



SHIBDAS GHOSH
ACCEPTED MARXISM

**FOR THE NEED OF THE STRUGGLES
TO FREE PEOPLE FROM EXPLOITATION**

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Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)

Shibdas Ghosh Accepted Marxism for The Need of Struggles
to Free People from Exploitation — Provas Ghosh

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Publisher's Note

In the concluding programme of the observance of the Birth Centenary celebration of the great Marxist thinker and founder General Secretary of SUCI Communist, a mammoth mass meeting was held at Kolkata Brigade Parade Ground on 5th August 2023. The main speaker was Comrade Provas Ghosh the present General Secretary of the Party. The full speech is already published. This is the English rendering of the same.

Hope this book will help people to understand the political line of the party as well as help to build up militant democratic movements in the country. The responsibility for any error in translation lies with us.

26/12/2023

Revolutionary Thanks
Amitava Chatterjee
Central Committee

Shibdas Ghosh Accepted Marxism for The Need of Struggles to Free People from Exploitation

Peasants, workers, students, youth, women, middle class people and representatives from fraternal parties who have come to this rally today, I welcome all of you on behalf of the central committee of our party. I thank the common people who have generously helped when our party comrades approached them for fund collection, and our friends who have helped us in many ways. Without collecting the funds with their help, we would not have been able to organize this historic programme of today. We do not have that means. You know, we always depend on public donations.

Most of the people gathered in this meeting speak Bengali, so I will give my speech in Bengali. I beg the forgiveness of those who come from other states and speak different languages.

HARD STRUGGLE TO BUILD A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY

Now I shall read out a few lines from the speeches of the great proletarian leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, “When this party first started, we had nothing, no money, no people, no place to stay, nobody knew us.....I was then a young man, the young man who dared to say that there is no real revolutionary party in India, and such a revolutionary party has to be built anew. Many who heard my arguments said that it should be done, the arguments are good, but this is a crazy endeavour. They said that this is impossible and it cannot be done. I did not argue with them too much. I replied to them thus: ‘then what do you ask me to do - to be a slave, to be an agent, to sell my conscience? I cannot do this. If I die in this fight I shall die holding my head high. I maybe shot dead but I cannot be bought.’ - In those days we

could not even arrange a room as shelter, and day after day, in our fierce battle to build up a new party in the midst of sheer obstacles and a completely adverse situation we had to strive hard without food, but we had no grievances for all these. CPI was then a united party. They jeered at us that we have sprouted up like a mushroom; if SUCI is a party, then a bat is also a bird - do we have to sit together with them. I bore all these taunts silently; I did not pay any heed to their jeers. I only moved ahead with a steely determination to build up the party. For years together we slept on a grass mat only, and so many summers and winters we passed like that..... How many days we went without food, but we felt ashamed to talk about it. That we could not arrange our provisions, that we could not collect the minimum sum was considered to be our own failing. What was there to be proud of? How could it be the height of sacrifice?..... The wants and privations, thousands of sufferings and oppressions which the revolutionaries have to put up with may seem very painful to common people, but the peace and happiness which the revolutionaries enjoy, even being in the midst of an apparently painful and struggling life, cannot be fathomed by those who live in comfort and security. To him there is no greater treasure than revolution, no nobler life than the life of a revolutionary..... I know that I may starve to death, no one will care to enquire whether a person is starving to death..... Yet nothing goes in vain. All revolutionaries know that through the silent death from starvation a revolutionary is conveying the message to fifty or hundred people that nothing will happen without a true revolutionary ideology, and a genuine revolutionary party his death does not become futile, it cannot become futile.”

He said this struggle cannot fail. This huge gathering shows that this struggle has not failed. Today’s gathering is a small fraction of our total organization spread across the country. Workers and supporters from 26 states of the country are present here. We do not have the financial capacity to provide adequate transport to combine all our forces in today’s meeting. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is still alive in our hearts. This party is

going along the path shown by him, this party is moving forward. This the city where this great man, with a dream to build a revolutionary party, spent days and nights unfed or only half-fed under the open sky, sometimes in the city parks, sometimes in the Railway stations, sometimes on the roof of the Kole Market. He had no shelter, no food, but he moved ahead with a firm determination. Today this party is spreading all over India not by the force of any MLA, MP, not by the force of any government, not by the force of any media publicity, but only by the power of great Marxism-Leninism, and by the force of the thought of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh who has further developed and enriched it.

Among those who taunted and ridiculed him in those days, three political parties, the RCPI, the Democratic Vanguard, and the Bolshevik Party are non-existent today. RSP and Forward Block are getting weaker day by day –which their leaders know better than us. And the united CPI was once upon a time the main opposition party in the Parliament. In 1964 after the party split, the CPI(M) was strong then. At one time they ran the government in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. What a power and influence they wielded in those days! After running the government continuously for 34 years, they have gained so much might, that after losing power they have to take the help from the Congress and a *Pir* (religious leader) - whitewashing him as being secular – for standing up again. And CPI also is becoming progressively weaker. But we are steadily advancing on the strength of the correct revolutionary ideology.

WHY DID HE ACCEPT SCIENTIFIC MARXISM

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was the eldest son of a lower-middle class family. When he was leaving home at a young age at the call of revolutionism in the independence movement, the parents of the poor lower middle-class family said: “who will look after us?” He told them only one thing – “millions of destitute parents are crying on the streets. I am everyone’s child. It is my job to wipe everyone’s tears.” Later he made a historic

utterance; the unspoken words of all great men of all ages were expressed through his mouth — ‘Revolutionary politics calls for higher feelings of the heart’. This has been the unspoken message of great men of all ages, from Buddha to Jesus, Mohammed, the Renaissance thinkers, freedom fighters and fighters in proletarian revolutionary movements. He too has taught us this.

In those days he not only wanted the end of the British rule, he also wanted the liberation of poor people from exploitation. But he was looking for the way of how it could be brought about. He was a seeker of truth. What is the right path for the liberation of the people? Is freedom possible through the way of religion? He judged that it was not possible that way; because the last word of religious thought is that this world is run by the Almighty, Allah, God. Rich and poor are his creation. Everything good or bad that happens is the will of the Father of the universe; all actions are by his will. The rich are so because of their good deeds in the previous birth, and the poor are suffering from the *karma* of previous births. In Ramayana, Mahabharata, Geeta, Koran, Bible, Veda, Vedanta - nowhere are to be found the answers to the question of how to get jobs for the unemployed, how to prevent retrenchment, how to stop price rise, how to get education, how to get medical treatment, how to live, how to protect the dignity of women.

Shall we get the answers in the words of great men of the past? There also he found a difference of opinion. A great man Vidyasagar said, there is no truth in the Vedas and the Vedantas, or the religious scriptures; they are all wrong. We need to know about European science, European materialism. Vidyasagar said that truth does not rest in the Vedas, Vedantas and religious scriptures; these are false/. Again, another great man was Vivekananda, he sang the praises of Vedanta, yet the same Vivekananda also said that Vidyasagar was an exceptionally great man. So whom shall we accept? Vidyasagar or Vivekananda?

Eventually Comrade Shibdas Ghosh came to realize that

only scientific thinking can provide the answer. All discoveries in science are proven by experiments. What is water - the answer of science is the same everywhere in the world. What is electricity – there is only one answer. They are tested, verified. The historic philosophy of Marxism that came up is based on science, it is a the scientific philosophy. It is only on the basis of Marxism that real truth can be found out.

Science has shown that the material world is constantly changing, it is in motion, it is dynamic. This change, this motion has rules. Each specific object has specific rules. Different branches of science have different laws. These laws can be known scientifically, based on which actions can be executed. Like matter, these laws can neither be created nor destroyed. Coordination, correlation of the different laws of the different disciplines led to the discovery of general laws on which the philosophy of Marxism is based. As a result, Marxism is the scientific philosophy, based on which everything in the law-governed, ever-changing world can be studied. It is only on the basis of that truth obtained on the basis of such study that people can be shown the right path. Marxism has shown that no social system, and its economics, politics, ethics and morality, its rules and regulations, its thoughts and ideas – none of these are permanent; these are law-governed and subject to change. It is conscious action of man that brings about the changes. Using Marxism as the tool, he judged the freedom movement of this country. He saw that so many martyrs sacrificed so much in the freedom movement, yet the leadership was in the hands of the Gandhian Congress backed by the capitalists, Tata-Birla. Another strand in the independence movement was led by the middle-class armed revolutionary organizations — Anushilan, Yugantar, Hindustan Republican Party, Gadar Party, and many such isolated revolutionary groups.

CPI DID NOT RESPOND TO SUBHASH CHANDRA'S CALL

At that time, in 1925, great Stalin said that the

bourgeoisie of India was divided into two groups, the compromising national bourgeoisie and the revolutionary force. He further said that the compromising section of the bourgeoisie has already made a pact with British imperialism and they were more afraid of working class revolution than they were of imperialism, and they paid more importance to interest of profit-making than the interest of the nation. He indicated that it was the duty of the communist party to isolate the compromising national bourgeoisie, and with a view to giving leadership to anti-imperialist struggle of the rural and urban people, they should form an open block with the revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh observed that the role of the CPI, who had the epithet of communists, was completely opposed to Stalin's enunciation, and was anti-Marxist. At one point the different petty-bourgeois revolutionaries of India came together to support Subhash Chandra as an alternative to the compromising Gandhian leadership. Subhash Chandra told in the Hariपुरa Congress that the Soviet Union is our friend, and the imperialists tremble with fear at the mention of the Soviet Union. He said that workers and farmers should be brought into the Swadeshi movement, and that the zamindari system is to be abolished. He said that he wanted total independence - which no one had said before. As a result, the bourgeoisie, the British imperialists, the Gandhians got scared. So on the eve of the next Tripuri Congress they fielded Pattabhi Sitaramayya as Congress President for the next term to defeat Subhash Chandra. Despite this, Subhash Chandra won in the Presidential race. But after his win, the bourgeoisie hatched a conspiracy under the leadership of Gandhiji. A proposal was tabled at the Tripuri session that all decisions should be taken in the Congress with Gandhiji's opinion. The working committee should also be formed with the approval of Gandhiji. The CPI, the Congress Socialist Party supported the Gandhians on this proposal. Subhash Chandra was defeated. Effectively, on many pretexts the Congress leadership did not allow Subhash Chandra to function at all. As a result, Subhash Chandra was forced to resign in the 1939 session at Wellington

Square in Calcutta. Afterwards, because he gave the call for anti-British movement the Congress suspended Subhash Chandra, that is, in the words of Netaji, driven out of the Congress. Today many do not know this history.

Then in 1940, at the parallel session at Ramgarh Subhash Chandra gave the call for the formation of a 'Left Consolidation' front and asking the Communist Party to come forward, he told them, "only in this way could the onslaught of the right be resisted and the soil prepared for the growth of a Marxist party". Subhash Chandra lamented that in spite of having such a great universal humanist ideal communism could not progress very far in India. It is because the methods and tactics of its leaders are such that, instead of attracting people and turning them into friends and compatriots, these push them into the enemy camp. They did not take advantage of the opportunity to create an alternative leadership to the bourgeois leadership by keeping Subhash Chandra in the forefront and thereby they objectively helped the bourgeoisie to consolidate their leadership. Further, they did not organize the workers and peasants to participate in the freedom movement. In the August movement of '42, the whole of India was on fire, the British were trembling with fear, the Gandhians were trembling with fear, but the CPI opposed that August movement. A section of people in our country thought that because the Soviet Union made alliance with Britain to fight against the fascist forces, under its instruction CPI took such a stand. But this is an entirely false notion. When CPI leaders traveled to Moscow in 1952, Stalin bitterly criticized their role in the 1942 movement. Such was the role of the CPI. Subhash Chandra formed the INA force with Japanese help as a tactic following the dictum of 'to set a thief to catch a thief'. Was a patriot like Subhash Chandra an agent of Japan? Did he want to establish the rule of Japan in India? He wanted to use Japan against the British. He did not allow the INA forces to be deployed against Soviet Russia. Yet the CPI branded Subhash Chandra as an agent of Japan. When the question of partition of the country came up, Hindu Mahasabha supported it, so did CPI;

they said that Hindus and Muslims are two different nations.

**CPI STARTED WITH SERIOUS DEFECTS AT ITS
INCEPTION, SO A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY
HAD TO BE BUILT**

Shibdas Ghosh studied all these events one by one following Marxist method. From his studies he came to understand why such things happened. He understood that the CPI leaders are honest and sincere; it is also true that they are well-versed in Marxism. But scholasticism and knowledge are not the same. Scholasticism is reading a lot of books, it is book-learning. But Marxism cannot be grasped by bookish knowledge. Marxism has to be applied in life. Marxism is a philosophy of life. Marx said to change the world workers have to change themselves first. To change the world, first change yourself. All of us are born in a capitalist society. One and all have greed for money, greed for property, craving for fame, desire for position, weakness for family, selfishness; feudal thoughts also influence us. One cannot be a Marxist with such a character. Hence one must be free from all these bourgeois outlooks and traits and also from feudal habits and practices.

**COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH CONCRETISED
MARXISM ON THE INDIAN SOIL**

On the question of party formation Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done*, that a Communist Party cannot be formed by issuing a decree or some people meeting together and passing a resolution. It requires an ideological struggle to achieve unity of ideas. That is, there needs to be a unity of thought among those who would fight with the weapon of Marxism. And a struggle is needed to comprehend what would be the revolutionary point of view on all issues; in other words it is necessary to wage an ideological struggle for developing oneness in approach on questions like what would be the correct understanding of Marxism, how it is to be applied in life, what process should be followed for party formation, what ought to be the revolutionary

line. This they did not do at the time of establishing CPI. A few people in Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, and Delhi who were thinking about Communism suddenly decided that they could form a party combining a few groups. Thus at the very beginning of the party formation they went against the Leninist guidelines. Lenin further said that the general line or general principles of Marxism will have to be applied in particular ways in particular situations obtaining in the given countries. He said that it will not be the same in Germany as it is in Russia; it will not be the same in England as it is in Germany, it will not be the same in France as it is in England. As a result, according to this teaching, the general line of revolution must be concretely and particularly applied in the case of India too. India's particular economic and political situation, particular culture, particular nature of bourgeois thought and bourgeois ideology of this country, the existence of Hinduism, Islam, the social outlook, behavior, taste and culture in this country – considering all these it is to be decided what would be the particular application of Marxism, which is called the concretization of Marxism in the concrete situation of a particular country - CPI leaders did not think about these at all. They did not give any importance to this teaching of Lenin. Lenin did this in Russia; Mao Zedong did this in China. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh understood this. That is why he attached so much importance to it. And he applied Marxism in this way. And while applying Leninist teaching during the stage of formation of SUCI(C) party he had to face new problems and new questions of the post-Lenin era and thereby he further developed and improved Marxism. In the process he has contributed a lot in the fields of politics, economy, culture, art, literature, science and different branches of knowledge.

THE RISE OF SHIBDAS GHOSH AS A THINKER

Secondly, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh understood that among those who are forming the party, a collective unified thinking on all questions should be developed in accordance with Marxism-Leninism through ideological struggle following the Marxist

method. This collective uniform thinking shall be expressed through a central leader who is the most advanced in the expression of the collective thought. He is the thinker. Such was Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong. As the CPI in our country did not carry out such an ideological struggle, they could not give birth to any thinker. It is through such struggle in our party that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emerged as a Marxist thinker. This has not been achieved through passing any resolution. This thinker's appearance happened through struggle, through dialectical interaction and contradiction of thoughts. It is through this process that ideological centralism develops. Thirdly, there is a necessity of developing a band of revolutionaries, who are truly communists of high standard, who have not only renounced private property, but are also free from property mentality in their thinking—that is, free from such thoughts like, *my house, my home, my interests, my feelings, my likings, what I think is right, my name, my position, my anger, my pride, my love, my parental affection etc.* One may have no property, but still nurture a mentality based on property. Those who are free from this, that is, those who have identified their interest with the interest of the working class and the revolution, who have identified their interest with the interest of the revolutionary party—persons of such standard would be the leaders of the party. As long as this does not happen, until such leaders are created through struggle, a revolutionary party cannot be formed. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh formed SUCI (C) following these three processes.

Another theme was discussed by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh - 'The essence of any ideology, any philosophy, any great creed, lies in its moral standard and cultural standard. Just as a lifeless body has to be thrown away as a refuse, if it is held on to out of compassion, the putrefied body would cause harm to people in the society, so also political doctrines devoid of higher ethics and culture are to be discarded. If a political doctrine and political movement cannot elevate moral strength, raise cultural standards, then remember that such politics is harmful and worthless.' This is also a very important teaching of Comrade

Ghosh.

Many ordinary people outside our party are here. You appreciate our party cadres. You say that our party is completely different. Wherein lies this difference? One is that we are not an election-oriented party. We are a revolutionary party. We do not go down the path of unethical opportunism for securing votes. We do not pander to any big party. Revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology are practiced in a living way in our party from the highest to the lowest levels, based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Another thing is that, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught, we want better character, we want higher culture. Our revolutionary cadres are the children of this society. But why are they different from ten other children of this society? They are different because they are imbued with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He once lamented, “We have become rootless today. We are failing to maintain continuity with the high cultural standard attained during the days of our freedom movement. Lofty phrases we are culling from the outside world no doubt, but we have lost the link with the high cultural tune that had once developed on our own soil..... The high moral, ethical, cultural and aesthetic standard of political and literary-cultural movement that was once attained in our country has fallen down. As a result we have become rootless. So, we talk big, but do not cultivate noble emotions and delicate feelings.”

There is a living struggle for character in our party. So those who say, you are different from others, are unique –to them we say that the difference and uniqueness are on two counts. Based on the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we practice revolutionary politics, we practice to acquire knowledge, and we want the party workers to have better knowledge. And on the other hand, they strive to acquire better character through his teachings. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that people’s hearts are to be won by politeness, logic and decency, not by force, not by bullying, not by calumny, not by lies. We are still protecting this ideal. We, as taught by

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, are struggling to acquire a better communist character by learning from the great figures of the Renaissance and freedom movement, from the characters of the revolutionaries of the freedom struggle and then effecting a break with them, strive to acquire a higher communist character. About how such communist character can be attained he said, “It is only by joining some party organization and by actively participating in the struggle to build up revolutionary movements of the people, and engaging oneself in the constant battle to merge one’s individual thinking and individual interest with the thoughts and interests of the proletarian class, that is, with the interest of revolution and thereby attaining a higher cultural standard, that one can be transformed to a leading comrade of a communist party. This is why we are uniquely different from other parties.

But the founders of the CPI were least concerned with these important Marxist theories. The political life and family life of CPI leaders were completely separated. They did not bother about such questions like what would be the nature of communist culture, and how Marxism would be applied in life. The same is true for the CPI(M) later on. As a result, the party could not become a true communist party, despite the cadre’s emotional attraction for communism, leftism, their dedication and hard work, their undergoing beatings and tortures during struggle. Both CPI and later CPI(M) grew up in reality as a petty bourgeois social democratic party instead of a true Marxist party. On the contrary, in the present era of moribund capitalism, when individualism has given rise to worst form of self-centredness, Lenin’s theory of party formation has been further developed and improved by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and he built the party based on it.

**SHIBDAS GHOSH CORRECTLY DEFINED
THE STRATEGY OF
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN INDIA**

When the power was transferred in 1947, he said, the national bourgeoisie has come to power in India, and in that

sense freedom has come politically. Here too, there was a difference with the CPI. The CPI did not realize in '47 that the country had become politically independent. They said –it is a step forward, we have taken one step forward. They said Nehru was progressive, Patel was reactionary and Nehru should be supported. If any CPI-CPI(M) worker is here, they could check in their party congress documents that till 1964 their leaders did not realize that India had achieved political independence in the bourgeois sense. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, on the other hand, showed that the bourgeoisie has come to power in India, and they are not just bourgeois, but monopoly bourgeois; what Lenin called the highest stage of capitalism; Indian capitalism has reached that level. Now the Indian bourgeoisie has given birth to multinationals, has acquired an imperialist character. Indian monopoly capitalists have invested crores of rupees abroad in industry and mining. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had concluded in 1947 itself immediately after the transfer of political power that the stage of revolution in India is anti-capitalist socialist revolution. While the Indian capitalism had reached this level, the CPI(M) leaders still consider the national bourgeoisie to be progressive, and they are recounting the theory of people's democratic revolution. About the state character of India, the enunciation of CPI and CPI(M) is that it is a bourgeois-landlord state headed by big bourgeois. Hence, in their opinion, the stage of revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, and the revolutionary battle will be waged by workers, peasants and national bourgeois under the leadership of the working class. It is a queer theory. There is no answer to the question, who is this big bourgeois. It must be either comprador bourgeois who do not set up industries, or industrial national bourgeoisie. In reality this big bourgeoisie are the monopolists, who according to Lenin represent the highest stage of capital, in other words, the highest stage of national capital. And who are the landlord? Are they the rural bourgeois, the *jotedars* (big land-holders), or the feudal lords, the *zamindars*? Lenin averred that capitalism in agriculture is

manifested by land, rural agricultural labourers, and agricultural produce - all becoming commodities in the national market. In India land is being bought and sold; not only cereals like wheat and rice, but also vegetables, roots and fruits are sent outside for selling; rural agricultural labourers migrate from one village to another or from villages to towns in search of jobs. So where is feudalism? May be only ghosts of feudalism exist. The influence of feudalism survives only in customs and practices, in the caste system, thanks to the efforts of the compromising bourgeoisie.

I would like to tell my CPI(M) friends to please consider that the big bourgeoisie referred to by their leaders have attained imperialist character and they are investing capital not only in the less developed countries, but also even in USA, England, Australia in mining and in diverse industries. According to the statistics they have already invested Rs. 16 lakh 25 thousand and 350 crores in foreign countries. In spite of all this, the CPI(M) leaders are parroting the theory of people's democratic revolution. As a result of which it sometimes unites with the Congress in the name of fighting against communalism of BJP, and sometimes unites with the BJP in the name of fighting against the dictatorship of the Congress. I am discussing all this about the united CPI of the earlier period and the CPI(M) of the later period not out of any malice. The object of this discussion is to elucidate why Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had to build up a new party the SUCI(C), as a genuine Marxist Party because of the their non-Marxist role.

NOT JUST VOTE POLITICS, WHAT IS NEEDED ARE MASS MOVEMENTS AND CLASS STRUGGLE

We stand in the elections. As long as there are elections, as long as people are involved in it, we stand as candidates to take our political message to the people. But we never try to win by hook or by crook. Hindu vote bank, Muslim votebank, caste-based vote bank - we do not practice any of these. For

us no one has Hindu identity, or Muslim identity, upper caste or lower caste identity, Bengali or Bihari or Marathi identity. In our reckoning, the exploited people of India are on one side and the exploiting class on the other side; these are the two classes. Our election fight is for the interest and points of view of the exploited class. So, our party is completely different. With this standpoint if we can win by making the people conscious and united, well and good, but even if we cannot win, we will never abandon this principle. We will go on preparing the ground for revolution by giving birth to the political power of the people by carrying out mass movements and class struggle on the base of higher morality and ethics.

SHIBDAS GHOSH WARNED ABOUT THE DANGERS OF FASCISM AS EARLY AS 1949

Today everyone is talking about fascism. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh made a historic pronouncement in 1949. He said, Germany-Italy had lost the war, but fascism is not defeated. He is the first one to say that fascism exists today in various forms in all developed and underdeveloped countries. He said that there are three characteristic features of fascism. One is concentration of capital. Monopoly capital is a centralized form of capital. Another is concentration of all power in the hands of the administration, trampling on the relative independence that existed before for the legislature, the administrative machinery, and the judiciary. Another point he said was, about promotion of spiritualism and religious thought in the realm of idea, wherein there is no logic, no causal relationship, and no scientific approach. In the name of science, fascism brings to the fore only machines, technical aspects of science. It brings about a fusion of technological aspects of science and spiritualism. It kills human thought, kills reason, kills critical faculty. If this is done, people will blindly obey the party, obey the leadership, blindly obey the government, and blindly obey the state. Bring the people to such a state. Thus fascism destroys the man-making process. At that time many, including the then CPI, did not want

to believe his words. Here I want to say one more thing. Fascism is not brought in by any party. Fascism is a political stage of capitalism. Parliamentary democracy ousted monarchy and established democratic republic in the early stage of development of capitalism. Capitalism was then the votary of progress. At that period of development, capitalism was in the stage of multiple capitalists, the laissez faire stage. It was the period of multiparty democracy, but with passage of time a few big capitalists, monopoly capitalists emerged gobbling up the small capital. So today multiparty democracy exists in words only; in all countries the two-party system effectively prevails. When capitalism reached the stage of monopoly, which was its moribund reactionary stage, it gave birth to fascism, keeping the façade of parliamentary democracy. So capitalism in its own class interest gave birth to fascism, not any particular party. After being saddled in power Congress first established fascism in India to protect the interest of capitalism. BJP is now strengthening its grip. The regional bourgeois parties, even CPI (M), are behaving like fascists, wherever, they get the opportunity to rule.

ALL PROBLEMS MUST BE JUDGED FROM A CLASS OUTLOOK

Comrade Ghosh has said that today in India there is no such thing as national interest. Earlier there was a united struggle of the rich and the poor against the British. The British have gone, now capitalism is in power. Capitalism operates for the sake of profit. Now the interests of the capitalists and of the exploited classes stand in opposite. As a result, there is no question of the unity of the rich and the poor. Now on one side is the exploitation and plunder by capitalism and on the other side is the class struggle of the exploited people against it. Exploited people today have to judge everything from this class outlook. Every individual is either judging, knowingly or unknowingly, from the capitalist point of view, or consciously judging from the point of view of the exploited class.

Politics is also twofold- either politics to protect capitalist

exploitation, or politics to eradicate capitalist exploitation. As long as there is capitalism, there will be exploited people, and in this state there cannot be any welfare for all, welfare for all is a hypocritical lie. Now it will not do to talk of national interest, the interest of the country. The country is now divided. As a result, everything must be judged from a class outlook.

**MILIONS OF POOR PEOPLE ARE BEING
CRUSHED UNDER DOUBLE ENGINE BJP
GOVERNMENTS**

You are all victims of the deplorable situation in the country today. As we assemble here today, a dark shadow is pervading all spheres of social life. Economic, political, moral, social—there is no area where there is any glimmer of hope. Continually the darkness deepens. The common people cannot fathom where is the end, where is the limit. There is total disappointment in all spheres. In such a situation we have to hold this meeting.

Recently the Home Minister of India claimed that the Prime Minister is the Messiah, the saviour of the poor people of this country. What sort of a saviour of the poor people! India ranks 107 out of 121 countries on the Global Hunger Index. In 2021, 1 lakh 64 thousand 33 Indians committed suicide in India, unable to bear the pain of starvation, unable to repay their debts. So many suicides in one year! 4,500 children die of starvation every day. The actual number is much higher. Three years ago the report was that there are 9 crore middle class people, now the count stands at 6 crore. That means 3 crore middle class people have slid down to the level of poor. BJP's friend, the industrialist Mukesh Ambani earns Rs. 197.8 crore per day. On the other hand, 68 percent of people in the country have a daily income of less than 146 rupees and 30 percent of people have a daily income of less than 83 rupees. The Prime Minister, the poor man's messiah, has granted Rs. 55 lakh crore tax concessions and loan waivers to the industrialists. Banks, on the other hand, have been asked to waive 50 percent of their loans this year. And the debt-burdened poverty-stricken common people are

committing suicides, being unable to pay back their loans. And the common people are scorched to death in the fire of price hike. This is the gift of the saviour Narendra Modi to the poor of India. They say, double engine government. We also say, yes, there is double engine government. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister are driving the engine, they are the drivers. Behind the engine are riding Ambani- Adani-Tata-Birla-Mittal-Jindal — not only India's monopoly capitalists, but multinationals as well. And crores of India's poor peasants, workers and middle class people are being crushed under the wheels of the engine. Here, the richest five percent own 60 percent of the wealth. And fifty percent of the people, the poor people of the lower strata, own only three percent of the wealth. 7 lakh 24 thousand factories were closed in 2022. Then think how many crores of workers have lost their jobs. Capitalism around the world is facing a severe market crisis today. Most of the people in the countries are unemployed, underemployed or retrenched. As a result, people's purchasing power is diminishing. Therefore, who will buy? So industry after industry is flashing red light. They don't want to admit that it is a recession. Hence the new term 'slow down of industry' has come to be in vogue. All capitalist-imperialist countries of the world are debt-ridden, with budget deficits. At present India's debt is Rs. 155 lakh eight thousand crore; about 40% of government's earning is spent for paying interest. It is because of this that they are imposing tax on commodities; it is selling petrol and diesel at a price than what it paid for buying them in the foreign market. Continuous price-rise is the inevitable fall-out.

WAR IS A NECESSITY FOR MILITARY INDUSTRY

Such is the economic crisis of capitalism. So governments in all countries, including India, are on the one hand curtailing the budget for education, health and other welfare items and on the other are emphasizing on military industry to give some boost to industry. War tensions and local wars are necessities for this

militarization of the economy. Global imperialist powers are also joining in local wars, as happened in the Ukraine war. As a result, whether there will be a job or not, and if there is a job, whether it will be permanent or not, all are uncertain. First of all, permanent jobs are going off in our country and contract system is prevalent with temporary workers everywhere. They have no legal rights. There are no fixed wages and no fixed working hours. The workers can be retrenched at any time. Apart from this, migrant labourers, gig workers, outsourced employees, bonded labourers are rampant. Parents are selling their daughters due to poverty. A few days ago it came out in the news papers that more than 13 lakh women went missing in India during two years, 2019-21. Where did so many women go? Trafficked abroad, and within this country too! They are being sold in the flesh market. Children are also being sold. There are crores of child labourers in this country. It is as if the era of slavery has come back.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT WAS OPPOSED BY RSS

The central government is run by the BJP, the same BJP which claims itself to be the symbol of nationalism, the symbol of freedom, the symbol of patriotism. What is the reality? I do not know how many people are aware of the history of the RSS which built up this BJP. When the Swadeshi movement was in full swing in our country, the then RSS leader Golwalkar was saying that the freedom movement that was going on in the country was not a proper freedom movement. This freedom movement was reactionary. He 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." According to Golwalkar only they are nationalist

patriots who cherish the glory of Hinduism in their heart and work towards that goal whereas the rest who, claiming to be patriots, are harming the interests of Hindus, are traitors and enemies of the country. Thus spoke Golwalkar. When martyrs were giving their lives in the freedom movement, when people like Subhash Chandra were fighting, Golwalkar and his followers were saying that those who were fighting against the British were reactionaries, they were enemies of the country, and they were traitors. In Golwalkar's judgment, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Bipin Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Subhash Chandra to Khudiram, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Surya Sen, Asfaqulla Khan, all of them were traitors, enemies of the country. This is what follows from their arguments. That is why they did not play any role in the freedom movement. Today they are claiming themselves as 'patriots'. Will you accept this?

THE OPPONENTS OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT ARE NOW TEACHING US PATRIOTISM

They are calling Savarkar as Veer Savarkar and are giving him a place alongside Netaji. We have Savarkar's own words with us. When this hero Savarkar was in prison in the Andamans, he filed three mercy petitions with the British government. In 1913 he wrote in a mercy petition, "If the government in their manifold beneficence and mercy release me, I for one cannot but be the staunchest advocate of constitutional progress and loyalty to the English government which is the foremost condition of that progress." In another mercy petition he assured that he would bring back those within the country and outside who, following his words, went along the wrong path, and they would cooperate with the British government. Contrarily, many martyrs of this country, including Khudiram, Bhagat Singh, Asfaqullah and others, sacrificed their lives on the gallows with their heads held high. They did not beg for mercy. Savarkar was recruiting soldiers for the British forces during World War II, when the August movement of '42 was underway. He also

raised for the first time the demand for partition of the country. Such is BJP's role and the role of RSS - they are now teaching the countrymen patriotism, they are now raising slogans of nationalism. People of the country should realise their true character.

I would also like to emphasize that the BJP is shutting down the practice of science in the country. It is removing Darwin's theory from text books, and instead is encouraging teaching of Sanskrit and study of Veda-Vedanta, Manusamhita, where as Raja Rammohan, the pioneer of the Indian renaissance, said, "... the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep the country in darkness. ... as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences". He also said, "Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence". A later personality of the Indian Renaissance, Vidyasagar, said, " That the Vedanta and Sankhya are false systems of philosophy is no more a matter of doubt. These systems, false as they are, command unbound reverence from the Hindus. Whilst teaching these in the Sanscrit course we should oppose them by sound philosophy in the English course to counteract their influence". Vidyasagar said that the teachers should be well versed in Bengali and English languages and should be free from religious prejudices. Vidyasagar did not believe in God. He never visited any temple nor offered *Pujas*. In spite of that Ramakrishna went to Vidyasagar's house to pay respect. Vivekananda respected him calling him a pioneer, a guide.

At about the same time in Maharashtra Jyoti Rao Phule was engaged in spreading education free from superstitions and prejudices. These great men of the Renaissance lighted the lamp of knowledge whose glow though feeble is extant even today, but the BJP-RSS is bent on totally extinguishing it plunging the

country into darkness. BJP-RSS are opposed to the spirit of the Indian Renaissance. In a ludicrous way they are discovering everything of modern science in the ancient scriptures. Modern science has come to us mainly from Europe. Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, C V Raman, Satyen Bose Meghnad Saha and many others who are products of this modern science education have made significant contributions in science.

Vivekananda also said that we have to take science from Europe. He also said, “We know about what scientists and astronomers tell about the universe. And we also know what a strong blow it gives to the ancient theologians. As one new scientific discovery follows another, as if a bomb is falling in their house one by one. And that is why in all ages they have tried to stop scientific researches.” What will BJP-RSS leaders say about these words of Vivekananda? Rather they are discovering scientific theories in Veda-Vedanta, Geeta, Manusamhita, and one day it might even be claimed that they had travelled to the Moon based on these theories.

WHO IS TRUE HINDU — RAMAKRISHNA- VIVEKANANDA OR RSS-BJP

Vivekananda said, “If you talk of the Ramayana, accepting it as an inviolable authoritative book does not necessarily mean that we must accept that someone named Rama actually existed. ...It is not at all necessary to critically judge whether the characters described in the *Purana* were real or imaginary”. It is clear from this utterance that Vivekananda did not believe in the real existence of Rama. There is no mention either in the Valmiki Ramayana or the Tulsidas Ramayana that Rama’s birthplace is situated at the site where the Babari Masjid stands. Yet merely for electoral gains RSS-BJP made false accusations, instigated communal riots and demolished a historical monument, just as the Talibans demolished the historic Bamiyan Buddha statues. On top of this the communal riots which they ignited on this occasion led to loss of hundreds of lives, destruction of

property, homes and hearths.

Vivekananda truly said, “No religion has ever oppressed people.... No religion has ever condoned this injustice. But what incited people to do all such things? It is politics that has incited people to commit these wrongdoings, not religion”. He further said, “The Muslim victory in India gave the oppressed poor people a taste of freedom. It is for this reason that one-fifth of the population converted to Islam. This has not happened only by the force of arms. ... The poor people wanted freedom from the oppression by the zamindars and priests.” He said, if I had a son, he may be a disciple of whomsoever he thinks to represent truth. “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 I myself a Muslim”.

Will the RSS-BJP leaders accept this Vivekananda as a Hindu? Vivekananda’s Guru Ramakrishna said that *Bhagawan*, *Allah* and God are one and the same, like, *jal*, *pani* and water are one and the same. He read *namaj* in mosque, prayed in church, and also prayed in temples. What would the RSS-BJP leaders say about this Vivekananda and Ramakrishna? Who is true Hindu? Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, or BJP-RSS? Just as the BJP-RSS are against renaissance and against freedom movement, so also they are against true Hinduism. .

BJP is building Rama Mandir only with an eye on the next polls. A few days ago the newspaper reported about a conclave of the BJP-RSS. RSS reportedly advised the BJP leaders of West Bengal to organize Rama Navami and Durga Puja, looking ahead to next polls. Such is their devotion to religion. It is nothing but devotion to elections. It also needs mention here that protesting vehemently against divisive communal politics Netaji said, “..... a section of self-seeking people, out of petty self-interest is going about spreading disaffection between both communities. ... In our freedom movement such people must be branded as enemies. The interests of Hindus and Muslims are different – nothing can be a greater lie than this. The slogan that we hear of Hindu Raj because Hindus are in the majority –

these are all totally idle thoughts.” In Netaji’s INA forces there was no discrimination on the basis of caste, religion and provincialism. Will RSS-BJP brand this Netaji as a traitor?

BJP is engaged in a heinous conspiracy to foment communal discord and build up a Hindu vote bank, and is in the process creating a blind emotion about Hindu religion. Listen to what Rabindranath said in this context, “Obsession with religion makes one inert and devitalized. It binds one’s very sinews in the noose of meaningless insensate practices.” Going one step further Saratchandra said, “.All religions are false, prejudices of the olden ages. There is no greater enemy of world humanism than this.” What term would BJP coin for these two stellar litterateurs?

WHICH INDIA DOES ‘I.N.D.I.A.’ ALLIANCE REPRESENT

Recently the opposition parties formed an alliance called ‘I.N.D.I.A.’. Which India does this ‘INDIA’ represent? Is it the India of the oppressed and exploited poor people? Or, is it the India of Ambani-Adani-Tata-Birla? Congress party is in this alliance. It is they who first consolidated capitalism in the country, strengthened the base of fascism. CPI(M) is projecting that Congress as democratic and secular. Were there no riots during the Congress rule? Communal riots in Bhagalpur, Rourkella, Nellie in Assam, massacre of Sikhs in Delhi – all were perpetrated by the Congress. Is this Congress secular? All the undemocratic laws — TADA, MISA Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), AFSPA - were promulgated by the Congress. Now the BJP is making these acts tougher. Is this Congress democratic? Who caused the blood shed of so many martyrs in West Bengal on August 31, 1959? There is a martyrs’ column at Bowbazar intersection in memory of four women members of the united CPI, who were killed by police firing during Congress rule. It is the Congress which imposed Emergency in the country and stopped all free democratic activities. Now CPI(M) is pasting the label democratic and

secular on the same Congress.

REGIONAL PARTIES ARE ALSO NOT DEMOCRATIC

Are any of the regional parties democratic? In suppressing mass movements and forcibly silencing the voices of the opposition they are all fascistic. Those who sit on the chair and serve capitalism are bound to be fascistic. And all those in government at the center and in the states are corrupt to the extreme. Remember one thing, today the big bourgeois parties, as well as the regional bourgeois parties all follow the practice of corruption. Everyone is mired neck-deep in corruption. But each claims to be innocent and calls the other corrupt. In reality they are beating each other in corruption. Like Ambani-Adani-Tata-Birla all have only one goal that is to exploit the people and loot crores of rupees. Who dies and who survives is of least concern to them. As for the parties their only aim is to have MLA-MPs, to occupy ministerial chair, and plunder money. As if there is a competition to embezzle public money. It is like : if so and so is embezzling public money, why shouldn't I? As if it has become a right to plunder. The public have also somewhat accepted it—everyone who sits on the chair loots, what is there surprising about this! - This line of thinking is dangerous. Capitalism in its entirety is corrupt. Hence the national and regional bourgeois parties are all corrupt. They are also corrupting the public. It is not criminalization of politics, but in fact the criminalization by the politician. It is the politicians who are creating the criminals, are pampering and protecting them so that they can use them. A nexus of ‘politicians-big capitalists-big businessmen-bureaucrats-criminals’ has formed.

EVEN UNDER TRINAMOOOL CONGRESS RULE, MURDER-CORRUPTION-TERROR IS GOING ON

Trinamul is also a part of this ‘INDIA’ alliance. The same Trinamul announced when it first came to power in West Bengal that they want change, not reprisal. But what have they

brought about? Their rule is a carbon copy of CPI(M)'s 34-year rule. It is the rule of syndicates, contractors and promoters. Extortion and percentage payments are rampant. Extreme corruption is unbridled. Blood flowed freely in West Bengal during the last Panchayet election. Police and administration all are under party control. The difference with the CPI(M) is that they did it in an organized and skillful manner. And with Trinamul, things are loose and blunt. They too are suppressing mass movements. Government servants cannot raise any voice of protest. Nobody can protest. In Trinamul regime, two of our party workers lost their eyesight during police baton-charge on a demonstration. Recently in Kultali, our party's leading comrade Sudhanshu Jana was killed by strangulation and then his body was hung by a rope to give the false impression that it was suicide. The initial police report said that it was murder, but later it was changed on instruction from the ruling party.

Just as the Central Government has instituted the schemes like Ayushman Bharat, Swachha Bharat, Awaas Yojana etc. to garner votes, but are actually cheating the people, so also in this state too, schemes like Lakshmi Bhandar, Kanyashree, Yuvashree, donations to clubs etc. are taken up for getting votes. Important tasks like, putting an end to unemployment, curbing price rise etc. are pushed aside and instead people are offered charity. This is similar to what the zamindars of the olden days did - squeezing the blood of the subjects throughout the year, and then ceremoniously feeding the poor once or twice a year. They are trying to buy the poor people with a kilogram of rice or five hundred rupees; they are buying the unemployed youths by offering subscriptions of several thousands of rupees to Durga Pujas organized by the local clubs. Shedding of blood during the elections happened in West Bengal during Congress and CPI(M) regimes also. The question is not whether more blood was shed at that time, or now, or whether there were more murders at that time, or now. The question is, why such killings take place, why is there bloodshed? In other BJP-ruled states, spreading communal hatred, and rioting are going on as preparation for

polls. Manipur is also on fire for the same reason. Riots are engineered in Haryana. CPI(M) during its rule issued licenses for liquor shops, offering increase in revenue as the excuse. Now Trinamool surpassed them and opened more liquor stores.

In 1977 CPI(M) did not have to rig the elections. People then voted with anti-Congress mentality. Afterwards, when CPI(M) lost the trust of the people, it took recourse to booth capturing and rigging. In 2009 lok sabha polls and in 2011 assembly polls people voted for Trinamul with open arms. In those days they did not have to capture booths and did not have to take recourse to rigging; but today they have to because they have lost public trust.

DURING THE ELECTIONS PEOPLE ARE CARRIED AWAY BY THE ELECTION WAVES CREATED BY THE CAPITALISTS

The election is but a farce. During election the bourgeois class pours money in the coffers of the parties of their choice. And the bourgeois class utilizes the media, the newspapers, and TV channels to concoct a wave. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said: ‘if people do not have political consciousness, if there is no strength of unity, if people do not identify the true revolutionary party, then they are carried away by that wave.’ And it has become a common expectation among the people that they would get some money for voting. The price of five votes may be five thousand rupees or ten thousand rupees. For fifty votes it may be one lakh rupees. One lakh rupees is a lot of money for a poor family. Thus votes get sold for money. Such is the so-called democratic election. This is what happens during elections. Where does this money come from? From the capitalists, the big businessmen, the black money hoarders and from government funds. They collect back many times the money they invest in the election process by raising the prices of commodities and increasing the tax. Now the aphorism ‘by the people, for the people, of the people’ exists in textbooks only. In reality, it has become ‘by the capitalists, for the capitalists, of the capitalists’.

Money power, administrative power, media power and muscle power determine the outcome of elections. People tell us: ‘you are crazy. You want votes and you want money also’. We say, ‘yes we are crazy. We want to stay crazy like this. Because we do not conduct our activities based on the money of the owners, we do not function on capitalists’ money. We operate on the basis of financial help from you. We do not want to deceive the public.’ Thus there are two politics – a politics to protect capitalism, and a politics to uproot capitalism. The politics of the bourgeois parties – BJP, Congress, regional bourgeois parties – is the politics of protecting capitalism. And the politics of SUCI(C) is to uproot capitalism and establish socialism free from exploitation.

CPI(M) HAS MALIGNED LEFTISM

So, there are two politics. One is the politics that protects capitalism, and the other is the politics of overthrowing capitalism. These bourgeois parties BJP, Congress, regional bourgeois parties - their politics is the politics of protecting capitalism. And the politics of SUCI(C) is for dethroning capitalism and establishing socialism and freedom from exploitation. Now CPI(M) too has left the path of left movement and joined those bourgeois parties just to get a few seats. CPI(M)’s current predicament was not there before. The united CPI was once the largest opposition in the Parliament. In 1952, the CPI won the majority of seats in Calcutta. Till 1966 CPI and CPI(M) participated in militant mass movements. They started changing ever since they took office in 1967. They began to abandon the path of mass movements. CPI(M) ruled for 34 years. It is to be expected that they would increase their strength during this 34-year rule. But why they have lost their strength? Why is the anti-Trinamul population still not thinking of CPI(M) as an alternative? Why today they cannot move without holding the hands of the Congress and without holding the hands of a *Pir* (Muslim religious leader)? CPI(M) workers may please ponder, to what depth their party leaders have brought the party down. For 34

years they suppressed mass movement to serve the interests of the capitalist class. Supreme party hegemony was imposed in every sphere, the voice of the opposition was silenced, anti-socials were used to further party interest, - and thereby they tarnished leftism. As a result of which the right wing became stronger in West Bengal; in the stronghold of the Leftism that existed right from the British period to the Congress rule, now the BJP was able to raise its head. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had already warned of this danger in 1969. He said, "In this situation the protagonists of theocratic state like Janasangha are waiting in the wings. They are waiting for an opportunity. They will come into the open once the people's attraction towards leftism, which is still there, is lost. The leaders of the CPI(M) which is in power are not comprehending this. By destroying the goodwill of communism they are maligning it." In undivided Bengal under the influence of Deshbandhu, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Subhash Chandra the Hindu Mahasabha led by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee could not make any headway, but the CPI(M) rule through maligning leftism created an opportunity for them. And not only did BJP raise its head, but also everywhere we heard the slogan during the last Lok Sabha polls, 'now Ram, later bam (Left).' Whether Alimuddin Street (C.P.I.(M) state office) gave the order or not, we don't know. But the slogan was heard from CPI(M) cadres everywhere in West Bengal. Who taught this opportunism? I request honest CPI(M) workers and supporters to think where the CPI(M) leadership has descended into today for election-oriented political gain in the name of tactics.

AS THE TIDE OF RELIGIOSITY SWELLS, SO DOES THE MORAL DECADENCE

Capitalism has destroyed mankind's humanity, has destroyed conscience, killed character. There can be no noble feeling of the heart if there is no heart. There can be no individual conscience if there is no social conscience. It is social conscience that gives life to individual conscience, and conscience is born out of progressive social movements. Love and affection in

family life, duty to parents, all are getting destroyed. In married life the relations are vitiated by mutual distrust and bitterness; often leading to divorces. Its harmful effects devolve on the children. The parenthood that would be concerned on these things has almost disappeared. The children drive out their helpless old parents on to the street, or send them to old age home. Alcoholism, cannabis smoking, drug addiction are increasing. Another addiction, sex addiction has reached a menacing level. Getting immersed in sexuality all the time; watching pornography on television or mobile, reading pornographic books, thinking about sex all the time, making lewd comments about female body, making dirty comments to women, - these are all manifestations of sex addition. Another addiction is consumerism – you have no money in the pocket, still you must have a mobile; there is no food at home, yet you want a fashionable dress for going out. This consumerism has even infiltrated into the poor in the villages. It is capitalism that brings in these addictions. It is so because, if the humanity of the youth is not destroyed, the existence of capitalism will be endangered. These youths do not know of Rammohan, Vidyasagar, Phule, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Premchand, Subrahmaniam Bharati, Subhash Chandra and Bhagat Singh. They only know of the film stars and cricket players from media publicity. Who is in love with whom, who is getting separated from whom, who is going where on holiday, who has how much bank balance – such news fills the pages! Rape has become commonplace - you can read the news of rape every day in the papers. Three-year-old child, six-month-old baby girl are being raped; a hundred year old woman is raped; father rapes daughter. Recently on July 28, a case was heard in the Alipore court, in which the boy raped the mother. What a horrible situation. Where are we living! This does not happen even in the animal world. How is this happening? As the tide of religion and religious practices rises, so does the number of rapes. No Mohanta or priest, no temple, or church or mosque is coming out on the streets in protest, though all religions once upon a time

protested and fought against injustices. Rammohan, Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Saratchandra, Premchand, Nazrul, Deshbandhu, Tilak, Lala Lajpat, Subhash Chandra could not even dream in their worst nightmare that the country would face such a terrible situation. Capitalism is leading civilization to hell.

Hence the main enemy of the people is capitalism. The fight will be against capitalism. In this situation, our party stands alone with the banner of revolution. Our goal is anti-capitalist socialist revolution. We want to say that if BJP loses the polls, that is good. Its arrogance, rabid Hindutwa, don't-care-attitude will be reduced a bit. But even if the 'INDIA' alliance wins, none of the problems the people are facing would be solved, communalism would not go away, because they are inextricably linked with capitalism. None of the members of the alliance are secular. Secular means, not in our language but in Netaji's language – "Religion will have nothing to do with politics. Politics will be guided by scientific, economic, political logic." Saratchandra, Rabindranath also said the same thing. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh put it in a more developed and elaborate manner that secular means pertaining to this world. This material world represents the reality. Secular humanism is based only on this.

Thus they are not secular, they are also not democratic. All of them are tied with Ambani, Adani, Tata. If Ambani-Adani-Tata give 100 rupees to BJP, they would give the others 30 or 40 rupees from the election bonds. If the 'INDIA' alliance comes to power in the Central government, all the main problems of the country will remain intact and following the laws of capitalism they would become even more acute. The politics of both BJP and 'INDIA' alliance is bourgeois politics; one is the bourgeois alternative of the other. The only true alternative is proletarian politics, proletarian rule. So what is needed is the proletarian alternative. For that, the first thing that is necessary is militant mass movements, class struggle. **That is why we want a united front of the leftists. Let them come to the movement. Not unity with this party or that party just for the sake of getting some seats, unity is needed for the**

sake of mass movements, for the sake of class struggle. Had the CPI(M) been engaged in mass movements, the historic farmers' movement in Delhi could have been spread across India. What a great opportunity was created for mass movements. We had tried our best on our own strength. They broke the left unity of six parties which included us, without even informing us, because they wanted to go with the Congress, and did not want militant movements. I call upon the CPI(M) workers to please think once, how a great potential was wasted. Even though they were not Marxists, up to 1966 they conducted militant left movements. Their cadres were beaten up; they went to jails, faced bullets. But from 1967, as soon as they were installed in the seat of government, their role started to change. Just like Congress and BJP, to protect the owners' interests they too brutally suppressed the struggles of workers and peasants under the cloak of maintaining law and order, and gagged the voice of opposition. Petty bourgeois parties behave like bourgeois parties if they come to enjoy governmental power; the CPI(M) behaved exactly like that. **They are pseudo-communists, we are real communists; they are reformist left, we are revolutionary left.** That is where we fundamentally differ from them.

POOR PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN INTERST HAVE TO UNDERSTAND POLITICS

And I would like to tell that pessimistic thoughts, like nothing will happen in this country, will bring no benefit to the people, rather they would bring harm. It would only increase the frustration, and the crisis would continue to grow further. You are not being fair to us if you say, all parties are the same, and all of them only utter good words. We are not of the same ilk. We do not cheat people, we do not tell lies. We move with definite principles and ideals. I call upon the people to understand the politics. At each election these leaders come to you with alluring promises that they will do this, they will do that, utter tall words to fool you. They get wide publicity in the newspapers.

TV channels and radios air their talks. You too are swayed by the wave. It is true that the leaders cheat, but why do you let yourself be cheated? If we also want to cheat you, why would you get fooled? Keep your eyes and ears open, understand the politics. If you say all the usual things - we have a family, we live with children, we keep ourselves aloof from such topics, we don't care about politics - you will be fooled again and again. You have been fooled in the freedom movement. It is not the children of Tata-Birla's home who had shed blood and given their lives, it is the children from ordinary homes who did. But the power was seized by the capitalist class. In those days the people did not want to understand who was right, Gandhiji or Subhash Chandra. Then also, the people used to say, we are ordinary people, why do we need to meddle in big affairs, we do not understand such things. And Gandhiji is like an avatar, like a monk – such was the public perception.

The inevitable result happened. Even today, if the same thing goes on, if you continue saying we don't understand politics, we are simple, uneducated people, you will be cheated again and again. Politics has entered your home. Whether your pot will boil or not, whether you have oil to put in the pan, whether the lamp will burn in your house, whether your son will get the opportunity to study, whether you will get medical treatment, whether you will find a job, even if you get one whether you will be able to hold on to it, whether you will get food - all these are determined by politics. You are governed by politics. You are casting your ballot in favour of a candidate – that is also politics. You are helping him to win. If you still do not want to think about politics, that will not do. You have to use your judgement ; you have to use your head. Those of you who can read will have to study, even after a day of back-breaking labour. You have to do this from the necessity of life. If you cannot read you will have to listen to others' reading. You have to judge which is the party of the rich, which is the party of the poor, which is the party of the exploiting class, which is the party of the exploited people, which party takes advantage of the election wave, and which party

prepares for revolution following the path of mass movements and class struggle. Otherwise you will be cheated again and again. One party will go out of power; one party will come to power. We have experience with this party, let us try the other party this time; next time you go for a third party – if you act in this way the process will go on and on and you will go round and round in a circle.

15th August is coming soon. The leaders will give speeches on August 15. They will give long lists of what all they have done to develop the country. The Raj Bhavan, Delhi's Rashtrapati Bhavan, Prime Minister's residence will be decorated with lights. There will be gun salutes. And there will be big feasts in many star hotels. And the leftovers will be thrown into dustbins, where these will be picked up by the children of the sidewalks of the cities, children who have no home, no address, who are born on the footpaths and die on the footpaths. Like in every other day, in the darkness of the night, the mothers and sisters, stricken by unbearable poverty, will stand in the dark street corners to sell their bodies. The state of things inflicts on us infinite sadness and unbearable pain.

This cruel capitalist exploitation, this agony of unemployment, this consuming fire of inflation, this destruction of humanity, these rapes and gang-rapes, this shameless corruption and hypocrisy of ministers and leaders —will you allow all these to continue and let them grow, or prepare for the anti-capitalist socialist revolution guided by the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh? Can you forget that in this land Khudiram embraced martyr's death, walking to the gallows with a smiling face? At the end of the Baleshwar battle, when injured Bagha Jatin was lying on deathbed, he wanted water. The English officer present there immediately brought him some water. But Bagha Jatin refused to take the water brought by an Englishman. Quietly he passed away. Before going for action Pritilata told Surya Sen that she would not return. She said that she would die fighting and show to the world that women of India can give up their life in the freedom struggle. Pritilata did not return. Before his

hanging the British Officer asked Asfaquallah why he went along with the Hindus. He was offered that if he disclosed the names of his associates his life would be saved. Asfaquallah Khan resolutely rejected the offer and gave up his life. When Bhagat Singh was in prison his friends told him that if he agreed his friends could rescue him from the prison. Bhagat Singh did not agree. He said that his name has become a symbol of revolution. If he flees from the prison, that would be an act of treachery to that symbol. He would happily walk to the gallows with the hope that mothers in India would desire that Bhagat Singhs would be born from their wombs. This would add strength to the freedom movement. Chandrasekhar Azad boldly proclaimed that the police would not be able to catch him nor kill him. In a park in Allahabad he went on fighting even after being surrounded on all sides by the police force, and the last bullet he fired at himself. What these martyrs and countless others like them want. Their glorious struggle, their unrealized dream, their self-sacrifice and the tears of millions of exploited people worked for the emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and provided him with the inspiration to embrace Marxism, the noblest revolutionary ideology, and to build up the party SUCI(Communist)

**THIS PARTY IS YOURS, IT IS YOUR
RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE IT BIGGER**

So, comrades and friends, this party was not formed spontaneously, without any purpose. The history of building this party has proved how invincible the power of Marxism is. Who created Comrade Shibdas Ghosh? Marxism created him. And Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has further developed and enriched Marxism. This Marxism must be understood. Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought must be understood and mastered, so that we can develop as worthy revolutionaries based on his teachings, so that we can strengthen the SUCI (Communist) party, the only revolutionary party, founded by the great leader of the proletariat and Marxist thinker Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and make the anti-capitalist socialist revolution a success by strengthening the mass

movements and class struggle. All of you who have come from far and wide with great respect and deep emotion please take the vow to make this party stronger. You have come with great passion and fervour. Those who are old, I say to you, hand over one or two children of your home to us. They may be shot dead, hanged, but they will die as heroes, with dignity they will raise the flag of humanity. For the others, the students and youths, I tell, leave your personal interests, greed and gains behind and come forward en masse. And I say to others, do not just express your wish for our party to grow bigger, help us to grow bigger, please cooperate actively. You take our message, our discussions from house to house. Stand up for us. I want your full cooperation.

Finally, I will say one more thing. It is your responsibility to protect this party. Do protect this party. You as a guardian will criticize, discipline, and help any of our workers if you notice any lapses on their part. This is your responsibility. This party was founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. But this party belongs to you, the poor people of this country, the exploited people of this country. This party is the only weapon for your survival. It is the responsibility of you and you alone to protect this party
