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EVM-VVPAT

Latest questionable means in the putrid bourgeois election today must be immediately withdrawn

Following their massive defeat in the last Uttar Pradesh Assembly election, leaders of several non-BJP political parties, namely Mayawati of BSP, Akhilesh Yadav of SP and others alleged that the Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) had been viciously managed in favour of the BJP. The issue was raised in the parliament and representatives of 16 parties met the President of India as also the Election Commission of India (ECI). They demanded immediate withdrawal of voting by the EVM and reversal to the traditional paper ballots.

On 9 May in the Delhi Assembly, the AAP MLA and software engineer Saurabh Bhardwaj staged, on behalf of his party, a live demonstration of how EVMs can be tampered. As expected, the ECI immediately trashed the AAP claims. On 12 May, in a meeting with representatives of 'recognized political parties at national and state levels', the EC Chief claimed neutrality, challenged the parties on tampering and assured them of using the voter verifiable paper audit trail (VVPAT) with EVMs in future elections. This, he

asserted, would not only ensure total credibility and transparency, but would also put to rest all controversy on tampering. Looking at it in a different way one may justifiably ask: Have total credibility and transparency been then wanting till now? The ECI also demonstrated the wide range of security protocol and technical as well as administrative safeguards that, it asserted, fortify the EVMs and VVPATs. As reported, most of the parliamentary parties, in power or in opposition and including those like CPI(M) masquading as Marxists, made a retreat and in a clear *volte face* expressed confidence in EVMs with VVPAT, while a few like AAP, BSP and TMC stuck to the demand of paper ballots. However, even with the latter, the earlier steam against EVM seems to have been lost; the hue and cry receded. What remained is a kind of feeble voice in favour of returning to paper ballot.

Why this somersault?

Obvious question is why this apparent somersault? Is it because they apprehend their

allegation about rigging the EVM machine is unfounded? Or, is there some pulling of strings from behind by forces whom they can ill-afford to disobey? This question does arise because the parliamentary parties who, in the ultimate analysis, belong to the bourgeois camp and derive sustenance from the parliamentary vote politics of pelf and power cannot take any step that might antagonize the class and jeopardize their electoral prospect in future. Secondly, though the ECI always makes a posture of neutrality and pretends to be so concerned of conducting election in a free and fair manner, is that the truth? Or is it like any other organ or entity of the bourgeois state machine bound to ultimately serve the class interest of the ruling monopolists, and for that matter manipulate affairs suitably to carry out the orders of its masters hiding behind the scene.

Why judicial activism in support of EVMs?

What is more significant is that even the judiciary, another important pillar of this bourgeois

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Unable to resolve problem of unemployment, capitalist rulers are fanning up communalism, racism, ethnic hatred

Comrade Provash Ghosh at the 70th Party Foundation Day Meeting in Kolkata

[This is the English translation of the speech delivered in Bengali by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C), at the 70th Party Foundation Day Meeting on 24 April, 2017, at Shaheed Minar maidan in Kolkata. The responsibility of translation error as well as inadequate representation, if any, solely lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era.]

Comrade President, Comrades and Friends,

Every year, we observe Party Foundation Day on 24 April with due solemnity. On this day, guided by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, our teacher and Founder of SUCI (Communist), we formulate our new task in the context of prevailing national and international situations.

People of this country as well as of the whole world are today faced with a grave and dangerous situation. Round the globe, the imperialists-capitalists are fomenting national jingoism, religious fundamentalism, racism, ethnic

fanaticism and communalism. But this is no accidental or isolated a phenomenon.

Trump and Modi, strange similarities

World capitalism is mired in acute crisis today. After the setback of socialism, despite absolute domination of imperialism-capitalism over today's world, in every country capitalism is ridden with deep market crisis. It means that the purchasing power of the people has plummeted to the lowest. As per the statistics provided by the imperialist-capitalist quarters, over 300 crores (3 billion) people of the world earn only Rs161 a day. The wealth of the richest 1% is equal to that of the remaining 99%. Just 8 super-rich individuals own the same wealth as half of the world's population. This 99% of population are the buyers in capitalist market. This is the current global scenario. Once, the concept of 'protectionism' was brought out by capitalism-imperialism to stave off the growing market crisis. It meant that all the capitalist-imperialist countries would protect their respective domestic markets from invasion of foreign capital and grab markets outside. Two



world wars broke out based on this grabbing of markets. Later triggered were 'trade wars' and 'economic wars'. In the 1990s, world capitalism introduced the scheme of 'globalization'. The scheme, as against earlier proposition of 'protectionism', called for free trade, opening of all markets. In the name of implementing the scheme, the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries went whole hog to extend control over the markets of the less developed or developing

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EVM-VVPAT

Despite all hype, EVM stands questionable and not ‘credible, reliable and tamperproof’

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state, has stood firmly in support of the EVM. An ECI Press Note on 16 March 2017 stated that High Courts of at least 5 states held the EVMs in India as credible, reliable and totally tamperproof. PTI report quoted in the *Firstpost* dated 14 May 2017, mentioned that the Karnataka High Court called the EVM a “national pride” and acknowledged the Indian election system as a “global gold standard”. So the monopoly-controlled media, the propaganda weapon of the ruling class, were in a position to claim that an important issue of Indian parliamentary politics has been solved happily and satisfactorily, with the EVM plus VVPAT emerging victorious, politically unchallenged, legally applauded and administratively cleared. Slowly but steadily they have released a campaign to endorse the EVM and oppose paper ballots.

Is the EVM immune to tampering?

But, there does remain a big ‘But’. The ECI has repeatedly pointed out on different occasions that the allegations of tampering did not stand ground. But conveniently and purposely it holds back the information that immediately after the last Assembly elections, including that of UP, there was a routine live demonstration of the functioning and efficiency of EVM-VVPAT in Bhind in Madhya Pradesh ahead of the 9 April Assembly by poll there. It was conducted by the state unit of the ECI in presence of high level election officers (MP state chief electoral officer), the returning officer as well as the top level district administration officer like the district collector. In that demonstration, the machines recorded voting and dispensed slips only in favour of the BJP, notwithstanding whichever button was pressed. Was then the ECI’s claim of tamperproof EVM really truthful? Why did the ECI evade reference to this case in all later communications?

On the use of EVM, the said PTI report called India a world leader and added that most forward-looking nations are aspiring to go electronic. But at the same time, it is admitted in the said report that electronic voting is not the prevailing choice among many of the world’s democracies. From that list of the PTI, Germany declared

EVMs unconstitutional and banned for their being prone to hacking and unfit for political use. The Netherlands banned use of EVMs on the ground of lack of transparency. Ireland too scrapped the electronic voting system due to lack of trust and transparency after spending millions of dollars on the installation of EVMs. England never used EVMs and, as stated by them in January 2016, has no plans either to introduce electronic voting in polling booths or via the internet. France never used EVMs for the country’s resident voters. It only resorted to internet voting for French people staying outside the country. That system is also presently withdrawn. In USA in keeping with its federal structure, in which many issues are maintained in different ways in different states, the voting methods also vary. There, electronic voting was challenged by a Virginia-based Voting Integrity Project. It alleged that electronic voting came disadvantageous for poorer, less literate and socially handicapped African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, all of whom though were protected classes under the Voting Rights Act (www.india.com 15 March 2017). Another report, quoting experts looking into the security aspects of US election system, says, “a recommendation to implement online voting seems to defy logical assessments and guidance agreed upon by security experts and elections officials who assert that conducting online elections is still too risky because current systems lack the desired level of security and vote reliability.” (*Medium corporation — homeland Security 24-01-17*) So again, the ECI was on wrong foot. Contrary to the claims of ECI, major western democracies countries are not accepting EVM or electronic voting as ‘credible, reliable and tamperproof’.

How far tenable is the argument that Indian EVMs are not comparable with others

The ECI further claims that any surmise based on EVMs used in other countries or on foreign studies would be completely erroneous. According to the ECI, the Indian EVMs cannot be compared with the EVMs used elsewhere. The former with their unique system of security and operation are flawless. Be that as it may be, it makes the ECI admit

some truths: EVMs may vary from machine to machine, from those of one country to another and there is scope for tampering. Any knowledgeable person is conversant with certain irrefutable current facts. Technology, more so in the field of electronics, is developing fast with each day seeing new methods, applications, software or hardware being born. Second, parallel to it, hacking or tampering has reached such a stage that even before a new software is marketed, in a lightning speed the hackers bring out viruses or malware which could affect it and even its antidotes called *ransomware* simply to blackmail and earn money. To what stage hacking and tampering has gone recently is evident from the case of *Wannacry ransomware*, which even put the security agency of the USA into the dock and held the whole world in nerves, blackmailing the victims, that is, demanding huge money for refreshing the computers that the hackers have totally immobilized despite those having been claimed as thoroughly safe and secure.

So, how can the ECI be sure that their EVMs would never be prone to any such hacking or tampering or any other cyber-attacks? Besides from amongst several thousands of machines being used across the country, how can it be guaranteed that there would not be many affected, though some would not? As indicated, it is possible with latest technology that a few hundreds or thousands of initial operations may yield perfect result. In any before-operation check that the ECI carries out, such results might leave the concerned political parties happy and convinced. And when the election proceeds, later operations, that is, pressing of button will give a pre-fabricated, pre-programmed designed result, as was found in the Bhind case mentioned above.

