and order situation in the state.

SUCI(C) fervently appealed to the people of Gujarat to maintain peace and amity in the state.



*Sit-in Demonstration of Bank Employees' Unity Forum in Kolkata in support of 2 September strike*

## Red Salute Comrade Mao Zedong

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dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. That is to say, democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while the working class, uniting with all others enjoying civil rights, and in the first place with the peasantry, enforces dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction. By civil rights, we mean, politically, the rights of freedom and democracy.

Certain people...think that there is too little freedom under our people's democracy and that there is more freedom under Western parliamentary democracy. They ask for a two-party system as in the West, with one party in office and the other in opposition. But this so-called two-party system is nothing but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it can never guarantee freedoms to the working people. As a matter of fact, freedom and democracy exist not in the abstract, but only in the

concrete. In a society where class struggle exists, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited. If there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people. ... Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the realm of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base. The same is true of freedom. Both democracy and freedom are relative, not absolute, and they come into being and develop in specific historical conditions....This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy broad democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline."

*(On the correct handling of contradictions among the people)*

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH