

# Proletarian Era

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## To carry forward the banner of socialist revolution, the need is for thousands of brave revolutionaries like Kshudiram, Bhagat Singh, Asfaqulla Khan and Pritilata

### Comrade Provash Ghosh at the open session of the 3rd Party Congress

[This is the English translation of the speech delivered in Bengali by Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), at the open session of the 3rd Party Congress of the Party in Jamshedpur G Town club Maidan on 26 November 2018. Responsibility of translation error and inadequacy of expression, if any, lies with the Editorial Board of Proletarian Era].

Comrade President, Comrades and Friends,

You have heard that the 3rd Congress of the SUCI(Communist), the Party founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist thinker, has been held in Ghatsila from 21 to 25 November 2018. The open session is organized here in Jamshedpur today (26 November). You know that the big bourgeois parties like the BJP, Congress, the left parties like the CPI (M) and CPI as well as other regional parties, all have already jumped into the fray of forthcoming parliamentary election. Speculations are ripe as to who would capture power at the Centre, who would defend their seat of power in Delhi and who would bag how many seats in different areas. Both the print and electronic media are every day and night giving wide publicity to the speeches, claimed record of performances and future promises of the leaders of these parties. In such a political atmosphere, we, guided by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought, had discussed

in the Party Congress how class and mass struggles on the burning problems of life of the workers-peasants-middle class, pressed under the grinding wheel of ruthless capitalist oppression, can be developed and, in the process, preparations can be made for accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution in future. With that objective, the subject of our deliberations was how we could further strengthen the Party ideologically-politically-culturally-organizationally-morally. We are not an election-oriented party. Ours is a revolutionary party. Our Party believes that the basic problems of people's life can never be solved through election. This is the teaching of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought.

#### Harrowing spectacle of the country

Since 1952, there have been so many parliament elections. The Congress ruled for a long period with the slogan of *garibi hatao* (Remove Poverty). The BJP had also ascended

to power with the promise of ushering in *achhe din*(Good Days). What has been the outcome you know well from your own bitter experiences. You are undergoing every day unbearable sufferings. All these parties claim that there have been much progress and development during their rules and more of that would take place in future. But what does the spectacle of the country hold out? Though from your experience, you are familiar with this objective reality of the country, I shall read out before you a few facts. These facts and figures are not provided by us. All these are from either official or authentic unofficial sources. Just a couple of years back, India ranked 100 out of 119 countries on the Global Hunger Index. Now it has further slid down to 103. This is the kind of progress that has been taking place! 203 million (20.3 crore) people go hungry every day in India. The number of hungry has gone up substantially in recent times. 7,000 people die every day because of starvation. India is home to 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of global poor. So far, over 35 million (3.5 crore) peasants have committed suicide. Each day, 10, 000 persons die for want of medical treatment. Daily, 3,000 Children die due to

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## Hail the people of France on the war path against their rulers! Hail their courage, their unity!

France, the land of the historic French Revolution that brought the concept of democracy to the mankind, the land of the 1968 massive student movement that drew in people of different social rungs including the then topmost intellectuals of the country and even shook the world, the land of so many other glorious movements of people, has again come up with people on the streets. They were the people from all sections of life, workers, peasants, office employees, students, even housewives in cities, towns, outskirts and villages in groups, in masses, in hundreds, even in hundreds of thousands. They included workers defying their reluctant compromising trade union leadership and joining

the movements en masse on demands for a rise in the minimum wages to help them make both

ends somehow meet. They were the fateful victims of de-industrialization where MNCs had



*The recent massive protest in Paris*

been preferring to move for more profit to other less developed countries with a much lower labour cost and switching over to machines in their own land. The fighting people included youth without jobs, as the French lost 63% employment in seven years between 2000 and 2007 and unemployment since then remained unchecked. They included peasants trapped in debts from the sky-rocketing charges for seeds, labour, or agricultural equipments and meagre price for the crops they produce, as their 'benevolent' government kept the price low to compete with the African and South

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## Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Open Session

# Rich is getting richer, the poor poorer

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malnutrition. Out of a total population of 123 crores (1230 million) of the country, around 70 crores (700 million) are unemployed. Just a few days back, the Railways gave notification for filling up 90,000 vacant posts. Over 2.8 crore unemployed youth applied for those posts. Just imagine the perilous condition of the countrymen! For 368 posts of peons in UP, 23 lakh applications were received. Among the applicants, 255 were PhD holders and many others were graduates and postgraduates. 18 lakh applications were received for 5,400 Group D posts in West Bengal. Among them were also PhDs and holders of master's degrees, doctors and engineers. This is the grim spectacle of the country. This is one side of the picture.

### Who has prospered over these years?

Has there been no prosperity in the country over these years? Yes there has been. It is the big industrialists and businessmen who have made huge fortunes. In 2016, 1% of the super-rich held 51% of the total wealth of the country. Within two years, 73% of the country's wealth has been concentrated in the hands of those 1% super-rich. Just 57 billionaires own wealth equivalent to what 90% of the countrymen possess. Wealth of Mukesh Ambani, the industrial tycoon, has jumped to Rs3,71,000 crores as on 31 July 2018. Dilip Sanghvi, another giant monopolist, has added Rs 1,28,122 crores to his coffers. Net worth of Gautam Adani and Aziz Premji, two other top industrialists, stand at Rs 1,70, 230 crores and 1,30, 251 crores respectively. The wealth of Amit Shah, the BJP President has increased by 300%. Revenue from company owned by his son Joy Shah jumped from just Rs 50,000 to over Rs. 80crores in a single year registering a 16,000 times increase. Even saffron-clad Baba Ramdev has registered an increase of 173% in his wealth. All of them have amassed fabulous wealth and are billionaires.

Besides them, the ministers, MPs and MLAs are all also having wealth worth millions of rupees. In the name of serving the people, they are minting money like anything. Corruption of the industrialists, big businessmen, ministers and bourgeois political leaders has virtually been made normal. To put it the other way, corruption has become the law of the land. The only difference is who is stealing more and who is stealing less, who is caught and who is escaping unscathed. The government is bankrupt. So, budget deficit is soaring. To finance this growing deficit, the government is borrowing heavily from both internal and external sources, rampantly increasing the tax burden on people and pushing up the price line. The government is reported to have earned over Rs10 lakh crores from levies on petrol and diesel between 2014-15 and 2018-19. Now the government is trying to grab public money deposited with the Reserve Bank of India by asking the latter to transfer its surplus reserve to the government kitty. On the pretext of running short of funds, the central government is curtailing budget allocations to education and healthcare and also handing over these two crucial sectors to the private operators for being run on commercial basis and making fabulous profit by

squeezing people. The government is making no effort to prevent calamities like drought and flood nor is it taking any step to improve irrigation facilities or supply drinking water. On the contrary, it has allowed the monopoly houses and large corporates to usurp Rs10.25 lakh crores of bank loans. Not only that. These monopoly houses and corporate giants have been granted waiver of due tax to the tune of as high as Rs2.72 lakh crores. So far, as high as Rs 100 lakh crore worth of black money is estimated to have been allowed to accrue to the super-rich. This is the other side of the picture.

### Two India

So, there are two India. One India belongs to the giant monopolists and big business whose wealth is multiplying at astronomical rate. The other India is of the multitudes of toiling millions—wretched, hungry, unemployed—who are starving to death, committing suicide and selling children for a pittance. You are to examine which side the vote-based national bourgeois and regional bourgeois parties represent—the thriving super-rich or the penury and misery-stricken myriads of countrymen.

Apart from these, there are other revelations as well. It has come in today's paper that the information commission has been refused by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) to share details of the quantum of black money brought back from abroad on the pretext that it would impede the investigation and prosecution of the offenders. The PMO has also declined to give the details of complaints of corruption against the union ministers, saying that providing such information "may be a subjective as well as a cumbersome exercise". The PMO similarly has rejected the demand for releasing the names of the industrial houses who have been mega-defaulters of bank loans. The reason is clear. Names of the fugitive defaulters like Vijay Mallya, Nirav Modi, Mehul Choksi and others who are close to the BJP and also many other big names would feature on that list. So, the government is averse to making the list public. Whose interest is the government serving then? Definitely you understand that.

### India of growing unemployment, misery and penury

Today, there are millions of unemployed in the country. Millions of workers are retrenched. No new job opportunity is created. Shutters are downed on the industries. It is argued by the ruling quarters that the factories are closing down because there is no market. Whatever little labour is engaged is also not on permanent but contractual basis. There is no fixed hour of work, no fixed wage. Contract labour—a new system has been made operational. There is no labour law, no right of the workers at the places of work. Look at the villages, those have been turned into deserts. There are no youth- both male and female- in the rural areas because there is no job, no means of livelihood in the villages. So, they are migrating to this or that city, even going abroad in search of jobs as 'migrant' labour. They have no fixed jobs anywhere. You might not be aware that 30

million (3 crore) of young men of this country were cheated by dangling carrot of employment and sold abroad by the agents of vested interest as slave labourers. These slave labourers are not allowed to return home. They are made to work round the clock and provided only that much of food which is needed for bare survival. There is no guarantee of any wage. Even they are not allowed to venture out of their places of dwelling. Imagine what unbearable poverty compelled 3 crores of young men of the country to labour as slaves in foreign country! A group of businessmen have been luring thousands of girls from the villages with promise of providing jobs or arranging marriages. Then they sell these hapless girls to the flesh market within and outside the country. This flesh trade is now thriving day by day. This is another horrifying picture of 'development' of our country. 26 January, the Republic Day, is approaching. There would be much pomp and grandeur. The leaders would give long speeches with tall talks. There would be gorgeous carnivals in the 5 or 7 star hotels with bursting of crackers followed by sumptuous dinners. When the leftovers would be thrown into the dustbins, the street children would be found scavenging for some eatables from the dump. These children are all human. Lakhs of children are born and die on the footpaths. No one bothers about them. These destitute children do not even know who their parents are. And once darkness descends, our sisters and daughters in large number would flock the railway stations, bus terminuses, market places and street corners of the cities and towns to sell themselves as prostitutes. They have no other means to feed their starving children or ailing husbands. This is the kind of 'development' the country has achieved over these years! The Congress has ruled for a long period. Now the BJP is saddled in power. Both of them have endowed this 'development' to the countrymen. They have only ensured the flourishing of the big industrialists and big businessmen who have been piling heaps of profit by squeezing even the last drop of blood of the oppressed people. Is it the kind of independence for which Shaheed-E-Azam Bhagat Singh had laid down his life? Did the thousands of blooming youth court martyrdom to create such an independent India? Did Netaji Subhas fight for achieving this independence?

### Only two forces are there in politics

In place of British imperialist rule, an oppressive capitalist rule has been established in the country. This is what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our revered leader and teacher, had shown. He said that people did not achieve freedom, but a handful of capitalists earned the freedom to loot, plunder and exploit at will. He showed that the Indian society is class-divided. On the one side is the ruling capitalist class whose whole and sole objective is to earn maximum profit by maximum exploitation. On the other side, are the vast masses of poor people, the workers-peasants-middle class, oppressed and repressed to the core. He also pointed out that outwardly there appear to be many opposing forces in politics.

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## Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Open Session

# There are two Indias—one of the oppressing ruling bourgeoisie and another of the oppressed multitudes of toiling masses

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But, in reality, there are only two contending forces in politics. One faithfully serves the big industrialists and businessmen, abets wanton loot and exploitation and protects the oppressors and plunderers. Starting from the Congress, the BJP to all other regional parties — all practise this very politics. The other represents the politics for building people's struggle against ruthless capitalist oppression, politics based on higher ideology-culture-ethics which paves the way for bringing about anti-capitalist socialist revolution. The SUCI(C), the genuine revolutionary party on the soil, is the torch-bearer of that politics. With this objective, we have been conducting our struggle.

### Capitalism destroying rationality, fostering blindness

Capitalist attack is now mounting on each and every walk of life. Scope for education and cultivation of knowledge is being curtailed progressively. Academic syllabus is being oriented towards religious education and spiritualism. But, Rammohan and Vidyasagar, the doyens of the Indian renaissance, categorically stated that not the Vedas and Vedanta, not Sanskrit language but science, logic and scientific philosophy is what we want in the curriculum. This kind of secular democratic education should be introduced to build man worth the name. Attack on their outlook and approach of imparting secular scientific democratic education, first came from the Congress. The BJP has gone a step further in killing scientific bent of mind, destroying rational outlook and banishing polemics so that no one raises any objection, any question or enters into any debate on any issue but only follows blindly what the leaders say. So, they have introduced religious education with a view to fostering blind irrational faith. They are also inciting religious fanaticism.

### On Rama Janmabhumi-Babri Masjid feud

Now there is a tug of war centring on *Rama*. Claims and counter-claims are made in regard to who is carrying the true legacy of Rama. Rama is a mythological character, not a historical one. You would not find any reference of Rama on the pages of history. Buddha, Mahavira or Shankaracharya are the names you would find in history. Rama is an imaginary character. There is no mention of Rama in the four volumes of the Veda, six volumes of the Upanishad, the Gita and the Advaita Vedanta of Shankaracharya. Now, keeping an eye on election, a hype is created around Rama. Can these self-proclaimed disciples of Rama be called true Hindus? As the saying goes, Valmiki had written the *Ramayana* before the birth of Rama and predicted what would happen in future. But nowhere did he mention that Babri Masjid would be built by destroying Rama temple in Ayodhya. The *Ramacharitanamas* written by SantTulsidas is acknowledged and regarded as an authentic work. Babri Masjid was in existence during the time Tulsidas penned this book. Did Tulsidas say anywhere that Babri Masjid was built on the site

of Rama's birth? I want to ask another question. Sri Chaitanya, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda whom the Hindus obey as pivots of Hinduism had also seen Babri Masjid. But none of them ever said that Babri Masjid lies on Rama's birthplace. Are we to presume that all of them were cowards? It was the Congress which first generated this Ram Janmabhumi-Babri Masjid controversy. Rajiv Gandhi, former Congress

prime minister, opened the lock of Babri Masjid in 1986 and started worshipping Ramalala there obviously with the aim of garnering Hindu votes inciting religious sentiment. The BJP sensed danger when it found that the Congress was going to use Rama as a ploy to corner Hindu votes. Immediately, it embarked on a *rathajatra* (chariot march), orchestrated communal riots round the country, gave the call for demolishing Babri Masjid and thereby sought to brighten its electoral prospect riding on artificial polarization along religious lines. Thereafter, in 1992, at the inaction of the then Congress prime minister, the frenzied foot-soldiers of RSS-BJP-Sangh Parivar razed a historical monument like the Babri Masjid to the grounds in presence of their front-ranking leaders. This time also, on the eve of the election, a nasty game has been started by way of raking up fanaticism over construction of a Rama Temple in Ayodhya.

### Are RSS-BJP genuine votaries of Hinduism?

We, the Marxists, are atheists. But I want to raise a pertinent question. Does the RSS-BJP really believe in Hinduism? Vivekananda had said—"first give food to the hungry and then talk of religion."<sup>1</sup> He asked what the self-styled Hindus were doing for the starving? He even opposed construction of temple by spending money when people are starving.<sup>2</sup> He said that if he had a son, he could be a Buddhist, his wife a Christian and he himself a Muslim. What was the harm in it? <sup>3</sup> He wanted to have one religion with integration of the Bible, the Quran and the Veda.<sup>4</sup> He also pointed out that no religion attacks any other religion.<sup>5</sup> Ramkrishna, the mentor of Vivekananda, had offered *namaz* in the mosques for months, offered prayers at the churches and at the same time worshipped goddess Kali. Were they representatives of Hinduism or the present day RSS-BJP leaders are votaries of Hinduism? Ask the RSS-BJP why have they been fomenting frenzy and fanaticism over Hindutva? Is it not for buttressing narrow sectarian interest of reaping electoral benefits? Whenever election knocks at the door, the Rama Mandir issue is raked up and communal venom spewed. It is assuming a dangerous proportion.



Comrade Provash Ghosh addressing the Open Session of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Party Congress

### Real motive behind Hindutwa cry of RSS-BJP

The RSS-BJP is having twin objectives behind promotion of Hindutva doctrine. First is of course brightening their electoral prospect by consolidating Hindu vote. Now, a competition is going on between Narendra Modi and Rahul Gandhi over temple-hopping— who would enter which temple first and thereby be one up in proving to be a devout Hindu. The other objective is to disrupt the unity of the oppressed people. Let the impoverished workers-peasants-middle class nurture hatred towards each other. I am Hindu, you are a Muslim. I am higher caste, you are lower caste. You are *dalit*, he is tribal and so forth. Likewise, a divide is wedged among the various sections of the toiling masses so that they cannot stand united and fight against the ruling capitalist class and its subservient bourgeois governments. That is why, the fire of communal-casteist-ethnic fanaticism and violence is stoked in a planned way.

The other objective is to inculcate blind religious faith in people. The communal-fundamentalist-bigoted forces like the RSS-BJP are playing the devil by telling the common people—"Why are you poor and unemployed? It is due to your ill fate. You are atoning for the sin you committed in your previous birth. The monopolists like the Ambanis and Adanis who are plundering millions and millions of rupees and ruthlessly exploiting people had done so much of pious services in their previous births that god has now sent them to merrily suck the blood of the poor. So you, the poor and destitute, let you happily die of hunger and without any treatment. If you die happily without protesting, you would achieve salvation and would get respite in your next birth. So, never raise any question or argue, never seek to know the cause behind growing oppression-repression of yours. Because, all these are ordained by god, all are his contemplations and hence *fait accompli*. As the saying goes, 'Man proposes, god disposes', 'Khooda ka Marji, Nasib ka Khel'. So, do not hold anyone responsible for your peril and poverty. Curse the sin you had committed in your previous birth and

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## Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Open Session

# Because of opposing BJP in parliamentary politics, Congress does not *ipso facto* become secular

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your fate.' These kind of devious activities are going on. People ought to be alert about this.

### **Reckless promotion of obscenity and vulgarity to shatter moral backbone of the youth**

There is another grave conspiracy. When the British imperialists were in power, they wanted the students and youth of this country to be wage-slaves. But that was in vain. Innumerable students and youth happily gave up their studies, did not care for any material benefit or so-called comfort of family life and spurned job offer to join the freedom movement. They went to jail, faced bullets and batons of the imperialist regime and embraced martyrdom. That was emblematic of genuine fervent youth. Today, the ruling bourgeoisie and its servitors are destroying the essence of youth. They are exhorting the young boys to eat, drink and be merry, to go to the gambling dens, be drug-addicts and remain engaged in vulgar discussion over female body. They are spreading reckless obscenity and sex-perversion through incessant promotion of blue films and lascivious material through various media including cyber network. Just think about how low things have stooped to that neither a six month old baby girl nor a 100 year old lady is spared from being brutally raped. Daughter is accusing father of rape, student is accusing teacher of rape and molestation. What a horrible situation! Even to usurp the property, sons and daughters are driving the old parents out from home or even killing them. No love, no affection, no tender feelings, and no values in even family life. What a country we are living in! This is the kind of 'progress' the ruling class and its lackeys are boasting of. Rape and gang-rape do not happen even in the animal world. The capitalist class is pushing the youth of the country to the precipice of decadence so that they are dispossessed of human essence, conscience, all finer human qualities and be emasculated from within. If the youth are degraded and degenerated, if their moral backbone is shattered, they can easily be bought and can be engaged in any kind of criminal activities against money. Now, the next parliament election is drawing near. These unemployed and culturally polluted young people would enrol themselves as volunteers of either the Congress or the BJP or any such other bourgeois party for getting money for buying liquor, for intoxication and merry-making. They will neither protest against any wrong or injustice in the society nor would they join the path of struggle. For fulfilling this objective the ruling quarters are ensuring that there is no cultivation of the lives and thoughts of Netaji Subhas-Kshudiram-Bhagat Singh-Chandrasekhar Azad-Ashfaqulla Khan. Many countrymen particularly the youth do not recall Rammohan-Vidyasagar-Vivekananda-Rabindranth-Saratchandra-Premchand-Jyotiba Phule-Subramania Bharati-Jyotiprosad-Gopabandhu Das and other greatmen the country had produced. The ruling class has been arraying its entire arsenal to make people forget these luminaries so that they are

stripped of human qualities and turned into inhuman creatures. In that event, no danger would be posed to the ruling exploitative bourgeoisie. This is the nature and height of capitalist oppression and conspiracy. Our Party wants to make people aware and alert of this gruelling capitalist exploitation and intrigue and awaken the true youth anew.

Just think, had Vidyasagar, Jyotiba Phule, Subhaschandra, Vivekananda, Bhagat Singh, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Lala Lajpat Rai or Subramania Bharati been alive and witnessed the state of affairs of the country today, what would they have said to the countrymen? Would they have told to be engaged in slavery of the Congress or the BJP or demolish mosque to build up temple? Would they have advised to be liquor-addict, indulge in vulgar consumerism and behave indecently with women? Or they would have called upon all to fight these menaces and rottenness and stand firm based on human essence and take up cudgels against wrongs and injustice? Only our Party guided by Marxism-

consider the Congress to be 'secular'. The very word secularism bears a definite meaning. Philosophically, secularism means non-recognition of any super-natural entity and acceptance of the material world as the only objective reality. Politically, secularism means, to speak in the language of Subhaschandra, that religion would have no say in political affairs. Politics would be governed by economic-political-scientific logic. Bhagat Singh had espoused for this secularism. Rabindranath-Saratchandra-Premchand-Nazrul had spoken of this secularism. But the Congress right from its inception has propagated religion-based nationalism. Gandhiji also advocated this in the interest of the Indian bourgeoisie who did not want any cult of scientific outlook. This very religion-based nationalism ultimately turned into Hindu-religion oriented nationalism. Thereafter, the British imperialist rulers pulled strings from behind to alienate the Muslim community from the freedom movement, foment Hindu-Muslim divide and finally create Pakistan. Otherwise, such a catastrophe like partition of the country



*Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI (C), along with Comrades Gopal Kundu (to the left) and Saumen Basu, both Central Committee members, lead the huge rally in Kolkata on 15 November 2018 to commemorate the 101 Anniversary of the Great November Revolution*

Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought are cultivating the glorious lives and contributions of the great men and martyrs of the yester years whom the ruling capitalist class is trying to push into the abyss of oblivion. Our Party is also struggling to resurrect that fervent youth, foster cultivation of human qualities, higher culture, ethics and morality.

### **Opportunism and treachery of the pseudo-Marxists**

We shall also participate in the election but not by abandoning leftism and revolutionary ideology. Unlike the CPM, CPI, we do not

would never have taken place. So, the Congress was never secular. Even today it is not. Just because it is opposing the BJP in the field of election, so it is secular—is a blatant lie, simply purported to confuse people. The CPI (M) and the CPI are engaged in tailism of the Congress simply from electoral interest, just for getting some seats. We do not practise such opportunist politics. It was the Congress which had clamped emergency, abrogated civil and democratic rights, muffled voice of protest, curtailed freedom of the press and promulgated black Acts like TADA, MISA, ESMA etc. The way

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## Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Open Session **Anti-left policies and practices of the CPI (M), CPI have contributed towards menacing rise of RSS-BJP**

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the BJP has repeatedly been engineering riots and genocides and thereby causing fratricidal bloodbath, the Congress too, similarly, orchestrated communal conflagration in Rourkela (Odisha), Bhagalpur (Bihar), Nellie (Assam) and Delhi. The same Congress is now called 'secular' and 'democratic' by the CPI (M), CPI. We do not indulge in such palpable falsehood just for the sake of vote. We have always maintained that though the CPI (M) and CPI talk of Marxism, they are not Marxists. Their past history does not say so. During the freedom movement, the national bourgeoisie tried to capture power through compromise keeping Gandhiji in the forefront. For that the Congress never allowed secular scientific thought to come to the fore and opposed revolutionary struggle. Instead, it encouraged religious thoughts. In the name of pursuing non-violence, it sought to thwart surge of revolutionary movement. It is pertinent to mention that there was an uncompromising revolutionary trend within the freedom movement which was represented by Subhaschandra, Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, Kshudiram, Chandrasekhar Azad and such others. The protagonists of this trend believed in armed struggle. Both the British imperialists and the Indian national bourgeoisie were afraid of this revolutionary trend. So they conspired and compelled Subhaschandra to resign from the presidentship of the Congress and then by suspension virtually expelled him from the Congress. Many people are not aware of this history. Now all pretend to be admirers of Subhaschandra. Even the BJP is also talking of him. Are you aware of what did M S Golwalkar, the ideologue of the RSS-BJP, say about our freedom movement? He held that those who talked of anti-Britishism and independence based on territorial nationalism were reactionaries.<sup>6</sup> If this theory is to be supported, then starting from Subhaschandra, Deshbandhu, LalaLajpat, Bhagat Singh to Gandhiji and Nehru, all are to be viewed as reactionaries and not patriots. These were the views of Golwalkar. He preached for a Hindu-rashtra, Hindu Bharat. Now Mohan Bhagawat, the RSS chief, is saying that they have expunged this portion of Golwalkar's observations from that book where such an observation was made. Why is the RSS chief saying so? Actually they are facing difficulties with such formulations now. But how does that matter now? This was the stand of the RSS during the freedom movement. How can history be erased? Was the RSS ever in the freedom movement? No, never. The RSS had no role in the freedom movement other than opposing it. The RSS even admired fascist Hitler. This is the history of theirs.

At that point of time, great Stalin had advised the undivided CPI leaders to support the revolutionaries as opposed to the compromising reformist representative, the big national bourgeoisie.<sup>7</sup> But the undivided CPI which then

had within it the leaders of the CPM also, did not follow the advice of Stalin. The CPI leaders instead opposed Subhaschandra and backed Gandhiji. This is the factual position. The CPI, CPI (M) had also done many things which are downright anti-Marxist approach and deeds. I shall not enter into that detailed discussion today. Only I remind you all that the undivided CPI had opposed the freedom movement even before 1942. It held that the Azad Hind Fauz (INA) of Netaji Subhas was a stooge of Japanese imperialism. Undivided CPI also put forth a strange theory that the Hindus and the Muslims constitute two different nations and for that along with the Hindu Mahasabha, RSS and Muslim League, CPI too supported the partition of the country.

### **Immense harm caused by the CPI (M), CPI to left-democratic movement**

West Bengal once was the nerve-centre of left-democratic movement. Both undivided Bengal and then West Bengal after partition carried the legacy of Subhaschandra and other revolutionaries. The Congress virtually had no influence here. During its 34 years of uninterrupted rule, the CPI (M) had oppressed and repressed people so much to serve the interest of exploitative capitalism that the same West Bengal, out of anti-CPI (M) mentality, is now disgusted about leftism. Thus, the CPI (M) has caused immense harm to Marxism-leftism. Such despicable has been its role. The CPI (M), CPI had long abandoned the path of struggle. Now their sole aim is to avidly pursue electoral interest. Only to derive electoral benefits, the CPI (M) earlier once in 1977 had formed unity with the Janata Party which had the RSS within its fold. Only for the sake of vote, Jyoti Basu and Atal Behari Vajpayee had jointly held meeting at Kolkata Maidan in the late 1980s. Now, the same CPI (M) is joining hands with the Congress for reaping electoral dividend. We do not practise such opportunist politics in the name of leftism. I appeal to honest left-minded workers and supporters of CPI and CPI(M) to ponder over these.

Centring on the conflict over economic interest, the camp of the Indian big bourgeoisie is divided. One section is supporting the BJP and the other is backing the Congress in parliamentary politics. Besides, the

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## **Comrade V N Singh breathes his last**

Veteran SUCI (Communist) leader and former State Secretary of UP, Comrade VN Singh breathed his last at age of 90 years on 4 December at his residence in Badlapur in UP after suffering from prolonged illness. At the news of his death the Red Flag was kept half-mast at different offices of the



Party including the State Party office in Kanpur of UP. After his mortal remains had been brought to the Party office, Comrade Pushpendra, UP State Secretary and other State Committee members paid their revolutionary tribute to the deceased leader. Since Comrade VN Singh had been a member of Bihar State Committee, the Red Flag was kept half-mast also in Bihar State Party office, Patna.

Comrade VN Singh started with trade union movement in his early political life when he was a railway employee. In course of that he was influenced by Naxalite politics for some time. But when he learnt of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary and one of the leading Marxist thinkers and philosophers of this era, he himself came to meet him in 1969 in Kolkata. His life was totally changed since then. Under the guidance, love and compassionate dealing of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Singh gradually developed from a simple cadre to a mass leader. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh visited the state of UP several times. Comrade VN Singh used to bring bands of UP comrades to meet the great leader. He then reared them up in accordance with teachings and directions from Comrade Ghosh. Comrade VN Singh nurtured those memories of the great leader with deep emotion and tearful eyes even during his last days of illness.

Party activities in the state of UP was initiated by Comrade VN Singh himself. He had immense courage to plunge into action whenever he would find oppression of poor people. To build up mass movements on various issues, he used to rush across the state. It was his initiative and leadership which led to the spread of Party activities and organizations and recruitment of scores of Party workers in 14 districts of the UP state including Lucknow, Kanpur and Allahabad. In course of these activities he had to face police harassment and was put behind the bars several times. He was also instrumental in developing the Party organization in Aurangabad district of Bihar during the early days of his life when he had been working in the Railways at Dehri-on-Sone. He was held in prison for 3 months and suspended from his service for his active role in the All India Railway strike in 1974. Comrade VN Singh was All India Vice-President of AIUTUC and a national level leader of AIKKMS, the organization of peasants and agricultural labours.

For the last few years he was ill and totally incapable of carrying on any activity. At his suggestion and with approval of the Central Committee, Comrade Pushpendra was elected the State Secretary of a new State Organizing Committee in the UP State Conference in 2017. Comrade VN Singh remained a member of this committee. He carried on his studies of Party literature, extending his suggestions to the leaders and cadres of the Party and keeping himself abreast of every development, as long as he could. His demise has caused a great loss to the Party while his life remains a source of inspiration to all, around.

**Red Salute Comrade VN Singh**

## People of France fight valiantly, set up instance for the world

*Contd. from page 1*

American countries and the poor peasants had to take resort to suicide, one the every other day on an average. High school students protesting reforms to national examinations, responded with blockading roads and observing strike at the call of their National Union even after being made to kneel down on streets by the police and be arrested. The surging masses included common people at large, including the middle class car owners protesting fuel price hike which affected price of all essentials as well as house rent, cost of transportation even for the car-owners virtually beyond reach of common people. They included the marginalized section of the population, old and pensioners protesting slashing of pensions and other social welfare schemes, their only means of subsistence. These people and many such others in hundreds of thousands repeatedly held rallies, surged across their country to roll on to the streets of the big cities, Marseilles, Paris and others, stalling life there. On their way they had to fight pitched battle against the police who indiscriminately used rubber bullets, foam projectiles, water cannons, salvos of tear gas shells, armoured cars. Led by the President of the country despotically roaring 'Government would not change its policy on face of hooliganism of hooligans', the government issued threats of military deployment and even of imposing state of emergency. But the valiant people were not to be cowed down. Thousands injured bled on the streets; an eighty-year old lady and a youth succumbed to the injury. Thousands more were thrown behind the bars. Notwithstanding these atrocities and repressions the fighting French people stood firm. They cried against the President as representing one per cent, the rich, the corporate houses, the MNCs. And significantly enough the French raised the slogan *Anti-capitalista* (Down with capitalism).