On the pages of *Proletarian Era*, we already stated that allegations on EVM manipulation are of a kind that cannot be proved easily; they are not done on the streets, booths or counting centres, nor on this or that machine either. It involves only a secretive handful nexus of highest level representatives of monopoly houses-administrative personnel- policy making leading politicians- top notch technical experts who take any bait for any assignment to give effect to any desired programming.

Why is ECI so guarded about checking of EVMs?

Similar question is raised by the computer experts. The ECI asserts its machines as ‘tamper-proof’. But, allegedly, none of the people who conducted the review of the machines were computer security experts. Involved in the checks were the manufacturers (ECIL and BEL) of the machines. Why then is the EC so guarded or secretive, about the EVMs, continuing to refuse independent checks? What’s there to lose? Further, what makes the issue worse is this: the law has made no explicit room for benign agents, such as scholars and white-hat hackers, to check EVMs even in an effort to improve the security of the trusted computing bases. Why not edit this clause and make it easier to proactively invite hackers to do their worst, just like many corporates from time to time do? (Source—*The Wire: 10 May 2017*) Why: one may ask legitimately.

Besides, in a serious allegation, it is held that the EVM manufacturers, the BEL and ECIL have shared the ‘top secret’ EVM software program with two foreign companies, Microchip (USA) and Renesas (Japan) to copy it onto microcontrollers used in the Indian EVMs. This process could have been done securely in-house by the Indian manufacturers. Instead, the process followed has exposed the ‘top secret’ Indian software to foreign MNCs. Where does the security stand then?

Certain pertinent technical questions

From a technical point of view, in the hardware, microcontrollers make a crucial part in which the software is copied. EVM manufacturers of India use generic microcontrollers instead of more secure branded versions. Those can be easily replaced or faked, greatly facilitating frauds. Not just microcontrollers, mother boards (cards which contain microcontrollers) and entire EVMs also can be replaced in the Indian machines (*for both software and hardware issues, one may refer to GVL Narasimha Rao -<http://www.indianevm.com/articles/ten-reasons-for-banning-indian-evms.pdf>*). Each Indian EVM constitutes the *ballot unit*, used to receive the votes, the *control unit*, used by the ECI officials to count the votes and a

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EVM-VVPAT

Election in bourgeois parliamentary system marred by all-out rigging all over the capitalist world

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cable cover connecting the two, along which data from the ballot unit are transferred to the control unit. The system is simple, but it includes three distinct components that can be manipulated, independently or together. Besides, it is held that for overly simple designs, it may be difficult, if not impossible, to apply more advanced or complex security devices.

The ECI claims that it oversees a 'first-level check' by BEL/ECIL engineers before the actual polling in the presence of representatives of the relevant political parties. But number one, only 5% of all machines are randomly selected for at least 1,000 mock-votes to be polled as well as from which sequential printouts of every vote polled will be available. Is the percentage adequate for ensuring a perfect check of presence of any faulty machine among tens of thousands used? Number two, are the EVMs subjected to integrity tests after polling is over and before counting begins? Number three, why have the ECI or the manufacturers not undertaken any hardware or software audit till date, which means any attempt to manipulate would go undetected? (*GVL Narasimha Rao, ibid*)

At the end of it all, there is a chance that some will find even VVPATs, added newly, to be not good enough, which would then mean that the ongoing crisis is one of faith and confidence. (*The Wire 10-05-17*) Thus, the so-called tamper-proof system of the Indian EVM is by no way unquestionable. Rather it leads to another important question.

Elections are manipulated to elicit result desired by the ruling monopolists

The ECI is often projected as a 'neutral' 'independent entity which upholds democratic values... admirably', displaying 'its strength and determination to uphold the concept of free and fair elections.' As discussed above, presently it is trying all-out to adopt and go on with the use of EVM plus VVPAT, in its latest move on face of rising complaints on credibility and transparency of the EVM. Be that as it may, one cannot miss that the use of EVM is now being made an integral part of the bourgeois parliamentary election processes in capitalist India. One cannot also miss that long back, exposing the

bourgeois election system Lenin, the great leader of the proletariat, had remarked that in its essence and in the ultimate analysis, bourgeois election is nothing but a choice offered to people to choose who should be placed into the governmental power to exploit and fleece them for a period of 4 or 5 years. And in these days of decadent moribund capitalism, this is manifest nakedly. Every step and practice of running bourgeois election is fractured, if not deformed, with all out rigging starting from enrolment of voters to the final stage of counting and announcement of the results. And this takes place giving a burial to all canons of laws, democratic norms, codes and practices. Manoeuvring and manipulating election results as per desire of the ruling bourgeoisie have become the order of the day. It has become part of the grandiose design to strip bourgeois election process of its essence and turn the legislature virtually into an appendage of the ruling class.

People's experience about manipulated election

What do people find from their own experiences? The ECI is promulgating rules and regulations one after another in the name of electoral reforms to ensure free and fair elections. Despite and defying these, election today has become a miserable combination of complete lack of any serious political debate on the burning issues of people's life, vulgar display of unchecked and virulent flow of money, flexing of muscle, parroted media, liberal doling out of freebies including streams of liquor and/or even one or two sumptuous dinners to lure the poorest of poor to cast votes as dictated, rampant corruption, deceitful tactics, wilful bending of laws, vicious campaign on casteist-communalist lines, bountiful mutual bickering, slanderous campaigns and character assassinations and finally a process of all-out rigging. With each election, rigging is done through newer and newer trickeries to befool people. Either, brute force is displayed through booth capturing, driving out opponent agents from the booth, naked show of strength with brandishing of arms and other worst kind of threat and intimidation. Or, the opting is for secretive skillfully executed administrative rigging. Repeatedly, people have found that before the elections, the ECI or its state units ceremoniously make tall

claims of guaranteeing free and fair elections. But when in reality this or that party enjoying backing of the ruling class occupies the stage and carries through its agenda of hijacking the election, the ECI or its units put their averred 'neutrality' on the back-burner obviously at the beckoning of their masters from behind the curtain. And so it acquiesces in the move to rig the election by keeping mum, looking the other way, advancing ludicrous arguments or seeking to evade responsibility by meekly expressing that they are not the law enforcing bodies. At the same time, taking recourse to sheer hypocrisy, they pose how free and fair the elections have been. Who will be favoured in this 'process-monitored' 'free and fair election' depends on the choice of the ruling class, the monopolists, which put their stamp upon one or a few of their subservient political parties whom they feel would serve them the best under the prevailing circumstances. Of course, there remains a preparatory background.

The total election process, not just in India, but in all capitalist-imperialist countries of the world, is thus put in the tightest grip of the combination of money power, muscle power, media power along with administrative power, acting under the design-supervision-beckoning of the ruling monopolists from behind the curtain. Every care is taken to ensure that in the name of 'electoral debate', a mock-fight is staged in media glare among the parties of the establishment, choice is strictly restricted between two principal parties or combinations the ruling class intends to bring into limelight while the parties or forces that not only pledge for but stand really for people in their stead, that launch movements on the burning problems of people's life and livelihood, and that take election battles as part of their sustained united struggle of toiling people to send people's genuine representatives to the legislative bodies to raise people's voice there, are left out.

EVM-VVPAT issue is a part of manipulation of election in dying bourgeois democracy

The question and controversy centred on the EVM are to be viewed in this backdrop. The ECI or its state units are projected as 'independent entities' who are 'admirably upholding the concept of free and fair elections and

neutrality'. In reality they connive with the grand design described above and do not even care to follow up the streams of complaints made to them on these various issues. Thus they stand as the latest high-tech accessory in the whole process of the degenerated putrid electioneering in the decadent stinking capitalist system. And as said before, the lightning speed with which cyber conspiracies are now spreading over the globe, malware attacks and tampering are generated and ramified instantaneously, it is not just likely, rather certain that the ruling class which does not leave out any means for all-out rigging to install in power the force it considers to be the most trusted political manager of it at that point of time, will grab conveniently every scope to tamper, format and programme EVM-VVPAT to achieve its vile objective. This is the political game the ruling monopolists are playing with a view to exhausting the vestiges of rational judgment and thinking power in people and sinking them deeper in parliamentary illusion. The claimed 'immunity' of the Indian EVM to manipulation by the ECI is to be understood in this perspective. Now with its credibility under attack, the ECI adds VVPAT to make people believe how earnestly it is trying for free and fair election with a new device. But that adds only to the basket of tricks, already in use. And the vote-based political parties, which at one stage vociferously stood for withdrawal of the EVM, suddenly became conspicuously mute and docile because, as stated above, they need to be clever enough to read what and whose signals are emanated from the actions of the ECI, keeping in mind that the same ECI might come to their use if they can curry favour with the ruling bourgeoisie in a changed situation and brighten their electoral prospects.

People need to see through this scenario based upon which the EVM-VVPAT issue and the total election procedure revolves. They also need to realize that although they will have to take part in such a pre-designed fractured election till the conditions for overthrow of the capitalism system is ripe, they will have to at the same time carry on powerful struggle against each and every form of rigging practised in the election. The suffering people do not have anything to expect from these elections which are with every

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Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Growing unemployment, rising peasants' suicide, spurt in woman-child trafficking mark 'development' of capitalist India

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countries who once tried to build up their economies by taking help from the socialist camp. Now the bubble of globalization has burst. The world capitalism-imperialism is in the grip of severe recession. Even in US, millions are unemployed, thousands of workers are retrenched. Just have a look at the last Presidential election in US. Centring on that election, there was free flow of rotten thoughts of nationality hatred, ultra-nationalism and racism. "America for Americans", "America for white Americans", "Drive away the immigrants, the Latin Americans and the black Americans"—such were the slogans raised. Racist venom is spewed against the black Americans who constitute a sizeable part of the US population. Immediately after taking over, the new US President announced that he would not allow the citizens of a few identified Muslim countries to enter America. In order to stop

entry of the Indians who go to US for working in the Information Technology sector, stringent restrictions were imposed on issuing H1-B visa. What is the reason for all these? The reason is that American youth are starved of jobs. They need to be provided employment. Hence the step to drive others away. Just a few years back, the entire US was stirred by the 'Occupy Wall Street movement'. The American youth continued that agitation for seven long months. They raised slogans—"Down with capitalism", "Down with globalization", "We are 99%, they are 1%". Such was the vigour and intensity of the 'Occupy Wall Street movement'. This movement had no leader, no ideology to guide. Hungry aggrieved Americans had burst into spontaneous movement. In all the imperialist countries like England, Italy, Germany, France and Japan, such protest agitations are surging forth from time to time. Faced with such rising protest

movements, the imperialist-capitalist rulers mortally afraid of the possibility of anti-capitalist socialist revolution are stoking the fire of religious and racist hatred. This is a grave conspiracy of world capitalism-imperialism scared of people's struggles.

23 lakh applications for 368 posts of peon

The situation in India is no different. Four years back, the President of India himself had said that 66 crore out of 121 crore of the population (i.e. half of the population) are unemployed. Even on a very conservative estimate, the figure would now be around 70 to 75 crore. If the number of semi-employed and under-employed is added, the figure would touch 80 to 90 crore. Last year, it was reported that as high as 23 lakh applications were received for just 368 posts of peon in Uttar Pradesh. Applicants comprised doctorates, post-graduates and graduates from all streams. Similarly in West Bengal, 25 lakh applications have been received for 6000 'Group D' posts. Though the stipulated academic qualification was "passed Class VIII examination", large number of doctorates, engineers, post-graduates and graduates had applied. This is the condition of the educated unemployed. Think of the number if the uneducated unemployed and retrenched workers are taken into account. Shutters are downed in thousands of industries. Lakhs of workers are thrown out of job. The scenario of agriculture is equally horrific. The peasants are devastated by repeated bouts of drought and flood. Over 3.5 lakh peasants have committed suicide in last few years. This is the spectacle of 'development' in our country.

Child and Woman trafficking

In our country, women and children are practically commodities of the market. Starving parents, indigent families are selling their children with tears for just a pittance. Where do these children go? They are employed as bonded labour. The employers make them work for prolonged hours within four walls of shabby unhygienic shops or factories. There is no fixed working hour for these child labourers nor are they paid any wage. They only receive food and

that too insufficient. Such bonded labourers abound not only in our country but in other countries as well. India has 1.2 crore of bonded labour including child labour. Similarly, the female body is also a sellable commodity in the market. There are several ways this commodity is sold in the market. Sometimes, the women are ditched in the name of marriage. In other cases, the impoverished guardians marry out the girls against receipt of Rs 10 to 15 thousand rupees. Then such girls are sold to brothels. This rotten trade is going on in almost all the provinces of India. West Bengal is also a flourishing market of this 'roaring' flesh trade. This is the kind of 'development' this province is experiencing.

Polluting the social ambience

So, the whole country is now brought to an unbearable situation. On the one hand, crores of educated and uneducated youth are feeling the pinch of unemployment, lakhs of retrenched and laid off workers are bemoaning their fate for lack of work, while on the other hand, prices of essential commodities, cooking gas and medicines, tax, railway fare, freight charges, education expenditure are spiralling. This unbearable situation is generating grievance among the people and often such grievances are bursting forth in the form of spontaneous agitations here and there. Lest these spontaneous unorganised agitations crystallize in the form of an organized struggle, there is organised plan for an orchestrated effort to precipitate religious hatred and communal passion, invocation of many other weird, fabricated, unscientific and unhistorical thoughts and ideas. By that, the country is being led into fascist darkness. Without this, capitalism has no other way to survive. This is the last refuge of obsolete reactionary oppressive capitalism. I want to say another thing. Capitalism is now on its death bed; it is, like a stinking caracac, emitting pollutants. It is degenerated and rotten in every respect, economic-political-moral. So, the bourgeois politicians who are running the state and the government as servitors of decadent moribund capitalism, are also degenerated, corrupt and hypocrite. You would find that all the ruling

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EVM-VVPAT

People must fight against rigging machinery including EVM as part of fight against capitalism promoting it

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passing day becoming a greater farce alongwith degeneration of the bourgeois parliamentary system. They can just press a button if the EVM persists, or cast a paper ballot if it is reintroduced. The reactionary corrupt capitalism will manipulate no matter what result people may expect, whoever they may choose, whom they may vote for, only to make the party or combination victorious whom the ruling class would pick up to serve them the best.

Abandon EVM, return to paper ballot

Even with all this realization, to avail of whatever little chance still remains to send their genuine representatives to the law-making bodies, people must raise the demand of immediately withdrawing the EVM-VVPAT system, which is the latest means of carrying out rampant rigging stealthily and most cunningly, and is fraught with so many uncertainties and questions on its credibility and transparency. Yes,

paper ballots had so many problems and lacunae. But what happens with the EVM-VVPAT will always remain behind an opaque screen, despite any number of first-level or second-level or any other check the ECI may perform with its pliant agencies on some number of sample instances. It must be borne in mind that any 'designed' programming will also include provisions to show in black and white a few instances, may be in hundreds even, to prove the credibility and transparency. But the opaque screen will loom large behind those proofs. And it may not be irrelevant to point out here what disaster the electronics may bring in when manipulated with some design. One can only recall the hot issue of how there could have been Russian intervention or hacking in the last Presidential election in a high-tech country like USA.

Finally we ask people to see through these trickeries and be on their guard to raise demand for saving whatever little democracy still exists.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Capitalism wants no development of scientific bent of mind but spread of fascistic darkness

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parties of our country are having such rotten characters within their fold.

Faith in religion and religious hatred are not the same

One point needs to be mentioned here. Belief in religion and religious hatred are not the same. We are Marxists, we are atheists. Though we have philosophical differences with the honest religious preachers, we do not have that much of antagonism with them. Rather many of those who pursue religious activities with honesty would be our co-fighters in the struggle against injustice. We are firmly opposed to those who trade in religion, deceive people in the name of religion and use religion as a means to serve vested political interest. But there is a sustained campaign from the quarters of vested interest that the Marxists disrespect the religious preachers. This is not correct. On the contrary, when the rising bourgeoisie was fighting against feudal monarchy, the then bourgeois humanists, the exponents of mechanical materialism and secular humanists like Spinoza, Hobbs, Locke, Kant and Feuerbach had attacked the idea of faith in religion and held religion to be an aberration of history. To them, religion was like a deviation or distraction of history. So, they thought that religion was to be spurned. It was Marx who first showed that religion had a significant role in the history of mankind. With profound respect, Marx said that, "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and also the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world and the soul of the soulless conditions." (*Introduction to 'The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right'*) Marx showed that religious thoughts grew out of the tears and

sighs of the oppressed slaves. Religion brought heart and conscience to a society hitherto bereft of the same. Thus, we, the Marxists, have provided objective analysis of the growth and development of religion by respectfully acknowledging its due role and place in history. Referring to the role Islam and Christianity played against the slave-master social system, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had said that, "You should bear in mind that it was the religion at a particular stage of social development that helped in furthering the concept of morals and ethics, the sense of values, the concept of right and wrong, the spirit of service to others and not despising anyone. As a result, a sense of discipline grew which helped to bring about consolidation and cohesion in society. From this angle too, religion played a role in social progress." (*Some Aspects of Marxism and Dialectical Materialism, SW, II Vol. p.122*) From this perspective, religion once played a progressive role in the society. It is also true that feudal-monarchic system which came into being by overthrowing the slave-master system was based on religion.

Eternal ethos of India is not religious

You need to be further aware that the very prevailing notion about religious thoughts having been there right from the inception of human society is wrong. There is no such instance in history. Even today, the aboriginal people living in the deep forests of Africa or the Jaroa and Andamani tribes residing in the islands of Andamans do not know of any idea of god. They do not worship any god. But they are all human beings. In the primitive society, there was no stable property, no individual ownership over property, no rich-poor divide or division between the ruler and the ruled. At that time, clan people in

order to survive used to fight against nature collectively, used to chant 'mantras', resorted to various 'magic' to propitiate and conquer the natural forces. But they had no thought of any super-natural entity, no concept of god. Their thought was then materialistic. Vivekananda himself had observed that, "The first was in search in External nature for the truths of the universe; it was an attempt to get the solution of the problems of life from the material world." (*Advaita Vedanta, the scientific religion*) He was a great man. He did not say that man had faith in god right from the beginning. In ancient India, Budhha, though known as Lord Budhha, did not believe in god. Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, also did not believe in god. In this country, it was once believed that everything of this material world was composed of *Pancha Bhuta* or five basic elements, *Kshiti* (earth), *Apa* (water), *Teja* (fire), *Marut* (air) and *Byom* (sky). Some believed in only four elements excluding *Byom*. Sage Kanada had said that everything was composed of smallest material particle. The discovery of 'zero' as an important digit in Mathematics was also made in this country. The very meaning of 'Darshana' (Sanskrit synonym of philosophy) is "what I see is true". This very thought also originated in this country. Even today, the Indian materialist philosophy, the philosophy of Sage Charvaka and Lokayata (Sanskrit : "WorldlyOnes"), an Indian philosophical school of materialists which rejected the notion of an 'after-world', karma, moksha (liberation), the authority of the sacred scriptures, the Vedas, and the immortality of the self, is taught in our colleges.