People of France who had once given birth to the bourgeois democracy, were thus now raising their voice against their capitalist system. From the bitter experiences of their life, it is now dawning upon them that despite all talks of liberalism, artistry and intellectualism, the ground reality is that their country is a capitalist-imperialist country, whose people are thrown into the putrid quagmire of the crisis-ridden world system, where they had to pass through the ordeals following the prescription of imperialist globalization. Their capitalist-imperialist state may have grown to one of the few nuclear powers of the world, but has failed to give them any respite from the daily sufferings. Instead the capitalist rulers shifted the burden of their crisis-ridden system on to the people; the recent fuel price hike being the latest one, done on the plea of saving environment and such others. It made the common people gather courage once more to stand united and firm against the brute heartless rulers, the monopolists and their corporate houses. For the present, the enraged people made the initially defiant President to step back and roll back the fuel price hike, to address people publicly and declare more concessions. The arrogance yielded to people's power; people's movement could unsettle settled facts.

The heroic France once again imbued the world with the call of movement. In these days

when modern revisionism has thrown the international communist movement in complete disarray, this struggle of people sets up an example to follow. Ripples of the movement moved across the boundaries, for instance to Brussels, the capital of Belgium or Rotterdam, a city in the Netherlands. Not only the French monopolists, the capitalist-imperialists of other countries have started counting sleepless nights. They still bear the frightful experiences of the months-long Occupy Wall Street movement in the USA, hitherto considered impenetrable citadel of capitalism-imperialism, the Arab Spring uprising in the Middle East and northern Africa, the oil-rich terrain on this earth targeted by the imperialists as free hunting ground for limitless profit, or the waves of movements of common people in European countries like Greece, Portugal, Spain, Scotland even the more advanced ones like UK, France and Germany be it against so-called austerity measures of the governments to shift the burden of their crisis on to the people or on the questions of belonging to the European Union. So the monopolists take this movement in France as casting omens for them. It is once more making it clear beyond doubt that despite all efforts of the capitalists to allure people with the fantasy of pledges and thereby keep them confined within the limits of the four walls of parliamentary politics, the rulers are not being able to hold the oppressed people back from the movement, which is even leading to the call against the system. This is a truth that the capitalist-imperialists cannot deny.

But, for the struggling people of the world, including France, there are further truths to pay heed to. No doubt, exploited toiling people have come out heroically in these movements that are even taking shape of uprisings raising slogans against capitalism, the real enemy before people. It happened in the USA or elsewhere and now in France. In all the cases, people have burst out in anger, braved attacks and sufferings, fought against the brute capitalist state machineries. It is true they could unnerve their capitalist rulers at least for the time being and could wrest some demands. But it is one face of the picture. It is a totally different issue when it comes to the question of developing a sustained organized movement against these machineries which are highly regimented, lethally armed and brutally tuned for annihilating anybody daring to challenge and overthrow them. Unable to bear the ruthless capitalist exploitation people may cry for a change, for revolution. But revolutionary movements still remain a far cry. The people of France are still fighting. They have tried to get organized, but in the rudimentary state. The protracted organized struggle for revolution would definitely need more, a strong ideological organizational leadership. To follow the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of the SUCI (Communist) and one of the eminent Marxist thinkers of this era: "Out of discontent of workers, peasants and all exploited masses, revolution will again and again try to surge ahead in waves after waves. In waves after waves it will try to burst forth. The contradiction within society will deepen and sharpen many

times more, calling for radical transformation of this order. It will beseech our consciousness, it will appeal to humanity that revolution is the necessity. Still, revolution will not come, again and again it will recede, it will go astray, and reaction will again and again gain by that — revolution will not see the light until the revolutionary party emerges, capable enough to lead revolution." (Tribute to a Revolutionary Character: Speech on 17 September, 1974, SW ,Vol.III, p. 390)

While highlighting thus the importance of a genuine leadership for revolution, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also pointed out that when people craving for a revolutionary change dare to develop powerful massive outbursts, hold vibrant democratic movements embracing widest cross-sections of oppressed people, the ruling capitalists, the monopolists, take every possible means to misdirect those. They play tricks, offer concessions, pronounce pledges. In the long run, however strong may be the outbursts, whatever sufferings people may have gone through, if there is no leadership to guide them through and correctly, these movements fail to touch even the fringes of problems capitalism breeds. It generates frustration in people, they withdraw from movement. Unable to withstand the exploitation and oppression they may again rise up with courage, only to face the same fate. This goes on till the revolutionary leadership leads the movement.

Over and above this, in this era of moribund capitalism, when the exploitative —oppressive capitalism is ruthlessly fleecing people and hoodwinking them in every possible way, it is urgently needed that massive powerful organized democratic movements are built up in the capitalist countries. The recent heroic struggle waged by the people of France is a remarkable feat in this regard, which acts as a source of inspiration to toiling people of the world. We salute them once more! At the same time we cannot ignore that such movements need leadership of genuine revolutionary party to reach the desired goal of emancipation. So it will require building up of revolutionary party to lead the movement in each case, on the edifice of the new, developed understanding of the present day problems and their ramifications, an understanding based upon correct revolutionary ideology and culture. Today such a party cannot be formed without waging relentless struggle against pernicious influences of modern revisionism. The quintessence of that struggle involves fight against new kind of economism and socialist individualism which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist leader, identifies to have developed as a grave danger in the way of developing revolutionary movement. And to eradicate these menaces from the path of revolution, it is the identification of individual's interest with the social interest, which remains the criterion for genuine revolutionary characters as also the only course to help the genuine revolutionary party grow and thereby people's movement reach the desired end. The situation demands that struggling people over the world, the heroic people of France seriously probe and ponder over these issues, left in the trail of the recent glorious struggle of France.

## Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Open Session

# Incessant incitement to religious fanaticism, casteist-communal hatred are aimed at driving a wedge into people's struggling unity

*Contd. from page 5*

contradiction between regional and national capital is sharpened with the result that voices of regional parties have become stronger. If CPI (M)- CPI leadership had minimum concern for class struggle and mass movements they would have taken this scope of the division in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Instead they have gone after the Congress and other bourgeois parties to have them in the peasant rallies as if there was no peasants' suicide during Congress rule or the Congress governments did never open fire on the peasants. Their associate party Liberation also in their Patna open meeting invited the son of Laluprasad who is serving jail sentence on charges of corruption and the son also spoke in the meeting. This type of opportunist politics may help to bag 2 or 3 MLA or MP seats, but it would further weaken the left movement which is already limping. Our party does not practise such opportunist politics.

### **Insurmountable crisis of world imperialism-capitalism**

Comrades and friends, world imperialism-capitalism is mired in acute insoluble crisis. Oppressed wretched people have no purchasing power. So, the capitalist market is continuously shrinking. US, known to be the locomotive of world capitalism-imperialism, is now sinking in the Pacific. It was the US which once advocated globalization. Now it is saying that globalization is to be discarded. Instead, the US rulers are talking of "America First" meaning that the interest of America would have primacy over all others. Because, US is now having severe unemployment problem. There is no job for the American youth. Just the other day, the country was shaken by the "Occupy Wall Street" movement. Now imperialist China where capitalism has been restored after socialism was brought down through counter revolution, has appeared as a formidable imperialist contender. Along with China, imperialist Russia, imperialist Japan and the united bloc of European imperialist powers are also posing challenge to US domination. America, Europe, China, Japan, Russia are all ridden with insurmountable crisis endemic of the capitalist system and hence are vying with each other to grab markets.

Though all of them are trying to make a foray into others' markets, they themselves are refusing entry of others in their respective domestic markets. Clash on a large scale has ensued centring on market. All of them are augmenting their military power. The first and second world wars were generated because of the contradiction among the imperialist powers over grabbing of market. Now it is a matter of concern where would this current trade war among the imperialist powers lead to. Another aspect is also worth taking note of. During the days of industrial revolution, capitalism had moved with the aim of developing national markets with the slogan of national interest. Now, the same capitalism after reaching the stage of monopoly and imperialism has given birth to multi-nationals. Abandoning national interest, multinationals are running after

investing capital in any other country where it would be able to exploit cheap labour and raw materials and thereby maximize profit. Moreover they are also making profit by selling the goods so produced overseas at a cheaper cost, in their respective domestic markets. Thus a contradiction has developed between the interest of the multinationals vying for profit maximization by setting up production units anywhere in the world and the aggregate interest of the US imperialist state. Hence, the US imperialist state is opposing globalization while the US multi-nationals are in favour of that. The position of other capitalist-imperialist countries is also the same. The multinationals and corporate houses of the Indian imperialist state are also investing capital abroad and not in India. Capitalism today does not care for the people, country or the nation. Wherever it would find scope for profit maximization, it would go there. At the same time, if necessary, it would use its own state to further its interest. The entire capitalist-imperialist world is facing growing recession. India too is no exception to that. So long as capitalism is in power, there can be no escape from this spiralling recession. Because, the capitalist market economy by its own law gradually squeezes and destroys the market. This is inevitable in capitalism. As a result, unemployment and retrenchment are wreaking havoc in the life of millions. People are getting pauperized, wretched and ruined. They have no purchasing power. So, recession is bound to increase, as capitalism is after maximum profit. So, it needs extreme and wanton oppression of the working people.

### **Emancipation lies in socialism**

The only alternative is to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. The great November Revolution of Russia in 1917 showed the way. Soviet socialism lasted for 70 years. In Soviet Union, there was no unemployment, no retrenchment. Education and healthcare were free. Houses were available at a very cheap rent. Only the workers and peasants could contest in the elections. Soviet Union registered a spectacular all-round growth and development within a very short period. It showed what Marxism and socialism could provide to the people. So all leading lights like Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Einstein, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Premchand, Nazrul, Subramania Bharati, Subhaschandra were all effusive in praise of Soviet socialism. They all stood by this new socialist civilization. Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh had even declared himself as a communist. This socialism was dismantled because of the revisionist conspiracy and the machinations of the defeated capitalism from within and aided as well as abated by the imperialists-capitalists from outside. We know from history that the advent of religion took place during the slave-master society. At that time, religion had played a progressive role in the interest of the oppressed slaves. Every religion claimed that they were empowered by divine endowment. Yet, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam—all the religious movement

suffered defeats after defeats at the initial stage, then victory again defeats, then again victory. If we take into account the period between the dawns of renaissance to the establishment of the parliamentary system, the history of bourgeois democracy would be of 350 years. Bourgeois democracy also went through the cycle of periodic defeat and victory. Now about socialism you should keep in mind that Soviet socialism had to fight for abolition of class exploitation which had lasted for thousands of year right from the slave system to feudalism and then to capitalism. In the context of this gigantic task, 70 years of existence of socialism is minimal in terms of time. But we are certain that only socialism can bring about the desired emancipation.

The banner of 'equality-fraternity-liberty' which was once upheld by the bourgeois democratic revolution of France is today thrown into the dust, trampled underfoot by the bourgeoisie themselves. Parliamentary Democracy is turned into fascist autocracy keeping the façade of parliamentarianism. Capitalism today has become an arch enemy of human civilization. So, there would no relief from the growing and unbearable hardship of the common people by keeping intact the labour-capital relations of production, the capitalist state machine, maximization of profit through maximum exploitation of the working class and by changing the government through vote. The need is anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

### **Bourgeois election is a big deception today**

Does the election result reflect the verdict of the people? Is it "by the people, for the people, of the people"? Hundreds of millions of rupees are pumped in during the elections. Who provide this enormous amount of money? The answer is none but the capitalists and the big businessmen. The BJP and the Congress are their servitors. On riding to power, these parties work like the servant of the ruling capitalists, carry out their orders faithfully. Now both the parties are spending huge sum of money. They are distributing freebies in the form of mobile phones, TVs, Laptops, cycles and so many other things. If the people ask for the moon now, they would even agree to that in order to get votes. And the hapless pauperized people think that since they would not receive anything in normal course, they better avail of this opportunity to get whatever little is offered to them by the vote-seeking parties. Whether it is a bicycle, or a tube well or a pair of dresses, it is viewed as gift though, in reality, it is nothing but bribe. Who is financing all these freebies? It is the ruling capitalists who are providing the funds. They are giving this little to recover from the people several times of the cost later by way of increasing tax and escalating the prices of essential commodities. This is the underlying motive. Election today is nothing but a farce, a big deception for the people. In order to expose this farce, to make people conscious of the fact that no basic problem can be solved by election, we take part in the election. We shall have to contest election with our distinct

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**Comrade Provash Ghosh at the Open Session****Not opportunistic bourgeois election politics, only socialism by overthrowing ruling capitalism can resolve basic problems of life***Contd. from page 6*

revolutionary base political line till the time people are prepared for revolution. This is the teaching of great Lenin. The way we, as a revolutionary party organize people with all our might and build up class and mass struggles on the burning problems of life, in election also we shall fight as a part of this ongoing struggle. The CPI (M), CPI have been duping people by joining hands with the national as well as regional bourgeois parties and also the casteist parties simply in opportunist electoral interest. We do not deceive the people with such opportunism. We want unity of the left-democratic parties and forces for developing class and mass struggles based on ideology and definite principles.

**People must understand politics, distinguish between friend and foe**

Comrades and friends, I sincerely make an appeal to you. During the freedom movement, the sons and daughters of poor and middle class families sacrificed their life. But the state power has been captured by the Indian capitalist class. Why this could happen? The main reason was that the people did not try to understand politics. The compromising leaders also wanted the people to remain ignorant and blindfolded. People also thought that since they were incapable of understanding so many complexities, twists and turns of politics, let the leaders decide the course of action. The compromising leaders took advantage of that. At that time, people could not make out what was the difference between Subhaschandra's line and Gandhiji's line. They did not understand why was Subhaschandra removed from the post of president of the Congress and finally ousted from the party. If people still continue to be ignorant, if they still take decision as to whom they would vote on the basis of the bourgeois propaganda in the media and on the consideration of the amount of money and freebies a party would give them, then once again they would be deceived. There is a saying that 'whoever goes to Lanka becomes a Ravana'. This is not correct. According to the Ramayana, Rama, Lakshman, Sita and Hanuman had all gone to Lanka. But they did not become Ravana. Rather, the teaching of the Ramayana is that had Sita been able to identify

Ravana who came in the disguise of a saint, she would not have invited the disaster she faced. Sita ignored the warning of Lakshman and crossed the chalk mark. So, she suffered. Today, the vote-merchants are coming by aeroplane and helicopter to the villages and the towns, begging for vote with folded hands and requesting the electorate to give them a chance. They pretend to be committed to serve the people. They are all backed by money-power and would bare their real face once they ride to power. Please do not be carried away by their false promises and deceptive talks.

Common people must understand politics. They must be able to distinguish between friends and foes. They must acquire the necessary consciousness and outlook to identify which party is working for the oppressing class and who is upholding the cause of the toiling masses. People are dying of starvation, plagued by growing unemployment and job loss. Families are breaking up, old parents are driven out of the house by their children who are refusing to take the responsibility of their maintenance, wife is killed for dowry, thousands of girls are raped, woman trafficking is rising. Would all these continue unabated? Or there has to be a remedy to all such miseries, maladies, aberrations, crimes and deceptions. The remedy lies alone in accomplishing anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Our Party is holding aloft the banner of that revolution based on Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Once again, I call upon you to understand politics, close your ranks and be organized under correct revolutionary leadership. Do not get swayed by media propaganda. You would not find that much of coverage of this meeting in the media. We hold mammoth meeting of lakhs of people. But the monopoly-controlled media do not care to give news of those meetings of ours. Because they know that SUCI (Communist) is the only enemy of the ruling class. Without any media support, our Party is growing. Struggling comrades from 25 states have assembled here. We have no MLA, no MP, no media publicity. Braving all odds and difficulties our comrades are inspiring and rousing people, in both urban and rural areas, based on higher revolutionary ideology and spurred on by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thought. Strengthen and consolidate this Party more and more so that we can spearhead more intense and powerful struggles in the coming days.

Today we need thousands of Kshudiram, Surya Sen, Chandrasekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Ashfaqulla Khan, Pritilata and such other blazing characters who would hold aloft the flag of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. With that objective, we have been trying to imbue the oppressed people particularly the students and youth with Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought, the

noblest ideology of the era and building up the class and mass struggles over the legitimate demands of the workers-peasants-students-youth-women-middle class. We have been trying utmost to involve the other left parties and their workers in these struggles. Rally behind us, strengthen our Party so that we can organize more powerful movements, release more intense struggle in the days to come. In course of this relentless struggle, we shall fight election. After election also, we shall continue the struggle. With these words, I conclude today.

Long Live SUCI (Communist)

Long Live Revolution

Long Live Marxism-Leninism- Shibdas Ghosh

Thoughts

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism

Red Salute to our leader, teacher and guide

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

**Source of quotations**

1. "Crores of destitute Indians are crying for roti... and we are giving them stone. To preach religion to the hungry...is akin to insulting them." (Gospels and Works of Vivekananda)
2. "Living god is with you and yet we are constructing temples, churches and believing in all that this imaginary and false. Human mind or human body are the only the tutelary deities. ...Man is the biggest temple—inside that temple is Tajmahal". (*ibid* 2<sup>nd</sup> Volume)
3. "If I had a son...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." (*ibid* 3<sup>rd</sup> Vol. 5<sup>th</sup> Edition)
4. "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..."(*ibid* 1<sup>st</sup> Volume)
5. "...we not only tolerate all religions but believe all of them to be true...and propagate and implement that in action. But be aware—never trample underfoot even the smallest right of others." (*ibid* 7<sup>th</sup> Volume)
6. "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."- Golwalkar (We or our Nationhood)
7. "The situation is somewhat different in countries like India. The fundamental and new feature of the conditions of life of colonies like India is not only that the national bourgeoisie has split up into a revolutionary party and a compromising party, but primarily that the compromising section of this bourgeoisie has already managed, in the main, to strike a deal with imperialism. Fearing revolution more than it fears imperialism and concerned more about its money-bags than about the interests of its own country, this section of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most influential section, is going over entirely to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, it is forming a bloc with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country.... the Communist Party can and must enter into an open bloc with the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie in order, after isolating the compromising national bourgeoisie, 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—J V Stalin, SW, Vol 7)

In Proletarian Era December 1, 2018 issue through inadvertence, at the stage of printing, captions of two photographs on page 4 were interchanged. Error sincerely regretted. Comrade Provash Ghosh was the first to offer floral tribute to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh (photo on 1st column) while Comrade Manik Mukherjee garlands Martyrs' Column in the photo on 2nd column

**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : PROVASH GHOSH**