So it is incorrect to say that the eternal ethos of India is religious. The religious thought originated during the slave-master system. It was based on a corollary that since one slave-master was running the society in an orderly manner, there ought to be a master of the world who is running it in an orderly manner. As the slave-master was running the society based on some laws framed by him, it occurred to men that there ought to be a master of the world who was regulating nature, framing the laws governing the change of seasons, the cycle of day and night, birth and death and so forth. This is how the concept of god evolved

and following it the concept of religion came as the tears of the oppressed slaves to show the path of salvation.

Who is real Hindu— Vivekananda or the RSS-BJP leaders?

Again, using religion as the tool, the monarchical system of rule came and the medieval repression-exploitation were carried on. A section in our country argues that unless one obeys god and religion, one cannot have high ethical-moral character. If it is so, then they would have to say that Vidyasagar nor Saratchandra nor Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh had no morality or character. Before embracing the galleys, Bhagat Singh wrote a book titled "Why I am an atheist". Did they not represent a higher moral character? Why did theist Ramakrishna and Vivekananda have deep respect for secular Vidyasagar? So, such ideas are not correct.

I would like to refer to a few sayings of Vivekananda for those who are raising religious Hindutva slogans today. First of all, the RSS-BJP had demolished a historic monument like Babri Masjid by raising the frenzy of setting up a Rama Mandir there. As the Taliban are guilty of destroying the historic statues of Buddha at Bamian in Afghanistan, the RSS-BJP are also guilty of committing similar crime in India. We raised the point that Babri Masjid was there during the time of Shri Chaitanya, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda also, but why did these three religious personalities who are considered to be the last exponents of Hindu religion, never raise the slogan of destroying Babri Masjid for building a Rama Mandir? Were they cowardly as not to be able to do that? Rather, listen to what Vivekananda had said in this regard. He said: "Take the case of the Ramayana. It is not that for accepting this as an inviolable authentic epic, one has to believe in existence of someone as Rama. The glory of religion that *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata* uphold, does not depend on existence or non-existence of Rama or Krishna. ...in order to examine how far the philosophical truth is authentic, there is no need to scrutinize whether those epical characters really existed or they are mere imaginary figures." (*Works and Messages-Udbodhan*) So, it can be seen that

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AIMSS welcomed death penalty to the culprits of Nirbhya gang rape and murder

In a statement dated 14 May, 2017, AIMSS welcomed the Supreme Court Judgement confirming death penalty to the four convicts of the inhuman Nirbhaya gang rape and murder case of 2012. Hailing this as a victory of the glorious struggle that thousands of students, youth and parents all over the country launched in demand for stringent punishment to the perpetrators of crime, AIMSS called upon all the conscientious people to remain firm, united and vigilant until the death penalty is executed.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Would price rise or job loss cease if Rama Mandir is set up and cow slaughter is banned?

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Vivekananda considered it immaterial whether *Rama* or *Krishna* were real or fictional characters. What is material is what one learns from *The Ramayana* or *The Mahabharata*. From this, it is clear that Vivekananda himself did not say that there was any real persons like *Rama* and *Krishna* or what were their birthplaces. Rather he exhorted that if anyone wanted to be a devotee, it was not necessary for him or her to know whether *Krishna* was born in Mathura, what he exactly did or when exactly did he recite *The Gita*. This was Vivekananda. Was he a Hindu? Or are those who are raising the frenzied slogan of Rama Mandir Hindus? We want to place this question.

concentration, one para of prayer and chanting mantras. Thereafter, in course of growing in age he would have accepted Christ, Buddha or Muhammad, whoever he would have wished to. ...It is very natural that simultaneously with full freedom and without having any conflict, my son could be a Buddhist, my wife a Christian and myself a Muslim." (*Works and Messages, 3rd Volume*) No one else but Vivekananda himself had said this. Let the *Ramabhakts* (devotees of *Rama*) examine if they would call Vivekananda a Hindu. Ramakrishna, Vivekananda's mentor, stated that *Ishwar, Allah, God* are all one and the same. The same divine lord is called in different names, just like the way the aqua is called *Jal* by the Hindus, *Pani* by the Muslims and

sword. Now the *Ramabhakts* are brandishing swords. What is the reason behind it? Reason is to precipitate terror, fuel religious passion among the Hindus and incite anti-Muslim hatred in them. Now, the Trinamool Congress (TMC) has also started worshipping *Hanuman* to counter the RSS-BJP. A competition has started between *Rama* and *Hanuman*. I would like to advise them to start worshipping *Bibhishana* who is ill-reputed as quisling but without whose help, *Rama* would never have conquered Lanka. Such things are going on in the country today. India is being dragged towards the dark medieval age. This is a grave conspiracy. What is the purpose of this conspiracy? Purpose is to create a Hindu vote bank. This also is a dangerous thing. But this only is not found sufficient. As we all know, nowadays it is necessary to have crores of black money to win election. Votes are purchased with black money. Just the other day, the BJP government resorted to demonetization on the pretext of curbing black money. And now the Election Commission is saying that in no earlier election so much of black money came into play as was seen in the recently concluded Uttar Pradesh election. After demonetization, black money ruled the roost in Uttar Pradesh vote. So, the real objective is to corner votes, purchase votes with money. To win election, huge amount of black money is needed. Who supplies this black cash? This black cash is supplied by the top monopolists, the black money operators and the big business. Sometimes they make the Congress victorious, sometimes the BJP, sometimes the TMC and sometimes even the CPI (M)-led Front. Now, election does not take place without money. It is only our Party which raises contribution from the public to meet day to day expenses, conduct movements and contest election too. You have seen that our workers had raised funds for this meeting through street collection. People tell us, "You are mad. You ask for money as well as vote. Others beg for vote but pay money. That is why, you cannot win election." We say we do not want to win election in that manner. We do not sell our ideology. We cannot think of conducting ourselves by giving up ideology-principle. So, we do not seek vote by abandoning ideology-principle.

So, one is game of money and the other winning by any means,

stooping to any level. Hence, you find preponderance of nasty vote-bank politics—creating vote banks by playing casteist-communal cards and then exploiting those vote banks like Muslim vote bank, Hindu vote bank, *Dalit* vote bank, *Yadav* vote-bank, *Kurmi* vote bank and so forth to clinch electoral victory. In this way, the whole of India is broken into pieces. Religious sentiments are incited from the same motive. This is one aspect.

Muslims are not enemies of Hindus nor are Hindus of Muslims—capitalism is enemy of both

Another aspect is to generate anti-Muslim hatred among the Hindus. 'Why are you being Hindu unemployed? Why are you not getting jobs? Because, the Muslims are grabbing all the benefits.' This is how venom is spewed against the Muslims; anti-Muslim hate campaign is spread among the Hindu community. Neither capitalism nor the capitalist owners is the enemy. It is the Muslims who are the enemy. On the other hand, the fundamentalist touts among the Muslim community are exhorting for unity of the Muslims in order to survive in India. They are telling the Muslim populace that a party which can give them shelter and protect them has to be chosen and backed. In this way, the Muslim satraps and touts are also controlling the Muslim votes, rallying that polarized vote behind this or that party and thereby reaping personal benefits. Likewise, vested interest of both the sides are disrupting people's unity. This is one aspect. Alongside, there is concerted effort to ensnare people in religious blindness and blunt their thinking process, destroy their scientific and rational bent of mind as well as power of argumentation. This is another conspiracy, fascist conspiracy. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had pointed out long back that even after the defeat of Germany-Italy-Japan fascist axis in Second World War, fascism, at this utter reactionary stage of capitalism, has become a common feature in various forms not only in the advanced capitalist-imperialist states but also in the developing capitalist countries. He showed three characteristics of fascism. 1) Concentration of capital in the form of monopoly. During the days of multi-capital, there were innumerable small capitalists. At that time, there was multi-party demo-

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Sikkim AIDS and AIDYO activists demonstrating on 16 May in Gangtok on demand for arrest and stringent punishment of culprits guilty of raping and killing a 22 year Sikkim girl in Gurgaon near Delhi on 14 May. They also demanded permanent measures guaranteeing safety and security of the girls going to Delhi from North East and other states for study and/or in connection with jobs. Many common people joined the protest. The protesters submitted a memorandum with mass signatures to the Governor of the state and forwarded a copy of that to the State Chief Minister.

Vivekananda himself said, "Christians need not become Buddhists nor need the Muslims to become Hindus or the Buddhists Christians. But each of them will be nourished by absorbing the essence of other religions and develop according to its nature maintaining its distinct identity.... We want to take mankind to that end where is no *Veda*, *Bible* or *Koran* but all works will be performed through integration of the *Veda*, *Bible* and *Koran*. (*Messages and Works, Udbodhan, 1st Edition, 1st Volume*) He further said, "If I had a son, I would not have given him any religious tutelage except practising

Water by the Christians. Ramakrishna had offered *namaz* in a mosque and prayed in a church. Were Ramakrishna and Vivekananda Hindu? What would the RSS-BJP leaders like to say?

Power hungry parties are in competition on worship of Rama and Hanuman

Suddenly, the slogan of Rama mandir has been raked up again. On the occasion of *Ramnavami*, there were parades wielding swords. So far we know, *Rama*, as described in *the Ramayana*, went to conquer Lanka with bow and arrows. *Rama* did not know even how to use a

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

RSS-BJP distorting and denigrating Vivekananda in buttressing sinister agenda of Hindutva

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crazy. Now capital is concentrated in the hands of a few monopolists by way of swallowing most of small and mid-size capitals. In this backdrop, democracy is no more liberal and wider as before. Economy is centralized. 2) More and more concentration of political power in the hand of the capitalist state. 3) Cultural regimentation through a peculiar fusion between spiritualism and technological aspects of science. There would be no place of science in the realm of thought. The spiritual ideas, religious thoughts, concept of god, doctrine of fatalism and decrees of fate which the bourgeoisie fought against during its rising period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are all being brought back by themselves. The same bourgeoisie now in its decadent moribund reactionary stage is promoting resurgence of the weird theory of present life being consequence of good or evil actions of the previous life. 'Why are the few super-rich today? Because, they had done all pious deeds in their previous births. So they have amassed huge wealth and have been exploiting the workers and the people in their present life. This is the reward of their piety in previous birth. And you, the vast masses, are suffering because you committed sin in your previous birth'. Such are the thoughts the ruling quarters are spreading today. 'Do not argue, do not raise questions. There is no escape from this suffering as it is the consequence of your wrong deeds in previous births. Accept all these views as gospel truth. Blindly follow the leaders of the state and do not raise any question about the ruling party. Do not try to argue against them. Because, what sufferings you are facing today are already predetermined by the divine power.' This kind of blunt blind mentality is

being fostered. Capitalism needs this today. Science is required only for technological development. Yesterday, scientists of the world had organized rallies in 600 countries with the demand of freeing science from the clutches of politics and leaders of the state, meaning clutches of capitalism. This news has appeared in today's newspaper. Capitalism is hindering progress and development of science. Capitalism wants science only for manufacturing arms and machines. It would not allow flourish and cultivation of scientific thought, scientific bent of mind, inquisitive mind, debates based on scientific logic, urge for knowing causal relationships, analysis of history on the anvil of scientific outlook and so forth. Only the ruthless merciless exploitation of the capitalists should continue unabated. This is what they need today.

The ruling capitalists are fomenting religious blindness to develop a fascist mind. The Muslims are enemies of the Hindus. The Hindus are enemies of the Muslims. The so called lower caste people are enemies of the upper caste and vice versa. People coming to Maharashtra from other provinces are enemies of the Maharashtrians. Similarly those entering Assam or Odisha from other provinces are inimical to the interest of the original residents of those provinces. People of one province would not be allowed to enter another province. Let people of one province be pitted against the people of another province. This is how they are dividing the country with the sole aim of rupturing people's unity and create vote banks.

Preachers of Hinduism never raised demand for banning cow slaughter

Added to all these is the slogan of banning cow slaughter. Preachers

of Hinduism had never raised such slogan. Today by raising such bogeys, there is a sinister attempt to fuel Hindu communalism. Let me read out to you a few lines from *The Veda*, *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata* on this issue. There is a prayer before *Devaraj Indra*, "Please cook 15 to 20 oxen for me so that I can fill up both sides of my stomach and be fat." (*The Rig-Veda Sanghita*, 10th division, 86th sukta, 14th mantra) Another prayer to *Indra* is, "As the cows are killed at the slaughter houses, the Rakhshas, our enemies, should be killed in the same way by your weapons and made to rest in the earth." (*The Rig-Veda Sanghita*, 10th division, 89th sukta, 14th mantra) This shows that the sages at that time used to eat beef. In the *Satapatha Brahmin* of the *Vedic* literature, it is stated referring to the edict of *Sage Jagmabalka* that if beef is soft, it can be eaten. (*3rd Kanda 1st Abda, 2nd paragraph, 21st mantra of Satapath Brahmin*) It shows that beef then was served as food. If I cite example from *the Ramayana*, the *Rambhaktis* might be prompted to assault me physically. Please listen what is written there. "When Rama, Sita and Lakshmana reached the hermit of Sage Bharadwaj on their way to 14 year exile in the forest, the sage entertained them with beef and fruits." (*Valmiki Ramayana, 2nd kanda, 54th sarga*) Clearly, Rama was served beef when he went to the hermit of Sage Bharadwaj. In other words, in ancient India, consumption of beef was in practice. Guests were entertained with beef. After advent of Buddhism and Jainism, animal sacrifice was stopped. Later, consumption of beef by the higher caste Hindus also stopped. May be there was some economic reason. Cow slaughter

might have been stopped because cows were requisitioned for tilling of the land for agriculture or any other utility requirement. It has no connection with religion. Even Vivekananda did not ask for banning cow slaughter. In the *Guru-Shishya Samwad* (dialogue between the teacher and the disciple), it is described that when Vivekananda was sitting with his disciples, members of 'cow protection association' came to him for seeking donation. Vivekananda asked them, "What is your objective?" They said they were working for saving the cow-mothers from the butchers. Vivekananda asked them, "What is the source of your finance?" They replied that they raised funds through donation. Then Vivekananda said, "Central India is in the grip of severe famine. Indian government has published a list of 9 lakh people who have died of starvation. What steps your association has taken to help the affected people there?" They replied that they did not offer any help to famine victims. They were only helping to protect of the cow-mothers. Vivekananda said, "You are not helping your fellow countrymen who are dying but raising donations for protecting cow-mothers?" They replied that people were dying because this famine had been caused because of their wrongdoings in the past. As they sowed, so they reaped. Vivekananda was much enraged at their replies. But he suppressed his anger and said, "I have no sympathy for those associations or organizations that do not empathize with the suffering human beings, who do not arrange for some morsel for their starving brethren and save their life but, instead, distribute heaps of grains to the birds and animals. I do not believe that by such acts, any good is done to the society. If one pleades that people are dying because of their past sins, then making efforts for doing anything in this world would deem to be an abortive exercise." Vivekananda further said, "Then, it can be said about your work that the cow-mothers are being transported to the slaughter-house and killed because of their past sins. We have nothing to do for that." Then Swamiji (Vivekananda) turned to his disciples and said that "it bears ample proof as to how the country is degenerating. Do you, the Hindus, see what low has your ...cow vigilantism stooped to?" So the talk

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Mammoth rally in Kolkata of nearly 30 thousand people from the districts of southern part of West Bengal on 24 May on pressing demands of people's life.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

RSS-BJP which opposed freedom movement and called its leaders reactionary are now posing as patriots

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of cow vigilantism today has no connection with religion.

In the country, the RSS-BJP has created such an atmosphere as if the only task today is to set up *Rama Mandir* and ban cow slaughter. Let us assume, both these 'tasks' are fulfilled in the name of religion. Would then there be no unemployed in this country? Would then there be no closure of industries, no retrenchment, no price rise, no hike in tax, no increase in fare? Would all problems of life be solved? The BJP-RSS do not want to answer these questions. They have been raising slogans of *Rama Mandir* and banning cow slaughter to suppress these basic questions. This is a grave conspiracy.

There would have been no need for SUCI(C) if undivided CPI had cultivated Marxism

West Bengal had a glorious tradition. Indian Renaissance had sparked off first in undivided Bengal. Rammohan-Vidyasagar had initiated the struggle against religious thoughts here. In the wake came the doyens like Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Nazrul, flowering characters like Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Bipin Chandra Pal, Subhaschandra Bose, Kshudiram, Bagha Jatin, Surya Sen, Jyotibarao Phule, Pritilata and a host of others who became martyrs in the freedom movement. Bengal was the nerve-centre of revolutionism. Not because the Bengalis possessed any special characteristic but due to the fact that Western education was first introduced in Bengal as Kolkata was the first capital of British-ruled India. Under the impact of the first successful Socialist Revolution of Russia in 1917, establishment of socialism in the East European countries after Second World War and then successful revolution in China as well as the glorious trend of revolutionism in undivided Bengal, left-democratic movement flourished in West Bengal in the 1950s and 1960s. That helped undivided CPI to gain strength. But it is a matter of regret that undivided CPI had never practised Marxism. Had they cultivated Marxism, there was no need to build up SUCI(C) as the genuine communist party on the soil through arduous painstaking struggle. The history of undivided CPI during the freedom movement was a saga of anti-Marxist activities. In 1925, great Stalin, the helmsman of world communist

movement, had shown by analysing the then condition of colonial India that capitalism here was growing at a rapid rate compared to China, giving rise to and moulding a more or less numerous class of local proletarians. And with the growth of the revolutionary movement, the national bourgeoisie of India is split up into two parts, a revolutionary part (the petty bourgeoisie) and a compromising part (the big bourgeoisie). Fearing revolution more than it feared imperialism and concerned more about its money-bags than about the interests of its own country, the compromising section of the bourgeoisie had already managed, in the main, to strike a deal with imperialism. After explaining all these, he, delineating the task of the communists in India, said, "...the Communist Party can and must enter into an open bloc with the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie, after isolating the compromising national bourgeoisie, in order to lead the vast masses of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism." ('The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East', SW, Vol. 7). Netaji Subhaschandra represented the trend of revolutionism in this county. But CPI did not support Subhaschandra. In the conspiracy of ousting Subhaschandra from the post of President of the Congress party in the Tripuri conference, the CPI sided with the rightist Gandhite leadership. Subhaschandra said with regret: "Tripuri was frankly a defeat for us...it was a case of one sick man lying in bed fighting 12 stalwarts of the Old Guard, ...seven provincial ministers ... and the name, influence and prestige of Mahatma Gandhi. Our defeat was due further to the betrayal of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) leadership...The Communist Party was also sailing with the CSP." (*Crossroads*) Even after that, he called upon the CPI to join Ramgarh conference in order to form a left consolidation with him. But the CPI did not respond. Pained at this, he said that a great ideology like communism could not get root in India because those who were then known as communists here pursued such policies and programme which turned a friend into foe. Instead of drawing a friend near, they pushed him away. Subhaschandra had to resign because of the conspiracy hatched by the rightist Gandhite leadership of the Congress. Had

CPI supported him then, the history of India could have been different. If a genuine Marxist party had correctly played its role in the freedom movement particularly during the 'Quit India' movement in 1942 and utilized the great impact of the struggle of Subhaschandra's Indian national Army (INA) and of the naval mutiny that surged forth in Bombay port in 1946, the bourgeoisie could have never usurped power. The glorious freedom struggle resplendent with sacrifice of hundreds of martyrs would not have been led to a tragic end. But such a party did not exist at that time. So, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh built up the SUCI(C).

Kernel of revolutionary ideology lies in its higher cultural standard

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown that the leaders of undivided CPI and later its various split factions including the CPI (M) did not embrace Marxism as the philosophy of life. They could not apply and concretize Marxism in the concrete situation of this country by correctly determining the economic-political character of the state and analysing the prevailing socio-cultural tradition. So they could not determine the concretized form of Marxism in the given Indian condition. Lenin had done this in Russia and in the process showed what is the concrete understanding of Marxism in Russia and internationally in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. We call that Leninism. Mao Zedong had concretized Marxism on Chinese soil which we call Mao Zedong Thought. But CPI could not do that in India. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that they never cultivated communist culture. He further taught that communism will not only abolish private ownership in economy, it will also free every aspect of life from the

grip of individualism. There will be no individual interest. Individual interest will be merged with the interest of revolution and society. Private property should not just be abolished in the sphere of economy. Love-affection-joy-feeling-emotions in mutual relationship in conduct and behaviour — everything should be free from private property mental complex. That ought to be the higher cultural standard of a communist. This concept has been provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in course of concretizing Marxism on Indian soil while determining the stage of revolution as anti-capitalist socialist revolution since Indian national bourgeoisie is in state power. He also showed that Indian capitalism had reached the stage of monopoly, given birth to finance capital and thus attained the highest stage of capitalism that is imperialism. Undivided CPI had never cultivated communist culture. The struggle for attaining this higher cultural standard is living in our Party. We are committed to keep that alive and fervent. Those who are opposed to us also admit that our party workers are well-behaved, sober, gentle and decent. How do our Party workers endure all hardship with a smiling face? What is the source of that? The source, the font of inspiration, is Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. He had said that the essence of revolutionary culture lies in the higher standard of character. There is a living cult of that in our Party. Our workers are groomed in that way. CPI had not traversed that path. Even when the CPI was in the midst of movement in the 1950s and their leaders and cadres faced arrest and incarceration, they had not cultivated communist culture. They had never conducted ideological struggle against both Hindu and Muslim communal thoughts prevalent among the respective communities. Apparently, they

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Huge rally in Siliguri of around 10,000 people from the districts of northern part of West Bengal on 24 May demanding resolution of burning problems of people's life

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh warned in 1960s that maligning of Marxism by CPI (M) would enable arch communal forces to reap benefit

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maintained a leftist overtone. But they failed to provide people with the proletarian class outlook in the realm of mind based on Marxism. The society is not divided along casteist, religious, ethnic or provincial line—not as Hindus or Muslims, Bengalis or Assamese. There are only two classes—the capitalists and the workers, the exploiters and the exploited, the rich and the poor. They had not educated people based on this class outlook. The left movement somehow was going on with this fundamental weakness. Then the CPI (M) rode to power in West Bengal and began running the government with a complete anti-Marxist non-left outlook. Why do the communists participate in parliamentary elections? Lenin has taught that so long as people have illusion about the parliamentary election and not prepared for revolution, the communists would need to take part in election and if elected, go to parliament to make people disillusioned. But in case the communists gain majority in election and get a chance to form government, what would be their role? This was not pointed out by Lenin as during his time such a question did not arise. The answer has been provided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh based on Marxism-Leninism. He pointed out that if the leftists-communists gain majority in election and form a government in a bourgeois set up, the outlook and approach of that government would not be to anyhow cling to power or serve the bourgeois class interest. Such a government should have the object to intensify class and mass struggles during whatever little time it gets. Even if they are ousted from power by the capitalist state for

pursuing this objective, that would help people to understand the real class character of the state and be disillusioned about the halo of parliamentary democracy.

The CPI (M) –led Left Front had ruled this state for 34 long years. This rule was no different from that of the Congress, BJP or TMC. Whatever little struggling mind the CPI (M) and CPI had during 1950s to 1966, began eroding at a fast pace with their tasting of power and their compromising social-democratic character started getting exposed. Gradually, they turned themselves into servitors of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Prolonged rule of CPI (M)-led Front maligned leftism

Throughout their prolonged anti-people rule, it was only our Party which had conducted relentless struggle holding aloft the noble banner of Marxism-leftism. 131 leaders and cadres of our Party embraced martyrs' death in course of conducting movement against the CPI (M)-led government. You know that we had to continue movement for 18 long years to bring back the study of English at primary school level. We achieved quite a number of demands by way of conducting movements. Had the CPI (M) run the 34-year long rule with the working class outlook, leftism would have gained strength and its impact felt all over the country. Class struggles would have intensified. Instead, they caused immense damage by their left-cloaked bourgeois class outlook, destroyed the struggling spirit of their party workers and made them sink in opportunism. Look at the condition of the CPI (M) immediately on being ousted from power. Unless they are in the government, their

workers lack nerve to undertake field activities. Today they have no governmental power, no strength whatsoever. No one responds to their call. Barest courage is also eluding their workers. When they were in power, they like any other bourgeois party had served the domestic and foreign capital, muzzled the voice of the opposition with the help of police-administration and anti-socials, precipitated terror, issued threats and gave indulgence to corruption and various forms of

communist ideology and its quintessence, they are going on misleading the people with tall talks and sweet words, just as the Congress did. They are thus pulling down the prestige of communism and maligning it." (*Some Aspects of United Front Politics and Party Work, SW. Vol. III, p.153*)

Secondly, they had never tried to develop anti-communal mind-set among the people, nor could they create any impact of Marxist ideology on their workers and



A well-decorated 'Vehicle Yatra' with two vans, one car and eight bikes and a good number of Party activists organized in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh from 2 May to 21 May as part of yearlong observance of November Revolution Centenary. The Yatra inaugurated by Comrade K. Sridhar, AP-Telangana State Secretary, covered around 60 villages of the district where small meetings were addressed by Comrade B.S. Amarnath, Anantapur district Secretary and other district leaders.

unethical-unscrupulous-immoral activities. They had not increased their numbers on the strength of any ideology or principle but on the basis of distributing privileges like giving licences and permits and befriending contractors and promoters. In this way, they clamped party hegemony on the police-administration, on the educational institutions and where not. Thus, they defamed leftism, maligned Marxism. Way back in 1969, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had warned them that they were denigrating leftism and the rightist Jana Sangh (forerunner of the present day BJP) would take advantage of that. With grave concern, he said: "In this situation, the fissiparous groups and religious fundamentalists like the Jana Sangh are waiting in the wings. As soon as whatever attraction the people still have towards left movement evaporates, they would come out in the open. The ruling CPI (M) leaders are not conscious of this danger. Throwing to the wind the

supporters. Those who used to vote for them also covertly nurtured within themselves both Hindu and Muslim communal thoughts. With all such mind-sets, they supported the CPI (M) or the undivided CPI. Their leaderships were never alert about this. Both the CPI (M) and the CPI are paying the price for that today. A large number of their workers and supporters are joining the communal forces. Leftist movement is also weakened.

TMC is also pursuing vote-bank politics

On the other hand, the TMC is also pursuing the same vote bank politics. The TMC leadership knows that a sizeable Hindu vote would anyhow come to them. They would manage securing that vote either by buying with money or through riding on a slew of freebies like *Yubasree*, *Kanyasree*, distribution of bicycles and donations to the clubs, etc. What they need is creating a Muslim vote

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Comrade Chandralekha Das, Assam State Secretary, SUCI(C), addressing a mass meeting at Tezpur in Sonitpur district of Assam on 27 May as part of observance of yearlong observance of November Revolution centenary. Comrade Ajay Acharya, State committee member, also spoke. Comrade Nayanmani Chowdhury presided over.

Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Capitalism is destroying rational mind and human essence, annihilating conscience, turning human beings into inhuman creatures

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bank. Pointing at that, the RSS-BJP are propagating that in West Bengal, the TMC govt. is appeasing the Muslims. Let me ask, how many Muslims have got job during the TMC regime? How many Muslims have got access to education? The rate of unemployment is same among both the Hindus and the Muslims. None of the communities have got any special advantage. People have to understand that these are all poisonous false propaganda. Fact is that the society is divided between two classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class, the exploiter and the exploited. There is no job allotted separately for the Hindus or the Muslims. There are no two sets of prices of essential commodities for the Hindus and the Muslims. The railway or bus fares are same for both the Muslims and the Hindus. Likewise, there is no separate charge for healthcare for either of the communities. Problems of life are the same for both. All of them are exploited, oppressed. That is why we need unity of the oppressed people. Our Party is struggling for building up that cherished unity.

SUCI(C) has all along stood for left unity; CPI (M) broke it

We want left unity in West Bengal. It was the CPI (M) who broke that unity in 1974 during the JP (Jay Prakash Narayan) movement. At that time, movement was on against Indira Gandhi. We were in that movement. We requested both the CPI (M) and the CPI to join that movement which was on the burning problems of life like food-shelter-clothing. The CPI (M)-CPI stayed away from the movement on the plea that the RSS-Jana Sangh were involved in it. But, later, they had twice combined with the BJP in the name of fighting autocracy. And since the CPI (M)-CPI did not join the JP movement, the RSS-Jana Sangh usurped all the advantages from it to increase their strength.

RSS opposed India's freedom movement

Do you know the history of the RSS-Jana Sangh? Ask the BJP leaders who are now projecting themselves as 'patriots' and labelling all opposition forces as 'traitors', where was their 'patriotism' at the

time of freedom movement? In fact, M S Golwalkar, the RSS ideologue, openly opposed the freedom movement. Golwalkar said, "The theories of territorial nationalism and of common danger, which formed the basis for our concept of nation, had deprived us of the positive and inspiring content of our real Hindu Nationhood and made many of the 'freedom movements' virtually anti-British movements. Anti-Britishism was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the freedom struggle, its leaders and the common people." (*We or Our Nationhood*) See what dangerous a view it is! According to Golwalkar, the call of nationalism that Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Lala Lajpat, Tilak, Netaji Subhas, Bhagat Singh and others gave based on the concept of national unity against the British imperialism and centred on the given territory of India, was reactionary. That was the reason the RSS never joined the freedom movement. Ask the RSS, why did they not take part in the freedom movement? When Kshudiram had embraced the gallows, Surya Sen was fighting against the British rulers in Chattogram, Bagha Jatin was taking on the British soldiers and the whole country rallied behind the 'Quit India' movement in 1942, why did the RSS stay away from all those movements? The stand of the RSS was that unless the movements were for Hindu nationalism, it would not join. According to the RSS, Netaji Subhas, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Ashfaquillah and such other freedom fighters were not patriotic. Will the youths of India and West Bengal bend before the RSS-BJP today? Will these forces purchase the youth with lure of money and slogan of Hindutva?

Subhaschandra vehemently opposed mixing religion with politics

Subhaschandra had stated categorically that politics should have no link with religion. He said, "A section of motivated people in their narrow sectarian personal interest are precipitating bad blood among both the communities. Such people should be considered as enemies of the freedom movement". (*Subhaschandra Collected Works*,

Vol. II) At the Bombay conference of Forward Bloc, he observed, "Religion should be totally kept out of politics. ... politics should not be guided by religion or any supernatural concepts. Politics should be guided by economic, political and scientific reasoning." (*Collected Works, Vol. V*) Decrying the protagonists of Hindutva, he said in a meeting at Jhargram in 1940 that, "Reactionary elements who have entered politics in the name of Hindu Mahasabha are maligning politics.... Hindu Mahasabha has sent the monks and female ascetics to solicit votes with tridents in hand. Every Hindu bends his head before saffron cloth and trident. Hindu Mahasabha has appeared in the scene by taking advantage of and defiling religion.... isolate these traitors from the national life. Do not listen to them. We want that all freedom-loving men and women of the country serve the country unitedly and intently. (*Ananda Bazar Patrika, 14-05-1940*) Had Netaji Subhas been alive today, what would he have said about the politics of the RSS-BJP? Indicating how communalism could be wiped out from the country, he said, "Under present conditions, it appears well-nigh impossible to destroy the cancer of communalism and foster all-out nationalism in our public life. But how easy this task will become, once we can develop revolutionary mentality on a nationwide scale." (*Crossroads*)

First Shah Nawaz Khan and then Rashid Ali were the generals of Indian National Army (INA) built up by Subhaschandra. The whole country was in turbulence when the British government declared that it would hang Cornel Rashid Ali. Both the Hindus and the Muslims burst forth in protest. There was no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims in INA. It is highly painful that the RSS-BJP are making inroad into such an India today. Danger inheres here.

I started with a focus on the all-out crisis of capitalism-imperialism. Capitalism which during its rising period upheld the banner of secular humanism and democracy, fought against racist discrimination is now igniting the fire of racism and communalism in all countries including those of Europe and America. India is no exception either. The singular objective is to

save crisis-ridden capitalism, confuse and distract the suffering people. Capitalism has launched another dangerous attack. It has hatched a sinister conspiracy to destroy rational mind and human essence, to annihilate conscience, to turn human beings into inhuman creatures. That is why, the capitalist rulers are on a spree to sink people in the debased culture of consuming liquor and be intoxicated, of participation in various modes of gambling. On the one hand, there is slogan of banning cow slaughter while on the other hand, there is fast proliferation of liquor shops. Both are going on side by side. And more is the number of liquor shops, more are the incidents of rape and gang rape. No one is born as a rapist. All babies are born with a human body and human brain. Then, where are the rapists coming from? Who are turning human beings into inhuman rapists? It is the decrepit society which is giving birth to rapists. Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul, Premchand, Jyotibarao Phule or Subramania Bharati had not witnessed this horrific spurt in rapes, gang rapes, mass killings and adultery, nor did Subhaschandra, Bhagat Singh or Kshudiram. Such incidents have become daily, hourly affairs. It is capitalism which is breeding all these evils. Even the animals do not indulge in rape or gang rape. These rapists are a new species—human bodies bereft of human essence—which capitalism has produced in Europe, America and India. The ruling capitalism and its servitors are engaged in spreading rotten obnoxious sex-perversion through films, TV, mobile phones and all such media to turn human beings particularly the youth into sex-slaves, killing their morality and human qualities. Because if human essence, conscience or rationality are not destroyed, there will be questions, debates and protests. Hence, this attack is so dangerous. We are confronted with this attack in both the national and international arenas.

World imperialism-capitalism is running amuck in absence of socialist camp

Under the circumstances, what is necessary to thwart this vicious attack is to forge broader unity of the oppressed masses based on

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Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

Only Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought can illumine the path

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Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. What is needed is surging tides of movements of workers-peasants and the middle class. All sections of oppressed people need to be brought into the vortex of such movements. It is true socialism has been dismantled. Socialism had brought in its wake a big hope and confidence. Russian Revolution of 1917 had created a new civilization. It lasted for 70 years. Starting from Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Premchand, Subramania Bharati, Nazrul, Subhaschandra, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad of our country to Einstein, Bernard Shaw and Romain Rolland of Western countries—all hailed Russian Revolution and socialism. None of these luminaries were communists. In the new civilization of the working class, there was no retrenchment, no unemployment. Job to everyone was guaranteed. Free healthcare and education were available to all. Women enjoyed equal right in the truest sense of the term. The aged and the children were duly taken care of by the socialist state. Socialism was progressing very fast. But that very socialism was destroyed by the secret conspiracy woven by defeated capitalism within socialism aided and abetted by the imperialist-capitalist forces from outside. Right from Marx to Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, all Marxist stalwarts sounded caution about this conspiracy. But the stupendous progress of socialism precipitated a kind of complacency and egoistic mentality among the citizens of Soviet Union and China. They were not alert about this danger. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that though private ownership was abolished in economy, the Soviet people were not freed from the private-property mental complex. There was an imperative need to release a conscious struggle to eradicate this mental complex. Great Stalin had realized this danger at the fag end of his life and called upon to launch struggle just before his death. But after his demise, revisionist upsurge brought about counter-revolution and dismantled socialism. So long socialism was in vogue, world capitalist-imperialist camp was visibly cornered.

Today, the socialist camp is not in existence. The oppressed people across the world have been

subjected to unbridled ruthless exploitation of the imperialists-capitalists. On the other hand, all the capitalist-imperialist states are increasing their armoury of lethal weapons including nuclear weapons. All these capitalist-imperialist countries are piling up huge sovereign debts. In the name of austerity, the capitalist-imperialist rulers are systematically curtailing budgets towards education, healthcare and agriculture. But military budgets are soaring. Because, the capitalist-imperialists need war, arms and army. They have been generating wars in various parts of the globe. Just the other day, the US-UK combine attacked and occupied Iraq under the false pretext that Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi president, was possessing weapons of mass destruction. Till date, they could not give any evidence in support of their claim. Now, they are saying that they have made a mistake. What a mockery! They have razed a country into rubble because of a 'mistake' and yet have no repentance or atonement for such a ghastly crime on humanity. The British and French imperialists jointly attacked Egypt in 1954 when the Egyptian government had nationalized the Suez Canal. The Soviet government issued a warning: 'Withdraw your forces within 12 hours. Otherwise, we shall bomb both London and Paris.' They told the British and French citizens: 'We have no animosity with you. Your governments have attacked Egypt. You stop it.' Within 6 hours, the US-backed British-French force had retreated. Today, the US imperialists and their allies have destroyed Iraq, devastated Afghanistan and Libya. Now they have been pounding Syria. Had the Soviet socialism existed, could they dare to do this? Who have created Bin Laden, Al Qaida and IS? It is the imperialists headed by US imperialism. These terrorist outfits have no country or state of their own. Then where they are getting arms from? Who have been supplying arms to them? How could IS get so huge quantity of sophisticated arms for launching murderous attacks one after another? It is the imperialist powers who are providing them all military hardware. A proxy war is going on in Syria. On the one side are the US imperialists. On the other side is Russia which has turned into an imperialist power after counter-

revolution. While Russia is backing Syria, the US imperialists are out to destroy that country. Another danger of war is created in the Korean peninsula. US warships are heading towards North Korea to destroy that country. China is also a capitalist-imperialist country after counter-revolution. The Chinese President is alerting his armed force about outbreak of war anytime and to be in readiness. So, another war might be in the offing. This could be either a local war or a large-scale war. Imperialism-capitalism needs war to release the stockpile of arms they have been manufacturing as part of militarization of economy. So they need war for expanding arms trade as well as extend dominance over other countries. Hence, a dangerous situation has evolved.

In such a situation, we have been developing class and mass struggles by uniting the workers-peasants-poor toiling masses based on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. We are struggling against ruling Indian capitalism which has already attained imperialist character, has been clamping fascism and joining hands with the US imperialists in furtherance of its capitalist-imperialist pursuits. US imperialism-Zionist Israel-Indian imperialism-Japan and Australia have entered into economic treaties and formed military alliance to take on imperialist Russia and China. So, harrowing days are in the offing. The people have to close their ranks and unitedly launch struggle against the imperialist forces.

This time also, CPI (M) has backstabbed left unity

I have already said that we want left unity. It was the CPI (M) who broke the unity. Once again they came to us for unity. We responded. Some joint programmes were also organized centring anti-imperialist and anti-communal issues. Suddenly, without telling anything the CPI (M) broke unity with us and joined hands with the Congress simply for petty electoral interest. The CPI (M) workers should think to what great an extent their party has become vote-based so as to do such a thing nonchalantly. Is the Congress a democratic force? Who had imposed emergency? Who had promulgated black acts like MISA, TADA and AFSPA? Is it that communal riots have been engineered only in the BJP regime? Had not riots broken out in the

Congress rule at Bhagalpur in Bihar, Rourkela in Odisha and Nellie in Assam? Had not there been anti-Sikh carnage in Delhi? Now, the CPI (M) is finding an ally in the same Congress in the name of saving democracy and fighting communalism. In reality, it is an electoral alliance and hence nothing but rank opportunism. This is how the CPI (M) has backstabbed the left unity which was gradually crystalizing. We are still ready. We want them to sever ties with the Congress and come to the path of mass movement. We want unity of movement, not of vote. We want militant left movement throughout the country.

We urge upon the people to recall the glorious past of fervent struggle in undivided Bengal. Once it was said in the country 'What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow'. Undivided Bengal then showed path to the whole of India. This Bengal had given birth to luminaries and revolutionaries like Rammohan, Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Nazrul, and Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Subhaschandra, Kshudiram and others. Celebrated scientists like Prafulla Chandra Roy, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Satyen Bose and Meghnad Saha were also born here. Bengal then occupied a very coveted place in the realm of literature, philosophy, science and all other branches of knowledge. Will the same Bengal now carry the flag of communal RSS-BJP and fascism? Or in keeping with its glorious past of struggle, will Bengal hold aloft the banner of socialism against fascism, against capitalism-imperialism? This is our submission before the masses.

Please form people's struggle committees, struggle committees of the students and youths in the villages, towns, workers' colonies, and peasant areas. Build up mass organizations there. Develop movements on various burning problems of life. Alongside, observe with due solemnity the birth and death anniversaries of the greatmen and leading lights. The capitalist-imperialist rulers and their servitors want the youths and students to embrace drinking, indulge in sex-perversion, find bestial pleasure in discussing female physique, sing glory to Hindutva and raise slogan against cow slaughter. They want people to forget Rammohan-Vidyasagar-Rabindranath-Saratchandra-

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Comrade Provash Ghosh's speech

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Nazrul-Premchand-Subramania Bharati-Subhaschandra-Bhagat Singh-Jyotibaro Phule-Kshudiram. Thus, they want to sever the link of the present generation from the glorious past. We want you to observe the anniversaries of these great personalities, hold them in your heart. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had taught that in order to attain the character of proletarian revolutionary, one has to exhaust the lessons derived from the life struggles of these great men and martyrs and then move further to attain higher proletarian culture. He called upon us to assimilate the higher qualities of theirs, assimilate the lofty cultural standard they reflected during the days of freedom movement. Because, as he had pointed out, we are becoming rootless. We have failed to maintain continuity with the high cultural standard attained during the days of our freedom movement. We shall have to re-establish that link. We have to derive lessons from all greatmen of the past. So, please develop this movement. And I shall fervently appeal to all of you to save the children. They are being spoiled. Some students of class IV and V are becoming alcoholic, involved in rotten perverted talk and even engaged in sex. It is increasing day by day. This is a grave danger. Organize games and debates, discussions on the life and teachings of the luminaries of the past, spread cultivation of Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Nazrul-Subhaschandra-Bhagat Singh-Jyotibaro Phule among the children, may be on Sunday mornings. Instil healthy culture in them. Launch a new cultural movement in various localities. This is the call of our Party.

So, on the one hand, build up class and mass struggles, form struggle committees and volunteer corps while on the other hand, release a cultural movement, save the children. With this, I end.

Inquilab Zindabad!

Long live SUCI (Communist)!
Long live great Marxism-Leninism-
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought!



A well-decorated rally in demand for "Banning liquor and providing education and employment" was organized by Madhya Pradesh SUCI(C), AIDS, AIDYO and AIMSS. The rally started on 22 May from Indore and reached Bhopal on 27 May. It was inaugurated at Chandannagar, Indore, by Dr. AA Abbasi, ex-Vice Chancellor, Devi Ahilya Vishwavidyalaya. Also present were Medha Patekar, renowned social activist and Anil Trivedi, veteran Gandhite leader. Comrade Pratap Samal, MP State Secretary, SUCI(C) alongwith other state level leaders addressed the concluding programme at Azad statue in Bhopal.

SUCI(C) demands immediate arrest and stringent punishment of Rohtak and Gurgaon rape and murder perpetrators

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary of SUCI (Communist), issued the following statement to the press on 15 May, 2017 :

On 9 May a girl was brutally gang raped and murdered at Rohtak, Haryana. She was kidnapped and raped inside the car by the offenders, then brutally murdered. Even before arrest of the culprits of Rohtak incident, another ghastly incident occurred in Gurgaon, adjacent to Delhi on last Saturday night, the 13th May. A woman of Sikkim, staying in Delhi was abducted from the street, gang raped inside a car and after that thrown her to the street at midnight. Till today, police have not arrested anyone of the offenders. One after another such shocking and shameful incidents within the country have become a matter of grave concern. Particularly women and girls of North eastern states are becoming targets of attack of the criminals in Delhi, the capital of the country, which is also a matter of deep regret. The central government and the party in power, BJP, is showing much 'concern' for saving the cows. But do they really have any concern for protecting the life and dignity of the women of our country?

We demand:

1. Immediate arrest and stringent punishment to the culprits of both the incidents
2. Urgent and concrete steps to ensure safety and security of women in our country

SUCI(C) vehemently condemns rewarding the Army officer who indulged in most inhuman act

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 24 May, 2017 :

The saner right-thinking people of the country were stunned when they found on 9 April last that an army major in Kashmir had been so cruel and inhuman as to tie an ordinary citizen on the front of his jeep and use him as a human shield to run away from a group of agitators alleged to have been pelting stone on him and his contingent. Justifiably, they had burst in condemnation of such a ghastly act. What has made them further astounded is that without caring a fig for their indignation, if not in utter disregard of their legitimate concern about such an uncivilized incident, the same major who should have been prosecuted for gross violation of human right has been awarded 'commendation card' for "sustained efforts on counter-insurgency." This is an act of adding insult to injury. It will only exacerbate the highly explosive situation now prevailing in Kashmir and precipitate further hostility among the people against Indian army and government.

Our Party vehemently condemns this most reprehensible act and demands of the Government of India to ensure that such inhuman acts are not repeated.

SUCI(C) severely condemns anti-democratic autocratic move to prohibit sale of bovine animals for slaughter at livestock market, calls for thwarting this menacing move

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 27 May, 2017 :

We severely condemn the highly autocratic and brazenly anti-democratic decision of the BJP-led central government to prohibit sale of cows, bulls, bullocks, buffaloes, steers, heifers, calves and camels for slaughter or religious sacrifice at livestock markets and animal fairs on the pretext of ending uncontrolled and unregulated animal trade. This is a blatant encroachment on the fundamental rights of the Indian citizens and marks augury of snatching constitutional rights of Indian people irrespective of caste-creed-religion or ethnicity. Apart from dictating what the people would eat and thereby denying them the right to decide food options, it also deprives them from consuming a protein-rich diet. Further, this sinister move would also take away the very means of earning livelihood of a large section of the populace. Evidently, it shows to what serious an extent the RSS-BJP have gone in implementation of their rabid communal-fascistic agenda that poses grave danger to unity, fraternity and solidarity of the toiling Indian masses.

All right-thinking democratic-minded people should close their rank and unitedly rise up to thwart this menacing step.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH